CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE NEWS OF COVID-19 CORPSE SNATCHING PATIENT IN THE I-NEWS

Rika Astari, Abdul Mukhlis, Muhammad Irfan Faturrahman

rika.astari@bsa.uad.ac.id
Universitas Ahmad Dahlan
Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Abstract: The diction used in the news of corpse snatching of COVID-19 varies and has caused the public to panic. This study aims to show the structure of the media language used in The News of Corpse Snatching of COVID-19 patients in Pasuruan and the factors that caused the hundreds of people attempting to take the deceased's body forcefully. The primary data are the news of corpse snatching of COVID-19 patients in Pasuruan, uploaded on YouTube and the online news media i-News, and comments from netizens in the comment's column. In addition, informant interviews were conducted to show the factors causing Corpse Snatching. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is used for content analysis by describing three dimensions: text, discursive practice, and social practice. It was concluded that the media language used in the news text of the corpse Snatching in Pasuruan tends to use vocabulary that shows negative rather than positive actions. Moreover, the media emphasizes negative actions more than describing solution actions to become government policy steps. Based on informants and studies of the third dimension, hundreds of people who conducted the Corpse Snatching were caused because people hardly accept COVID-19 protocols since they hold Kejawen Islamic funeral traditions.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, The News of Corpse Snatching of COVID-19, Pasuruan

INTRODUCTION
Since the announcement of the COVID-19 pandemic case in Indonesia nationally on March 2, 2020 (Nuraini, R., 2020), there has been an increase in COVID-19 patients being treated and dying. The first patient to die from COVID-19 in Indonesia was a foreigner on March 11, 2020 (Rizqo, Kanavino Ahmad, 2020). Since there has been an increase in the number of COVID-19 cases (Putri, Restu Diantina, 2020), the medical team and MUI published the guidance for handling COVID-19 corpses in May 2020 (Kementerian Kesehatan Republik Indonesia, 2020); this book accommodates the MUI Fatwa and the COVID-19 Health Protocol. However, even though the manual has been published, in some areas, COVID-19 patients' coffins were forcibly dismantled. According to the news broadcast on online media, there were 23 cases. The locations of the incident were in several cities: Pasuruan (iNews Malam 17/07, 2020), Gresik (Tim Warta Bromo, 2020), Brebes (Evanalia, Sadryna, 2020), Jeneponto (Makasar) (Zainuddin, Hasbi, 2020), Malang. The news has been uploaded on Youtube, Facebook, Twitter, and online mass media. The news that the patient's coffin was forcibly dismantled by the people of Lekok, Pasuruan, East Java, was the most viral.

On Thursday, July 16, 2020, the Indonesian people were shocked by the corpse snatching of a COVID-19 patient in Pasuruan. This news has been broadcast through various media, both online mass media and video. One of the videos uploaded by the "official iNews" account has 1.7 million views, and 1400 comments with 4.6 thousand likes and 920...
unlikes. Apart from being discussed on Youtube, this case was also widely discussed in online news media such as detik.com, Kumparan, CNNI, Liputan 6. The incident involved nearly hundreds of people attempting to forcefully take the deceased's body.

The diction used in the headlines for the corpse snatching scares the public. The dictons used were: 'Perebutan Jenazah' (Corpse Snatching), 'Ambil paksa (COVID-19 Patient's Coffin were Forcibly taken), 'Rebut paksa (COVID-19 Patient's Coffin were Forcibly Snatched), and Bongkar paksa peti jenazah Covid-19' (COVID-19 Patient's Coffin were Forcibly Dismantled). The diction used in the iNews news headlines was: 'bongkar paksa,' as in the following picture:

![Figure 1. The News of Patient's Coffin was Forcibly Dismantled](image)

The studies of news on online media during a pandemic have been so far learned into 3. First, on issues reported on regulations, social and charity funds, humanity, availability of infrastructure, education, teaching, and appeals, and culture and religion and economic issues involving 52 themes. (Gandasari & Dienawati, 2020). Second, regarding the type of journalistic presentation during a pandemic, it shows that the dominance of the informative journalism genre tends to encourage humanization through emotional representation (Tejedor et al., 2020). The emotional representation is performed by spreading a piece of fake news and sparking panic among the public (Ngozika A. Obi-Ani, 2020); giving rumors in the case of COVID-19 information, confusion (Basch, Corey H., 2020); sparking panic among the public (Ngozika A. Obi-Ani, 2020); and causing mental disorder by giving the news sentences about death (Selman et al., 2021). Third, the impact of false information on public health may reduce the effectiveness of government preventive measures (Caldarelli, Guido, et al.). Social media primarily drive COVID-19 conspiracy theories, a lack of trust in political leadership, and traditional media's inaccurate "reporting" of coronavirus news (Olatunji, Olusoji S., et al. 2020).

Fourth, the public's perception of digital contact tracing applications provides a better understanding of the information circulating in the media ecosystem (Amann, Julia. 2021). The previous study did not examine the causes of conflicts reported on social media to become viral among netizens and did not evaluate sociological causes.

With the media language of theory and social structure, this article aims to show the language structure of the media and the factors that caused the corpse snatching. A critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach was used for data analysis by describing three dimensions: text, discursive practice, and social practice.

This paper is according to the argument that the choice of vocabulary used by the media has the interest of media sensations so that the news becomes viral on social media. Various factors caused the fighting over the bodies of hundreds of residents. There has been a culture shock from the Kejawen Islamic tradition changing based on the Covid-19 health protocol, which is challenging to adapt for rural communities.

This article aims to show the structure of the media language in the news text of the snatching of the corpse of a COVID-19 patient in Pasuruan and the factors provoking the action.

**Conceptual Framework**

**Critical Discourse Analysis**

Critical discourse analysis, or CDA, is a study of the structure of texts and their interactional and social functions (Fairclough, Norman. 2013). CDA can explore how these features affect or are affected by the structure of text and speech. CDA is relevant for analyzing the social dimensions of discourse, namely socially situated interactions and the more global structure of society (Fairclough, Norman. 2013). CDA can be used to discuss power, domination, and inequalities expressed and reproduced in discourse, both structure and content (Van Dijk, Teun A. 1999).
Discourse is generally used for (a) meaning-making as an element of social processes; (b) language related to a particular field, or social practice; (c) ways of interpreting aspects of the world related to specific social perspectives (e.g., ‘neoliberal globalization discourse’ (Fairclough, Norman, 2013).

CDA focuses on semiosis and the relationship between semiotics and other social elements. The nature of the relationships varies between institutions and organizations, and it is according to time and place and needs to be established through analysis. The steps of the CDA method, according to Fair Fairclough, are as follows: Stage 1: Focus on social problems in their semiotic aspects. Stage 2: Identify barriers to solving social problems. Stage 3: Consideration of the need for social. Stage 4: Identify how to get possible ways for passing the obstacles (Fairclough, Norman. 2013).

Mass Media and Media Sensation Massa

Mass media is a place for communication practices, social activities, and cultural products (Spitulnik, 1993). In the language of the media, certain ideological representations are found through the choice of vocabulary (Humairah, Liza Halimatul, Agustina Agustina, and Ngusman Abdul Manaf., 2018). It can also relieve tension in social sectors and can influence the public, especially during elections (Mukrimin, 2012). The media report what happened and construct reality, hide some facts, and highlight other facts (Abdullah, 2006). Mass media creates trends adopted and imitated by the general public (Mawelle, 2014). Thus, the media can change audiences’ attitudes, values, and behavior (Spitulnik, 1993).

For the speed of information flow, the mass media are currently starting to upload their news on social media. Before social media, most viewers depended on traditional news media, such as print, radio, or TV. Before internet access, the latest news was usually not delivered to the audience directly and quickly, but waiting for the newspaper's published news. Even Teletext news is faster. (Roese, 2018).

Social media has become one of the information media and traditional mass media such as print media, radio, or TV. Social media is a medium suitable for all types of social groups. The advantage of social media is that it allows users to interact, communicate, create and share news content digitally, even potentially viral from user-generated content and media advertising structures. Social media is an essential part of the news media business because it is considered more active in sharing news and invites news consumers to interact and spread it easily. It causes news posted on social media to go viral (Roese, 2018). The use of sensational news diction pushes a news story to go viral. The notion of ‘media sensation’ is often associated with terrible news, which stimulates emotions and stirs the public (Roese, 2018). The negative side of social media is that lies can spread widely.

Social Structure

Social structure is the relations that unite social groups in a larger group (Waluya, 2007). Some anthropologists use social structure to refer to social groups, such as nations, tribes, and clans, which maintain their continued identity as a group of individuals. (Radcliffe-Brown, Alfred Reginald, 1940). Forms of the social structure must be explained by behavioral patterns that are appropriate for individuals and groups in dealing with other people. These patterns are partly formulated in the rules that exist in society, in the form of ethical, moral, and legal rules. A series of social relations can be maintained through this society’s rules, ethics, morals, and laws.

Social structure leads to the study of values as determinants of social relations. Social relations are based on mutual interests with one another. The simplest form of social solidarity is where two people are equally interested in achieving a specific result and work together for that goal. When two or more people have the same interest in a rule, the applicable rule can have social value for the people involved.

RESEARCH METHOD

The Primary data in this present research is the news of corpse snatching of Covid-19 patients in Pasuruan, East Java which was uploaded on Youtube and the online news media i-News, comments from netizens in the news commentary column, as well as the results of interviews from informants in Rowogempol Pasuruan, East Java. Meanwhile,
the Secondary data was the information showing the motives for fighting over the bodies from other news sources and netizens' opinions in the news commentary column.

This research was descriptive qualitative. Research instrument: In extracting data related to social context, ten informants were used to interview via chat. The instrument includes questions related to the social context of the corpse snatching.

In collecting the data, the researcher employs several steps. To begin with, netizens' comments in the comment's column on the news of the corpse snatching uploaded on iNews were recorded and classified according to the topic and type of comment. After being classified, it was studied with critical discourse analysis (critical discourse analysis), with language and media theory. Then, to show the reason for the corpse snatching, the researcher traced the news reports that broadcast the corpse snatching in Rowogempol. Later, the information from this news was confirmed to informants who lived around the location of the incident, Rowogempol, Lekok, Pasuruan, East Java.

The data were analyzed in three stages: data restatement, description, and interpretation. The restoration was done by referring to chat quotes. Meanwhile, the data description was done to show the pattern or trend of the data. The three stages of data analysis were the basis for concluding.

In CDA, there is a relationship between the meaning of the text and the social meaning. There is a strong relationship between linguistics and social structure; it is accepted by researchers from different traditions such as sociolinguistics, linguistics, social psychology, or literary criticism. (Stefan Titscher, et.al., 2000).

The dimensions of data analysis consist of text, discursive practice, including the production and interpretation of texts, and social practice. At the textual level, analysis of form and content is carried out. For example, analyzing the text of the news of the corpse snatching, which became primary data, then analyzed descriptively in terms of vocabulary and semantics.

Data analysis on discursive practice was the relationship between the text of the news of the corpse snatching and the social practice/events of the corpse snatching were conducted by the people of Rowogempol, Pasuruan.

According to netizens' comments, this dimension was studied and confirmed to informants from Rowogempol. Researchers took the 32 most popular comments with the highest number of likes from July to November 2020.

Analysis of the third dimension of a discursive event- the dimension of social practice is related to various social contexts. The theoretical foundation was social structure. So, it was described how the ideology of the community around Rowogempol and the tradition of death. According to the COVID-19 protocols, this tradition of corpse handling has led to the loss or reduction of a series of death traditions usually carried out by the community. The concept map was as follows: The text of the news of the corpse snatching was described linguistically, and the production of the text was interpreted and then analyzed socially.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

There are four points to discuss in the following section. They are the news text of the corpse snatching of COVID-19 patient in Pasuruan, netizens' Interpretation of the news of the corpse snatching in Pasuruan, the distrust of the health workers and funeral attendant in the hospital, factors of the corpse snatching in Pasuruan.

NEWS TEXT OF THE CORPSE SNATCHING OF COVID-19 PATIENT IN PASURUAN

A YouTube video entitled, “Warga Bongkar Paksa Peti Jenazah Pasien COVID-19 di Pasuruan, Jawa Timur - iNews Malam 17/07” was broadcast by the “Official I-News” channel (iNews Malam 17/07, 2020). On January 17, 2021, this video has reached 1.9 million views. In addition, there were also 1,400 comments from netizens who saw the show. These comments take various purposes.

The news phrases used in the news above have used sensational language, including the following sentences:

| No. | The Sentences |
|-----|--------------|
| 1   | berlangsung memprihatinkan |
| 2   | nekat membuka paksa peti |
| 3   | didesak oleh ratusan warga |
| 4   | peti jenazah dibuka |

Table 1: Sensational languages
As Cohen explained, the news not only reports an event but also provides values that favor a group. The news strengthens the values that should exist in society. (Dotan, Judith, and Akiba A. Cohen. 1976). According to this theory, the news of the corpse snatching shows that there were values that the people of Rowogempol kept, namely handling the dead body according to sharia and the tradition of death. The news pattern for corpse snatching consists of 4 phases: warning, impact, inventory, and reaction. The warning phase was marked by the emergence of behavior that shows the danger of the corpse snatching. The impact phase was marked by netizens' response consisting of comments that disbelieve in the existence of COVID-19, disbelieve in government policies, staff health and burial officers, sharia problems, and the lack of socialization of the guidelines for corpse handling according to COVID-19 protocols. In the inventory phase, The people of Rowogempol attempted to take the deceased's body forcefully. The media plays a central role in exaggerating the news, with the use of sensational words, which can be seen in the following news sentences:

**Table 2: Exaggerating expressions**

| Number | The Sentences |
|--------|---------------|
| 1.     | Prosesi pemakaman jenazah pasien covid-19 di desa Rowogempol kecamatan Lekok kabupaten Pasuruan berlangsung memprihatinkan |
| 2.     | Ratusan warga nekat membuka paksa peti mati jenazah pasien positif Covid-19 saat akan dimakamkan. |
| 3.     | Emosi warga dilampiaskan dengan membanting peti jenazah pasien positif corona. |
| 4.     | Petugas berpakaian APD lengkap yang bersiap memakamkan tak bisa berbuat apa-apa karena didesak oleh ratusan warga. |
| 5.     | ...sementara aparat yang ada tidak berlaku karena banyaknya masanya yang ada disitu karena dihalau sudah tidak bisa. |

In the reaction phase, there was a formal response in the form of the emergence of regulations for the circulation of the corpse handling COVID-19, such as when the authorities and punishments closely guard funerals are enforced for those who violate, in the form of a maximum imprisonment of one year and four months.

The media play an important role in moral panic. Through sensational, bombastic headlines in Inews Inews; "Warga Bongkar Paksa Peti Jenazah Pasien COVID-19 di Pasuruan, Jawa Timur". Melodramatic vocabulary was used, such as: "bongkar paksa." Media gives attention and emphasis on the action, including defining the danger of an action. The sentences that have been written in the news are negative things. The people that have been snatched the corpse were seen as committing harmful acts by the public. Restrictions and controls have begun to be implemented, namely, the Health Department and the COVID-19 Task Force, in collaboration with the police, to guard the dead bodies of persons who have been confirmed or suspected with COVID-19 and take firm action and even arrest suspected provocateurs for the corpse snatching. The process of moral panic occurs as follows:

1. The corpse snatching of a COVID-19 patient was considered deviant.
2. Media production practices.
3. The incident of the corpse snatching was written in the news.
4. There was decisive action from the authorities of the Health Department, the COVID Task Force, the police, and the public against the people who have the corpse snatching.
5. There are restrictions in escorting at the funeral of the corpse.

The incident of corpse snatching was considered deviance. As a result of moral panic, the news was constructed as a crime whose perpetrators must be punished. The media emphasized that the corpse snatching was unkind through this moral panic, which resulted in people's hatred of this behavior. In this way, the media confirms good behavior and deviant behavior.

**NETIZENS' INTERPRETATION OF THE NEWS OF THE CORPSE SNATCHING IN PASURUAN**

According to the 32 comments, the researcher found five motives for netizen comments: disbelieve in the COVID-19, disbelieve in the health protocol regulations recommended by the government, distrusting health workers and funeral in the hospital,
religious issues, and not being appropriate.
with the tradition of death before the pandemic.
The comments showing that they
disbelieve in the COVID-19 and disbelieve in
hospitals have the same percentage, namely,
31% or totaling ten comments, while the
second percentage, namely religious issues,
gets 29% (9 comments). While two comments
saying they disbelieve in the government has a
percentage of 6%, and one comment on norms
has a percentage of 3%, as shown in the
following table:

| N     | Comments on the number of Comments | Percentage (%) |
|-------|------------------------------------|----------------|
| 1     | Disbelief in The COVID-19          | 31%            |
| 2     | Disbelief in The Government rules  | 6%             |
| 3     | Disbelief in the services of medical | 31%         |
| 4     | Sharia Issues                      | 29%            |
| 5     | has broken the rules               | 3%             |

The explanation of the motive for the
snatching of the corpse based on the comments
is as follows:
a. Disbelief in the COVID-19

The Depression caused corpse snatching.
As a result, they did not trust the government.
This distrust of the government stems from the
response of government officials who began to
underestimate the COVID case. This
government official's statement was made
when interviewed by the mass media. The
official said that COVID-19 would not affect the
people of Indonesia because it has a tropical
climate (Ugo, Yu, 2020).

Netizens with the use of vocabularies expressed this distrust: 'Jangan mau dibodohi,'
jo gelem diapusi,' as in the following netizen
comments:

| Nada Bilqis (3 months ago) | "Ini memang proyek yg ada Rp nya, jd UUD (ujung2nya duit)
                        | (This is a project... there is rupiah in .. so in
                        | the end, it is all about money) |

b. The Distrust of government

This distrust of the government began with a corruption case in the procurement of social assistance for handling COVID-19 which was distributed to the community (Ugo, Yu, 2020). The total corrupted social funds amounted to 1.5 billion. In addition, there were also many blunders from the government regarding the response to Covid-19, one of them:

"Corona will never enter Indonesia because of the difficult licensing bureaucracy." (Mawardi, Isal, 2020). (Corona tak akan pernah masuk ke Indonesia karena birokrasi perizinan yang susah).

The vocabulary used to express distrust of the government, among others: the use of the word "proyek," the use of abbreviations that have connotations "UUD (ujung-ujung duit)," as stated in the following netizen comments:

THE DISTRUST OF THE HEALTH WORKERS
AND FUNERAL ATTENDANT IN THE HOSPITAL

The causes of distrust of health workers or the funeral attendant, among others, first, the results of the long PCR swab samples, even waiting for more than 24 hours. Then, when the patient's family was uncertain, the corpse was buried according to the COVID-19 protocol (Tim Kumparan, 2020); second, the case of allegations that the hospital had the dead bodies alleged of being deliberately diagnosed with COVID-19 (dicovidkan). The cost of treating patients infected with the coronavirus reaches IDR 290 million. In the Letter of the Minister of Finance Number S-275/MK 02/2020 dated April 6, 2020, which contains the rules and the amount of the cost of treating COVID-19 patients, if a patient is treated for 14 days, the assumption is that the government will bear a minimum cost of Rp. 105 million. (Tim CNN, 2020b).
The third cause, namely, the standard of COVID-19 corpse handling that varies between regions and hospitals because the knowledge of different mortuary officers was minimal. As a result, there was an incident where the body was buried still wearing "daster", clothes for women worn for activities at home (Rahmawati, Fatimah, 2020). The corpse buried was not facing the Qibla, and was false in the identification of the corpse, as happened in Bogor (Dirhantoro, Tito, 2021). Besides, there were also incidents in the city of Lampung related to the corpse was buried under COVID-19 protocols, but it turned out that the family received the results of the polymerase chain reaction (PCR) test from the hospital; The deceased tested negative for COVID-19 (Suryani, Bhekti, 2021). As the following netizen comments:

Table 6: Netizen's comments (3)

| Netizen's comment                                                                 | Date                      |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 "Hahahaha...masih aja mau di bahangi pihak rumah sakit:covid itu bisnis dunia medis" | 5 months ago              |
| 2 "Bericatur ke Rumah Sakit pasti ujung2nya di Veronica Covid „Indonesia udah paling Heboh dari Negara lain .. 😂😂" | 3 months ago              |

The majority of cases of corpse snatching were conducted by Muslim society. The existence of procedures for handling the corpses contained in the traditions of curing bodies, believed and practiced in daily life, has made some people have difficulty adapting to bury the corpse under COVID-19 protocols. According to the news that was broadcast, both in the mass media and on social media, the problems with the corpse handling related to the Shari’a, among others: caused by the use of coffins (Santoso, Bangun, 2020), the corpse buried was not facing the Qiblah but instead facing the Qiblah, (Zainuddin, Hasbi, 2020), Officers made a mistake in praying for COVID’s corpse because they used ruku and sujud when praying (Gunadha, Reza, 2020a), and be purified by officers of different sex (Gunadha, Reza, 2020).

As the following netizen comments:

Table 7: Netizen's comments (4)

| Netizen's comment                                                                 | Date                      |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 "Sekarang semua yang mengatur gugas tugas dari shalat, pemakaman dll. So macam syeh saja gugas tugas ini" | 5 months ago              |
| 2 "Yg kufir kr jenazah covit itu di bungkus plastik lalu mn dia kelak kn membubuskan dan menayatu dgn tanah Dan beberapa tahun kemudian di mn mayat mayat klk kn di kebumikan jk tanah yg lm masih ada bungkusn mayat" | 3 months ago              |

d. religious issues
The following are examples of netizen comments related to the Shari’a:

Table 8: Netizen's comments (5)

| Netizen's comment                                                                 | Date                      |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 "Sangat disayangkan kurang konfirmasi dengan sesepuh setempat 😞
   (It's a pity that there is no confirmation with the local elders)" | 3 months ago              |

The following are examples of netizen comments related to the Shari’a:

Table 7: Netizen's comments (4)

| Netizen's comment                                                                 | Date                      |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 "Sekarang semua yang mengatur gugas tugas dari shalat, pemakaman dll. So macam syeh saja gugas tugas ini" | 5 months ago              |
| 2 "Yg kufir kr jenazah covit itu di bungkus plastik lalu mn dia kelak kn membubuskan dan menayatu dgn tanah Dan beberapa tahun kemudian di mn mayat mayat klk kn di kebumikan jk tanah yg lm masih ada bungkusn mayat" | 3 months ago              |

e. In the guidance for handling COVID-19-Corpse due to COVID-19, there are different procedures for corpse handling during a pandemic. It is permissible for the dead body to be purified without being undressed. To pray "jenazah prayer," before and after the corpse is buried, in front of the grave, the corpse is handled by inserting the body with the coffin into the grave without opening the coffin, and a few years later where the corpses will be buried if the old land is still full of corpses.

THE FACTORS OF THE CORPSE SNATCHING IN PASURUAN
The third-dimension analysis shows a discursive event—the dimension of social practice related to the social context. The theoretical foundation used is the theory of social structure. Here will be described the
ideology of the people of Rowogempol and the traditions of death that were conducted.

Rowogempol is one of the villages in the Lekok sub-district, Pasuruan district, East Java province. This village is bordered to the north by the Madura Strait, east by the Nguling sub-district, south by the Grati sub-district, and west by the Rejoso sub-district. This village is a coastal area of the Pasuruan district.

A Javanese sociologist, Geertz distinguishes three variants of Javanese Muslims by associating each with a particular social class. The three varieties are Santri, Priyayi, and Abangan traditions. The Javanese Muslim Abangan tradition is a syncretic blend of animist, Hindu-Buddhist, and Islamic elements, dominant among rural Java communities. Religiously, Pasuruan Regency in East Java is among the most heterogeneous in Java.

In the north, this district (and others in the east) has long been a center of Islamic traditionalism and is the base of Nahdatul Ulama (NU), a traditionalist Muslim teacher organization. (Samson 1978; Hatley 1984). As in other districts, this district is dominated by indigenous Madurese (oosthoek) (Hefner, Robert W., 1987). Robert W. Hefner's explanation above is in line with the results of interviews with the following informants:

Researcher: "Do people here do tahlilan on the 7th, 40th, and 100th days of death"?

Respondents (1) and (2): "Sure, that is right."

The people of Rowogempol attempted to take the deceased's body forcefully due to culture shock from a structured funeral culture according to sharia with a series of funeral ceremonies, which has changed into a very short funeral under COVID-19 protocols.

The explanation above shows that Rowogempol village adheres to traditionalist Islam (Islam acculturated with Kejawen culture). The tradition of death usually conducted in this village is when there is a death in a family, the first thing to do is to call the modin, then deliver the news of the death. The neighbors left all the work done to help (Tago, Mahli Zainudin, and Shonhaji Shonhaji, 2013), as reported in the Bromo newspaper: the people of Pasuruan have high solidarity with others (Tim Warta Bromo, 2020).

In the tradition of Javanese Islamic society, there is a death ritual, first, a kind of "Pembekalan Ruh": as a provision in its new nature. Then, among the debriefing carried out before being filled with soil, people recite the call to prayer and iqamah after the corpse is placed in the grave. (Tago, Mahli Zainudin, and Shonhaji Shonhaji., 2013).

Second: there is a tradition of "salametan" held by the family. The implementation coincides with the day of death, nelung dino, mitung dino, metangpuluh dino, nyatus dino, mendak pisan (first year), mendak pindho (second year), nyewu (a thousand days of death), haul (death anniversary every year).

Other pieces of equipment in the funeral ceremony are sawur, umbrella, kemenyan, kendi, kambil ijo, gegar mayang. The death ritual carried out by the Javanese is a Javanese custom before the entry of Islam. This tradition experienced Islamic and Javanese culture (Karim, Abdul., 2017). This tradition of corpse handling, according to COVID-19 protocols, has led to the loss or reduction of the tradition of death usually carried out by the community. It is easier for people who have a moderate Islamic ideology to accept this adaptation because, before the COVID-19 outbreak, the corpse handling was not acculturated to local culture. For people who have a traditionalist Islamic ideology, it is not easy to accept the adaptation of corpse handling under COVID-19 protocols so that there are cases of corpse snatching.

Aside from cultural shift happened due to COVID-19, the cultural acculturation and acceptance of traditions between Islamic teachings and local culture are also the main factors for living in harmony. The traditions of slametan, tahlilan, and prayers of the ancestors have formed a system of close relatives, as in the results of interviews with the following informants:

Researcher: "Why did the villagers come together to snatch the corpse of COVID-19 patient? What is the reason"?

R2: "because we have a relationship between The People of Rowogempol. If one of us has been confirmed or suspected with COVID-19, then we feel it is a shared disgrace".

The Relationship in the death ceremony in Java begins before someone dies, namely the tilik tradition. This tradition is a ritual to visit
the sick together to pray. Usually, each resident contributes according to the agreement to help ease the burden on the family, such as medical expenses and others. As mentioned in the Prophet's Hadith, this tilik tradition aligns with Islamic teachings, namely ziyarah al-maridh (visiting the sick).

After the news of the death was announced over loudspeakers, the people rushed to the funeral home. The gentlemen simultaneously work together with their respective awareness. They gathered together, cutting bamboo sticks to prepare for the funeral ceremony. Some will prepare tents and arrange chairs to welcome takziyah guests. The women help prepare food for people who visit takziyah and tahlilan in the afternoon. Some help garnish flowers to put on the coffin. The elders made a mixture of rice, turmeric, and coins later distributed before the body departed.

Meanwhile, Pak Modin led purify the corpse, shrouding and praying with the help of his family and close relatives. The women prepare food for the funeral attendant, and Grave Digger (tukang gali kubur) then prepare for 'kenduri in the afternoon after the dead body was interred; Kenduri event was attended by RT, RW, or the people. In the past, "Kenduri" was food that had been cooked 'matengan.' However, there is a shift of 'Mentahan' such as rice, instant noodles, eggs, tea, and others depending on local traditions. Events to commemorate death in Java usually occur every night for seven days, known as the tahlilan ritual. The tahlilan ritual is led by an appointed person who can lead the tahlilan. This tahlilan was followed by the gentlemen.

On the third day, the family provides dinner and a tumpeng. While on the seventh day, the family provides dinner. Tumpeng will be consumed together. The family also provides sadaqah in the form of rice and snacks. The death anniversary is not only seven days; there will be 40 days, 100 days, one year, 1000 days. On these thousand days, it is more special for the family to prepare dinner, tumpeng, souvenirs, and prepare several things, such as bags, sandals, clothes, prayer rugs. Some of these items are distributed during the tahlilan, depending on the ability of the bereaved family, as a thank you to all people.

This tradition, which has been going on for hundreds of years among Javanese Muslims, will undoubtedly cause a shock of culture if it is missed because of the implementation of health protocols.

In this case, close relations between Javanese people are not biological, but close relations are established because of cultural similarities. The Relationship between individuals is reflected in the cooperation attitude, which has become an icon of Javanese society. This is the reason why most cases of corpse snatching are conducted among Javanese people, especially those with traditionalist Islam.

CONCLUSION

According to data analysis, the media language used in the news of corpse snatching in Pasuruan tends to display negative action sentences than describing solution actions as government policy steps. Based on informants and studies of the third dimension, corpse snatching was conducted in Pasuruan. It involved nearly hundreds of people caused a shock of culture from the Kejawen Islamic funeral tradition to turning into a purification according to the Covid-19 protocols, which is difficult for rural communities to adapt.

This research was limited to the case of the corpse snatching of COVID-19 in Rowogempol, Pasuruan, East Java. Interviews were conducted either through chat or by the meeting. Unfortunately, researchers have difficulty interviewing netizens who have commented under the news column. Therefore, this research was not conducted with a netnographic approach.

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