



Metaphor of BPJS Kesehatan as a Sick Patient in Indonesian Media Headlines

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Abstract

Indonesian health insurance (BPJS Kesehatan) has been facing financial deficit and during the coverage of its deficit, media frequently use many medical terms metaphor to describe the financial condition of BPJS Kesehatan. This study aims to examine the medical terms metaphor used to describe the financial deficit of BPJS Kesehatan to further identify the entailments and to pin point what is the cause of sickness and what could cure the sickness. Qualitative method is used in this study with conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) as the conceptual framework. There 10 headlines from various online media outlet that are collected as the source of the data. The study examines the particular terms which described BPJS Kesehatan as a sick patient and further analysis is conducted to identify the closest entailments of metaphor, which are to identify who will be the doctor and what cause its sickness. The results shows that the particular conditions as metaphor used to describe the financial condition of BPJS Kesehatan is dying (sekarat), critical (kritis), swell (bengkak), and wound (luka). From the analysis of entailments, the doctor is the government equipped with medical supplies and procedures to cure the patient which is the financial subsidy and the second entailment is the cause of the sickness which is the lack of awareness from the member to pay the premium regularly on time.

Keywords: Conceptual Metaphor, Entailments, Metaphor of Sick Patient.

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1. Introduction

The news coverage regarding the financial condition of *BPJS Kesehatan* for the last two years mainly discusses the deficit that is faced by the government-owned health insurance institution. The member of this insurance now is 223 million people whereas the deficit in 2019 was estimated 32 trillion Rupiahs (Jatmiko, 2019)

The high number of the insurance claim, especially from particular types of diseases has made the payment from *BPJS Kesehatan* to hospitals and clinics are incredibly high, that cause the deficit. Another problem that caused the gap is the lack of members' awareness to pay the insurance premium, as the consequence regularly, the gap has become a center of discussion.

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The way media describes the deficit and how the government directly involve supporting financially is frequently expressed using metaphorical expressions, one of them is described the institution as a sick patient.

Metaphor was traditionally viewed as a rhetorical device, and as a literary device, metaphor functions as an additional beauty and ornamental features to a "literal" language. Suherman (2018) noted that methapor is always trnasfered in every discourse of human as the speaker based on their conceptual system about knowledge and experience. Cognitive linguists, views metaphor as a cognitive device and expresses ideas which is better to be described in simple language without a loss of meaning

The emergence of Conceptual Metaphor Theory of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) , brought the study of metaphorical expressions expanded to various corpus linguistics and discourses which is not only in literature fields. In this particular study, the object of the study is the metaphorical expression used to describe the financial deficit of Indonesian state-owned health insurance - the *BPJS Kesehatan*.

The aims of the study is to analyze the terms used in metaphorical expressions which described *BPJS Kesehatan* as a sick patient and to further examine the entailments such as who is should be the doctor to cure the sickness and what cause the sickness . The analysis is conducted within conceptual metaphor framework

Kovecses (2003) affirms that entailments or inferences are one of the elements that appear from the mapping of target domain-source domain of metaphor. Furthermore, Gibbs, R. W., Jr., & Ferreira, L. C. (2011) prove from a psychological experiment that suggests people can recognize certain metaphorical inferences about a target domain as being appropriate when they read metaphorical statements. Moreover, when people read verbal metaphors about a target domain, they see other metaphorical entailments from different conceptual metaphors as being less appropriate.

Analzing how the *BPJS Kesehatan* is described metaphorically will give an access to the conceptual view of the media headlines of their perception regarding the financial deficit faced by the institution. Thus, the linguistics field especially the field of conceptual metaphor study can also take part and provide the recommendation in this issue .

2. Literary Review

Cognitive view of metaphor describe that metaphor is triggered from conceptual or cognitive level. Lakoff and Johnson (1980,p.6) provides sets as evidence that we not only talk about one thing in terms of another, but that we also think in these terms. "Metaphors as linguistic expressions are possible precisely because there are metaphors in a person's conceptual system" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 6).

Which, the relationship between the two is also related to the use of metaphors in living social conditions. According to (Rahman, 2019) There is a very close relationship of dependence between humans and their environment.

People throughout their life always interact with the environment in which each human being resides.

The contemporary theory of metaphor also claims that abstract concepts are understood via metaphor mapping the concrete and physical onto the abstract and nonphysical, for example we may talk about a financial crisis as a disaster like or as a disease. Kovecses (2010, p.4) further elaborates the terms source domain and the target domain in conceptual metaphor, the source domain is the more concrete domain as comparison to the target domain which is more abstract. Thus, when speaking about a financial crisis in terms of a sick patient or a disease, then financial crisis is the target domain, whereas the sick patient or disease is the source domain.

In general, using metaphor serves many purposes in speaking or in writing as described by Murray and Moon :

“There are many reasons why we use metaphors in speech or writing: not least, because there is sometimes no other word to refer to a particular thing. But where we have a choice, we choose metaphors in order to communicate what we think or how we feel about something; to explain what a particular thing is like; to convey a meaning in a more interesting or creative way; or to do all of these....(Murray and Moon, 2005,p.3)

Particular to media language, using metaphor is very important, Zashchitina (2013) agrees that objective reality is interpreted in newspaper discourse along two lines: explicitly through plain facts as well as implicitly through various language means among which such tropes as metaphor, based on imagery and interplay of meanings, are prevalent. Richardson (2006) also states that newspapers are known to react instantly to any daily event and with other types of mass media winning over the targeted addressee, newspapers are becoming increasingly competitive in presenting their opinion.

Few studies has investigated the use of medical and sickness metaphor in financial discourse. Danielewicz-Betz, A (2011) investigates topical metaphors of disease in the financial press and finds that the disease metaphor pointedly reflects the poor state of world economy, especially in so-called developed countries, mostly in the Euro-zone. Whereas Chifane (2013) examines the conceptualisation of the metaphors of the crisis highlighting the variety of both conventional and creative metaphors following their occurrence in the economic articles published in the English weekly journal *The Economist* over a period of five years (2007-2011) thus covering the American recession from August 2007 to June 2009 and the Euro-zone crisis starting in late 2009. One of the result of the study is the metaphor Crisis Is A Disease .

Another study is of Cardini, F (2014) who investigates the metaphorical expressions adopted by English-language magazines to describe the latest economic/financial crisis. The corpus used for the investigation was about 100,000 words large, with texts taken from *The Economist* and from *The International Economy*. They Found an example the economy is actually very weak, then, giving it some steroids becomes a medical treatment. And, as such, it indirectly points to the fact that the Economy Is A Patient and therefore in bad condition as in the economy is being given many steroids.

Different approach of study is conducted by Joris, W., d'Haenens, L and Van Gorp (2019) which investigate war and disease as the two most frequently used metaphorical frames. They traces the effects of both metaphorical frames. The study results show that individuals take over the metaphorical frame elements in their evaluation of the Euro crisis. Participants in the war conditions significantly more often referred to war when answering the open questions. Alternatively, when the Euro crisis was framed as a disease, participants were more likely to use words and sentences containing disease frame elements.

The current study employs the same theoretical framework of conceptual metaphor, and also focus on how a financial deficit is described metaphorically, but the the significant difference is the language as the corpus and the institution. This study is focus on the metaphorical expressions in Indonesian language and focus on *BPJS Kesehatan* institution.

3. Method

This study is qualitative descriptive. There are ten headlines from various Indonesian online media news are taken as the data. The data is purposively chosen by looking at the metaphor of BPJS kesehatan as sick patient with some variations including the metaphors entailment of government as a doctor which is expected to cure the BPJS Kesehatan as the sick patient and the cause of sickness.

Metaphor in the headline is identified using Metaphor Identification procedure (Pragglejazz Group, 2007) as follows:

1. Read the entire text–discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.
2. Determine the lexical units in the text–discourse
3. (a) For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, that is, how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.

(b) For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. Basic meanings tend to be —More concrete; what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell, and taste. Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.

(c) If the lexical unit has a more basic current–contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.
4. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical.

Thus, all of the ten headlines has contained the metaphorical expression particularly the source domain of the sick patient .

4. Results

The use of patient's medical condition to speak about the financial situation of BPJS Kesehatan is important not only to describe vividly the worrying condition of the institution, but also to make the correlation with its field which is medical insurance and to correspond with its entailments to identify what can solve the issue (as the doctor) and what cause the issue (as the disease)

From ten headlines that are examined, the first sub-section will discuss the metaphor of BPJS Kesehatan as the sick patient. Whereas the second and third sub-section discuss the entailments followed, which describe government as a doctor to cure the patient with the medical supplies and procedures and what cause of sickness.

4.1. BPJS Kesehatan as a sick Patient

There are two types of the way BPJS Kesehatan is described as a patient, the first type is the condition of BPJS Kesehatan, and the second one is the type of sickness or injury that it has.

Headline (1) - Dying (*Sekarat*)

The first headline as seen below uses the word dying (*sekarat*), to describe the financial condition of the *BPJS Kesehatan*

"BPJS Kesehatan Sekarat, Pemerintah Jangan Salahkan Rakyat"(Gatra,2019)

(BPJS Kesehatan is dying, Government not to blame people)

The image of the word '*sekarat*' (dying) is a patient who is in comma and nearly near to death situation. By describing the institution as a dying patient, the metaphor represents a desperate condition of BPJS Kesehatan which really need an urgent treatment. In this metaphor *BPJS Kesehatan* is understood as a dying patient, and trigger an entailment of the need of an urgent action to save the condition.

Headline (2) - Critical (*Kritis*)

A critical condition is use as metaphorical expression to describe the financial deficit of *BPJS Kesehatan* as shown in headline below:

BPJS Kritis, Rakyat Kronis (Alamsyah,2019)

(BPJS in critical condition, The People are Chronic)

According to the American Hospital Association , critical condition means vital signs are unstable and not within normal limits. Patient may be unconscious. Indicators are unfavorable. Vital signs are measurements of the body's most basic functions. Vital signs are indicators such as blood pressure, pulse rate (heart rate), body temperature, and

The use critical in the metaphor in headline (2) suggest a very desperate condition of the institution, and similar with the metaphor in headline (1) above, there is an urgent need for an action that should be taken to help the institution. The entailments that followed those two metaphors is who should be the doctor

and what cause the sickness or disease which later will be discussed in the second and third sub-chapter.

Whereas the next phrase in the headline (2) refers to the effect of the critical condition of BPJS Kesehatan which can cause a chronic condition to the people and suggest an image of how the financial impact of BPJS Kesehatan can cause an indirect problem for the people especially the member of BPJS Kesehatan

Headline (3) - Swell (*Bengkak*)

The following headline describe the financial condition of *BPJS Kesehatan* using word swell (*bengkak*). The intensity or urgency of this metaphor is less intense than metaphor in headline (1) and headline (2) above. If a part of a body swelled, the surface will be bigger than the normal part, this mapping making the terms "swell" is applicable to be used metaphorically to describe the bigger deficit that faced by BPJS Kesehatan

Fakta di Balik Defisit BPJS Kesehatan Bengkak Rp28 Triliun, Iuran pun Naik (Novalius, 2019)

(The fact behind BPJS Kesehatan deficit raise to Rp 26 Trillion, The premium is also raise up)

But the entailments that followed this metaphor is, when a swelling injury is not treated well, it may cause a worst condition to a patient. Therefore, although this metaphor is less intense, but it still suggest the need for a treatment, in this context, the need to financially support BPJS Kesehatan.

Headline (4) - wound (*Luka*)

Similar with the headline (3) above, metaphor below use wound as the metaphor of *BPJS Kesehatan* which is also less intense compare to headline (1) and headline (2) above:

Mimpi Layanan Semesta ala Jokowi dan 'Luka' BPJS Kesehatan (Audriene, 2019)

(The dream of universal health service Jokowi way and the pain of BPJS Kesehatan)

Wound (Merriam-Webster) definition is an injury to the body (as from violence, accident, or surgery) that typically involves laceration or breaking of a membrane (such as the skin) and usually damage to underlying tissues. Although it is not a critical condition, but similar to the headline (3) above, the treatment is still needed. The failure to treat the wound might result a worse condition. In this context, without any further action to support BPJS Kesehatan financial condition, the worse condition might happen.

4.2 The Cause of its sickness

Using metaphorical expressions of *BPJS Kesehatan* as a sick patient, it entails that there should be a sickness as the cause. The two headlines below provide the cause of its sickness also in metaphorical expressions.

Headline (5) Bleeding (*Berdarah-darah*)

The medical condition terms to use as metaphor is 'berdarah-darah' (bleeding). Literally, bleeding is a condition where a patient should immediately receive a medical treatment and support.

Golongan Ini yang Menyebabkan Keuangan BPJS Kesehatan Berdarah-darah" (Jatmiko,2019)

This member group that cause BPJS kesehatan financial condition is bleeding)

In the metaphor above, BPJS Kesehatan is understood as a patient in need for medical help, to avoid a worst condition, any delay may result death. The body of the article reports quoted the vice Indonesian Finance minister that says that members from non-salary recipients category (*Peserta Bukan Penerima Upah*) which estimated 29 millions member, where only 50 percent of them pay monthly regular premium.

From the context then, it is clear that the cause of the bleeding is the lack of awareness of the members to pay premium regularly.

Headline (6) – Dying (*sekarat*)

The headline (5) is identical with headline (1) in terms of the metaphorical expressions, which is dying (*sekarat*), but there is a different focus of the discourse. The headline (1) is not implied the cause but the result that faced by *BPJS Kesehatan* as patient, whereas the headline (7) focuses on the cause of the dying condition :

Wamenkeu Ungkap Siapa yang Membuat BPJS Kesehatan Sekarat (Shemi, 2019)

(Vice Finance Minister uncover who make BPJS Kesehatan is dying)

The cause of the dying condition is also the same with headline (5) that also quoted the some government source, but the different media use the different metaphorical expressions.

Both of those headline (5) and headline (6) describe how the bleeding and dying condition of *BPJS Kesehatan* is caused by the lack of the awareness from its member especially from particular category to pay the regular premium which cause the financial deficit to the institution.

Headline (7) - Disease (*Penyakit*)

Illness (*penyakit*) is also used metaphorically to describe the cause of the deficit condition. The headline of the news capture the cause of the illness, which means the cause of the deficit. Conceptually, the illness should be able to be treated, then by using the illness metaphorically, it suggest a thought that by knowing the illness, the government and other relevant institution can come up with a treatment and solution.

Pangkal 'Penyakit' Defisit BPJS Kesehatan (Gumelar, 2018)

(The root of disease of BPJS Kesehatan deficit)

The body of the article further quoting the Director of BPJS Kesehatan that explain the claim that has pay by *BPJS Kesehatan* to hospitals is always bigger than the premium its collected from its members. This is then can be understood as the cause of the sickness which put *BPJS Kesehatan* as a sick patient.

4.3 Government as the doctor and fund as medical treatments.

Metaphors below described the action taken by the government that understood metaphorically as a doctor with its medical treatment and supplies.

Headline (8) - Sehatkan (to cure)

The discussion of whether or not government should put more funds to support *BPJS Kesehatan* financially has been ongoing since the beginning of the deficit issue. Then, whenever *BPJS Kesehatan* is described as the sick patient, the entailments and the metaphor of doctor is mapped onto the government.

The headline below use the word to cure to describe how government action towards BPJS Kesehatan in helping it out from the financial deficit.

Strategi Pemerintah Untuk Sehatkan Keuangan BPJS Kesehatan (Pawestri, 2020)

(Government's strategy to cure BPJS Kesehatan financial condition)

Government is understood as a doctor that can cure the BPJS Kesehatan which is in sick condition. The entailments that followed is that government can take further action to help *BPJS Kesehatan* financially. Further reports from the body of the news explain three options that can be taken by the government, the first is the premium adjustment, additional funds from state budget and reduction of benefits.

Headline (9) - Suntik (to inject)

The terms to inject is used in headline below to metaphorically express how government will not financially support the deficit of *BPJS Kesehatan* although it is not an option. Sri Mulyani is the Indonesian financial minister who speaks on behalf of the government

Iuran Naik, Sri Mulyani Tak Suntik BPJS Kesehatan Tahun Ini (Sembiring,2020)

(The premium raises, Sri Mulyani will not inject BPJS Kesehatan this year)

The metaphor in headline (9) above entails that government as the doctor will not perform any injection as the treatment to the sick patient which is understood as there will be no additional fund to help *BPJS Kesehatan* this year, because it is expected that after the raise of the membership premium, *BPJS Kesehatan* should be able to financially recover.

Headline (10) - Infus (to give an intravenous drip)

In the headline below, another medical treatment is used as the metaphor. Intravenous drip is to give a sick patient in hospital with a liquid. Intravenous drip (Collin's Dictionary) is defined a slow, continuous introduction of liquid

medication or nutrients into a vein through a needle attached to an elevated pouch.

Infus untuk BPJS Kesehatan (Raharjo, 2018)

(An intravenous drip for BPJS Kesehatan)

The inferences is the *BPJS Kesehatan* is viewed as the sick patient on hospital ward and is being treated for its sickness. It also entails that government as doctor perform the treatment and the financial support is metaphorically described as the intravenous drip.

After analyzing all finding, it is revealed that when *BPJS Kesehatan* is described metaphorically as a sick patient, the doctor that should give the treatment is the government with the options that government has, There is no metaphorical mapping which describe other party that could be the doctor. The lack of awareness for regular payment from its members, is viewed as the cause of sickness.

4. Conclusion

The study shows that the description of *BPJS Kesehatan* by media reports by using medical terms metaphor is to bring the vivid message of the financial condition faced by the institution. The entailments followed the metaphor of *BPJS Kesehatan* as a sick patient is that government as the doctor is expected to cure, since government has the supplies and the resources needed to cure the patient. These are expressed metaphorically using terms (not) to inject which understood as not to give additional fund and to give an intravenous drip which understood as to give fund.

Another entailments and also described directly in metaphor is the sickness faced by *BPJS Kesehatan* is the fail of many members to pay the premium regularly. Therefore the complete mapping of metaphors after analyzing the data is :

BPJS Kesehatan is the sick patient

Government is the doctor

Lack of awareness for regular premium payment by its member is the cause of the sickness.

The root of the financial deficit of *BPJS Kesehatan* is the cause of the sickness, therefore, it should be taken as primary attention in bringing *BPJS Kesehatan* to a healthy condition. More action should be taken to bring awareness to all members of *BPJS Kesehatan* to pay the regular premium, if only relying on government as a doctor, it will not bring the *BPJS Kesehatan* to a healthy condition since it will not directly cure the diseases.

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