THE IDEOLOGY, DOMINATION AND POWER REPRESENTATION OF LIMITED FACE-TO-FACE LEARNING IN KUMPARAN.COM: VAN DIJK APPROACH

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
  	The Covid-19 outbreak, which has paralyzed Indonesia for the past two years, prompted online news companies to provide greater information convenience. In particular, the news related to education where the Ministry of Education and Culture made a circular letter regarding the rules for Limited Face-to-face Learning to restore education. Unfortunately, this decision has pros and cons because the standardization of patterns related to health protocols for preventing and controlling the Covid-19 outbreak in schools is not always consistent. Considering this phenomenon, the researcher used qualitative descriptive research with the Van Dijk approach to analyze the pros and cons of this news through macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure. Specifically, this study examined how ideology, domination, and power are represented in Kumparan.com. The researcher collected data by observing and reading primary data from online news and secondary data of several journals related to this study. The findings reveal that Kumparan.com has clearly stated their preferences, which it comes to pro Kemdikbud Ristek, because it shows from its ideology of nationalism, some practices of power and domination based on the linguistic characteristics that support the claim. The use of the linguistics chosen by the author represents that Suharti as secretary general of the Ministry of Education and Culture has access to discourse to control it by setting regulations. In short, Kumparan.com as an online news media has power and dominance in Indonesia as a medium that linking between the voice of the government and the society for social justice.

INTRODUCTION

During the COVID-19 pandemic, the world has sunk into a dire health crisis due to the coronavirus that started in China. Furthermore, the virus pandemic has had a significant impact on life, particularly in the implementation of education in Indonesia. It forced educators to shift to an online mode of distance learning overnight. However, with the existence of this policy, various problems have arisen regarding equal distribution of education (Rismawati et al., 2022). All these problems are not only related to student learning outcomes, but other aspects are also affected such as technological devices, and the level of student motivation has also decreased (S., 2021; Fitriyani et al., 2020 as cited in Rismawati et al., 2022). Therefore, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology intends to propose and implement policies related to limiting the intensity of face-to- face learning.

The limited face-to-face learning program reduces the number of students in schools by half (Ayipudin, 2022). The program must be carried out with strict procedures based on standard health protocols (Kemdikbud, 2022). Even if the shift from offline to online learning is limited, it necessitates adjustments for all parties involved, including students and teachers (Andriani et al., 2022; Andriani, Saputra, et al., 2023). In addition, the policy must consider several factors to support the effectiveness in achieving learning outcomes (Andriani, Niamah, et al., 2023). As a result, the limited PTM (face-to-face learning) policy made headlines across the mass media in Indonesia. One of them is entitled *Kemendikbud Ristek Terbitkan SE, Dorong PTM Terbatas Kembali Digelar* (Ministry of Education and Culture, Research and Technology Issues SE, Encourages Limited PTM to Be Held Again) on the media Kumparan.com. However, some news reaped the pros and cons so that the program could not be implemented effectively

at all levels of education (Andriani, A., Abdullah, F., & Saputra, 2017; Andriani, Saputra, et al., 2023). This is because the standardization of tracking, tracing, and testing patterns related to the prevention and control of the Covid-19 outbreak are not always consistent in its implementation (Ayipudin, 2022). Essentially, the report draws attention to the difficulties encountered during program execution and clarifies the elements that have influenced the worries voiced by specific stakeholders. Program success has been questioned due to inconsistent standards in tracking, tracing, and testing procedures for Covid-19 prevention. Analysis of the effects of policies in the education sector must consider the complexity of the problems and the range of societal viewpoints. In short, the dynamics that occur in society are not surprising, if some parents, students, and teachers are still concerned about this limited face-to-face learning policy.

With the existence of online news in today's digital era, searching for information related to various events that occur has become more efficient. Online news is one form of discourse used to deliver information to the public in the most effective way, whether by individuals, groups, or government agencies. In this case, the term "discourse" refers to the author's background and perspective on the information conveyed in the news. Moreover, news media portals are typically owned by specific individuals or groups and are used to dominate non-dominant groups (Mukhlis et al., 2020). Despite all that, the information presented by discourse (news) in online media, sometimes differs from reality (Mukramah & Nurhasanah Purba, 2022). However, if readers analyze the discourse more deeply, they will find the motives implicit in the news text media (Monalisa et al., 2022). This more in-depth and critical reading technique is known as critical discourse analysis. Hence, the most comprehensively used critical discourse analysis technique in various media is Van Dijk approach (Sahmeni & Afifah, 2019).

According to Van Dijk found that a discourse analysis cannot be based solely on text analysis because it must also consider how a text is produced (van Dijk, 2015) (Nurfitriana & Sari, 2021). He found that the mental operations that go into creating and interpreting conversation. He stresses that when people communicate, they are drawing from their social identities, knowledge, ideas, and attitudes. Conversation both influences and reflects people's perceptions of social reality in their minds. This technique looks at how the social structure, domination, and power groups exist in society as well as how cognition/thought and awareness shape and influence certain texts (Eriyanto as cited in Hidayat et al., 2021). Additionally, Van Dijk describes the power as the ownership that one group has over the group of another group. Furthermore, it also focuses on what is known as domination. Domination is defined as an abuse of power, when a person or institution is more powerful in controlling something or someone according to their will (Nurfitriana & Sari, 2021). Van Dijk's analysis spotlight on access, specifically how access differs between different groups in society. Elite groups have greater access compared to the non-powerful group. As a result, those in positions of power have a greater opportunity to gain access to the media and influence public trust. Hence, CDA focuses on how discourse structures enact, confirm, reproduce, or challenge power and dominance relations in society (Schiffrin et al., 2001).

Based on that, the news about the proposed and the limited face-to-face learning policy in the Kumparan media is being analyzed using a critical discourse approach inspired by Van Dijk. The researcher uses this analysis to examine several problems, including the reasons behind the media's coverage of the news and whether there is power, dominance, and hidden ideology being produced by the media in their reporting. This is because news reports often contain norms, political and social values, and beliefs that reflect the ideological stance of the news media or news editors. Moreover, ideology typically influences the thoughts of social groups, which in turn represent the fundamental social characteristics of these groups based on their personality, goals, norms, values, positions, and resources (Sahmeni & Afifah, 2019). Cognitive and social factors are also involved in the process of consuming ideologies. Therefore, the focus of the author's study is on the online news media, specifically Kumparan.com, in relation to the news about the Ministry of Education and Culture's Circular on Encouraging the Resumption of Limited Face-to-Face Learning.

Furthermore, the researcher analyze the problems using the three-dimensional approach of Van Dijk's analysis. The three dimensions include macro structure, superstructure, and microstructure (van Dijk, 2015) (Mukhlis et al., 2020). The macro structure is the broad and general meaning of the text, which can be examined based on the topic or theme contained in the news. Second, the superstructure is a discourse structure related to the framework of a text. Third, the microstructure is the meaning of discourse that can be observed from a small part of a text, namely by looking at the use of words, sentences, propositions, clauses, paraphrases, and pictures (Mukhlis et al., 2020; Sahmeni & Afifah, 2019). Thus, the information obtained can be known in its entirety.

In other words, the use of critical discourse analysis in examining the information of limited face-to-face learning news is intended to reveal hidden intentions (news media) with a statement. Basically, according to Awad Al Afnan (2020) stated that the information conveyed in news is influential in building public opinion and putting forward certain figures as well as other people's backgrounds to create the effect

of negative or positive reactions. In addition, news information plays a significant role in shaping public opinion and highlighting individuals and their backgrounds, thereby generating positive or negative reactions. Considering this, the purpose of this study is to examine how elements of dominance, ideology, and power are manifested in the limited face-to-face learning news coverage on Kumparan.com. Specifically, the objective is to analyze the application of the Van Dijk approach in this investigation In short, the aim of the study is to determine Van Dijk's three-dimensional approach to analysis that makes it possible to analyze discourse issues in great detail by looking at the discourse's linguistic and discursive features (superstructure), the larger social context (macro structure), and the social and cognitive processes that occur at the individual level (microstructure) are produced in media Kumparan.com in limited face-to-face learning news. The specific objective is to investigate the use of the Van Dijk approach in the study.

METHOD

This study used a descriptive-qualitative research model using Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis approach. Descriptive research methods are commonly used in qualitative research for collecting data and describing data naturally (Nurfitriana & Sari, 2021). Furthermore, the descriptive-qualitative research method seeks to solve problems systematically and factually based on existing facts. In this study, the data gathered is in the form of words and images rather than numbers. Hence, data excerpts are included in the research report to provide an overview and detail of the analysis report related to the research findings. In addition, the interpretation process is also carried out, namely by interpreting the data to reveal the meanings in the Kumparan.com media in reporting news on limited Face-to-face Learning as part of the analysis. Therefore, the descriptive-qualitative research method is employed to describe and explain the objectives of this study, namely dominance, ideology, and power to draw its result.

The data source for this study is divided into two parts: primary data and secondary data. The primary data source is in the form of news about "Kemendikbud Ristek Terbitkan SE, Dorong PTM Terbatas Kembali Digelar" (Ministry of Education and Culture, Research and Technology Issues SE, Encourages Limited PTM to Be Held Again) published in online daily news Kumparan.com. media. This title was chosen because it was very current at the time and has both pros and cons that are interesting to observe. Van Dijk (2015) highlights the significance of comprehending power dynamics and how discourse is shaped by them. The unequal allocation and use of power in society, where some people or groups dominate others, is referred to as power abuse. This control can take many different forms, including social, political, or economic supremacy. Power abuse is a useful tool for discourse analysis because it can reveal hidden intentions, prejudices, and manipulation in communication. It enables us to investigate the ways in which power relations affect information generation, transmission, and interpretation. We can gain a better understanding of how some voices are given more weight than others and how this disparity affects how meaning is constructed and public opinion is shaped by looking at power abuse. The news discourse was published on March 25, 2022, and written by Teresa. While for secondary data, the researcher found research journals that are related with this study.

Furthermore, the data collection technique is text observation with Van Dijk Approach by understanding and analyzing the data obtained from Kompas.com online daily news related to the limitation of face-to-face learning issue. The text analyzed is from primary data sources in the form of Education news analysis on online media Kumparan.com. As a result, the data contained in the discourse on online news can be used as evidence in research. The researcher analyzed the data using discourse analysis, specifically critical discourse analysis of Van Dijk's approach. The data analysis technique employs multiple dimensional structures in Van Dijk. It is used to delve deeper into hidden ideology, disassemble power, and understands how dominance is manifested in the news/discourse production process. Technically, this study was driven by three-dimensional structure in Van Dijk. Specifically, it is presented as follows: The macrostructure (thematic) is used to investigate how (more) powerful of news media control public discourse is, and how the power of the media makes discourses related to limited face-to-face learning more dominant than other non-dominant (marginalized) discourses (Van Dijk 2001, as cited in Schiffrin et al., 2001). Then, superstructure (schematic) is the text structure framework used to provide overall information. The last, microstructure were categorised and analysed based on semantics, syntax, and rhetoric (Mukhlis et al., 2020).

This microstructure expresses the hidden ideologies in the Kumparan news media related circular letter of limited face-to-face learning, as evidenced using semantic. According to Van djik's research, microstructure was designed to suppress the meaning of the text by providing detailed information on one side or making explicit and reducing information on the other (Sahmeni & Afifah, 2019). This perception

has an ideological perspective because it shows how such the discourse control mind and less powerful groups action. Therefore, by analyzing this, the meaning or purpose is easier to uncover.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION
Result
  This study follows the three dimensions to discover how the macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure analysis revealing the ideology, power, and domination in the text "Kemendikbud Ristek Terbitkan SE, Dorong PTM Terbatas Kembali Digelar" (Ministry of Education and Culture, Research and Technology Issues SE, Encourages Limited face-to-face learning to Be Held Again) which creating a huge polemic pros and cons that occurred between all parties involved in this policy. The sentence "Kemendikbud Ristek Terbitkan SE, Dorong PTM Terbatas Kembali Digelar" (Ministry of Education and Culture, Research and Technology Issues SE, Encourages Limited face-to-face learning to Be Held Again) is examined in this study using Van Dijk's three-dimensional technique. Through an examination of the text's macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure, the research seeks to reveal the text's underlying ideologies, power relationships, and dominance structures. The text has created a great deal of controversy, with all sides voicing opposing arguments and debating the limited face-to-face learning approach. This study aims to illuminate the ideologies, power relations, and domination that shape the discourse surrounding by examining the larger social and institutional backdrop (macrostructure), linguistic and discursive aspects (superstructure), and individual-level processes (microstructure).
  According to Van Dijk (1993), the initial data generally observed were text. This section displays the research findings gained from the data analysis. Additionally, this data analysis proved the existence of a hidden ideology, domination and power that was carried out through the Kumparan.com by discussing news as an action to take sides against the limited face- to-face learning circular. By giving priority to elite groups such as the Ministry of Education and Culture, Research and Technology, which are more dominant than social groups (teachers and parents). The data of the results are explained below:

Table 1. Analysis data of "Kemendikbud Ristek Terbitkan SE, Dorong PTM Terbatas Kembali Digelar"

Discourse Structure	Elements	Results of Analysis
Microstructure (Thematic)	Topic	The education system during the outbreak of Covid-19 in Indonesia.
	Headline	"*Kemendikbud Ristek Terbitkan SE, Dorong PTM Terbatas Kembali Digelar*" or in English "Ministry of Education and Culture Published Circular Letter, Encourages Limited Face-to-Face Learning to be held again".
Superstructure (Schematic/Plot)	Lead	*Kemendikbud Ristek mendorong kembali pemberlakuan Pembelajaran Tatap Muka (Terbatas) di satuan pendidikan menyusul penurunan kasus COVID-19. Kebijakan pemberlakuan PTM Terbatas tertuang dalam Surat Edaran Mendikbudristek Nomor 3 Tahun 2022 tentang PTM Terbatas pada Satuan Pendidikan (Teresa, 2022).* The lead explains how the Covid-19 pandemic is being reduced. For that reason, in education, limited face-to-face learning is being reinstated for students to prevent learning loss. As a result, news writers lead readers to believe that the government's decision to issue this policy is for restore student learning more effectively and efficiently.
	Story	• This news is started with the statement that Limited Face-to- Face Learning policies must be held based on the 4 Ministerial Decree Number 06/KB/2021, Number 1347 of 2021, Nomor HK.01.08/MENKES/6678/2021, Number 443-5847 of 2021 concerning Guidelines for the Implementation of Learning in the Time of the COVID-19 Pandemic. • Furthermore, the discourse is continued with content that builds the integrity and coherence of the

		discourse. It is telling about explanation of the detailed rules of SE Number 3/2022 regarding Limited Face-to-Face Learning by the secretary general of the Ministry of Education and Culture Research Technology. In addition, media journalist conveyed Suharti's explanation which stated that the Circular of the Minister of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology Number 2 of 2022 concerning the discretion for the implementation of the Joint Decree on Guidelines for the Implementation of Learning during the 2019 Coronavirus Disease (Covid-19) Pandemic is not applicable. • Then, the news closes by presenting a statement about the expectation from Suharti (Secretary General of the Ministry of Education and Culture Research Technology) expressed her hope that all parties can work together in supporting the recovery of learning and limited face-to-face learning can be carried out properly
Microstructure (Semantic)	Background	Element background discusses learning in the midst of a pandemic decline. At that time, the distance learning conditions (*PJJ*) that had been set by the government through the Ministry of Education and Culture for all students in Indonesia during the pandemic were to fight together against the virus. However, in reality there are still many obstacles to be faced, such as the problems related to infrastructure, human resources, and technology.
	Detail	The detailed element clearly and completely explains the comprehensive rules of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology Number 3/2022 circular letter regarding Limited Face- to-face Learning such as for education units are asked to strictly implement health protocols, and for parents of students are given the option to allow their children to take part in limited face-to-face learning or Distance Learning (*PJJ*).
	Intentions	The element of intent explains explicitly the desire of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology to implement limited learning more effectively so that students get their learning rights as it should be.
	Presupposition	The element presupposition is explained Limited Face-to-Face Learning can be done properly if all parties work together to restore learning. It is carried out to improve learning conditions during the midst of a pandemic decrease so that they do not deteriorate further.
Microstructure (Syntax)	Sentence Form	The sentence form element explains the use of passive sentence. For example, '*orang tua atau wali peserta didik diberikan pilihan untuk mengizinkan ... Selain itu, pemda juga diwajibkan mengawasi ... Ketiga, satuan pendidikan diminta menerapkan protokol kesehatan, ... Pemda juga diminta berperan dalam percepatan vaksinasi, ... PTM Terbatas bisa langsung dihentikan ...*'
	Coherence	The element of coherence can be seen from some conjunction that linked one sentence to other sentences in the news such as, additive conjunction: *masih sangat penting bagi dinas pendidikan dan sekolah untuk memastikan pembelajaran bagi*

		seluruh peserta didik (in line 5), *Selain itu, pemda juga mengawasi dan melakukan pembinaan penyelenggaraan PTM Terbatas* (in line 9). Contrast conjunction: *Tetapi, masih sangat penting bagi dinas pendidikan..*(in line 5). Causal conjunction: *Sehingga pelaksanaan PTM Terbatas Kembali mengikuti panduan di dalam SKB Empat Menteri yang terakhir,* (in line 6). Temporal conjunction: *Kemudian...* (in line 7), *Pertama, orang tua atau wali peserta didik diberikan pilihan...*(in line 8), *Ketiga, satuan pendidikan diminta menerapkan protokol kesehatan...* (in line 11), *Terakhir, jelas Suharti, dengan berlakunya surat edaran terbaru ini...* (in line 14). Additionally, the element of coherence explains that this word of face-to-face learning that is repeated over and over again is a unified discussion, namely The Implementation Of Face-To-Face Learning Policy. *Sekjen Kemendikbud Ristek, Suharti menjelaskan kebijakan PTM sesuai dengan SKB 4 Menteri (Teresa, 2022).* "*Tentunya menjadi harapan kita semua bahwa kondisi pandemi COVID-19 terus membaik*" *(Teresa, 2022).*
Microstructure (Stylistic)	Pronoun	The pronoun element indicates Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology is a pronoun from Suharti as secretary general. In addition, the pronoun "*kita*" which refers to all parties is used by resource person in direct sentences, namely by Suharti, the secretary general of the Ministry of Education and Culture, Research and Technology.
Microstructure (Stylistic)	Lexicon word Choice)	The lexicon element explains the use of the denotative words, such as '*Suharti menjelaskan kebijakan PTM ...* '. In addition, it also used the euphemism words that is *'mendorong kembali'* (not use ordinary words like '*menghimbau'* or '*meminta'*) and *'diminta'* not use '*minta'*.
Microstructure (Rethorical)	Graphic	The graphic element is using bold letters in news headlines. Furthermore, the second graphic element is the use of quotation marks in the news text which explains two direct sentences from Suharti (Secretary General of the Ministry of Education and Culture, Research and Technology). the last graphic element is the use of photos related to the picture of a number of students who participate in Face-to-face Learning (PTM) in the 153 Palembang State Elementary School classroom, and Guru Mardiyanti, who taught remotely when the *PTM* in DKI Jakarta was dismissed, precisely at SDN Gunung provided by the Kumparan media, demonstrating that limited face-to- face learning can be undertaken.
	Metaphor	No metaphor element was found.

In the discourse analysis of the text "Kemendikbud Ristek Terbitkan SE, Dorong PTM Terbatas Kembali Digelar," (Ministry of Education and Culture, Research and Technology Issues SE, Encourages Limited PTM to Be Held Again) several elements were examined across different dimensions. In the microstructure (thematic) analysis, the topic focused on the education system in Indonesia during the Covid-19 outbreak. The superstructure (schematic/plot) consisted of the headline, which highlighted the Ministry of Education and Culture's publication of a circular letter encouraging limited face-to-face learning to be held again. The lead provided an explanation of the policy and emphasized the government's intention to restore effective and efficient learning.

The story section further elaborated on the topic, discussing four ministerial decrees related to the guidelines for learning during the pandemic. The discourse-built coherence by providing details on the rules and explanations of the circular letter by the Secretary General of the Ministry of Education and Culture Research Technology. It also included a statement from the Secretary General expressing hope for

collaborative efforts in supporting the recovery of learning and proper implementation of limited face-to-face learning.

In the microstructure (semantic) analysis, the background element highlighted the challenges faced during distance learning and the need for limited face-to-face learning. The detail element explained the comprehensive rules of the circular letter, including the implementation of health protocols and the option for parents to choose between limited face-to-face learning and distance learning. The intentions element made explicit the ministry's desire to implement effective learning and ensure students receive their learning rights. The presupposition element stated that limited face-to-face learning can be successful through collaborative efforts.

The microstructure (syntax) analysis observed the use of passive sentence forms and coherence through various conjunctions linking sentences. Pronouns were used, such as "Sekjen Kemendikbud Ristek, Suharti" (Secretary General of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology) explaining the PTM policy. The stylistic analysis discussed the choice of words, including the use of denotative and euphemistic language. The rhetorical analysis identified the use of bold letters in the headline, quotation marks for direct sentences from Suharti, and the inclusion of relevant photos.

Discussion
Macrostructure
Based on the data analysis above, it shows that the macro structure refers to the overall meaning that can be observed from the theme raised using language in a discourse (Mukramah & Nurhasanah Purba, 2022). The theme is the core idea, summary, or the main of a text. The main topic mostly talked about statement by the General Secretary of Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology about the propose and implement policy related to limit the system of face-to face learning as an effort of the education field to deal with the Covid-19. Thus, explicitly seen from the theme that this is how the power of Kumparan.com is stronger by bringing up the major policy makers who are engaged in the education sector to be able to control the public on the news delivered. On the other words, members of more powerful social groups and institutions, and especially their leaders (the elites), have more exclusive access to, and control over, one or more types of public discourse (Schiffrin et al., 2001). This theme is related to the current Covid-19 problem, which has a significant impact on the course of student learning due to the ease with which the sickness spreads. It is relevant to Masofa, I., Sumarsono, I., & Fanani, (2023) that The school sector was significantly affected by the Covid-19 outbreak, which disrupted it unexpectedly. The closure of schools was implemented as a preventive measure to contain the spread of the virus. Because of the prolonged period without face-to-face contact during the learning process, students experienced loss in terms of both general and specific knowledge and skills, leading to a decline in their academic performance. This study specifically examines two online English final tests conducted through MO365. The policy maker is faced with a difficult choice in determining effective policies so that learning continues to take place effectively, even in conditions of Covid-19. Therefore, indirectly, the Kumparan.com media believed if the policy are optimized to handle problem that occur during this pandemic.

Superstructure
In the superstructure dimension, the news scheme in the Kumparan.com news media is composed of headlines, leads, and stories. Regarding the news headline that can be seen from table 1, by utilizing a unique journalistic word, the headline looks short, concise, and informative. Hence, readers will easily find out the (most important) topics discussed in the news. Furthermore, the report uses deductive reasoning by beginning the information with the main idea as a summary of the whole news, then the following paragraphs explain about detailed information related with the circular letter. The lead describes the subject that guides the reader to the main discourse (Widyatno, 2014).

The story content, overall dominated by the voice of General Secretary of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology who tells about the new policy related to regulate the face-to-face learning that **need** to be implemented by all parties in education. As a final note, this Kumparan.com media invites readers by attaching a statement from Suharti, who hopes that the community can work together to comply with the most recent limited face-to-face learning program policies. It represents Kumparan.com media's hopes for the reader. As a result, the Kumparan.com discourse scheme of the circular letter of limited face-to-face learning appears quite comprehensive. In addition, the data analysis showed that Kumparan media tends to sides with this policy. In this case to understand the news discourse presented in the print mass media, it is essential to apply critical discourse analysis to comprehend the textual practices

within the discourse. By critically analyzing the textual practices within the news discourse, it can develop a more nuanced and informed understanding of how media constructs reality, shapes public discourse, and influences societal beliefs and behaviors. It empowers the reader to be more discerning consumers of news, capable of unpacking the complexities and power dynamics inherent in media representations, and promoting a more inclusive and democratic public sphere. (Rosdiana et al., 2023).

Microstructure (Semantic)

Background, details, intentions and preseupption are related to the control of information displayed by a person in the semantic microstructure (Awad AlAfnan, 2020). Kumparan.com provides the current context (background) to help readers understand the rules limited PTM in the pandemic from the capable and compatible policymaker (Secretary General of the Ministry of Education and Culture) are implemented. In this case, from the details and the intent of this news, the writer considers that Kumparan wants to express that one side of a person in power. Additionally, the title used also has two meanings at once, namely the Ministry of Education and Culture's explanation of SE and the Ministry of Education and Culture's expectations regarding limited face-to-face learning being carried out. Thus, as seen from data analysis microstructure of semantic, Kumparan.com has a hidden ideology, namely the ideology of domination (nasionalism ideology) which has a one-way focus on news by describing information based on definite data, specifically from the Ministry of Education and Culture, Research and Technology. According to Hans Kohn (1949) that nationalism and ideology are based on the premise that the individual's loyalty and devotion to the nation- state surpass other individual or group interests (Britannica, 1949).

Microstructure (Syntax)

The sentence form elements in the syntax's microstructure use passive sentences to convey the news, despite the presence of one actor in the active sentence, namely the secretary general of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology. This demonstrates that Kumparan.com is concealing someone more powerful from the Secretary General of the Ministry of Education and Culture to make this news become more dominant. In addition, the coherence can be seen from some conjunction that linked one sentence to other sentences in the news such as the use of additive and contrast conjunction to express the additional information and to make a contrastive relation between two facts. One position Kemdikbud Ristek wants the world to recover from Covid-19, but on the other hand she wants to improve learning for all students too. Then, in the temporal conjunction to describe the rules of those policies. Furthermore, the pronoun element explaining the word Suharti was replaced with the words Secretary General Kemdikbud in the Kumparan.com media text, to emphasize that the actors who can speak in this news text have a lot of power. However, this news also tends to use the pronoun "Kita" in direct sentences, indicating to the reader of this news that they have the same position/role in helping the government to solve the the problem together.

Microstructure (Stylistic)

Overall, in the stylistic microstructure elements, online texts display a lot of denotative lexicon. This is evidenced by the lack of connotative word choices in this educational discourse. By using denotative words, readers should be able to easily catch and understand the meaning represented by those words (Widyatno, 2014). Based on the author's point of view, some wordsappropriatemparan.com are appropriately and accurate to implicate the meaning for the readers or public to quickly understand them. Furthermore, this may be due to the authors' intention to directly convey the news content using common words to accommodate their readers' reading comprehension (Rovino et al., 2021). Lastly, as shown in the table, the researcher discovered an element of euphemism in news text to give the impression of civility in bringing the news.

Microstructure (Rethorical)

In rethorical microstructure, the graphic element is found in the form of the bold word typografically used on the headline of the discourse text. As a result, even if readers only see the headline, they can determine what the central idea or message of those discourse texts is. In the other section, Kumparan.com employs the quotation mark ("...") to emphasize direct statements from the Ministry of Education and Culture, Research and Technology, and to support the implementation of limited face-to- face learning during societal pros and cons. The last graphic element is the use of images or photos in Kumparan.com news to emphasis on the implementation of limited face- to-face learning where the first picture is that students learn in class using masks and the second is the teacher who teaches online in the classroom. The news text and photograph are intended to implicate semiotic interpretation (Widyatno, 2014). Thus, it appears that the news media is attempting to highlight the Ministry of Education and Culture's seriousness

in implementing limited face-to- face learning through images. However, the writers' lack of attention to demonstrating their credibility as writers was evident in their essays. It is crucial for writers to consider the three elements of logos (message), ethos (writer), and pathos (audience) if they aim to produce a more effective argumentative essay (Khairuddin et al., 2021).

Ideology, Power, and Domination

Based on the previous data analysis, it is essential to understand how ideology, power, and dominance are represented in this Kumparan.com news, as the findings have come from macrostructures, superstructures, and microstructures. Ideology is the basis of discourse that is built not only on personal cognitive processes, but also social cognitions that are agreed upon and shared within certain social groups (Dijk, 2006). This ideology then controls the creation and comprehension of the discourse itself. Power itself represents the control that someone or something has and impact on their surronding. Meanwhile, domination is a group that will usually dominate a weaker group or a marginalized group.

In view of ideology, Kumparan.com tends to side with this policy of the Kemdikbud. It is because apart from looking at the general Ministry of Education and Culture as a direct policy holder who has been trusted to have a high position, this news also explains that the limited face-to-face learning will make learning safe and comfortable as stated on the Ministry of Education and Research and Technology website. It is also said that the local government and education parties would be mobilized to continue supervising and monitoring health procedures to carry out the program (Kemdikbudristek, 2022). In other words, media Kumparan.com usually has a dominant ideology, such as nationalism. For example, related to analysis that the researcher has done, this news has faith in the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology, which oversees education policy. This is supported by Dijk (2006) stated that one of the most efficient forms of ideological domination is when the dominated group also accepts the dominant ideology as natural or commonsense. In addition, as Hans Kohn (1949) stated that nationalism ideology based on the premise that the individual's loyalty and devotion to the nation- state surpass other individual or group interests (Britannica, 1949). The relationship between discourse and ideology is dynamic and complex. Discourses both reflect and reproduce dominant ideologies, while ideologies are propagated and reinforced through discursive practices. Using language and symbolic representations, discourses can naturalize and normalize certain ideologies, making them appear as common sense or unquestionable truths. Conversely, ideologies shape the boundaries and constraints of discursive practices, determining what can be said, how it can be said, and whose voices are privileged or marginalized (Purvis & Hunt, 1993).

As for power and dominance that Kumparan.com wields considerable power in Indonesia as a media outlet that connects the voices of the government and the community in the pursuit of welfare and social justice. Hence, those who have more control over more–and more influential -discourse (and more discourse properties) are by that definition also more powerful. Leading politicians (government) have more controlled access to many different forms of text and talk (Van Dijk, 1995). This is especially true for their access to media discourse. Journalists will seek to interview them, and thus introduce them as major news actors such as Ministry of Education and Culture in these news reports. If such elites can control these patterns of media access, they are more powerful than the media (Van Dijk, 1995). In other words, Kumparan.com may itself be an institution of elite power and dominance, with respect not only to the public at large, but also to other elite institutions. Additionally, the power of words is powerful, it could make readers change their belief and preference and could also bring another event in the future.

Therefore, in the realm of journalism, this media is considered to have a strong influence because its news emphasizes facts and sources with high authority, allowing them to dominate other non-dominant groups (Mahdi, 2015). Thus, controlling access to the discourses of government is a manifestation of power because of the consequentiality of such discourse and decision making, that is, because they may seriously affect the lives of people (Schiffrin et al., 2001).

CONCLUSION

Kumparan.com is a media that has undoubtedly become one of the many major mass media in Indonesia, known for its high- quality news presented in attractive packaging and reliable sources of information. Particularly in reporting on the news of the education system in Indonesia during the pandemic, which has become a polemic for the pros and cons of the parties involved. One of them is the issue of limited face-to-face learning circulars that can garner public attention, with news article titles that tend to agree more with the existence of this policy. Furthermore, it demonstrates the existence of status ownership by Suharti as the Secretary General of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology in the discourse on determining the limited face-to- face learning circular, as supported by the

practice of power over the ownership of the sources listed in the news. Thus, the access they have is in the form of access to elite groups (which are the education policy makers themselves) which greatly influence the audience because they can dominate fewer dominant groups.

In addition, the ideology that the media had towards this news tends to be the ideology of nationalism which is seen in the news only presenting one focus to the Secretary General of the Ministry of Education and Culture, Research and Technology. As a result, this Kumparan.com media has the power and dominance that can influence readers to have the same opinion on the limited face-to-face learning policy as the best solution for the restoration of education in Indonesia during the pandemic. In short, the Kumparan.com media supports the limited PTM policy to restore Indonesian education during the Covid-19 decline. Nonetheless, this analysis only looked at one source for finding a newspaper article discouraging in terms of the three dimensions (macro, super, and micro) and three goals (ideology, power, and domination). As a result, future research should be able to look at polemic or discursive issues through the involvement of various mass media and mixed investigations of critical discourse studies to gain a more in-depth intertextual perspective. Additionally, future researchers can use the same source, the same news theme, but have different sources' perspectives so that they can be compared.

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