

The Construction of Young Children During COVID-19 in the Online Media in Indonesia

Ina Winangsih

Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia &
National Dong Hwa University, Taiwan

Vina Adriany¹⁾

Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia

Euis Kurniati

Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia & National Dong Hwa University, Taiwan

Abstract

Media is believed to possess its power in constructing discursive meaning in the society. This article aims to see how media creates discourse pertaining children and childhood during the pandemic of COVID-19. This article adopts critical discourse analysis (CDA) in order to unpack power relation in the children discourse by analyzing 78 articles from websites found in the internet. The analysis suggests that there is one hegemonic and dominant discourse on children, namely discourse of vulnerable children. The discourse sees young children as fragile being that do not have capacity to understand the pandemic and also to navigate their situation during the pandemic. While the discourse seems to be empathetic with the children, yet it actually does not recognize children's ability to have voices. Hence, this kind of discourse potentially excludes the children further from the discussion on how to mitigate the pandemic situation.

Keywords: *Children, Media, Discourse, Pandemic*

Corresponding author, ¹⁾ vina@upi.edu

Introduction

2020 was the year when the whole world was attacked by the COVID-19 pandemic. In Indonesia, the first case of COVID-19 was firstly detected on March 4, 2020. Ever since, the cases continue to rise to the alarming level. At the moment, Indonesia has more than one million active cases, with the mortality rate more than 20.000 (COVID 19, 2020). The population density in Indonesia is also contributing to the spread of the virus. Despite the government's attempt to implement physical distancing and limited lock-down, the cases seem to be deteriorating.

The pandemic without any doubt affects everyone. Young children in particular are often constructed as one of the most vulnerable groups in this situation. Several research has indicated that children's development and well-being might be jeopardized at this moment (Fan et al., 2020; Kaviani Johnson & Sloth-Nielsen, 2020; Silliman Cohen & Bosk, 2020; Viner et al., 2020). WHO (2002) also asserts that children safety is at risk during this pandemic.

The discourse that sees young children as fragile is often due to the assumption that they do not have capacity to understand what happens in their surrounding (Back, Cameron, & Tanner, 2009; Bruskas & Care, 2008; Kronick & Rousseau, 2015). Children's development is often seen to be ontologically incomplete and this justify an understanding that young children development needs to be continuously stimulated (Wyness, 2006). Other research also emphasizes the roles from the parents to ensure that they pay particular attention to their children (Koenigs & Oppenheimer, 1985). All these perpetuate the idea that young children are in need of protection (Lowe, Lee, & Macvarish, 2015).

This paper aims to unpack how children are constructed during the pandemic in the media. Without any doubt, media plays important roles in providing society with information needed particularly during the time of COVID 19 (Pieri, 2019; Shalvee & Sambhav, 2020). Media has possibilities to influence individuals, while at the same time it can also promote the state ideology, and even affect the government policy (Furstenberg, 1999; Stallings, 1990; Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, & Sasson, 1992). This research aims to fill in the gap of the previous research on COVID 19. Many research has focused on the health and pathological discourses of the pandemic (Giesecke, 2020; Malik et al., 2020; Morens, Daszak, Markel, &

Taubenberger, 2020; Roser, Ritchie, Ortiz-Ospina, & Hasell, 2020), and only limited research emphasize on young children such as the ones conducted by Green (2020), Phelps and Sperry (2020), as well as Thakur, Kumar, and Sharma (2020). Hence, we believe that this paper will contribute to the sociological dimension of the pandemic by focusing on the overlooked areas, which are the field of children and childhood studies.

Literature Review

Adopting Postdevelopmentalism in Childhood Studies

This paper adopts postdevelopmentalisms theories. Postdevelopmentalism is an umbrella used to include theories such as poststructuralism, posthumanism, postcolonialism, decolonial theories, and other marginalized local theories (Edwards, Blaise, & Hammer, 2009). These theories emerged as a critique to the hegemony of developmentalism (MacNaughton, 2005). Developmentalism has been widely criticized because of its claim of universality while in fact it is often biased against non-Western, non-middle-class children, as well as biased against girls (Adriany & Tesar, 2022).

Developmentalism theories are also often questioned because it sees young children to undergo particular stages of development universally, irrespective of children's background (MacNaughton, 2005). Within these paradigms, young children are often seen as immature and unable to understand complex things.

We adopt postdevelopmentalism in this paper because it allows us to trouble the dominant narratives during the COVID 19. As our findings latter will demonstrate, the powerful discourses on children and childhood perpetuate the vulnerable model of young children.

Construction of children and childhood in Indonesia

The construction of children in Indonesia is often rooted on the economic models of children and childhood (Adriany, 2019). Children in Indonesia are often seen as a country's investment. The economic models is highly influenced by Heckman's theory of human

capital (Heckman & Masterov, 2007). It is often claimed that on every one cent spent for a child, will generate greater return in the future.

One of the most dominant discourses pertaining childhood in Indonesia is a golden generation discourse (Rasyid, n.a.). This notion is derived on the prediction that by 2045, Indonesia will experience demographic dividend in which more than 50% of Indonesian population will be a productive age that will contribute the country's economic development (BAPPENAS, 2017). Early childhood education is hence perceived to play its crucial roles in preparing children to become an economic actor. The economic model hence is often criticized to see the children as a mean to achieve the country's aims, rather than seeing the children as a goal in themselves (Adriany, Yulindrasari, & Tesar, 2019).

In addition to the economics model of children and childhood, children are also often constructed as fragile individual (Durham, 2016). Young children are also often seen to be ontologically incomplete hence they are always in need of constant stimulation (Tesar, Rodriguez, & Kupferman, 2016). This understanding appears to be influenced by developmentalism, a school in psychology that believes young children will undergo certain stages of development (Piaget, 1954). Many scholars have questioned developmentalism by arguing that despite its claim young children are capable of constructing their own knowledge, it still perceives young children as somehow fragile and innocent individuals who cannot grasp complex issues surrounding them (Burman, 2008; Edwards et al., 2009; Spatig, 2005). Developmentalism which is highly influenced by Piaget's model of young children also believe that young children's development is universal, regardless of their socio-cultural context (Piaget, 1954). Beneath this model, lies an idea that children's development needs to be awaited until they are ready. Other scholars have also argued that developmentalism has perpetuated Western's construction of children and childhood, thus it may situate non-Western children as "the other" (Adriany & Saefullah, 2015; Burman, 2008; Edwards et al., 2009; Penn, 2002; Spatig, 2005; Walkerdine, 1998).

Developmentalism is highly pervasive in Indonesia (Pangastuti, 2020). To some extent, this contributes to the protectionist approach in understanding young children. Echoing the developmentalism principle, the protectionist approach also sees young children as fragile individual that are in constant need of protection. This paradigm also sees children as innocent and naïve individuals who are unable to understand complex issues, including issues

such as pandemic. Exposing young children to those issues are seen to be detrimental for their development (Sigel, 1987; Solehuddin & Adriany, 2017). In Indonesia, this is evident in the government's policies that emphasis children's protection rather than children's participation (Adriany et al., 2019); Buchanan, 1998; Kaviani Johnson & Sloth-Nielsen, 2020). As the result children's voices are often absent from social discourses, even though Indonesia has ratified the United Nation Convention of Children's Right ref .

As mentioned, there has been a growing critique among academics on the developmentalist notion of children. This critique has allowed another paradigm, name post developmentalism to emerge. Within post developmentalism, children are constructed as individual that possesses agency and have voices (Edwards et al., 2009). Children are also seen as capable to understand social issue. They are able not only to construct meaning, but also resist to the dominant meaning. More importantly, this perspective recognizes children's ability to have full participation to social provision (Cahill, Dadavand, Shlezinger, Romei, & Farrelly, 2020; Koller, Nicholas, Gearing, & Kalfa, 2010). It also acknowledges children's capacity to navigate problems surrounding them (Short, 1994; Smith, 2007). Hence, this research will adopt post developmentalism in order to go beyond deficient model of children and childhood, particularly during the times of the pandemic.

Method

This research adopts a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA does not only focus on the text, but it also focuses on the social practices (Fairclough, 2002, 2003; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Wodak & Meyer, (2001) argue that by focusing on discourse, CDA aims to unpack imbalance power relations resulted from the use of language. By using CDA, this paper aims to see how children are constructed in the text during the pandemic, and to what extent this construction reflects social practices. As Fairclough (2003) asserts text is not innocent as it carries particular version of truth and interest.

This paper analyzes 78 articles from online mass media in Indonesia between April 1, to May 31, 2020. This time frame is selected because it is during this time Indonesia implemented physical distancing policies (CNN Indonesia, 2020). It is also the time when

the pandemic reached its peak in Indonesia. We search the articles using the words “young children”, “physical distancing”, and “COVID 19”. We found there are 19 articles on young children with the focus on learning; 11 on health; 15 on parenting; 14 on the government’s policies on COVID 19; 14 on government’ social fund; two articles on politics; two articles on social issues; and one article on environmental.

We then analyse the text using CDA. We pay attention to the dominant discourse within the text, whilst also trying to unpack the silenced meaning. We see words not only as a linguistic element, but also the discursive aspects of it. Our analysis suggests that there is two dominant discourses emerged from the articles. It is the discourse of fragile children and the discourse of economic children. We will explain more about these two discourses on the following section.

Results and Discussion

The Fragile Child

The construction of children as vulnerable individual is strongly circulated in the 78 articles. In one of the articles, staying at home as resulted from the COVID 19 is believed to take away children’s fundamental right to play.

Because staying at home, the children’s right to play an explore is taken away. This in the long term will delay their growth and development (*langgam.id*, May 12th 2020).

The quote from that website, clearly shows the influence of developmentalism. The article disseminates fear that young children are threatened to lose their developmental milestones during the pandemic. The quote perpetuates an idea that young children are in constant need of intervention and protection (Baumrind, 1978; Frost, 1998).

The discourse of fragile children continues to be disseminated as evident in the following quote:

It is indeed horrible if we allow the children to go outside during this seemingly endless pandemic.

Their strong desire to play and explore might make them careless and forget with the invisible danger amidst the pandemic. Young children can for instance accidentally touch their noses or their mouths. Even adults sometimes tend to forget, let alone young children. Hence, for whatever reasons, young children has to stay at home. (*langgam.id*, May 12th 2020)

The above quote clearly articulates young children's inability to understand the dangerous surrounding them. They are also seen to be cognitively incapable since they tend to easily forget the health protocols. Again, the idea of children as fragile being is strongly promoted here. The quote also perpetuates the binary between children and adults. This perspective resonates with the construction of young children in the modern time where children and adults are seen as completely different between one another (Wyness, 2006).

Children's vulnerability is seen as not only the result of the cognitive limitation, but also because of their well-being. Children's well-being is perceived to be at risk. The pandemic is believed to expose children to stress and psychological problems.

At the moment, even though some of young children can handle trauma, but most of them are not capable to do so. That is why parents need to be sensitive with children's well-being. (*cnnindonesia.com*, April 4th 2020)

The discourse analysis demonstrates how the online media obviously illuminates children's fragility. This resonates with the protectionist paradigm we explain before. While we do not claim to deny that young children are also exposed and affected by the COVID 19, we found that this construction is rather problematic because it takes away the agentic notion of children. Research done by Mukherjee (2020) shows how young children are actually able to create counter narrative that incorporates the concept of leisure during this pandemic. Hilppö, Rainio, Rajala, and Lipponen (2020, p. n.a.) also argue how "children and youth have also challenged the established boundaries, pushed them and arguably created new positions for themselves amid the pandemic". Their research seems to indicate that young children are actually capable to navigate the pressure and tension resulted from the pandemic. The same argument also asserted by Larcher and Brierley (2020) where they also remind that there is a need to go beyond the idea that puts children as simply as a victim during the pandemic. In fact, children have to be recognized as partners that are able to give constructive inputs to

adults, including the government, provided adults provide space to listen to children's voices. This perspective is in line with the United Nation Convention of Children Right (Un General assembly, 1989) that acknowledges children's right of participation in social provision. Another study conducted by Pascal and Bertram (2021) also demonstrates the extent to which young children actually possess resilience to adapt to this pandemic situation.

The Economic Child

The discourse that constructs children as helpless being in the online media perpetuates the fear that it might cause instability to the country's development. Indonesia is one of the countries that participate in Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Early childhood education (ECE) clearly becomes one of the SDGs goals. Hence, ECE is not only important for a child on individual level, but also fundamental for the country. This narrative can be seen in the following quote:

The pandemic gives a serious consequence for children growth and development. The closure of kindergarten, integrated health service centre, violence against children, psychological problems, and malnutrition will threaten Indonesia to have a generation loss. (*medianindonesia.com, May 28rd 2020*).

The above quote is clearly situated within an economic model of children and childhood. As we explained before, one of the dominant discourses in Indonesia on children is the discourse of golden generation. The quote in that website clearly disseminates the concern that the COVID-19 pandemic will become a threat for this golden generation to emerge.

The discourse of generation loss seems to echo the global discourse of learning lost. In another media that we analyzed, it was written:

Meanwhile, if this situation is allowed to continue, students doing remote learning (PJJ) have many drawbacks. Rythia Afkar, Economist, World Bank estimates that the percentage of home learning will increase by 10 percent (*suara.com, April 9, 2020*)

The information disseminated in the media, is aligned with a report prepared by OECD, it is obvious that the learning lost resulted from the COVID 19 is related with the economic impact (Hanushek & Woessmann, 2020). The report claims that:

Estimates based on the OECD Survey of Adult Skills show that income increases by 11.1% per additional year of schooling in the United States and by 7.5% on average across the sampled countries (Hanushek et al., 2015[9]: Table 2). If one again considers a corona-induced loss of one third of a school year, these results would suggest a loss of income for the affected pupils of about 2.5-4% over the entire working life (Hanushek & Woessmann, 2020, p. 9)

The same argument is also claimed by the World Bank. In their website, the World Bank argues:

Without major efforts to counter their impacts, the school-closings shock will lead to learning loss, increased dropouts, and higher inequality, and the economic shock will exacerbate the damage, by depressing education demand and supply as it harms households. Together, they will inflict long-run costs on human capital and welfare.

The discourse of learning loss clearly focuses on the economic impact resulted from the COVID-19. The economic impact to the children, as the above quote suggests does not take place in the present, but rather it will take place in the future. Here, the discourse sees the children as individuals who are in the process of becoming adults, rather than active social actors at the moment (Uprichard, 2008). While the future imaginary of what a child can do is important, but it should not take away the importance of the current situation. Perhaps, it is actually more important to ask how the children perceive this pandemic and what kind of new learning they are accumulating in this situation.

Conclusion

The discourse analysis to the 78 online articles show that the media situates children as helpless and vulnerable beings during the pandemic. While the discourse of fragile children might be perceived as having an empathetic attitude in young children, in reality the discourse has actually positioned young children as a passive agent that could not comprehend the emergency situation around them. We argue that as a matter of fact, situating young children as fragile individual will potentially marginalize the children further from the pandemic mitigation. Any action taken is always from adults' perspective and hence, it may not be

responsive to the actual need of the children. Our finding suggests that in order to ensure the children's well-being during the pandemic, children need to be fully included in the discussion and mitigation.

The findings hence should be seen as an invitation the need to deconstruct our traditional and dominant understanding of children and childhood. Instead of constructing young children as helpless individuals; teachers, parents, and policy makers should in fact recognize children's resilience during the pandemic. This way of looking at young children will allow their voices and experiences to be incorporated.

The findings also suggest the need to go beyond economic models of young children. Focusing on the future benefits young children might produce to a country will only shield their current needs. There is a need to use child-right perspective in understanding young children.

We are aware that the research is only limited to dominant discourses disseminated in the media. Hence, we recommend that further research on the field could directly conduct research with young children to have a deeper and more accurate understanding how young children understand and mitigate crisis such as the pandemic. Again, as argued before, listening to the voice of young children might allow us to have a more comprehensive strategies in mitigating disaster such as COVID-19.

References

- Adriany, V. (2019). *Beyond an economic model: Bringing social justice into early childhood education*. Paper presented at the Early Childhood Education in the 21st Century: Proceedings of the 4th International Conference on Early Childhood Education (ICECE 2018), November 7, 2018, Bandung, Indonesia.
- Adriany, V., & Saefullah, K. (2015). Deconstructing Human Capital Discourse in Early Childhood Education in Indonesia. In T. Lightfoot-Rueda, R. L. Peach, & N. Leask (Eds.), *Global Perspectives on Human Capital in Early Childhood Education: Reconceptualizing Theory, Policy, and Practice* (pp. 159-179). New York: Palgrave Macmillan US.

- Adriany, V., & Tesar, M. (2022). Unpacking the discourses of stunting in Indonesian early childhood education and parenting. *Children & Society*.
- Adriany, V., Yulindrasari, H., & Tesar, M. (2019). Satu Desa, Satu PAUD Unpacking the meaning of children's participation within ECE policy and provision in Indonesia. In J. Murray, B. B. Swadener, & K. Smith (Eds.), *The Routledge International Handbook of Young Children's Rights*. Oxon and New York: Routledge.
- Back, E., Cameron, C., & Tanner, T. (2009). *Children and Disaster Risk Reduction: Taking stock and moving forward. Children in a Changing Climate Research, UNICEF*. Brighton: IDS.
- BAPPENAS. (2017). Siaran Pers: Bonus Demografi 2030-2040: Strategi Indonesia Terkait Ketenagakerjaan Dan Pendidikan. Retrieved from https://www.bappenas.go.id/files/9215/0397/6050/Siaran_Pers-Peer_Learning_and_Knowledge_Sharing_Workshop.pdf
- Baumrind, D. (1978). Parental disciplinary patterns and social competence in children. *Youth & Society*, 9(3), 239-267. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X7800900302>
- Bruskas, D., & Care, F. (2008). Children in foster care: a vulnerable population at risk, 21(2), 70-77.
- Buchanan, A. (1998). Intergenerational Child Maltreatment. *International Handbook of Multigenerational Legacies of Trauma*, 535-552. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4757-5567-1_32
- Burman, E. (2008). *Deconstructing Developmental Psychology*. East Sussex: Routledge.
- COVID 19. (2020). Gugus Tugas Percepatan Penanganan COVID 19. Retrieved from <https://www.covid19.go.id/>
- Cahill, H., Dadavand, B., Shlezinger, K., Romei, K., & Farrelly, A. (2020). *Natural disasters and pandemic: supporting student and teacher wellbeing after a crisis*.
- CNN. (2020). Yang perlu diketahui soal kesehatan mental anak saat pandemi. CNN Indonesia. Retrieved August 1, 2020, from <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/gaya-hidup/20200402101844-255-489472/yang-perlu-diketahui-soal-kesehatan-mental-anak-saat-pandemi>
- CNN Indonesia. (2020). Daftar Kota dan Provinsi Yang Masih Terapkan PSBB. Retrieved July 5, 2020, from <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20200607150814-20->

- 510736/daftar-kota-dan-provinsi-yang-masih-terapkan-psbb
- Detiknews.com. (2020). *Ungkap 3.324 Anak PDP Corona, IDAI: Tidak Benar Anak Tak Rentan COVID-19.*. Retrieved August 1, 2020, from <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5026084/ungkap-3324-anak-pdp-corona-idai-tidak-benar-anak-tak-rentan-covid-19/2>
- Durham, M. G. (2016). Children, the media, and the epistemic imperative of embodied vulnerability. *Journal of Children and Media*, 10(1), 115-122.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17482798.2015.1121895>
- Edwards, S., Blaise, M., & Hammer, M. (2009). Beyond developmentalism? Early childhood teachers' understandings of multiage grouping in early childhood education and care. *Australasian Journal of Early Childhood*, 34(4), 55-63.
- Fairclough, N. (2002). Language in new capitalism. *Discourse and Society*, 13(2), 163-166.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926502013002404>
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Textual analysis for social research*. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.actamat.2005.01.043>
- Fan, Y., Wang, H., Wu, Q., Zhou, X., Zhou, Y., Wang, B., ... Zhu, T. (2020). SARS pandemic exposure impaired early childhood development: A lesson for COVID-19. *MedRxiv*, 2020.05.12.20099945. <https://doi.org/10.1101/2020.05.12.20099945>
- Frost, J. L. (1998). Neuroscience, play, and child development. *ERIC*.
- Furstenberg, F. F. (1999). Children and Family Change: Discourse between Social Scientists and the Media. *Contemporary Sociology*, 28(1), 10. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2653842>
- Gamson, W. A., Croteau, D., Hoynes, W., & Sasson, T. (1992). Media and the Social Construction of Reality. *Communication Research*, 18, 373-393.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/009365084011003001>
- Giesecke, J. (2020). The invisible pandemic. *The Lancet*, 395(10238), e98.
- Green, P. (2020). Risks to children and young people during covid-19 pandemic. In: British Medical Journal Publishing Group.
- Hanushek, E. A., & Woessmann, L. (2020). The economic impacts of learning losses. N.a.: OECD.
- Heckman, J. J., & Masterov, D. V. (2007). The Productivity Argument for Investing in Young Children*. *Applied Economic Perspectives and Policy*, 29(3), 446-493.
[doi:10.1111/j.1467-9353.2007.00359.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9353.2007.00359.x)

- Hilppö, J., Rainio, A., Rajala, A., & Lipponen, L. (2020). Children and the COVID-19 Lockdown: From Child Perspectives to Children's Perspectives. *Cultural Praxis*, 2020(26.4. 2020).
- Larcher, V., & Brierley, J. (2020). Children of COVID-19: pawns, pathfinders or partners? *Journal of Medical Ethics*, 46(8), 508-509. doi:10.1136/medethics-2020-106465
- MacNaughton, G. (2005). *Doing Foucault in Early Childhood Studies*. Oxon, New York: Routledge.
- Malik, Y. S., Kumar, N., Sircar, S., Kaushik, R., Bhat, S., Dhama, K., . . . Ghoshal, U. (2020). Coronavirus disease pandemic (COVID-19): challenges and a global perspective. *Pathogens*, 9(7), 519.
- Mediaindonesia.com (2020). *Generasi Emas Terancam Hilang*. Media Indonesia. Retrieved August 1, 2020, from <https://mediaindonesia.com/read/detail/316487-generasi-emas-terancam-hilang>
- Morens, D. M., Daszak, P., Markel, H., & Taubenberger, J. K. (2020). Pandemic COVID-19 joins history's pandemic legion. *Mbio*, 11(3).
- Mukherjee, U. (2020). Rainbows, Teddy Bears and 'Others': The Cultural Politics of Children's Leisure Amidst the COVID-19 Pandemic. *Leisure Sciences*, 1-7. doi:10.1080/01490400.2020.1773978
- Kaviani Johnson, A., & Sloth-Nielsen, J. (2020). Safeguarding Children in the Developing World—Beyond Intra-Organisational Policy and Self-Regulation. *Social Sciences*, 9(6), 98. <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci9060098>
- Koenigs, A., & Oppenheimer, L. (1985). Development and training of role-taking abilities with emotionally disturbed preschoolers: A pilot study. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 6(4), 313-320. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0193-3973\(85\)90006-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/0193-3973(85)90006-1)
- Koller, D., Nicholas, D., Gearing, R., & Kalfa, O. (2010). Paediatric pandemic planning: Children's perspectives and recommendations. *Health and Social Care in the Community*, 18(4), 369-377. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2524.2009.00907.x>
- Kronick, R., & Rousseau, C. (2015). Rights, compassion and invisible children: A critical discourse analysis of the parliamentary debates on the mandatory detention of migrant children in Canada. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 28(4), 544-569.

<https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fev005>

- Langgam.id. (2020). *Berdamai dengan Covid-19 Bersama Anak Usia Prasekolah*. Langgam.id. Retrieved August 1, 2020, from <https://langgam.id/berdamai-dengan-covid-19-bersama-anak-usia-prasekolah/>
- Lowe, P., Lee, E., & Macvarish, J. (2015). Biologising parenting: Neuroscience discourse, English social and public health policy and understandings of the child. *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 37(2), 198–211. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9566.12223>
- Malik, Y. S., Kumar, N., Sircar, S., Kaushik, R., Bhat, S., Dhama, K., . . . Ghoshal, U. (2020). Coronavirus disease pandemic (COVID-19): challenges and a global perspective. *Pathogens*, 9(7), 519.
- Morens, D. M., Daszak, P., Markel, H., & Taubenberger, J. K. (2020). Pandemic COVID-19 joins history's pandemic legion. *Mbio*, 11(3).
- Mukherjee, U. (2020). Rainbows, Teddy Bears and 'Others': The Cultural Politics of Children's Leisure Amidst the COVID-19 Pandemic. *Leisure Sciences*, 1-7. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01490400.2020.1773978>
- Pangastuti, Y. (2020). *Expansion of Early Childhood Education in Indonesia Finding Voices, Telling Stories*. (PhD Thesis). the University of Auckland, Auckland.
- Pascal, C., & Bertram, T. (2021). What do young children have to say? Recognising their voices, wisdom, agency and need for companionship during the COVID pandemic. *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal*, 1-14.
- Penn, H. (2002). The world bank's view of early childhood. *Childhood*, 9(1), 118-132.
- Phelps, C., & Sperry, L. L. (2020). Children and the COVID-19 pandemic. *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy*, 12(S1), S73.
- Piaget, J. (1954). *The Construction of Reality in the Child*. New York: Basic Books.
- Pieri, E. (2019). Media Framing and the Threat of Global Pandemics: The Ebola Crisis in UK Media and Policy Response. *Sociological Research Online*, 24(1), 73-92. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1360780418811966>
- Rasyid, A. (n.a.). Generasi Milenial Untuk Indonesia Emas 2045? Retrieved from <https://geotimes.co.id/op-ed/generasi-milenial-untuk-indonesia-emas-2045/>
- Roser, M., Ritchie, H., Ortiz-Ospina, E., & Hasell, J. (2020). Coronavirus pandemic (COVID-19). *Our world in data*.

The Construction of Young Children During COVID-19 in the Online Media in Indonesia

- Shalvec, & Sambhav, S. (2020). Role of mass media and communication during pandemic. *International Journal of Creative Research Thoughts*, 8(5), 3786–1790.
- Short, G. (1994). Children's grasp of controversial issues. In M. Woodhead, P. Light, & R. Carr (Eds.), *Growing Up in a Changing Society*. (pp. 333-350). London & New York: The Open University.
- Sigel, I. E. (1987). Does Hoarding Rob Children of Their Childhood? *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 2, 211-225.
- Silliman Cohen, R. I., & Bosk, E. A. (2020). Vulnerable Youth and the COVID-19 Pandemic. *Pediatrics*, 146(1). <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2020-1306>
- Smith, A. (2007). Children and young people's participation rights in education. *The International Journal of Children's Rights*, 15(1), 147-164.
- Solehuddin, M., & Adriany, V. (2017). Kindergarten Teachers' Understanding on Social Justice: Stories From Indonesia. *SAGE Open*, 7(4), 2158244017739340. doi:10.1177/2158244017739340
- Spatig, L. (2005). Feminist critique of developmentalism: What's in it for teachers? *Theory and Research in Education*, 3(3), 299-326. <https://doi/10.1177/1477878505057431>
- Stallings, R. A. (1990). Media Discourse and the Social Construction of Risk. *Social Problems*, 37(1), 80–95. <https://doi.org/10.2307/800796>
- Tesar, M., Rodriguez, S., & Kupferman, D. W. (2016). Philosophy and pedagogy of childhood, adolescence and youth. *Global Studies of Childhood*, 6(2), 169-176. <https://doi/10.1177/2043610616647623>
- Thakur, K., Kumar, N., & Sharma, N. (2020). Effect of the pandemic and lockdown on mental health of children. *The Indian Journal of Pediatrics*, 87, 552-552.
- Un General assembly, convention on the rights of the child, 20 November 1989, United nations.
- Uprichard, E. (2008). Children as 'being and becomings': Children, childhood and temporality. *Children & Society*, 22(4), 303-313.
- Viner, R. M., Russell, S. J., Croker, H., Packer, J., Ward, J., Stansfield, C., ... Booy, R. (2020). School closure and management practices during coronavirus outbreaks including COVID-19: a rapid systematic review. *The Lancet Child and Adolescent Health*, 4(5), 397–404. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S2352-4642\(20\)30095-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/S2352-4642(20)30095-X)

- Walkerdine, V. (1998). Developmental psychology and the child-centered pedagogy: the insertion of piaget into early education. In J. Henriques, W. Hollway, C. Urwin, C. Venn, & V. Walkerdine (Eds.), *Changing the subject: psychology, social regulation, and subjectivity* (pp. 153-202). London: Routledge.
- WHO. (2002). Environmental health in emergencies: Vulnerable groups. Retrieved from https://www.who.int/environmental_health_emergencies/vulnerable_groups/en/
- Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2001). *Methods of critical discourse analysis*.
- Wyness, M. (2006). *Childhood and Society: An Introduction to the Sociology of Childhood*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.