

THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF CONTRIBUTION ASSISTANCE BENEFICIARIES (BPJS PBI) DEACTIVATION IN KOMPAS.COM

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INFO ARTIKEL	ABSTRAK
Diterima: 16 Juni 2026 Direvisi: 29 Juli 2026 Disetujui: 30 Agustus 2026 Tersedia Daring: 22 September 2026 Kata Kunci: Analisis Wacana Kritis Penonaktifan BPJS PBI Kompas.com Norman Fairclough	Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional (JKN) yang dikelola oleh BPJS Kesehatan merupakan salah satu sistem asuransi kesehatan pembayar tunggal terbesar di dunia. Penonaktifan kepesertaan Penerima Bantuan Iuran (PBI) pada awal tahun 2026 memicu perhatian publik yang luas dan pemberitaan yang intensif di media massa. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji bagaimana penonaktifan BPJS PBI dikonstruksikan dalam <i>Kompas.com</i>. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan Analisis Wacana Kritis (AWK) Norman Fairclough dengan sumber data berupa empat artikel berita <i>Kompas.com</i> yang terbit pada Februari 2026 dengan melihat aktor, pemilihan kata, maupun penyusunan <i>headline</i> berita. Analisis dilakukan menggunakan kerangka tiga dimensi Fairclough yang meliputi analisis teks, analisis praktik diskursus, dan praktik sosiokultural. Pada analisis tekstual dan praktik diskursus, hasil penelitian menunjukkan dua wacana dominan. Pertama, <i>Kompas.com</i> mengonstruksikan pemerintah sebagai aktor yang bertanggung jawab dan berorientasi pada penyelesaian masalah masyarakat melalui aksi berbasis data atau peraturan. Kedua, masyarakat direpresentasikan sebagai pihak yang rentan dan patuh atau mengikuti kebijakan pemerintah. Pada tataran praktik sosiokultural, penelitian ini mengungkap adanya relasi kuasa yang timpang, di mana otoritas pemerintah atas akses layanan kesehatan dilegitimasi melalui wacana media. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa <i>Kompas.com</i> tidak hanya memberitakan kebijakan penonaktifan BPJS PBI, tetapi juga mereproduksi wacana yang memperkuat legitimasi pemerintah sekaligus membentuk persepsi publik terhadap kebijakan kesehatan. Temuan ini menambah khasanah analisis wacana kritis atas pemberitaan kebijakan kesehatan oleh pemerintah dalam media Indonesia. Mengingat penelitian ini terbatas pada empat artikel dalam satu media saja, penelitian selanjutnya dapat membandingkan wacana berbagai media serta menambahkan persepsi pembaca untuk memperkuat temuan yang ada.
Keywords:	ABSTRACT
Critical Discourse Analysis; BPJS PBI Deactivation; Kompas.com; Norman Fairclough	Indonesia's National Health Insurance (Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional [JKN]), administered by BPJS Kesehatan, is one of the world's largest single-payer health insurance systems. The deactivation of Contribution Assistance Beneficiaries (Penerima Bantuan Iuran [PBI]) in early 2026 attracted widespread public attention and extensive media coverage. This study aims to examine how the deactivation of BPJS PBI membership was discursively constructed in <i>Kompas.com</i>. Employing Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the study analyzed four <i>Kompas.com</i> news articles published in February 2026, focusing on the representation of social actors, lexical choices, and headline construction. The analysis followed Fairclough's three-dimensional framework, encompassing textual analysis, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. Based on textual analysis and discursive practices, the research findings reveal two dominant discourses. First, <i>Kompas.com</i> constructs the government as a responsible actor focused on resolving societal issues through data- or regulation-based actions. Second, the citizens are represented as a

vulnerable group that complies with government policies. At the sociocultural level, the study identifies an asymmetrical power relationship in which governmental authority over healthcare access is legitimized through media discourse. The study concludes that Kompas.com not only reports the BPJS PBI deactivation policy but also reproduces discourses that reinforce governmental legitimacy while shaping public perceptions of healthcare policy. The findings of this study contribute to the body of critical discourse analysis on media representations of government health policies in Indonesia. Given that this study is limited to four articles from a single media outlet, future research could compare the discourse across different media outlets and incorporate readers' perceptions to further substantiate and strengthen the existing findings.

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1. Pendahuluan

Indonesia's Social Health Insurance Administration Body (Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial Kesehatan, BPJS Kesehatan) is the agency responsible for administering the National Health Insurance (Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional, JKN) system. The program aims to provide universal health coverage for the Indonesian population (Daniel Pradana Andrian Wicaksono, 2025). JKN has been recognized as one of the world's largest single-payer health insurance schemes and has been considered effective in protecting low-income households from catastrophic healthcare expenditures (Azizatunnisa' et al., 2025). As one of the state's primary instruments for ensuring equitable access to healthcare services, BPJS Kesehatan reported that, as of 31 January 2026, JKN had enrolled 283,175,707 participants (BPJS, 2026).

According to (Fauziah et al., 2023), BPJS participants are classified into two main categories: Contribution Assistance Beneficiaries (Penerima Bantuan Iuran [PBI]) and non-PBI participants. PBI participants are individuals whose insurance premiums are fully subsidized by the government, whereas non-PBI participants are responsible for paying their own contributions, either independently or through payroll deductions for salaried employees. As of February 2026, approximately 42% of BPJS participants were registered under the PBI scheme (BPJS, 2026).

In early 2026, Indonesian media widely reported the deactivation of BPJS PBI membership in several regions across the country. Many individuals previously registered as PBI beneficiaries suddenly lost access to healthcare services. News reports documented cases in which patients requiring immediate medical treatment were denied services by healthcare facilities, including hospitals, potentially placing their health at serious risk. At the same time, the government used the media to explain the reasons behind the deactivation policy and outlined steps intended to prevent further problems arising from its implementation. In other words, media coverage appeared to accommodate both perspectives by conveying the government's justification for the policy while simultaneously reporting public concerns regarding the loss of healthcare access following the deactivation of BPJS PBI membership.

News, as a form of media discourse, is never entirely neutral. Rather than merely presenting objective facts, news constructs particular versions of reality (Hall, 1997). Media discourse is particularly significant because the power relations embedded within it are often implicit rather than explicit (Fairclough, 1989). (Fairclough, 1995) further argues that the media constitutes an important site where discourse is produced with powerful ideological effects that reinforce relations of domination. (Sanjaya, 2025) argues that media discourse plays a significant role in shaping public information and knowledge while also carrying the potential to produce discursive distortions. Thus, media representations should be subjected to rigorous critical examination, and audiences are expected to engage critically with media discourse in order to assess the validity and credibility of the information presented.

Previous studies have demonstrated how media discourse constructs representations of government policies and programs. Employing Teun A. van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), (Ginanjari et al., 2022) examined the ideological orientations underlying COVID-19 reporting in two Indonesian national newspapers, Kompas and Tempo. The findings revealed contrasting ideological positions: Kompas emphasized the various actions required to address the pandemic, whereas Tempo positioned the government as the principal actor responsible for managing the COVID-19 crisis. Using Fairclough's CDA framework, (Semartini, 2023) analyzed reports published in The Jakarta Post and found that the high mortality rate associated with the Delta variant was constructed not as evidence of government failure but rather as a consequence of the virus's danger. Those studies above establish that the government policy can be constructed differently across different media.

This pattern also appears in studies on more recent policies. (Priambudi, 2025) discovered that Kompas.com framed the Free Nutritious Meals (Makan Bergizi Gratis [MBG]) policy positively by emphasizing its economic benefits and government support, whereas Tempo.co adopted a more critical stance. Using Teun A. van Dijk's CDA framework, (Semartini, 2026) further found that The Jakarta Post constructed the MBG policy as being effectively implemented by the government and portrayed government authorities as responding promptly to implementation challenges and controversies, including food poisoning incidents.

Despite this growing body of research on media construction of government policy, studies examining BPJS-related discourse remain limited and none has specifically addressed the media construction of BPJS PBI deactivation. (Cahyawati et al., 2025) examined whether the implementation of the Coordination of Benefits (COB) scheme strengthens the fulfillment of citizens' right to health. Using a normative legal approach based on statutory analysis and the welfare state concept, the study concluded that the COB scheme has not yet provided optimal support for realizing the public's right to healthcare. However, the previous research has focused primarily on legal and policy perspectives rather than on how BPJS policies are discursively represented in the media. This study seeks to address this gap.

This study therefore makes two main contributions. First, it extends Critical Discourse Analysis research on government policy discourse, which has previously

focused on pandemic related and MBG policy reporting, to the underexposed case of BPJS PBI deactivation. Second, it applies Fairclough's three-dimensional framework specifically to Kompas.com. Kompas.com was chosen because it reported on this policy more extensively than other major media outlets, such as Tempo, therefore, providing a focused account of how one of Indonesia's most-read digital news platforms discursively negotiates government justification and public grievance within a single policy controversy.

To operationalize this analysis, the study draws on Fairclough's three-dimensional Critical Discourse Analysis as a framework for examining the relationship between media discourse and social practice. This analytical model comprises three interconnected dimensions: textual analysis, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. Textual analysis focuses on the linguistic characteristics of the text; discourse practice examines the processes of text production, distribution, and consumption; while sociocultural practice explores the broader ideological, political, and power relations that shape and are reproduced through media discourse. As (Fairclough, 1995) notes, media organizations frequently process news through reported speech, a practice that often obscures the boundary between the original speaker's statements and journalists' interpretations. Journalists function as mediators who appear to speak on behalf of the public while simultaneously reproducing the voices and interests of dominant social actors.

2. Metode

This study aims to examine how the deactivation of Contribution Assistance Beneficiary (Penerima Bantuan Iuran, PBI) membership in Indonesia's National Health Insurance (BPJS PBI) is constructed in Kompas.com using Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework. The data were collected in March 2026 by searching the keyword BPJS PBI nonaktif ("deactivated BPJS PBI") on the Kompas.com website. The search focused on news reports published during February 2026, when the deactivation of BPJS PBI membership became a prominent national issue. The research data consisted of the complete news texts, including headlines, article content, direct quotations, indirect speech, and lexical choices employed throughout the reports.

The initial search resulted dozens of news articles. Due to many of these articles reported the same events using overlapping quotations, sources, and phrasing, an initial screening was conducted to remove duplicate or near-duplicate reports, retaining only articles that introduced a distinct social actor, event stage, or informational content not already captured by other articles. This screening reduced the dozens of news articles to a smaller set of substantively distinct reports.

Four news articles as shown in table 1 were then purposively selected for in-depth analysis based on the following criteria: 1) *publication time*: published in February 2026 as the peak of national reporting on this issue; 2) *topic relevance*: discussing the deactivation of BPJS PBI membership; 3) *content non-redundancy*: having different news content and not just repeating previous news; 4) *actor representation*: presenting

different actors (government officials, members of the House of Representatives, representatives of BPJS Kesehatan, and members of the public whose BPJS PBI membership had been deactivated), presenting different points of view, and having diction that represents the discourse in the news. Including multiple stakeholders enables this study to examine how Kompas.com constructs the issue of BPJS PBI deactivation by representing different social actors and their respective perspectives. This diversity of sources provides a richer understanding of the discursive strategies employed in reporting the policy and the ideological positions embedded within the news texts.

The decision to limit the analysis to four articles was guided by the principle of actor and thematic saturation rather than a sample size. The four selected articles jointly represent 1) an explanatory account of the deactivation policy; 2) a public complaint and the institutional response from BPJS Kesehatan; 3) a political clarification from the government regarding the policy's origin, that is from the Social Affairs Minister, and 4) a regional case illustrating the policy's impact on affected communities. This selection approach is allign with the purposive sampling commonly used in qualitative discursive studies, where analytical depth and diversity of representation are prioritized over numerical breadth.

Table 1. News article on Kompas.com

No	Titles of News Article	Link
1.	Penonaktifan Bpjs Kesehatan Pbi, Kenapa Bisa Terjadi? Deactivation Of Pbi Bpjs Health Coverage: Why Can This Happen?	https://shorturl.at/zkOAC
2.	Keluhan Bpjs Pbi Dinonaktifkan, Bpjs Kesehatan: Bisa Direaktivasi Complaint Over Pbi Bpjs Health Coverage Deactivation, Bpjs Health: It Can Be Reactivated	https://shorturl.at/IQP1q
3.	Mensos: Penonaktifan Peserta Bpjs Kesehatan Pbi Bukan Instruksi Presiden Social Affairs Minister: Deactivation Of Pbi Bpjs Health Participants Was Not Ordered By The President	https://shorturl.at/vZWTK
4.	Puluhan Ribu Bpjs Pbi Dinonaktifkan, Warga Gunungkidul Keluhkan Sulit Berobat Tens Of Thousands Of Bpjs Pbi Participants Deactivated, Gunungkidul Residents Complain About Difficulties Accessing Medical Care	https://shorturl.at/Ga8y9

Data were analyzed using Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which comprises textual analysis, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. The first dimension, textual coding, was conducted by reading each article repeatedly and coded line-by-line focused on the linguistic features of the news texts, including lexical choices, personal pronouns, grammatical structures, evaluative language, modal auxiliary verbs, and euphemism. These linguistic elements were examined to identify how social actors, events, and the policy of BPJS PBI deactivation were represented in the news discourse.

The second dimension, discourse practice coding, examined how the news texts were produced and interpreted. This analysis was guided by questions such as: What are the potential consequences of the text? How was the text produced? Who speaks in the text? The findings from this stage were integrated with the linguistic analysis to identify the dominant discourses emerging from the news reports.

The third dimension, sociocultural practice coding, explored the relationship between the identified discourses and the broader social context. This stage focused on the operation of power relations and ideology by examining how discourse constructs social reality, how social reality simultaneously shapes discourse, and how particular institutions or authorities are legitimized through media representation (Sundberg et al., 2023).

3. Hasil dan Pembahasan

Based on the analysis, the discourse surrounding the deactivation of BPJS PBI was found to be constructed relatively consistently across the four news articles. All four articles consistently constructed the government as a responsible and legitimate protector of the public. In contrast, the public was constructed as subject who is constructed negatively: vulnerable and compliant subject.

However, the four news articles constructed the discourse in different ways. News Article 1 focuses on government responsibility and patient protection. Meanwhile, News Article 2 emphasizes the reactivation of BPJS PBI membership and the administrative procedures that must be followed. News Article 3 highlights the legitimacy of the government and its political policies. Finally, News Article 4 provides a direct account of the experiences of citizens affected by the deactivation of their BPJS PBI membership.

To demonstrate these constructions, the analysis employed Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional framework, comprising textual analysis, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. In the following section, textual analysis and discourse practice are presented together, while sociocultural practice is discussed in the final part of the analysis.

3.1 The Discourse of Government as Responsible and Legitimate Protector

Across the news article 1, 2 and 3, government representatives, including officials from BPJS Kesehatan, members of the House of Representatives (DPR), and the Minister of Social Affairs dominate the speech. Their statements primarily explain the rationale behind the deactivation of BPJS PBI membership while simultaneously providing solutions and instructions for both affected citizens and healthcare providers.

Menteri Sosial (Mensos) Saifullah Yusuf atau Gus Ipul menegaskan bahwa pemerintah bakal bertanggung jawab atas urusan administrasi pasien BPJS Kesehatan PBI JK yang dinonaktifkan. (News Article 1)

Senada dengan Mensos, Kepala Humas BPJS Kesehatan Rizzky Anugerah menegaskan, rumah sakit tidak boleh menolak pasien BPJS Kesehatan segmen mana pun meski status asuransi kesehatan mereka sedang dinonaktifkan. "Betul (tidak boleh menolak), bukan hanya pada saat PBI non-aktif ini ya (News Article 1)

At the textual level, the journalist's lexical choice of the reporting verb “menegaskan” (emphasize) constructs government officials as speaking with certainty, authority, and confidence. Rather than using the more neutral verbs “mengatakan” (say) or “menyampaikan” (convey), the journalist chose the verb “menegaskan” (emphasize) resulting in reinforcing the legitimacy of their statements and presenting the government's position as indisputable.

At the discourse practice level, this authoritative construction contrasts with the Minister of Social Affairs' own utterance, in which he employs hedging expressions such as “menurut saya” (in my opinion) and “harusnya” (should be), indicating a degree of uncertainty rather than absolute confidence. Interestingly, this seemingly doubtful lexical choice appears in the same news article as the verb “menegaskan” (emphasize). This discrepancy illustrates how the journalist's reporting transforms a more tentative statement into one that appears authoritative. Such a finding supports (Fairclough, 1995) argument that journalists function as mediators who appear to report public statements objectively while simultaneously strengthening the voices and interests of dominant social actors through their discursive choices.

"Jadi menurut saya ya rumah sakit itu harusnya tidak menolak pasien. Itu dulu etikanya. Ditangani dulu setelah itu, uangnya bisa diproses, pemerintah pasti bertanggung jawab," jelas Gus Ipul." (News Article 1)

The same pattern is also found in the headline of News Article 2. At the textual level, the headline simultaneously presents the problem “Keluhan BPJS PBI dinonaktifkan” (Complaint regarding BPJS PBI deactivation) and its solution “bisa direaktivasi” (can be reactivated) within a single sentence.

Keluhan BPJS PBI Dinonaktifkan, BPJS Kesehatan: Bisa Direaktivasi (News Article 2)

At the discourse practice level, by utilizing this headline structure, the news introduces the possibility of reactivation immediately and minimizes the severity of the issue as well as frames the government's response as both effective and reassuring. This construction is further reinforced in the body of the article.

Penonaktifan BPJS PBI yang meresahkan sebagian masyarakat belakangan ini dilandasi oleh Surat Keputusan Menteri Sosial Nomor 3/HUK/2026 yang berlaku per 1 Februari 2026. Dalam SK tersebut, Rizzky menjelaskan bahwa ada penyesuaian di mana sejumlah peserta PBI JK yang dinonaktifkan, digantikan dengan peserta baru. "Jadi, secara jumlah total peserta PBI JK sama dengan jumlah peserta PBI JK pada bulan sebelumnya. Pembaruan data PBI JK dilakukan secara berkala oleh Kementerian Sosial supaya data peserta PBI JK tepat sasaran," ucap Rizzky. (News Article 2)

At the textual level, lexical choices such as “penyesuaian” (adjustment) carries a considerably less negative connotation than “penonaktifan” (deactivation). It resulted in softening the perceived impact of the policy. Likewise, the expression “tepat sasaran” (well-targeted) suggests that the policy is intended to improve the accuracy of welfare distribution by ensuring that government assistance reaches those most in need. These

lexical choices contribute to constructing the government's actions as rational, necessary, and socially beneficial which is reinforced at the discourse practice level.

At the discourse practice level, the article constructs the policy as rational and beneficial by directly presenting the regulations and laws underlying its implementation. Rather than quoting sources, the journalist explicitly cites the relevant ministerial regulation to legitimize the government's action. Thus, the news discourse portrays the policy as lawful and supported by official regulations. A similar pattern is evident in News Article 3 which concerns politics.

Mensos: Penonaktifan Peserta Bpjs Kesehatan Pbi Bukan Instruksi Presiden Menteri Sosial (Mensos) Saifullah Yusuf alias Gus Ipul menegaskan bahwa penonaktifan peserta BPJS Kesehatan segmen Penerima Bantuan Iuran Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional (PBI-JKN) bukan didasarkan atas instruksi Presiden Prabowo Subianto.... Penonaktifkan itu semata-mata didasarkan data yang ada, bukan instruksi dari presiden.... Dengan demikian, Gus Ipul menegaskan tidak ada perintah dari Kepala Negara untuk menonaktifkan peserta BPJS BPI. "Jadi tidak ada perintah apalagi dari presiden untuk menonaktifkan peserta BPJS Kesehatan (News Article 3)

At the textual level, the use of the phrase “Bukan instruksi Presiden” (not an instruction of the President) constructs the decision as unrelated to political considerations and instead presents it as a decision based purely on data, logic, and factual considerations. At the discourse practice level, by repeatedly emphasizing that the deactivation was not the instruction of the President (through the headline, direct quotations, and indirect quotations) the media consistently constructs the President as being uninvolved in the decision-making process. Based on the textual and discourse practice analyses, Kompas.com consistently constructs the government as a responsible protector of the public. Through lexical choices, the use of quotations, and headline construction, the deactivation of BPJS PBI is constructed as a decision made by the government based on legal provisions and data, rather than as an action intended to harm the public.

3.2 The Discourse of Citizens as Vulnerable and Compliant Subjects

Based on the findings, citizens are constructed differently in the news coverage of the deactivation of BPJS PBI. Citizens are negatively represented as vulnerable parties who follow or comply with government policies. This construction is reflected in both the textual analysis and the analysis of discursive practices.

At the textual level of the headline in News Article 4, citizens are negatively constructed through the use of the word “keluhkan” (complain). The use of this negatively connotated word contributes to the negative representation of citizens. This construction is further reinforced through discursive practice level, particularly in the journalist's choice to formulate the first clause of the headline using a passive construction. By using the passive construction, the news omits the actor responsible for deactivating BPJS PBI. By omitting the government as the actor responsible for the

deactivation, the media obscures the party that should be held accountable. This omission subsequently directs attention toward the subject of the second clause, which is negatively represented as citizens who complain.

In this case, citizens are indeed constructed as the active subject; however, they are represented as an active subject in a negative manner, namely as those who complain. Moreover, despite being positioned as the active subject, the headline indirectly constructs citizens as affected subjects because their complaint is directed toward an event that has occurred, namely the deactivation of BPJS PBI by the government. In short, the news article negatively constructs citizens as affected parties.

Puluhan Ribu Bpjs Pbi Dinonaktifkan, Warga Gunungkidul Keluhkan Sulit Berobat (News Article 4)

The construction of citizens is also evident in News Article 2. In the textual analysis, citizens are constructed as vulnerable parties through the use of evaluative words such as “resah” (uneasy), “panik” (panicked), and “khawatir” (worried). These evaluative expressions emphasize the emotional responses of citizens and position them as vulnerable groups who experience uncertainty and anxiety as a consequence of the deactivation of BPJS PBI.

Bantuan Iuran (PBI) mereka dinonaktifkan. Tapi, peserta BPJS PBI yang status kepesertaannya sempat dinonaktifkan tidak perlu panik dan khawatir. (News Article 2)

The above construction is strengthened through the analysis of discursive practice, particularly in the journalist’s direct use of the evaluative words above. The media does not provide direct reportage that allows citizens to express their concerns or panic themselves. In News Article 2, citizens are not given space to directly voice their opinions; instead, the media takes over the role of defining their emotional state and condition by portraying them as panicked and worried as a result of the deactivation of BPJS PBI. Through this representation, the media, through the journalist, assumes a position of reassuring citizens and providing them with a sense of security, similar to the role attributed to the government in the previous analysis, where the government is constructed as a protector of citizens. This construction is further supported by the absence of direct quotations from government representatives. Instead, the media directly advises BPJS PBI participants not to panic or worry.

In addition, citizens are constructed as compliant parties which is evident in the following quotation from News Article 4.

"Kemarin tanggal 30 Januari masih aktif, dan saat mau berobat kembali tanggal 3 Februari ternyata tidak aktif," kata Sariyana. Ia mengungkapkan telah dua kali mendatangi MPP untuk mengurus pengaktifan BPJS. Pada kunjungan pertama, kuota pelayanan sudah penuh. Sementara pada kedatangan kedua, ia belum melengkapi persyaratan administrasi. (News Article 4)

At the textual level, the excerpt above demonstrates how citizens are constructed as compliant subjects through their efforts to complete the administrative process required to reactivate their BPJS membership. They also visit the relevant office repeatedly. This construction is evident in the choice of expressions such as “telah dua kali mendatangi MPP” (has visited the MPP twice), “melengkapi persyaratan” (completed the required documents), and “mengurus pengaktifan BPJS” (processed the reactivation of BPJS membership). These expressions emphasize citizens’ efforts to comply with the administrative procedures established by the government. This idea is also supported by the discourse practice level.

At the discourse practice level, the media constructs citizens as subjects who comply with, follow, and submit to government policies. Although the media provides space for citizens to voice their experiences, the representation of their voices emphasizes their compliance rather than their capacity to question or challenge government policies. In other words, when citizens are given an opportunity to speak, their voices are framed primarily in terms of their efforts to fulfil the requirements imposed by the authorities. The media does not provide substantial discursive space for citizens to question or challenge the policy established by the government. Consequently, citizens are constructed not as active agents who critically respond to government policy, but as compliant subjects who follow and accommodate the policy’s administrative requirements.

3.3 The Legitimization of Government Authority

The sociocultural analysis reveals an asymmetrical power relationship between the government and citizens. Within the news discourse, the government occupies the dominant position, whereas citizens are represented as subordinate actors whose access to healthcare depends upon governmental authority. This finding is consistent with (Lövenmark et al., 2023) who argue that governmental authority is discursively constructed through the production of particular subjects and subject positions in media discourse. By exercising the authority to activate or deactivate BPJS PBI membership, the government regulates not only administrative status but also citizens’ access to essential healthcare services. This authority is legitimized through references to legislation, ministerial decrees, and parliamentary deliberations, all of which reinforce the government’s institutional power.

Furthermore, government representatives receive considerably greater discursive space than citizens, healthcare providers, or local government officials. This unequal distribution of speech reflects broader power relations in which governmental voices are privileged as authoritative sources of information and policy interpretation. These findings support the argument put forward by (Edy et al., 2025) who contend that governmental authority is reproduced in news discourse by restricting public voices while privileging the perspectives of political and institutional elites.

The statement that hospitals must not refuse BPJS patients further demonstrates governmental authority over healthcare institutions. Nevertheless, previous studies have shown that hospitals may still deny services due to administrative requirements or BPJS eligibility regulations (Wicaksono, 2025). This discrepancy illustrates the gap between

official discourse and institutional practice, highlighting how media discourse may privilege governmental narratives while marginalizing alternative perspectives. (Andriany et al., 2023) states that news provides readers with comprehensive information from credible sources. Nevertheless, the production of news is inherently embedded in power relations, creating the possibility that media discourse may be employed to promote the interests of particular actors and reproduce existing structures of power.

The repeated dissociation of the President from the policy also functions as a strategy of legitimation, reinforcing governmental authority within the media discourse. Rather than focusing exclusively on the social consequences of the BPJS PBI deactivation policy, the news reports repeatedly emphasize that President Prabowo neither initiated nor instructed the policy. This discursive strategy constructs the President as politically detached from the controversy while simultaneously preserving the legitimacy of the government. Furthermore, by framing the policy as a matter of administrative procedure, data verification, and the equitable distribution of public assistance, the discourse justifies governmental actions and may discourage public opposition. A similar argument is advanced by (Agustian, 2026) who asserts that media outlets may appear to represent public interests while subtly reproducing narratives that support governmental authority.

4. Kesimpulan

This study examined how the deactivation of BPJS PBI membership was discursively constructed in Kompas.com following the widespread public attention the issue received in February 2026. Employing Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the study found that, at both the textual and discourse practice levels, Kompas.com predominantly represented the government as a responsible and legitimate actor. The deactivation policy was framed as a legitimate administrative step implemented in accordance with existing regulations. In contrast, citizens were primarily portrayed as vulnerable subject who comply with government policy to regain access to healthcare services.

At the level of sociocultural practice, the findings reveal an asymmetrical power relationship between the government and citizens. Through its authority to regulate BPJS PBI membership, the government exercises institutional control over citizens' access to healthcare, thus, reinforcing its dominant position within the discourse. These findings demonstrate how media discourse contributes to legitimizing state power while shaping public perceptions of healthcare policy and the relationship between the state and its citizens.

Theoretically, this study contributes to the body of Fairclough's critical discourse analysis by extending its application to the examination of government health policy discourse, an area that has received relatively limited attention in the Indonesian media context. Practically, the findings indicate that news reporting, particularly through journalists' selection of linguistic features, can shape public perceptions of government accountability. This study is limited to four articles from a single news media outlet.

Future research could compare the discourse surrounding the deactivation of BPJS PBI across different media outlets and investigate readers' reception of and perceptions toward news coverage of BPJS PBI to further substantiate and strengthen the existing findings.

5. Daftar Pustaka

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