Health Protocol Campaign in the City of Malang as a Covid-19 Pandemic Mitigation: A Study of Linguistic Landscape

Kampanye Protokol Kesehatan di Kota Malang sebagai Mitigasi Pandemi Covid-19:
Sebuah Kajian Lanskap Linguistik

Muhammad Rozin[a], Scarletina Vidyayani Eka[b], Fredy Nugroho Setiawan[c]

[a,b,c] Universitas Brawijaya
Jalan Veteran, Malang, 65145
Pos-el: *rozin.muhammad@ub.ac.id, scarletina@ub.ac.id, fredyns@ub.ac.id*

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji potret lanskap linguistik (LL) dan aspek sosialnya sebagaimana tercermin dalam spanduk dan baliho Protokol Kesehatan (Prokes) di ruang publik di Kota Malang. Dengan demikian, ada dua pertanyaan yang akan dijawab: (1) bagaimana persepsi dan sikap masyarakat kota Malang terhadap berbagai seruan Protokol Kesehatan tersebut? dan (2) seberapa efektif himbauan tersebut untuk menanggulangi penyebaran Covid-19 di kota Malang? Menurut Backhaus (Backhaus, 2006), beberapa kriteria penting yang perlu diperhatikan untuk memastikan pengumpulan data yang valid dalam studi LL adalah lokasi geografis, karakteristik spanduk dan baliho, dan tolok ukur spanduk monolingual dan multilingual. Oleh karena itu, lokus penelitian dibagi menjadi dua: (1) beberapa kawasan pemukiman dan pusat perbelanjaan di kota Malang untuk mengumpulkan rambu-rambu non-resmi dan (2) pusat kota yang meliputi jalan utama, kawasan Pasar Besar, alun-alun kota, dan kawasan sekitar Balai Kota untuk mengumpulkan rambu-rambu resmi. Data berupa foto baliho dan spanduk diambil menggunakan kamera ponsel antara bulan Mei dan Juli 2021. Sebanyak 63 foto spanduk dan baliho Prokes yang terpilih kemudian dianalisis secara kualitatif menggunakan kerangka LL (Backhaus, 2006; Spolsky & Cooper, 1991) dan ditriangulasi dengan data hasil wawancara. Mengadopsi teknik random sampling, 11 orang dari kelas menengah dan 10 orang dari kelas bawah dipilih untuk diwawancarai guna memahami persepsi mereka tentang efektivitas himbauan Prokes. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa spanduk tidak resmi menampilkan lebih banyak spanduk multibahasa daripada spanduk resmi, dan dengan demikian memperkuat hasil penelitian terdahulu tentang LL. Adapun terkait persepsi responden, spanduk resmi lebih disukai karena menggunakan Boso Walikan dan lebih tegas serta ilustratif. Meskipun kedua kelompok responden sepakat bahwa spanduk tidak efektif, mereka memiliki pandangan yang berbeda tentang media apa yang lebih efektif. Kelas menengah menganggap kampanye menggunakan media sosial lebih efektif, sedangkan kelas bawah lebih menyukai penyuluhan langsung.
Kata-kata Kunci: Covid-19, komunikasi publik, kota Malang, lanskap linguistik, multilingualisme

Abstract

This study aims to examine the portrait of linguistic landscape (LL) and its social aspects as reflected in the health protocols (Prokes 'Protokol Kesehatan') banners and billboards in public spaces in Malang. Thus, it attempts to answer two questions: (1) what are the perceptions and attitudes of the people of Malang city towards the various calls for health protocol? and (2) how effective are the calls in impeding the outbreak of Covid-19 in Malang city? According to Backhaus (2006), several important criteria to consider to ensure valid data collection in LL study are geographic location, characteristics of banners and billboards, and what counts as monolingual and multilingual banners. The research areas were therefore divided into two: (1) some residential areas and shopping centers in Malang city to collect non-official signs and (2) city centers which include major arterial roads, Pasar Besar area, city square, and areas around the city hall to collect official signs. Data in the form of photos of billboards and banners were taken using a mobile phone camera between May and July 2021. The curated 63 photos of Prokes banners and billboards were then qualitatively analyzed following the LL framework (Backhaus, 2006; Spolsky & Cooper, 1991) and triangulated with data from interviews. Adopting random sampling technique,

11 interviewees belonging to the middle class and 10 from the lower class were chosen to determine public perceptions of the effectiveness of the calls. The results show that the non-official banners featured more multilingual banners than did the official ones, and hence amplifying the results of the existing research on LL. As for the respondents' perception, official banners were more preferable as they used Boso Walikan and were more assertive and illustrative. Although the two respondent groups agreed that the banners were not effective, they had different views about what mediums were more effective. The middle class considered campaigns using social media to be more effective, while the lower class preferred direct counseling.
Keywords: Covid-19, public communication, Malang City, linguistic landscape, multilingualism

INTRODUCTION

Various measures were made by the government of Indonesia to mitigate the impact of Covid-19 pandemic, especially during the peak of Delta variant wave in the first semester of 2021. In the economic sector, the government provided several types of direct assistance, either in the form of cash transfer to maintain the people's purchasing power or in the form of nine-basic necessities (*sembako 'sembilan bahan pokok'*). There was also an economic stimulus package given to companies committed to avoid termination of employment, abolition of the Sales Tax on Luxury Goods (PPnBM *'Pajak Penjualan atas Barang Mewah'*) for motor vehicles, and so on (covid19.go.id, 2021). In the field of education, the government issued regulations on online learning for students in all levels of education. In the health sector, the government, for example, increased the allocation of rooms in hospitals for Covid-19 patients, involved the Social Security Administrator (BPJS *'Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial'*) in handling the pandemic, and also carried out campaigns and calls for the awareness of health protocols (*Prokes 'Protokol Kesehatan'*).

Prokes calls were conducted massively through various media by both the central and local governments. As in other areas, the campaigns and calls for awareness of *Prokes* to tackle the spread of Covid-19 were also carried out widely in the city of Malang, both through electronic media such as local radio stations and TV channels and printed media such as billboards, banners, and information boards. In Malang itself, as of February 23, 2021, the Coronavirus disease had infected 5,975 people, with 532 death tolls (infocovid19.jatimprov.go.id, 2021). On January 8, 2021, Malang City had become the area with the second most active Covid-19 cases in East Java after Tuban, with 383 cases (Azmi, 2021).

Malang, like many other cities in Indonesia, is a city with diversity of languages (Ardhian et al., 2021; Yannuar, 2019). This language diversity is a common phenomenon as a result of language and cultural contact that has been occurring for tens or even hundreds of years. This diversity, for example, appears in its use in public spaces, such as on road signs, street names, shop signages, general instructions on government buildings, billboards, and so on. The languages used here are varied, ranging from Indonesian, Javanese, English, Arabic, to *Boso Walikan* – a youth language.

As outlined above, in the city of Malang, campaigns and calls related to *Prokes* were managed through various media as an effort to tackle the spread of Covid-19. Considering the alarming statistics of Covid-19 cases in the city of Malang even after the massive campaigns and calls in the forms of billboards, banners, and posters, it is important to examine the extent to which these measures were effective in impeding the outbreak of Covid-19 in the city. Therefore, this study aims to explore the portrait of linguistic landscape and its social aspects as reflected in the *Prokes* banners and billboards in public spaces in Malang with the main focus being to answer two questions: (1) what are the perceptions and attitudes of the people of

Malang city towards the various calls for health protocol? and (2) how effective are the calls in impeding the outbreak of Covid-19 in Malang city?

Examining the use of language in public spaces can help us uncover various social realities (Cojocaru et al., 2012; Hastings, 2012). The use of various languages in public spaces has become a relatively new object of language study, namely the linguistic landscape (LL). It refers to the linguistic objects that mark the public sphere (Ben-Rafael, 2008). We should not take what is presented in the linguistic landscape for granted. Questions such as what motivates the use of these languages in public spaces, how the language used in certain places is regulated, and how the people who live in them perceive the multilingual environment are also important to be studied.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The growing interest in LL began with the publication of Landry & Bourhis' (1997) article entitled *Linguistic Landscape and Ethnolinguistic Vitality: An Empirical Study*, where they defined LL as the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings. After that, other similar studies appeared, such as Itagi & Singh (2002) who edited the book of LL research in India, Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) conducted a large-scale study of signs in Israeli cities, and Collins & Slembrouck (2007) examined the multilingualism exhibited by shops in immigrant districts of Ghent, Belgium. There are also LL studies conducted in educational institutions, such as those conducted by Haynes (2012), Yavari (2012), Wang (2019) , and Riani et al. (2022).

In LL studies, traditionally, public signs are divided into two, namely top-down vs bottom-up (Ben-Rafael, 2008) or official vs non-official (Backhaus, 2006). Top-down (official) signs are signs made either by central or local authorities (road names, traffic signs) while bottom-up (non-official) signs are those made by individuals, communities, and private parties (shop signages, graffities). These two forms of signs usually have different characteristics. In his research in Dakar Senegal, Calvet (1990) observed that non-official signs were usually more multilingual. He found many combinations of French, Arabic, and Wolof on non-official signs. Meanwhile, almost all official signs only used the official language of Senegal, namely French. The same result was also confirmed by Landry & Bourhis (1997, p. 27), while Backhaus (2006) in his research in Tokyo found a slightly different result from Calvet (1990). Backhaus found that 25% of the multilingual signs were made by government authorities. However, in general, from these studies, it can be concluded that official signs are more monolingual in nature, prioritizing the official language of the country. Meanwhile, non-official signs are more multilingual, accommodating the diversity of languages that show a cosmopolitan identity.

In addition, the preference for official and non-official signs are also closely associated with the concepts of power and solidarity. Spolsky & Cooper (1991, pp. 81–84) formulated three parameters that explain what factors make a certain set of language varieties appear on signs in public spaces, namely: (1) write signs in a language you know, (2) prefer to write signs in the language or languages that intended readers are assumed to read, and (3) prefer to write signs in your own language or in a language with which you wish to be identified. The third parameter is called the 'symbolic value condition'. Spolsky & Cooper (1991, p. 84) explained that this symbolic value is obtained from "…a desire to assert power (by controlling the languages of the sign, I declare power over the space designated) or to claim solidarity or identity (my statement of socio-cultural membership is in the language I have chosen)". While Backhaus (2006) argued that the choice of language in official signs is determined by power relations, while non-official signs tend to use foreign languages (regional languages) as an expression of solidarity.

In Indonesian context, LL studies have been conducted in several cities with different aims. Mauliddian, et al. (2022), for example, examined the use of Kawi language in public space in Probolinggo, East Java. In Singaraja, Paramarta (2022) observed the use of Balinese language for the street signs. Whereas Purnanto et al. (2021) studied the use of English for culinary business in Surakarta, Central Java.

So far, there has been no research that specifically examines the effectiveness of *Prokes* campaigns and calls related to Covid-19 found in public spaces such as billboards, banners, posters, or other general instructions in the city of Malang. However, two studies which are relevant with this study are noteworthy to discuss here. First, a study conducted by Takaeb (2019) on the effectiveness of banners as health communication media in Oemasi Village, Kupang Regency. Takaeb focused on the visibility, size, and visual design of these communication media. The results showed that the banners which became the object of the research were not placed in an ideal location, and the visual design of the images and texts used in the banners is too small, rendering poor visibility. So, in general, the communication media were considered less effective.

Second, Yannuar & Tabiati (2016) published an article entitled *Public Signs in the City of Malang: A study on the Linguistic Landscape of Indonesia*. This study aimed to find out how various languages were used and presented in public spaces in the city of Malang. Dividing their research locus in the old city area and the new commercial area in Malang, Yannuar and Tabiati examined the position of the languages used in public spaces such as Javanese, Indonesian, Arabic, and English, especially how people's attitudes and perceptions of English were compared to the other languages. The results found that in the old city area, the use of Indonesian language was dominant in public signs. On the other hand, the use of English was very vibrant in the new commercial area. The difference in attitudes regarding the use of English was also shown by the people around the new commercial area where they showed a more positive attitude, compared to the people in the old city area.

Based on the two previous studies, the gap between the study by Takaeb (2019) and the current study is that the latter has broader scope, not only banners but various types of public signs. While the study of the linguistic landscape by Yannuar & Tabiati (2016) focused on public attitudes and perceptions towards the use of English in public signs, the current study is focused on public signs containing *Prokes* calls to mitigate the spread of Covid-19. To understand the nature of official and non-official signs, Backhaus' (2006) work was referred. Furthermore, the language choice used in public signs reflects the notion of power and solidarity, and thus Spolsky & Cooper's (1991) framework was adopted to discuss the issue.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study adopts a qualitative approach to analyze the primary data, i.e., photos of billboards and banners of *Prokes* calls and transcripts of interviews with respondents.

Data in the form of photos of billboards and banners were taken using a mobile phone camera between May and July 2021. According to Backhaus (2006) several important considerations to ensure valid data collection in LL studies are geographic location, characteristics of banners and billboards, and what counts as monolingual and multilingual banners. The research areas were therefore geographically divided into two: (1) some residential areas and shopping centers in Malang city to collect non-official signs and (2) city centers which included major arterial roads, *Pasar Besar* (central market) area, city square, and areas around the city hall to collect official signs. However, several official banners were also found in the area around residential areas and on roads that were quite far from the city center. This is reasonable as the government must ensure that the Covid-19 *Prokes* calls reach all levels of society.

In terms of characteristics, a banner could be said to be a *Prokes* call if it contained one or some of the key words such as "Covid-19", "*protokol kesehatan* (health protocol)", "*masker* (mask)", "*jaga jarak* (keep your distance)", "*cuci tangan* (wash your hands)", "hand sanitizer", and other key words that were typical and generally written as part of imperative sentences. In addition, official billboards and banners were those made by the government (central/local) and all other official state institutions, state-owned enterprises, down to the sub-district office levels, while unofficial billboards and banners were those made by elements of society such as neighborhoods, hamlets, housing associations, places of worship, and private companies.

Finally, following common principle, monolingual banners were those containing only one language, while multilingual ones were those using more than one language. However, this principle can be thorny when applied to several words, one of which is the word "stop". Before updated in April 2021, the KBBI (Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia 'The Great Dictionary of Indonesian Language'), stipulates that the standard writing is "setop". Now that "stop" is the standard spelling and that "setop" is treated as a speech variety, both are considered as Indonesian lemmas.

Traditionally, linguistic landscape research is interpretive, seeking to uncover the ideological aspects of signs based on their physical, political, and socio-cultural dimensions. There are only a few studies of linguistic landscapes that examine the dimensions of the reader's experience, one of which is Wang (2019) who examined linguistic landscapes at Kyushu University, Japan. Wang used questionnaires to determine the attitudes of university students regarding campus multilingualism in the context of internationalization. Different from Wang, this study utilized interview to explore the reading experience of Malang people on the banners they saw around them.

The interview was intended to examine the attitude and perception of Malang people towards banners containing *Prokes* calls and how effective these banners were as a form of campaign to combat Covid-19. Interviews were conducted on respondents who were grouped into two different social classes: middle class and lower class. These two categories were taken into account as they were in close contact with the pandemic based on the nature of their work and mobility which required them to interact with many people outside home. Adopting purposive sampling technique, there were 11 respondents in the middle-class category, working as lecturers and administrative staffs at universities in Malang, private employees, and teachers at a reputable private school. While from the lower class, there were 10 respondents with different professions ranging from street food vendors, parking attendants, and online motorcycle taxi drivers. Even though the two classes were socially and psychologically affected, the middle class was assumed to be relatively stable economically because of their steady income. Meanwhile, the lower class was assumed to be affected not only socially and psychologically, but also economically due to unstable income. The interview was also intended to find out whether these two social groups had different perceptions or attitudes about the effectiveness of the health protocol campaigns. The list of semi-structured interview questions is given in appendix.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This section presents the findings and elaborates the discussion accordingly. From several locations mentioned above, a total of 126 photos of billboards and banners were collected. After reduction, finally 63 banners were considered to meet the criteria as data to be analyzed. Some considerations for data reduction were: (1) the similarity of the banners and (2) the discrepancy with the criteria (see the characteristics of banners and billboards mentioned above). A number of banners were found to be similar to each other, especially banners made by authorities because they followed a certain template. The same multiple tokens of banner were only

counted as one datum. Then, the discrepancy with the criteria, for example, is that even though the banner contained the word "Covid-19", it was not meant for a Prokes call, only a signage for the task force post, as in the example below.

Figure 1. An example of banner that does not meet the criteria

Official vs Non-official Banners and Language Used

As mentioned above, after reduction, a total of 63 banners were deemed to meet the criteria for analysis. Of these 63 banners, 38 (60%) of them were non-official banners made by some elements of society. While the rest, 25 banners (40%), were official banners made by government authorities (see table 1).

Table 1.
Official vs Non-official Banners

Type of Banners	Number	%
Official	25	40
Non-official	38	60
Total	63	100

To understand better the portrait of linguistic landscape in the city of Malang, it is important to see what languages were used in the banners. As can be seen in table 2, Indonesian was present on all banners containing *Prokes* calls. As in many regions in Indonesia, Javanese (and its variant, *Boso Walikan*) and Indonesian are in a diglossic relationship (Sneddon, 2003) in Malang, where Javanese is often used in everyday informal communication, while Indonesian is almost always used in the context of formal communication, including public signs. This indicates the reigning position of Indonesian as a medium of public communication, both by government authorities and by society in general.

Figure 2. A Banner using Indonesian made by society

Furthermore, English ranked as the second most frequently used language in banners. Of the total 63 banners, there were 17 banners (27%) that contained English. On the one hand, this finding is not too surprising given the rapid penetration of English as an international language in many parts of the world, including Indonesia (Zentz, 2015). On the other hand, this also indicates that the pride of the citizens of Malang, especially toward *Boso Walikan* as the primordial identity of "Malang-ness", has not been reflected much in the banners of *Prokes* calls. Only 5 banners (8%) contained *Boso Walikan* as a medium of public communication. Further discussion on the use of *Boso Walikan* is given in the next section. Meanwhile, Javanese and Arabic were each found in 1 banner (1.5%) which became the data in this study.

Table 2.
Languages used in banners (n= 63)

Language	Number of banners using	%
Indonesian	63	100
English	17	27
Boso Walikan	5	8
Javanese	1	1.5
Arabic	1	1.5
Number of Language tokens	**87**	**138**
Number of banners	**63**	**100**

The Distribution of Multilingual Banners

The portrait of multilingualism in an area becomes an important reference for examining the linguistic landscape and the accompanying social aspects. It can be seen in table 3 that the majority of both official and non-official banners are monolingual. And it should be noted here that all monolingual banners were in Indonesian. So, there was no monolingual banner written other than in Indonesian.

As for multilingual banners, the general public was ahead of the government authorities, where 15 (39%) of the total 38 banners made were multilingual. Meanwhile, government authorities only made 6 (24%) multilingual banners out of 25 banners made. From this data, we can see the strategic position of Indonesian as a medium of public communication, both by the government and the general public, with government authorities are at the forefront of maintaining the status of Indonesian as a national language and the language of unity.

Table 3.
The percentage of monolingual and multilingual banners

Type of banners	Monolingual (%)	Multilingual (%)	Total
Official	19 (76%)	6 (24%)	25
Non-official	23 (61%)	15 (39%)	38

Examining further the multilingual banners that had been identified, they were always paired with Indonesian. So, for all 21 multilingual banners (official and non-official), the pattern was Indonesian plus one or more other languages (see table 4 below). The majority of multilingual banners were those containing English plus Indonesian, amounting to 15 banners (71.4%). The general public dominated the production of banners that used the combination of Indonesian and English. Meanwhile, the government only made one banner with the combination of these two languages. Some English words or phrases that often appeared in this combination were "physical distancing", "hand sanitizer", and "taxi online". These phrases often appeared on banners made by people in residential areas or other settlements. The phrase "physical distancing" was probably used because the media frequently featured this phrase in the news during the early days of the pandemic so that it was immersed in people's minds.

Meanwhile, "hand sanitizer" was more popular and ultimately easier to use than their Indonesian equivalent, *penyanitasi tangan*, which sounds extraneous. Multilingual banners containing English found in malls used sentences (not limited to words or phrases) that were more complex, such as "Be safe, for you, and others" or "Enjoy your time at *** malls".

Figure 3. Multilingual banners in Indonesian and English made by the residents around a settlement

Figure 4. Multilingual banners in Indonesian and English made by the management of a shopping mall

The use of English, especially in malls, was conceivably a symbolic act, which is in line with one of the guidelines proposed by Spolsky & Cooper (1991, pp. 81–84) in making public signs, which says "Prefer to write signs in your own language or in a language with which you wish to be identified". Malls are shopping centers that are generally visited by the middle class or upper class. So the malls reflect this ideology through the choice of language (English) used in their banners. In addition, this practice can also be seen as what Spolsky & Cooper (1991, p. 84) call an expression of solidarity or identity. They said "…my statement of socio-cultural membership is in the language I have chosen". Our socio-cultural identity is expressed through the language we choose.

Table 4.
The distribution of multilingual banners (*n*= 21)

Language Combination	Number (the distribution of users)	%
Indonesian + English	15 (society=9, Mall=5, Govt.= 1)	71.4
Indonesian + *Boso Walikan*	3 (Govt.)	14.2
Indonesian + English + Javanese + *Boso Walikan*	1 (Govt.)	4.8
Indonesian + English + *Boso Walikan*	1 (society)	4.8
Indonesian + Arabic	1 (Govt.)	4.8
Total	**21**	**100**

The combination of Indonesian with other languages was not as productive as the combination with English. The combination with *Boso Walikan*, the second most common, although the number was much less (3 banners – 14.2%) compared to English, deserves special attention. *Boso Walikan* is a distinctive language of Malang which is a marker of primordial identity for its citizens, especially the youth (Yanuar, 2019). With this status, we might expect it to be widely used by the people of Malang in the health campaign banners that were made. But in reality, this is not the case. In fact, *Boso Walikan* was more frequently used by government authorities in conveying the message of *Prokes* through its banners. This finding is an anomaly in the study of linguistic landscapes because typically official signs are a reflection of the power of the maker, while non-official signs usually prioritize aspects of solidarity (Backhaus, 2006; Calvet, 1990; Spolsky & Cooper, 1991). By using *Boso Walikan* variety, the Malang municipal government wanted to show its solidarity to the general public so that the messages of *Prokes* could be conveyed properly. This proved to be effective as described in the analysis of the interview results in the next section.

Figure 5. Multilingual banner with Indonesian and *Boso Walikan*

Public Perception of Official vs Non-official Banners

To assess their perception, respondents were shown several examples of banners made by government authorities and those by the general public and asked to rate which ones were easier to understand. For banners belonging to government authorities, some were selected in which *Boso Walikan* was used. This was done because it was the authorities that used it more in their banners (see table 4). Interestingly, all respondents from both social groups thought that the banners made by the authorities were more attractive and easier to understand. The reason for all respondents was more or less the same, namely because of the use of *Boso Walikan*, as indicated by the following answers from AM, an administrative staff at a university, and ANG, an online motorcycle taxi driver:

Yang Malangan (Walikan) itu kesannya kaya' lebih dekat ke kita gitu pak. Jadi feel-nya mungkin lebih dapat. (AM, Interviewed on November 1, 2021)

The Malangan (Walikan) gives a friendlier impression to us, Sir. So it feels closer to us.

Iyaa, lebih Malang banget. Jadi orang-orang kaya' lebih asik ini, kata-katanya lebih kreatif gitu…
(ANG, Interviewed on November 6, 2021)
Yes, it has more Malang vibe. So it is more fun for people, the wording is more creative.

The government's strategy to use *Boso Walikan*, which is a vernacular variety, turned out to be more effective for the respondents, regardless of their social class. As mentioned earlier, this finding is interesting because landscape linguistic studies generally reveal the practice of perpetuating the use of official language in public signs by governments as a form of exercising power (Backhaus, 2006; Calvet, 1990; Spolsky & Cooper, 1991). Meanwhile in Malang City, regarding the *Prokes* calls through banners using *Boso Walikan*, the government prioritized the solidarity aspect, as stated by AM and ANG in the interview excerpts above.

Apart from *Boso Walikan*, the respondents also favored official banners due to more assertive instructions and the use of illustrative images, as conveyed by AT, a lecturer at a university, below:

…bagi saya yang mengena itu yang himbauannya jelas dan dibantu dengan ilustrasi gambar. Kadang orang itu malas membaca. Ini kan di pinggir jalan, ya. Ketika orang lewat, sometimes orang itu gak sempat membaca satu-satu kecuali dia bosen gitu di jalan. Dengan adanya gambar ini ya inilah eksposur-nya, memandangi eksposur yang paling mudah. (AT, Interviewed on November 2, 2021)

…for me, what impresses me is when the call is clear and assisted with illustrations. Sometimes people are reluctant to read. The banners are put right on the side of the road, right? When people pass by, sometimes they do not have time to read one by one unless they are bored. These illustrations can be the exposure. Looking at the exposure is the easiest.

It can be seen from the above excerpt that the illustrations became a crucial aspect in the banners given their location on the road, so it provided exposure that helped passersby understand the message of the banners more easily.

The respondents' lack of interest in non-official banners might be understood from the interview excerpt with AN, an employee at a university, below:

Lebih mengena yang kedua (spanduk pemerintah). Karena sudah jelas apa yang harus dilakukan, "Ojok mudik yo" sama "sek usume corona", dengan bahasa-bahasa lebih ke daerah. Mungkin kalau menggunakan bahasa asing seperti physical distancing, mungkin tidak semua orang memahami. (AN, Interviewed on November 1, 2021)

The second ones (government's banners) are more imposing. Because the instructions are clear, "No homecoming" and "The corona is still around", with more primordially friendly language. Maybe if a foreign language is used such as "physical distancing", not everyone will understand.

The above excerpt indicates that the use of English had the potential to make the banners less understandable for some people. This finding is also an anomaly from many studies of linguistic landscapes (Backhaus, 2006; Yannuar & Tabiati, 2016) where the use of a foreign language (English) usually functions symbolically as an expression of solidarity and identity. However, in the case of health protocol banners in the city of Malang, the use of English was actually seen as less sympathetic.

Figure 6. Examples of official (top) and non-official (bottom) banners shown to respondents

The Effectiveness of Banners

When examined further about whether the official or non-official banners were effective as media for *Prokes* calls, the answer is more or less the same, i.e., not effective or less effective. The reason why banners were considered less effective, especially for middle class respondents, was due to the fact that it is now the era of social media. AM's response illustrates this reasoning.

> *Di televisi sudah banyak, di medsos sudah banyak. Jadi kesadaran diri itu munculnya sudah ada ya, Pak, ya. Sudah muncul apalagi kita kan sudah gelombang pertama, gelombang kedua jadi sudah taulah. Jadi kalu ada ini sekarang ini, ada baliho-baliho atau apapun itu, kesannya malah tidak efektif pak. Orang kesannya malah jenuh.* (AM, Interviewed on November 1, 2021)

> We have got massive campaigns on TV and social media. So I think people have been aware. Moreover, we have been through the first wave. So we have got the experience to face the second wave. The massive campaigns (on health protocols) using billboards all over the place seem to be ineffective. People seem to be exhausted.

For AM, awareness about *Prokes* had been heavily embedded through TV and social media. A slightly different answer was given by AT about the most effective call for *Prokes*, as seen in the following interview excerpt:

> *Saya pikir yang paling efektif adalah yang dari kelompok-kelompok kecil masyarakat sih Pak, contohnya jadi jamaah, misalnya jamaah masjid, lalu ya kelompok-kelompok kecil masyarakat. Misalnya, kebiasaannya itu ke masjid. Begitu dengan adanya peraturan-peraturan tertentu yang dilaksanakan di masjid itu, untuk menjamin keselamatan dan keamanan jamaahnya. Dan orang yang, oke kalau mau jamaah di sini harus begini, Pak, kaya' gini gini. Itu mungkin lebih mengena dan lebih langsung dampaknya, dan cepat juga orang akhirnya mengadopsi gaya hidup tertentu, begitu. Dan ada keterikatan, kalau misal orang rajin ke masjid itu ya ada keterikatan dia dengan*

kebiasaan ke masjidnya itu, dan akhirnya oke, akhirnya dia mau mengadopsi cara itu. Begitu juga di kelompok-kelompok seperti mungkin ibu-ibu PKK, kelompok yoga contohnya, yang akhirnya harus bagaimana ya. Seperti itu saya rasa lebih efektif karena ada kedekatan personal dengan orang-orang yang disasar. (AT, Interviewed on November 2, 2021).

I think the most effective (calls) are those from small communities, Sir. For example, being a (member of) congregation, a congregation member of a mosque, then (other) small communities. For example, someone has a habit of going to a mosque. The existence of certain rules implemented at the mosque is meant to ensure the safety and security of the congregation members. And suppose, if you want to offer prayer here (at mosque), you have to do this (follow the rules), Sir. It may have a more direct impact, and people end up adopting a certain lifestyle sooner, too. And there is some kind of an attachment, for example, if a person is diligent in going to the mosque, then there is an attachment to her/his habit of going to the mosque, and finally she/he wants to adopt that practice. This can also happen in groups such as maybe PKK (Pemberdayaan dan Kesejahteraan Keluarga 'Family Welfare Movement') members, yoga groups, for example. That way, I think, is more effective because there is a personal closeness with the targeted people.

Respondent AT is of the opinion that the *Prokes* call is effective if it is carried out through the smallest circles in society for example in mosques or PKK groups because there are certain social ties between individuals in such circles.

Meanwhile, for the lower-class people, the most effective calls were those carried out through direct counseling. Respondents US, a street food vendor, and YN, a parking attendant, gave their views as quoted below:

…dari penyuluhan-penyuluhan, dari puskesmas. Kalau lebih baik lewat penyuluhan langsung gitu, tatap muka gitu. Ya kalau spanduk ndak banyak yang ngira itu… Nah iya, kalau penyuluhan langsung praktik. (US, Interviewed on November 6, 2021)
… through counseling, from Puskesmas (Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat 'Community Health Centers'). It is better through direct counseling, face to face. Well, not many people notice the banners… Direct counseling facilitates hands-on practice.

Saran kulo saking Pak Dokter RSI niku ngoten, langsung ngoten. "Oleh kon kerjo ojok lali Kesehatan, pakai masker ngoten nek saget dua dobel", dokter ahli paru. Dadi ngoten, sedoyo nggih harus jaga kesehatan pakai masker. Nggih mboten saking spanduk, kulo langsung saking Pak Dokter. (YN, Interviewed on November 6, 2021)
I was advised that way by the RSI (Islamic Hospital) Doctor directly. "When you work, don't forget to take care of your health, wear a mask, double it if necessary." The pulmonologist said to me. So everyone has to take care of their health by wearing a mask. So (I got notified) not from banners. I was immediately reminded by the doctor.

The two quotes above show that when it comes to *Prokes* calls, the banners fail to reach those of the lower classes. Respondent US, for example, although he often walked around the streets and residential areas, especially after PPKM (Pemberlakuan Pembatasan Kegiatan Masyarakat 'local lockdown') was relaxed, he was not moved by the *Prokes* call banners that he saw. While YN admitted that he rarely traveled outside the house, except to the place where he worked as a parking attendant. So he did not pay much attention to such banners. For this group of society, *tuturan* 'instruction' from people who are considered authoritative (doctors, Puskesmas personnel) is more sensible and easier to raise awareness about the Covid-19 *Prokes*.

CLOSING

In the tradition of critical theory, language is never seen as a neutral medium. Observing the use of language in public spaces can help us uncover a number of important social realities. We should not simply take what the linguistic landscape presents us for granted. Questions such as what motivates the use of particular languages in the public sphere, how it is regulated, and how the public perceives it are crucial to investigate. In this study, it is known that there are five languages used in the *Prokes* banners. They are, based on the order of their frequency of occurrence: Indonesian, English, *Boso Walikan*, Javanese, and Arabic. The presence of Indonesian on all *Prokes* banners and billboards reaffirms its vital position as the national language which is used as the medium of public communication. In terms of multilingual banners, the general public outperformed the government. This also reaffirms that the government is always at the forefront of maintaining the status of Indonesian as the national language and the language of unity. This finding is in line with the previous studies of LL where non-official signs tend to be multilingual and more accommodative toward language diversity, hence indicating a cosmopolitan identity. Meanwhile, official signs tend to be monolingual by prioritizing the official language or the national language of the country.

However, an interesting finding to note is that the use of *Boso Walikan* as a combination in *Prokes* banners is more commonly found in official banners than in unofficial banners, although the quantity is not significant. This finding is an anomaly because typically, in the studies of LL, official signs reflect the power of the maker, while non-official signs prioritize the aspect of solidarity. The solidarity shown by the government through their *Prokes* banners is proven to be sympathetic to the community.

Regarding the perception toward *Prokes* banners, official banners are more preferable for respondents as they used *Boso Walikan*, have clearer instructions, and feature illustrations. Meanwhile, regarding the effectiveness of banners, although the two groups of respondents agree that banners are not effective, they have different views about what media would be effective for *Prokes* calls. The middle class sees social media as a more effective medium, while the lower class prefers direct counseling. In this matter, a different *Prokes* campaign approach is needed according to the profile of the targeted community. Direct counseling should be intensified, especially for the lower classes. As a direction for future research, those who are interested in this issue may expand the scope by studying the effectiveness of Covid-19 health protocol campaigns on social media among middle class people to see whether it is in fact more effective, as claimed by some of the respondents discussed above.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ardhian, D., Purnanto, D., & Yustanto, H. (2021). Religious performance in Malang, Indonesia: Linguistic landscape on worship sign. *Journal of Language and Linguistic Studies*, *17*(2), 983-1000. https://doi.org/10.52462/jlls.68

Azmi, F. (2021). *Ini 5 Daerah Tertinggi Kasus Positif COVID-19 di Jatim*. 18–20. https://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-timur/d-5325835/ini-5-daerah-tertinggi-kasuspositif-covid-19-di-jatim

Backhaus, P. (2006). Multilingualism in Tokyo: A Look into the Linguistic Landscape. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, *3*(1), 52–66. https://doi.org/10.1080/14790710608668385

Ben-Rafael, E. (2008). A Sociological Approach to the Study of Linguistic Landscapes. *Linguistic Landscape: Expanding the Scenery*, 40–54. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203930960

Ben-Rafael, Eliezer; Shohamy, Elana; Hasan Amara, Muhammad; Trumper-Hecht, Nira (2006). Linguistic Landscape as Symbolic Construction of the Public Space: The Case of Israel. *International Journal of Multilingualism, 3(1),* 7–30. https://doi.org/10.1080/-14790710608668383

Calvet, L. J. (1990). Des Mots Sur Les Murs: Une Comparaison Entre Paris et Dakar. *Des Langues et Des Villes (Actes Du Colloque International à Dakar, Du 15 Au 17 Décembre 1990)*, 73–83.

Cojocaru, S., Bragaru, C., & Ciuchi, O. M. (2012). The Role of Language in Constructing Social Realities. The Appreciative Inquiry and the Reconstruction of Organisational Ideology. *Revista de Cercetare Si Interventie Sociala*, *36* (March 2012), 31–43.

Collins, J., & Slembrouck, S. (2007). Reading Shop Windows in Globalized Neighborhoods: Multilingual Literacy Practices and Indexicality. *Journal of Literacy Research*, *39*(3), 335–356. https://doi.org/10.1080/10862960701613128

covid19.go.id. (2021). Rumah Sakit Tambah Alokasi Kamar Pasien COVID-19 Hingga 40%. https://covid19.go.id/p/berita/rumah-sakit-tambah-alokasi-kamar-pasien-covid-19-hingga-40

Hastings, A. (2012). Textual and Linguistic Analysis. In: Smith, S.J. (ed.) *International Encyclopedia of Housing and Home*, Vol. 7. 190–195. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-047163-1.00690-1

Haynes, P. (2012). *Welsh Language Policy: A Study of the Linguistic Landscape at Cardiff University*. Unpublished Dissertation: University of Birmingham, Wales.

Itagi, N. H., & Singh, S. K. (2002). Linguistic Landscaping in India with Particular Reference to the New States. *Proceedings of a seminar*. 255. Retrieved from http://books.google.ca/books?id=h-D9iAAAAMAAJ&q=Itagi+and+Singh+2002&dq=Itagi+and+Singh+2002&hl=&cd=5&source=gbs_api

Infocovid19.jatimprov.go.id. (2021). Jatim Tanggap Covid-19 http://infocovid19.jatimprov.go.id/

Landry, R., & Bourhis, R. Y. (1997). Linguistic Landscape and Ethnolinguistic Vitality: An Empirical Study. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, *16*(1), 23–49. https://doi.org/10.1177/0261927X970161002

Mauliddian, K., Nurhayani, I., & Hamamah, H. (2022). Penanda Publik Bahasa Kawi di Kota Probolinggo: Kajian Lanskap Linguistik. *Ranah: Jurnal Kajian Bahasa*, *11*(1), 130. https://doi.org/10.26499/rnh.v11i1.2716

Paramarta, I. M. S. (2022). Balinese Language on the Street Signs in Singaraja Town, Bali: A Linguistic Landscape Analysis. *Ranah: Jurnal Kajian Bahasa*, *11*(1), 120-129. https://doi.org/10.26499/rnh.v11i1.4197

Purnanto, D., Yustanto, H., Ginanjar, B., & Ardhian, D. (2021). English Operation in Public Space: Linguistic Landscape in Culinary Business of Surakarta, Indonesia. *Journal of Language and Linguistic Studies*, *18*(1), 345–360. https://doi.org/10.52462/jlls.186

Khotimah, T. K., & Sumarsih, N. (2022). Revitalization of Javanese in School Environment in Era 4.0: Linguistics Landscape Perspective. *Retorika: Jurnal Bahasa, Sastra, dan Pengajarannya*, 15(1). https://doi.org/10.26858/retorika.v15i1.23822

Sneddon, J. (2003). Diglossia in Indonesian Introduction. *KITLV Journals*, *159*(4), 519–549. https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90003741

Spolsky, B., & Cooper, R. L. (1991). The Languages of Jerusalem. Clarendon Press.

Takaeb, A. E. L. (2019). Gambaran Efektivitas Spanduk sebagai Media Komunikasi Kesehatan di Desa Oemasi. *Jurnal Communio*, *8*(1), 1277–1283.

Wang, J. (2019). Linguistic Landscape on Campus in Ponorogo (a Case Study of Signs in Ponorogo Universities). *Edupedia*, *3*(2), 130. https://doi.org/10.24269/ed.v3i2.299

Yannuar, N., & Tabiati, S. E. (2016). Public signs in the city of Malang: A study on the linguistic landscape of Indonesia. *The Changing Face of Language Pedagogy: Exploring Linguistics and Literature, June*, 123-138.

Yannuar, N. (2019). *Bòsò Walikan Malangan: Structure and Development Of A Javanese Reversed Language*. Leiden University. https://doi.org/10.17510/wacana.v21i1.879

Yavari, S. (2012). Linguistic Landscape and Language Policies: A Comparative Study of Linkoping University and ETH Zurich. *Linguistic Landscape*, (July), 64.

Zentz, L. (2015). "Study" the Foreign: Shifting Javanese Language Ecologies in Post Modernity. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology. 24*(3), 339–359. https://doi.org/10.1111/jola.12062