Domination criticism and freedom criticism on flood news in online media from a Foucauldian view

Kritik dominasi dan kritik kebebasan pada berita banjir di media online dalam pandangan Foucauldian

Nevrettia Christantyawati[1*] iD **, Yuyun Wahyu Izzati**[2] iD **, & Liestianingsih Dwi Dayanti**[2] iD

[1]Doctoral Program of Social Science, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Airlangga
[2]Department of Communication, Faculty of Social and Political Science, Universitas Airlangga
Address: Dharmawangsa Dalam, Airlangga, Surabaya, East Java Province, Indonesia 60286
E-mail: nevrie03@gmail.com

Abstract

This article discusses the issue of flood disaster polemics in online media using McKerrow's critical rhetorical theory analysis, with the main aim of getting closer to discourse formations that have not been discussed in previous research on political interest contestation. This research uses Fairclough's critical discourse analysis method to reveal flood news articles from 2019-2021 on Tirto.id. Meanwhile, the Foucauldian perspective in this study is used as a review of McKerrow's critical rhetoric to analyze *power, right and truth*. Furthermore, this triangulation is explained in two criticisms, namely, criticism of domination and freedom in the online media Tirto.id in reporting on the flood. This study found that in terms of *power*, Tirto.id discusses criticism of *power* as a struggle for power in the social status of the upper and lower middle classes. Dominance tends to appear in social disparities and discrepancies in the effects of development on poor communities and the surrounding ecosystem. In terms of *rights*, Tirto.id discusses demands for ecological justice for lower middle class society. Finally, in terms of *truth*, the discourse about flood victims includes the lower classes as a result of land grabbing. This study concludes that criticism of domination shows that the government is not very serious about the concept of ecological justice for all groups. Criticism of freedom shows that Tirto.id expresses satire that floods are only suffered by poor people, not rich people.

Keywords: criticism of domination; criticism of freedom; critical rhetoric; flooding news; Foucauldian view

Abstrak

Artikel ini membahas persoalan polemik bencana banjir di media online menggunakan analisis teori retorika kritis McKerrow, dengan tujuan utama lebih mendekatkan pada formasi wacana yang belum dibahas pada penelitian-penelitian sebelumnya tentang kontestasi kepentingan politik. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode analisis wacana kritis Fairclough untuk mengungkap artikel berita banjir dari 2019-2021 di Tirto.id. Sedangkan perspektif Foucauldian dalam studi ini digunakan sebagai tinjauan retorika kritis McKerrow untuk menganalisis power, right dan truth. Selanjutnya triangulasi ini dijabarkan dalam dua kritik yaitu: kritik dominasi dan kebebasan di media online Tirto.id dalam memberitakan banjir. Studi ini menemukan bahwa dari segi power, Tirto.id mewacanakan kritik power sebagai pertaruangan kekuasaan status sosial kelas menengah atas dan bawah. Dominasi cenderung nampak pada disparitas sosial dan diskrepansi efek pembangunan pada masyarakat miskin serta ekosistem di sekitarnya. Dari segi right, Tirto.id mewacanakan tuntutan keadilan ekologis bagi masyarakat kelas menengah bawah. Terakhir, dari segi truth, wacana tentang korban banjir meliputi kelas bawah akibat dari perebutan lahan. Studi ini menyimpulkan bahwa kritik dominasi menunjukkan pemerintah tidak terlalu serius dalam konsep keadilan ekologi untuk semua kalangan. Kritik kebebasan menunjukkan bahwa Tirto.id mengekspresikan satir bahwa banjir hanya diderita oleh masyarakat miskin bukan masyarakat kaya.

Kata kunci: *kritik dominasi; kritik kebebasan; retorika kritis; berita banjir; pandangan Foucauldian*

Introduction

According to several previous studies, the ideological content of flood disaster narratives in Indonesia is always related to political issues (Artiningsih et al. 2016, Dwifatma 2018, Handayani et al. 2019, Pinontoan & Wahid 2020, Puspitasari 2020, Wardyaningrum 2022). This indicates that the power relations

are becoming more clearly legible when compared to previous flood reporting. The news that stands out as a symptom of politicization in this study, for example, is the case of the floods in Jakarta in 2020. During the flood, the media were overwhelmed by news narratives that showed more of the pros and cons politically between the performance of Governor Anies Baswedan and his political opponents. Kompas.com raised the issue on December 19, 2019, regarding the president's innuendo to the Governor of Capital Region Jakarta and his staff regarding the construction of the capital's dam and the contestation of claims for best achievement in handling floods.

From the starting points of previous news framing studies, consider that it is not enough to overlook the flood issue from a certain framing point of view to expose the abuse of power. This study argues that the use of framing analysis is aimed at how ideology is constructed by the perspective of newsmakers. This is how the media ultimately selects issues that are considered important and some are not. Moreover, the selected disaster news issue might lead the audience to uncertain fear (Cacciatore et al. 2016, Rovino et al. 2021). On the contrary, Critical Discourse Analysis is considered appropriate to uncover the mystification of power and direction in indispensable social changes (McNeil 2023). The researchers elaborate on the theory of critical rhetoric as the main theory to explain how power relations and social relations are articulated in flood reporting. The essence is how we can recognize power, rights, and truth. Therefore, the basic essence of the problem of the dynamics of communication and disaster journalism is to describe the content of power and freedom as a process that underlies the formation of discourse practice (Dunn 2020, Abbas 2021, Easterlin 2021, Radibratović 2021, Robin & Priscila 2021, Reese 2022).

This study scrutinized using critical rhetoric by criticizing two things, criticism of domination and freedom as part of a Foucauldian perspective. The critique of domination uncovers how the ruling elites get privileges to intervene to narrate floods. This has the potential to make efforts to perpetuate its power through the doxa issue of handling floods as an achievement in leading the region. On the other hand, criticism of freedom in flood news is a discourse on the voices of the struggles of flood victims and people who are suffering. This study assumed that criticism of freedom in the flood news represents losses and suffering as well as the victims' efforts to survive in difficult conditions. Also, Tirto leads the story of how the media may be able to judge social wrongs. A political contestation arises between who dominates and who is dominated in the struggle of social class after that. Some rhetoric scholars agree that these Foucauldian views benefit the supporting narrative and persuasion to the audience due to the power and archeology of knowledge (Wang 2017, Bär et al. 2020, McNeil 2023).

This study has discovered from several previous research compilations that news values selected by framing often highlight aspects of political ideology compared to other aspects. However, in this study it was agreed that it is not enough to depict the whole portrayal of discourse on flooding stories which always occur regularly, so that the media do frenzy reports. Also, we assume that there are discourse practices in disaster reporting. This assumption is based on previous research findings. Descriptions of the results of disaster research tend to use rhetoric with a news angle that tells of drama and tragedy (Osnos 2010, Stock 2018, Asibey et al. 2022). The predominance of news framing of this kind explains the practice of telling tragedies and leads to the reasoning of the reality of sadness. As an illustration, this kind of article was found in the news about the tsunami on Carita Beach 2018, the Sunda Strait by Liputan6.com. The media wrote soft news and compiled the victims' suffering as a news angle, posted on December 25, 2018 (Antara 2020). The following is an example of how, on January 12, 2018, CNN reported on the suffering of flood victims that occurred in Lebak Banten full of human tragedies, such as worrying about going hungry for days and fighting over pillows. The flood event that occurred in Lebak Banten coincided with the flood in Jakarta so the situation in Lebak Banten seemed to lack of attention compared to the issue of flooding in Jakarta. So, it is not surprising that the image of disaster news in the Indonesian media is always associated with suffering, tears, and tragedy (Arif 2010, Sukmono & Junedi 2018, Houston et al. 2019, Matthews & Thorsen 2020).

The development of disaster journalism in Indonesia marks the starting point after a decade of the Aceh tsunami megadisaster in 2004. Instead of the media providing disaster information, on the other hand, the media tends to dramatize disaster news to attempt to the readers interested (Nazaruddin 2015). Even

disasters were no longer as vital issues as information needs but also as political news commodities (Dwifatma 2018). The news tends to narrate the might of regional leaders. Another additional narrative is the dominance of the upper social class who had the capital to build an exclusive smart city. For example, the media often presents news topics about the governor of DKI Jakarta in dealing with floods and is used as the viewpoint of the media's framing ideology, namely Kompas (Artiningsih et al. 2016, Dwifatma 2018, Handayani et al. 2019, Pinontoan & Wahid 2020, Puspitasari 2020). In general, these studies can be understood that the media in conveying social reality still has power relations and current practices at a glance as an arena for political elite contestation.

Meanwhile, Van Voorst's ethnographic research revealed distinct results of flood disaster research. This ethnographic research reveals that the root of the problem was the community's trust factor and the behavior of flood victims in dealing with it. The finding is that people do not have high trust in government officials as if they have given up that they will be given false hope. So they prefer their way in the disaster area to save themselves rather than being stranded in refugee pockets that are officially managed by the government (Van Voorst 2015). The ethnographic studies reveal how the social context meets the reality of the social problem of the flood itself. The main finding of Van Voorst's study might be confirmed further by overlooking the power relation through the media discourse. So that, this is the basic starting point to scrutinize the link between power in language and social practice.

From the two distinctive findings of these studies, this study decided to elaborate on the fact that floods as disasters always come to people who are not fortunate and are already reluctant because of a lack of trust to the government. On the other hand, the media's role as government monitoring agents framed the flood incident as a political elite contest, an arena for achievements, and a news commodity that sells mournful stories. From the dialectic, this leads to the next basic question. Did the media in reporting on the flood carry criticism of domination and criticism of freedom? This question becomes a central idea in various and even contradictory narratives in flood news. The dominance of a narrative can direct people's understanding of flooding in positive or negative terms. If the narrative contained in online media coverage is not critical or the media is only a tool of power, then this is tantamount to making the media banal.

Research Method

This study considers choosing Tirto.id media as an object. This media is a general cyber media that has received recognition as the top five best media according to the Alexa Page Rank in 2020, (Haryanto 2010, Lim 2012, Tapsell 2015, Weiss 2018). The best media is the position of major media in Indonesia based on popularity in the eyes of the public, capital-owned, media conglomeration, and media strength in management. Tirto.id is a cyber-media that tends to raise issues of marginalized communities. Tirto.id's writing style is in a copywriting style so that the reader becomes comfortable with Tirto.id's storytelling. Table 1 is a list of the articles studied.

Since this study aimed to focus on social practice discourse and the utility of language to reveal power and social change, it was considered to implement Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis model. This study acknowledge that Fairclough CDA emphasizes social practice; and scrutinizes the social wrongs in society and the resistances as well (Fairclough 1992, 2020). Furthermore, Fairclough stated that by using languages as social practices, the social practice dissolved essentially into language usage. Meanwhile, the other Critical Discourse Analysis model emphasizes the point views of actors, feminism, critical language, and social cognition which do not meet this study's aims (Bezerra 2020, Rafiqa 2020, Fowler & Kress 2023). This study uses Fairclough discourse analysis by analyzing all the news texts on the Tirto.id flood from 2019-2021 into three stages; namely the stages of microanalysis, meso analysis, and macro analysis. To make it easier to illustrate how the next process can be observed from the schematic is shown in Figure 1.

Table 1.
List of news articles

Date posted	Title of articles	Hyperlink
Reporter: Riyan Setiawan - 13 Oct 2021 14:41 WIB	3 Penyebab Banjir Jakarta yang Harus Diantisipasi Pemprov DKI	3 Penyebab Banjir Jakarta yang Harus Diantisipasi Pemprov DKI (tirto.id)
Author: Bayu Septianto - 7 Jan 2020 11:07 WIB	35.502 Warga Mengungsi Akibat Banjir dan Longsor di Jabodetabek	35.502 Warga Mengungsi Akibat Banjir dan Longsor di Jabodetabek (tirto.id)
Author: Alexander Haryanto - 3 Jan 2020 13:45 WIB	Apa Tanggapan Anies Baswedan Tentang Banjir Jakarta 2020?	Apa Tanggapan Anies Baswedan Tentang Banjir Jakarta 2020? (tirto.id)
Reporter: Vincent Fabian Thomas - 7 Jan 2020 07:00 WIB	Banjir Ancam Jakarta & Sekitarnya: Yakin IMB- Amdal Mau Dihapuskan?	Banjir Ancam Jakarta & Sekitarnya: Yakin IMB-Amdal Mau Dihapuskan? (tirto.id)
Reporter: Alfi an Putra Abdi - 2 Mar 2020 13:00 WIB	Banjir di Perumahan Bekasi: Pengembangnya Sama, Nasibnya Beda	Banjir di Perumahan Bekasi: Pengembangnya Sama, Nasibnya Beda (tirto.id)
Reporter: Riyan Setiawan - 3 Jan 2020 07:00 WIB	Banjir Era Anies dan Ahok BTP, Apa Bedanya?	Banjir Era Anies dan Ahok BTP, Apa Bedanya? (tirto.id)
Author: Addi M Idhom - 11 Dec 2020 18:20 WIB	Banjir Sampang Madura: Daftar Desa Terendam & Prakiraan Cuaca BMKG	Banjir Sampang Madura: Daftar Desa Terendam & Prakiraan Cuaca BMKG (tirto.id)
Author: Husein Abdulsalam - 1 May 2019 15:30 WIB	Empat Abad Kejumudan Pemerintah Jakarta Menangani Banjir	Empat Abad Kejumudan Pemerintah Jakarta Menangani Banjir (tirto.id)
Contributor: Versatile Holiday Lado - 18 Jan 2021 17:49 WIB	Info Banjir 18 January 2021: Jawa, Kalimantan, Sumatera, Sulawesi	Info Banjir 18 January 2021: Jawa, Kalimantan, Sumatera, Sulawesi (tirto.id)
Reporter: Riyan Setiawan - 6 Jan 2020 13:30 WIB	Kisah Anak-Anak Korban Banjir Jakarta Bertahan di Pengungsian	Kisah Anak-Anak Korban Banjir Jakarta Bertahan di Pengungsian (tirto.id)
Reporter: Adi Briantika - 2 Mar 2020 11:00 WIB	Kisah Pilu Korban Banjir di Harapan Indah Bekasi Nasib si Kaya dan si Miskin dalam Kepungan Banjir Jakarta	Kisah Pilu Korban Banjir di Harapan Indah Bekasi (tirto.id) Nasib Si Kaya dan Si Miskin dalam Kepungan Banjir Jakarta (tirto.id)
Reporter: Aulia Adam - Selasa, 7 Jan 2020 12:45 WIB	Nasib Warga Kalteng: Sudah Corona, Ditimpa Banjir & Karhultla Pula	Nasib Warga Kalteng: Sudah Corona, Ditimpa Banjir & Karhultla Pula (tirto.id)
Reporter: Alfian Putra Abdi - 17 Sep 2020 11:00 WIB	Siapa Mau Gugat Anies Baswedan Karena Kelalaiannya Memicu Banjir?	Siapa Mau Gugat Anies Baswedan Karena Kelalaiannya Memicu Banjir? (tirto.id)
Reporter: Restu Diantina Putri - Selasa, 7 Jan 2020 08:25 WIB	Mengungkap Musabab Banjir Besar Jakarta 2020	Mengungkap Musabab Banjir Besar Jakarta 2020 (tirto.id)

Source: The authors compiled online news from Tirto.id
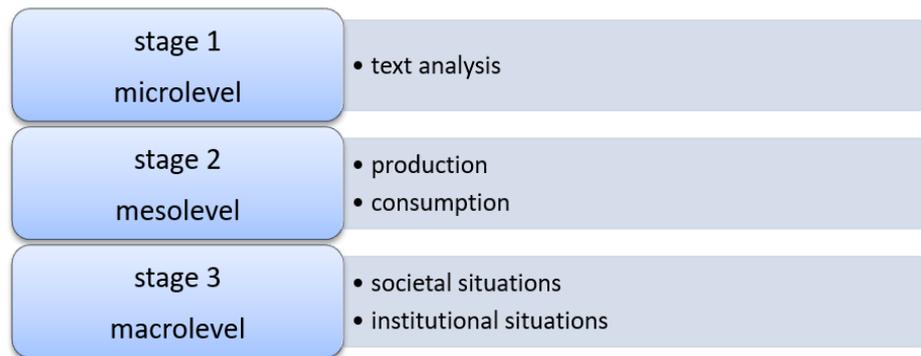
Figure 1.
Stages of CDA Fairclough methods
Source: Fairclough's critical discourse analysis model from "Discourse and social change"
(Fairclough 1992)

Between Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis and McKerrow's Critical Rhetoric Theory, there is a common dialectic, namely the study of language as a means of conveying meaning (Matthew & de Melo 2015, Herbig et al. 2020, Posselt & Hetzel 2023). This study also uses McKerrow's critical rhetoric theory to help answer social practice problems. Critical rhetoric articulates how power relations and social relations are communicated through the principles of symbol, power, meaning, and doxa. Power relations and social relations in critical rhetoric are two objects for criticism, namely critique of domination and freedom (McKerrow 1991, 2011, Littlejohn et al. 2012, McKerrow 2015, Harrington et al. 2019). Eventually, this critique of domination and freedom led to the discovery of how the flood disaster discourse in Indonesia was formed. As an illustration, critical rhetoric questions the dominating individual or groups in the formation of discourse, and on the other hand, sometimes the dominant person or group is not solely free to express opinions. Dominated parties tend to communicate and interact in a more deliberative space that they call social relations. Even though this freedom is still in the form of power control in a new format, freedom tends to be dominated by the struggle for the truth that one wants to communicate. These two criticisms are then articulated in Foucault's thinking by McKerrow through the triangulation of power, right, and truth. So, it can be understood simply in communication, who is allowed to speak and who is unable to speak, who is allowed to protest and defend, and how public opinion is conveyed (McKerrow 1989).

Despite using Fairclough's method, this study applied critical rhetoric theory by McKerrow through Foucault's perspective. This study considered not using Foucault's method despite Fairclough's method for several reasons. Firstly, Foucault's method focuses more on the archeology of knowledge by looking for any statements to be discussed as genealogy (Foucault 1972). This study believes that it is not bold enough to enhance the dialectic of social practice and the process of ideology formation. Secondly, Foucault does not focus on intertextuality and linguistic studies as part of power (Daniels & Phillips 2020). On the other hand, Fairclough argues that intertextuality is intended to maintain relations of domination (Fairclough 1995, 2001). The intertextuality works as a reflection of ideology in discourse. The emphasis of this article is to utilize McKerrow's critical rhetoric in Foucault's perspective to fill the gap in Fairclough's micro-textual analysis (McKerrow 2011). By doing so, the dialectic between language semiosis can meet social practice (Fairclough 2020). Therefore, the authors are capable of explaining how archeology and genealogy as flood discourse formations in Tirto.id were formed.

Results and Discussion

The study found some outstanding facts that go to illustrate many results and discussion accordingly. To comprehend the results, we are about to explain four indispensable points. Firstly, we discuss areas where the flood occurs. Second, we discuss about text as micro analysis, Third, we ponder on how to produce and consume texts. Finally, we emphasize on macro social analysis.

Areas subject to flooding

Tirto.id more focused on reporting narratives about the floods that occurred in Jakarta in early 2020. Nevertheless, there are still other news reports of flood events that occurred in many remote areas in Indonesia. The Jakarta flooding was mostly reported. These reports contain a pattern about causes of floods, how floods are handled by the government, and discourses that are unilaterally detrimental and humanitarian issues are highlighted. In particular, the dominating issue is the problem of social disparity and discrepancy resulting from violations of urban area development. Table 2 shows three social actors who are always connected to the flood issue.

Table 2.
Discourse actors always present in flood news on Tirto.id

Discourse Participant	Affected society	Scholars
The Government	Residence of Perum Harapan Indah-Bekasi	Universitas Trisakti
The President Joko Widodo		WALHI
The Governors	The Schools	Rujak Center For Urban Studies
Minister of Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Cultural Affairs Indonesia	The Mosques	
	The representative of the Neighborhood	
Minister of Forestry and Environment	The Advocacy Team for Flood Victims	
Minister of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection	The refugees	
Minister of Agriculture	The small merchants	
Minister of Agrarian Spatial Planning/ National Land Agency		
Minister of Public Works and Public Housing		
Minister of Home Affairs		
National Board for Disaster Management		
Agency for Meteorology and Geophysics, Climatology		
House of Representatives		
Several supporting official agencies		

Source: The author's data processing and analysis

Microanalysis of domination and freedom criticism on flood news in online media

Texts and signs of semiosis taken based on diction and metaphors in Tirto.id's texts and articles are a matter of social inequality and the dichotomy between social status. From the various titles in the corpus and several narrations in the text, we can find the disparity between the rich and the poor in the flood disaster. For example, the articles, "*Banjir di Perumahan Bekasi: Pengembangnya Sama,*" "*Nasibnya Beda,*" and "*Kisah Pilu Korban Banjir di Harapan Indah Bekasi-Nasib si Kaya dan si Miskin dalam Kepungan Banjir Jakarta*." Tirto.id tends to enhance the bold social disparity about the poor group of severe people afflicted compared to the wealthy group who had the precious privilege. The texts showed words to describe the devastation of the poor such as sorrowful stories, distressing conditions, devastation, material loss and damage in washed-away floods, and grieving of powerless people. On the other hand, Tirto.id enhanced a group of wealthy people who were blessed with prosperity even though they were surrounded by a submerging flood. Their properties were sitting pretty dry and remained comfortable amid the devastating adjacent neighborhood.

The intertextuality carried out by Tirto.id in quoting several statements from excluding sources will refer to the official news agency ANTARA. It is proven that there are 34 mentions of the word ANTARA from 24 news articles. This indicates that an alert remains a necessity in completing the required source

quotations. Apart from that, data on netizens' tweets or trending topics on Twitter have also become separate intertextuality besides depicting attractive photos. It means that Tirto.id officially refers to officially reliable source news rather than alternative sources. Some of the news articles were gathered starting from scratch by investigating in the field, such as an article that reported the dispute in the flood-affected neighborhood in Bekasi Indonesia.

Tirto.id, provides the patterns of communication actions that lead to communicative actions. It is just that the emphasis on verification action by the community was very much highlighted. It is found in the article, "*Siapa Mau Gugat Anies Baswedan Karena Kelalaiannya Memicu Banjir?*" This article is about a group of victims who sued Governor Anies Baswedan due to his negligence that triggered the flood. For example, in covering the issue of lawsuits from flood victims in Jakarta, which were not only reported as behabitative action but also as their voices when demanding ecological justice. The difference is that the power relations that belong to the flood victims' community groups in Bekasi Indonesia are manifested in collective advocacy and there is a representative institution representing the victims. It is very clear when Tirto.id told the facts about the flooding in Bekasi Indonesia, that there was resistance from the residents of the middle-lower housing affected by the floods. These poor people forcefully committed to breaking down the real estate walls. The action led to a legal dispute. However, the flood victims could speak up expositively to their muted voices to sue the developers and the government to facilitate their demands.

In reporting the statements, Tirto.id did a lot of simple and meaningful elocutionary actions. For example, in news articles, the causes of the Jakarta floods, flood victims had sued Anies Baswedan, and so on. Tirto.id wrote it in the form of hard news which was more in-depth and mild reports. Tirto.id always presents victims and focuses on social and economic problems, especially the problem of losses and human suffering in flood disasters. Not only that, the focus of the problem raised is that flooding is a classic problem, routine, and a necessity for the poor to suffer. The reasons for reporting news articles, especially in Jakarta and adjacent areas, are spatial planning and the struggle over the performance of the central and provincial governments. The next reason was the controversy over the normalization and naturalization of the Ciliwung River projects. These two distinctive projects of the former Governor led the polemic. The discourse of political contest between the legislature and the Governor, especially West Java Governor Ridwan Kamil, was boldly reported. Moreover, Tirto.id revealed the confrontation over the discourse amid flood victims, lower-middle-class housing residents with developers, and wealthy residents. The discourse confrontation of two group's interests; the poor and the rich people, sharply rose as an ecological justice for the lower class. So, the rich people who have abundant capital easily do the land grabbing, and build great smart cities regardless of environmental impacts as well.

Illustrative evidence can be found in the article entitled "Unraveling the Causes of Jakarta Floods." There is one subtitle that says that the water space was seized. The word "rebut" has a negative connotation which means to be taken by force, so you can be sure who is taking over the water space in Jakarta, causing a reduction in water catchment areas (Anugrahadi et al. 2019, Putri 2020, Nasution et al. 2021, Rahmayanti et al. 2021). Another proof that Tirto.id always represents victims is by doing in-depth reporting to cover the messy problems on site. This can be found in every article which always presents contradictions between the parties that intersect. There are forms of communicative action from the sources which are patterned into three discourse participants; the State and Government; the affected society, scholars, and academic observant. Table 3 shows how the communication actions from each source person's statements.

Table 3.
The nature of illocutionary actions

Source		Illocutionary act
The Government, the state	:	Verdictive, commisives
Affected Society	:	Behabitives, verdictive and expositive
Scholars, experts, academic observants	:	Expositive, exercitive

Source: Author's data analysis of rhetorical actions

Tirto.id quoted the interviews and statements more directly to show the verdictive and commissive actions by government officials. All efforts should be focused on the safety of residents affected by floods and handling evacuations that cause social problems. The words chosen tend to show satirical meanings, including the fate of refugees. For instance, the words that describe the sad stories of residents, honing the empathy of policymakers, the fate of the poor and the rich and who dare to sue the Governor for neglecting the effects of flooding, and so on. The verdictive nature of decision-making is very common when quoting statements from provincial government officials. These actions or executions are varied such as providing assistance, setting up refugee tents, repairing embankments, draining runoff water, dredging rivers, and so on. On the other hand, an authority has influence, power, and strength statements. These abilities were often quoted and contradicted by commissive statements which mean promises, plans, and what will be done in the future. Sometimes some statements are exhortation or exertive but not too strongly emphasized. These exertive actions usually come from the Meteorology, Climatology, and Geophysics Agency as well as environmental groups and academics.

Meso-analysis of domination and freedom criticism on flood news in online media

At the meso level, Tirto.id also provides a social media network platform for sharing news articles. The platforms contained on the Tirto.id social media are Facebook, Twitter, and LinkedIn. Also, there is a link to share via e-mail and copy the URL. Thus, the echo effect of social media will become a power for Tirto.id to reinforce and broaden netizens. Several previous studies reviewed that the Tirto.id meso level problem mutually reinforces the findings that the production and strategy for presenting news is to use the help of the Twitter social media platform, which also functions as a news gathering (Paramastri & Gumilar 2019, Pratiwi & Darmawan 2019). This social media has a significant impact on the extension of the rapid dissemination of news in public privacy spaces.

In the process of writing news in the editorial office, Tirto.id also uses a fact-checking technique to avoid hoaxes (Prajarto 2021). For a writing style that is more investigative journalism, the use of data journalism stands out (Pratiwi & Darmawan 2019). It is not enough for the editorial policy to use investigative reports and data journalism, but also to use copywriting techniques (Adiprasetio 2019, Diuzheva 2022, Hooffacker 2022, Tolmach 2022). Copywriting is one of the keys to how the use of language that is persuasive in marketing is applied in flood reporting narratives. The story was emphasized to narrate ecological injustice and social class disparities among flood victims. Tirto.id describes it as tragedies, satires, evacuation dramas, government heroic actions, and conflicts. Tirto.id utilized data journalism to enhance trending data big data. These archives are displayed as info-graphics that support the logical approach of reporting rhetoric (Pratiwi & Darmawan 2019). Tirto.id also implements a transparency policy in disclosing data references (Ciptadi & Armando 2018).

Macroanalysis of domination and freedom criticism on flood news in online media

The social irregularities raised by Tirto.id were three points; social class disparities; the battle over social class discourse; and the efforts to set dialogue amid the government, developers, and the victims. In addition, there were political and power contests between the two groups. First, was the group of people who have the power to exploit the environment. Second, was a group of people who were oppressed and affected by flooding. A sensitive issue also raised was community advocacy for ecological justice in a satirical way. Often these satirical remarks also cause institutional problems for Tirto.id.

The obstacles revealed that Tirto.id failed to interview the government and the private sectors. Tirto found it hard to meet a confrontation as well as a confirmation narrative. This media also presents the voices of the community as victims. Further described are efforts on how to rescue and the government's promises in tackling floods, including the drama of conflicts and contradictions among the elite and academics. Tirto.id also tried to present the private sector as the person in charge of infrastructure development, but this group was always silent.

This means that, at the macro level, the problem of this flood disaster must also involve the perspective of obstacles and the meaning of all parties. The government, which has worked hard to regulate and coordinate, was sometimes constrained by vertical coordination and intersects across authority

boundaries. Meanwhile, the efforts of victims' communities require power relations that can uproot the arrogance of higher social classes for the consequences of ecological injustice. Ideas and voices expositively warned were also faint and Tirto reported them in detail. In line with that, the lateral conflict between elites is also a problem that is revealed in the news. Political clashes of interest also appear as part of the show of power relations when the floods come. No solution seems suitable for dealing with flooding because various parties state their different truths.

Tirto.id implicitly conveys that the problem of flooding is still needed and maintained. The narratives referred to historical archives; the genealogy of floods in Jakarta is a classic problem experienced by any governor. Bad urban governance is a problem that seems to be eternal. This problem is a challenge for the governor's leadership. It is to see how is the governor's expertise in carrying out his duties as a policy maker, and hero for his citizens. This is what will potentially be developed as a *doxa* in rhetoric.

Meanwhile, for the poor, they should have resigned themselves to the situation and, like a behabitive rhetorical narrative, said that flooding is 'fate;' good fortune for the blessed rich people and misfortune for the poor people. The diction chosen by Tirto.id leads to a subtly satirical rhetoric. This satire is also addressed to the Governor of West Java Indonesia, Ridwan Kamil who seems to tend to leave the solution to their respective regional leaders.

The flooding issue that arose in many media was not just informational content but had the potential as a justification claim for power. So far, this leads us to discuss how critical rhetoric explains the power of communication. Since the power is essential, the flood justification claims acceptable reasons. The key was using communication symbols to influence the readers (Brimeyer et al. 2004, Hartelius & Browning 2008). The basic assumption of contemporary rhetoric is the narrative paradigm which becomes important. Therefore the strength of analyzing rhetorical theory lies in the use of reasons to justify a claim (Fisher & Brockriede 1984).

Rhetoric is not only an obsolete theory that only sees the persuasion of communicators in persuading their audiences, but recently McKerrow and McGee claimed that rhetoric is used to view social phenomena from a critical perspective as discourse formations (McKerrow 2015). Critical rhetoric theory analyzes deeper into the status quo and the process of communication and dominance of certain groups. On the other hand, McKerrow's critical rhetoric sees how, in communication space, marginal groups carry out their emancipation as social relations. To actualize power by the dominant group it is pursued through a process of communication with a language consisting of power. Meanwhile, the marginalized group has to struggle to communicate in new ways as a form of resistance through social relations. The discourse formation contained in this text will provide a new perspective in understanding domination and freedom of communication.

In the context of critical rhetoric, there is an important triangulation that needs to be explained as part of the roots of Foucauldian theory. Furthermore, McKerrow proposed two critiques, of domination and freedom. The three crucial elements of power, right, and truth are parts of Domination and Freedom Criticism. To be clearly comprehended the scheme is illustrated in Figure 2.

Power is an influence relation that always exists in every narrative. The strongest power relation is the polemic on flood reporting in Jakarta. This designation of power relations also dominates through words that create dichotomies or binary oppositions. For example, "the suffering of the poor and the fate of the rich in the flood," or subordinate power such as "Jokowi orders Anies to dredge reservoirs." Big media is very thick with power relations that are also evidenced by statements from sources directly from the

government or regional heads. The practice of discourse contained in the mainstream media tends to emphasize that flood management efforts are also held by regional heads and they manage them as well as possible by coordinating units under them and supporting units. Even so, this media also narrates that there are obstacles that become resistance, including cross-border areas, problems rooted in densely populated settlements, people's behavior that is still destructive, stagnant aid, weak infrastructure, and all other fragilities. The irony amid the existence of national funds to deal with disasters disappeared when the flood swept away, resulting in material and financial loss.
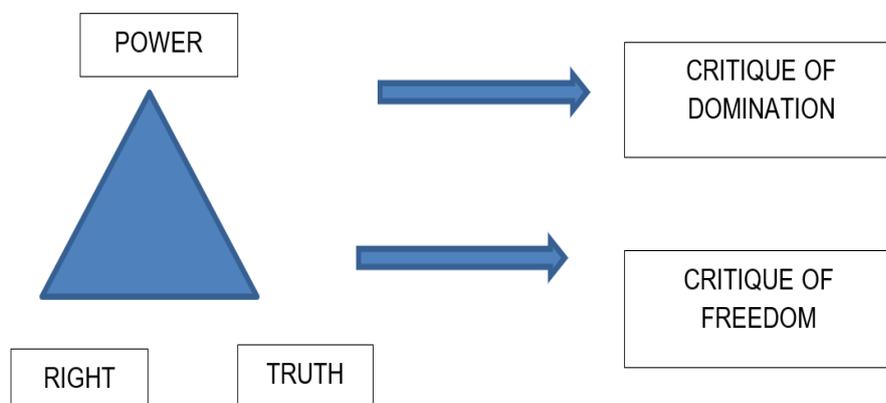
Figure 2.
Schematic of Foucauldian power relations triangulation in critical rhetoric
Source: The author's illustration model based on the conception of Raymie McKerrow's Critical Rhetoric

Right is a privilege to ecological justice that should be owned by every citizen. The voices of ecological justice are well-conveyed in the media. The media were unique in voicing ecological justice that lies in journalistic practices. Even if it is only one or two, it is enough to represent their voices. Tirto encourages them more often to their readers as if they were participating in an investigation to solve a riddle. Tirto presented sources from the victims and at the same time provided binary opposition for those who were not affected by the floods and even tended to be the cause of floods worse among the poor.

Truth is a statement of truth voiced by the media. Tirto.id conveyed the truth slightly offensively, with less sarcasm but paradoxical, and satirical with subtle parody and melancholy. The truth conveyed by Tirto.id is the issue of flooding as a contestation of knowledge, social class dichotomy, cross-border authorities, government budgets, and unequal development. Tirto had had a bad experience in their track record of being offended by a party for their posts. Tirto even experienced hacking in 2020 and after the controversial meme case, which prompted protests from the Muslim party Nahdlatul Ulama.

Conclusion

Overall, this study concludes indispensable matters from the dialectic between the previous study by framing ideology and ethnographic findings that meet the aim of this study. Fairclough's Critical Discourse analysis enhances the social context and reveals the social dispute due to flood. Despite of lack of trust in the government, Tirto also demands ecological justice equally and raises the issue of power abuse due to government negligence. The criticism of domination related to power relations; power, right, and truth, reveals the important idea that the flood polemic reportation is related to technological contestation, political reputation, paradoxes in policies, and conflicts of authority across regional boundaries. It was even mentioned if there is a narrative direction that leads to a discourse on the potential for gentrification due to a clear social class dichotomy.

On the other hand, criticism of freedom, which is always related to social relations, tends to allude to the impact of urbanization, postal waste, and the negative behavior of people who are not emancipatory and participatory. Critics of freedom also touch upon issues of ecological justice, environmental literacy,

and education. This is done with deliberative and persuasive rhetoric. All the findings produced in this research lead to the evidence that there is a certain reason for using the Foucauldian triangulation between power, truth, and right. This is manifested in the form of critical rhetoric which in turn provides description of Indonesian disaster journalism.

The role of the media as a critical watchdog in Indonesia has a distinctive style with critical rhetoric as part of the characteristics of the adopted disaster journalism. This distinctive style is found in how the media expresses criticism of domination and freedom through the triangle of power, right, and truth triangulation. This way is expressed by the media in a way that is not the same as the Western media. Indonesian media tends to avoid vulgar criticism and sarcasm, instead exposing right and truth as playing a paradox about flooding.

Criticizing "*power*" is a way of expressing power relations. Tirto.id is more inclined to use interpellation or questions directly addressed to the government. Criticizing "*right*" is when this media questions the rights and ecological equality of citizens in flood occurrences. Tirto.id focused on showing the irony of the suffering residents and the polemic of infrastructure development. Criticizing "*truth*" is the media's attempt to convey the facts that occurred in the flood incident. On the political side, Tirto.id sharpened the problem of unequal coordination of authorities and highlighted the contestation of regional heads' performances. The issues being communicated strengthen the indication that the floods are also related to the politicization and power relations of the government and rich people. Tirto.id narrated the flood stories of subtle satire, irony, and the agony of how the poor people suffered the flood.

References

Abbas A (2021) Joe Biden's skilful rhetoric: A critical discourse analysis. SSRN Electronic Journal. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3830027.

Adiprasetio J (2019) Copywriting dan jurnalisme: Tirto.Id dan kiat memasarkan berita. In: Suryana A, Subekti P, Yanto A, Risanti YD, & Nurisani R (ed) Eksistensi Promosi di Era Digital 1st ed: Bandung: Bitread Publishing. 45-56.

Antara (2020) Rentetan derita korban Banjir Lebak yang tertutup isu Jakarta. CNN Indonesia, 12 January. [Accessed 17 June 2020] https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20200111192734-20-464504/rentetan-derita-korban-banjir-lebak-yang-tertutup-isu-jakarta.

Anugrahadi A, Khomsiyah, Yuda HF, & Triany N (2019) The Jakarta Flood Disaster Mapping January 2020. International Journal of Advanced Science and Technology 29 (5). http://sersc.org/journals/index.php/IJAST/article/view/9589.

Arif A (2010) Jurnalisme Bencana - Bencana Jurnalisme. Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia.

Artiningsih, Setyono JS, & Yuniartanti RK (2016) The challenges of disaster governance in an Indonesian multi-hazards city: A case of Semarang, Central Java. Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences 227: 347-353. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2016.06.081.

Asibey MO, Mintah F, Adutwum IO, Wireko-Gyebi RS, Tagnan JN, Yevugah LL, Agyeman KO, & Abdul-Salam AJ (2022) Beyond rhetoric: Urban planning-climate change resilience conundrum in Accra Ghana Cities 131. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2022.103950.

Bär L, Ossewaarde M, & van Gerven M (2020) The ideological justifications of the smart city of Hamburg. Cities 105. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2020.102811.

Bezerra FAS (2020) Multimodal critical discourse analysis of the cinematic representation of women as social actors. DELTA Documentacao de Estudos Em Linguistica Teorica e Aplicada 36 (4). https://doi.org/10.1590/1678-460X2020360403.

Brimeyer TM, Eaker AV, & Clair RP (2004) Rhetorical strategies in Union Organizing: A case of labor versus management. Management Communication Quarterly 18 (1). https://doi.org/10.1177/0893318904265128.

Cacciatore MA, Scheufele DA, & Iyengar S (2016) The end of framing as we know it … and the future of media effects. Mass Communication and Society 19 (1):7-23. https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2015.1068811.

Ciptadi SG & Armando A (2018) Upaya agensi melawan logika jangka pendek jurnalisme daring: Studi kasus Tirto. id. Jurnal Komunikasi Indonesia 8 (1):62-72. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.7454/jki.v7i1.9690.

Daniels BM & Phillips KR (2020) Between critical and rhetoric: McKerrow's contribution to contemporary critical practice. International Journal of Communication 14.

Diuzheva K (2022) Copywriting as a symbiosis of journalism and advertising. Obraz 39 (2). https://doi.org/10.21272/obraz.2022.2(39)-89-97.

Dunn JC (2020) Critical rhetoric in the age of the (first) reality TV president: A critique of freedom and domination. International Journal of Communication 14.

Dwifatma A (2018) Banjir ibu kota pada tahun politik: Tipologi kritik media oleh Bloggers Kompasiana sebagai pilar kelima. Jurnal Komunikasi Indonesia 4 (2). https://doi.org/10.7454/jki.v4i2.8888.

Easterlin N (2021) Environment and narrative: New directions in Econarratology. In: James E & Morel E. ISLE: Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment 28 (2): 802-804. https://doi.org/10.1093/isle/isab045.

Fairclough N (1992) A social theory of discourse. In: Discourse and Social Change (Issue Levinson).

Fairclough N (1995) Approaches to media discourse. In: Media Discourse. 20-34.

Fairclough N (2001) The dialectics of discourse. Textus 14 (2):231-242. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500019539.

Fairclough N (2020) Discourse in social change. In: Language and Power. London: Routledge-Taylor Francis. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315838250-13.

Fisher WR & Brockriede W (1984) Kenneth Burke's realism. Central States Speech Journal 35 (1): 35-42. https://doi.org/10.1080/10510978409368158.

Foucault M (1972) The Discourse on Language. In: Medina J & Wood D. Truth: Engagements Across Philosophical Traditions. New York: Wiley Online Library. 315-335. https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470776407.ch20.

Fowler R & Kress G (2023) Critical linguistics 1. In: Texts and Practices Revisited: Essential Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis Second Edition. London: Routledge-Taylor Francis. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003272847-2.

Handayani W, Fisher MR, Rudiarto I, Sih Setyono J, & Foley D (2019) Operationalizing resilience: A content analysis of flood disaster planning in two coastal cities in Central Java, Indonesia. International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction 3. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2019.101073.

Harrington J, Series L, & Ruck-Keene A (2019) Law and rhetoric: Critical possibilities. Journal of Law and Society 46 (2). https://doi.org/10.1111/jols.12156.

Hartelius EJ & Browning LD (2008) The application of rhetorical theory in managerial research: A literature review. In Management Communication Quarterly 22 (1). https://doi.org/10.1177/0893318908318513.

Haryanto I (2010) Media ownership and its implications for journalists and journalism in Indonesia. In: Politics and the Media in Twenty-First Century Indonesia: Decade of Democracy. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203840429.

Herbig A, Herrmann AF, Watson AR, Tyma AW, & Miller J (2020) Critical rhetoric and collaboration: Missing principle #9 and ProfsDoPop.com. International Journal of Communication 14: 885-898.

Hooffacker G (2022) Online journalism: Copywriting and conception for the internet. A Handbook For Training And Practice. London: Palgrave Macmillan Wiesbaden. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-35731-3.

Houston JB, Schraedley MK, Worley ME, Reed K, & Saidi J (2019) Disaster journalism: Fostering citizen and community disaster mitigation, preparedness, response, recovery, and resilience across the disaster cycle. Disasters 43 (3):591-611. https://doi.org/10.1111/disa.12352.

Lim M (2012) The league of thirteen: Media concentration in Indonesia. Participatory Media Lab Arizona State University-Ford Foundation. Research Report. [Accessed 31 March 2021] https://www.neliti.com/id/publications/51157/the-league-of-thirteen-media-concentration-in-indonesia.

Littlejohn S, Foss K, & McKerrow RE (2012) Critical rhetoric. In: Encyclopedia of Communication Theory. New York: Sage Publication. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412959384.n89.

Matthew E & de Melo V (2015) The practice-position system as epistemological category: Contributions to critical discourse analysis. Alpha Journal of Linguistics 59 (3). https://doi.org/10.1590/1981-5794-1509-1.

Matthews J & Thorsen E (2020) Introduction: Media, journalism and disaster communities. Media, Journalism and Disaster Communities 59 (3). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-33712-4_1.

McKerrow RE (1989) Critical rhetoric: Theory and praxis. Communication Monographs 56 (2):91-111. https://doi.org/10.1080/03637758909390253.

McKerrow RE (1991) Critical rhetoric in a postmodern world. Quarterly Journal of Speech 77 (1):75-78. https://doi.org/10.1080/00335639109383945.

McKerrow RE (2001) Critical rhetoric and the possibility of the subject. Encyclopedia of Rhetoric. Oxford: Oxford University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780195125955.001.0001.

McKerrow RE (2011) Foucault's relationship to rhetoric. Review of Communication 11 (4):253-271. https://doi.org/10.1080/15358593.2011.602103.

McKerrow RE (2015) "Research in rhetoric" revisited. Quarterly Journal of Speech 101(1): 151-161. https://doi.org/10.1080/00335630.2015.994915.

McNeil SR (2023) Recovery rhetoric: A critical discourse analysis of substance use recovery. Critical Discourse Studies 20 (4):396-414. https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2022.2072920.

Nasution PT, Hidayat DN, & Alek A (2021) A critical discourse analysis of Jakarta massive flood news in Kompas.Com. Al-Lisan 6 (1):22-35. https://doi.org/10.30603/al.v6i1.1887.

Nazaruddin M (2015) Jurnalisme bencana di Indonesia, setelah sepuluh tahun. Jurnal Komunikasi 10 (1):79-88. https://doi.org/10.20885/komunikasi.vol10.iss1.art8.

Osnos P (2010) An elegy for journalism? The colorful past and uncertain future of foreign reportingo title. Foreign Affairs 89 (1):131-136.

Paramastri NA & Gumilar G (2019) Penggunaan Twitter sebagai medium distribusi berita dan news gathering oleh Tirto.Id. Jurnal Kajian Jurnalisme 3 (1):18-38. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24198/jkj.v3i1.22450.

Pinontoan NA & Wahid U (2020) Analisis framing pemberitaan Banjir Jakarta Januari 2020 di Harian Kompas.Com dan Jawapos.Com. Jurnal Komunikasi Dan Teknologi Informasi 12 (1):11-24. https://doi.org/10.23917/komuniti.v12i1.9928.

Posselt G & Hetzel A (2023) Rhetoric as critique: Towards a rhetorical philosophy. Theory, Culture and Society 40 (3). https://doi.org/10.1177/02632764231162046.

Prajarto YN (2021) Fact-checking practice regarding information of COVID-19 pandemic on Tempo.co, Tirto.id, and Kompas.com. Jurnal Penelitian Komunikasi dan Opini Publik 25 (1):1-14. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.33299/jpkop.25.1.3461.

Pratiwi RH & Darmawan F (2019) Infografis sebagai pendukung berita in-depth dalam Situs Tirto.id. Mediator: Jurnal Komunikasi 12 (1):35-45. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.29313/mediator.v12i1.4484.

Puspitasari K (2020) Kapabilitas dan kepemimpinan Anies Baswedan dalam penanganan banjir Jakarta di Detik.com dan Kompas.com. Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi 18 (2):221-238. https://doi.org/10.31315/jik.v18i2.3505.

Putri RD (2020) Mengungkap musabab banjir besar Jakarta 2020. Tirto.Id - Indepth, 7 January. [Accessed 19 June 2020]. https://tirto.id/mengungkap-musabab-banjir-besar-jakarta-2020-eq85.

Radibratović E (2021) Critical rhetoric and critical discourse analysis in a critical pandemic world. Res Rhetorica 8 (4):119-134. https://doi.org/10.29107/rr2021.4.7.

Rafiqa S (2020) Comparison of the model critical discourse analysis by Mills and Fairclough at online media in case reporting of "Ikan Asin." Hortatori: Jurnal Pendidikan Bahasa Dan Sastra Indonesia 3 (2):73-80. https://doi.org/10.30998/jh.v3i2.218.

Rahmayanti KP, Azzahra S, & Arnanda NA (2021) Actor-network and non-government failure in Jakarta flood disaster in January 2020. IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science 716 (1):012053. https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/716/1/012053.

Reese SD (2022) Hybrid journalism. In: The Routledge Companion to News and Journalism. London: Routledge Taylor and Francis. 197-206. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003174790-24.

Robin P & Priscila G (2021) Konstruksi kuasa Presiden Jokowi dalam pidato "Indonesia darurat corona." Jurnal Ilmiah Media, Public Relations, dan Komunikasi (IMPRESI) 1 (2):164. https://doi.org/10.20961/impresi.v1i2.43721.

Rovino D, Nur Afifah F, & Wardani TA (2021) Fear rhetoric in the online news discourse on the Covid-19 pandemic in Teun van Dijk's critical discourse analysis. Journal of English Language and Culture 11 (2):75-88. https://doi.org/10.30813/jelc.v11i2.2650.

Stock A (2018) Modern Dystopian Fiction and Political Thought. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315657066.

Sukmono FG & Junedi F (2018) Menggagas jurnalisme optimis dalam pemberitaan tentang bencana. Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi 15 (1):107-120. https://doi.org/10.24002/JIK.V15I1.882.

Tapsell R (2015) Platform convergence in Indonesia: Challenges and opportunities for media freedom. Convergence 21 (2):182-197. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856514531527.

Tolmach M (2022) Digital storytelling practices for specialists in information affairs. Digital Platform: Information Technologies in Sociocultural Sphere 5 (1):185-198. https://doi.org/10.31866/2617-796x.5.1.2022.261303.

van Voorst R (2015) Risk-handling styles in a context of flooding and uncertainty in Jakarta, Indonesia: An analytical framework to analyse heterogenous risk-behaviour. Disaster Prevention and Management 24 (4):484-505. https://doi.org/10.1108/DPM-04-2014-0065.

Wang D (2017) Foucault and the smart city. Design Journal 20 (sup1):S4378-S4386. https://doi.org/10.1080/14606925.2017.1352934.

Wardyaningrum D (2022) News framing about physical construction in Jakarta flood management. Jurnal ASPIKOM 7 (1):158-172. https://doi.org/10.24329/aspikom.v7i1.1046.

Weiss ML (2018) Media power in Indonesia: Oligarchs, citizens and the digital revolution by Ross Tapsell. Indonesia 106 (1):167-169. https://doi.org/10.1353/ind.2018.0022.

Author Biographies

Nevrettia Christantyawati is currently a doctoral student at the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences (FISIP), Airlangga University, Surabaya. She is currently a lecturer at the Faculty of Communication Science Dr Soetomo University. She is so keen on subjects such as Environmental Communication, Disaster Communication, Culture, and Media Studies.

Yuyun Wahyu Izzati Surya is a Lecturer at the Department of Communication Science, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences (FISIP), Airlangga University, Surabaya. She teaches various subjects, including (1) Communication and Multiculturalism; (2) Media, Technology, and Society; (3) Cyberculture.

Liestianingsih D is a former Lecturer at the Department of Politics, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences (FISIP), Airlangga University, Surabaya. She authored books and articles about gender and feminism resistance, cinema studies, and public relations.