

The Flood Politicization and Social Media: Ecological Disaster, Satire, and the Contestation of the 2024 Indonesia Presidential Election on Twitter

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Abstract

As floods are common in Indonesia, social media are full of conversations about this annual disaster. When floods hit Jakarta, Central Java, South Kalimantan and other areas in early 2021, the most-talked issue in the conversations on social media, especially Twitter, was not about how environmental degradation causes the floods but rather about how the heads of the flooded areas are to compete in the upcoming presidential election. Using critical discourse analysis, this study seeks to explore discourses on the flood politicization related to the 2024 presidential election on Twitter. The results show that there are dominant and marginal discourses in the discussion of the flood issue. The dominant discourse is related to the image and ability of the regional heads to overcome the flood which is linked to his capacity as a presidential candidate in the 2024 election. Meanwhile, the marginal discourse is related to policies taken by regional heads in taking preventive actions and post-flood handling. This article shows findings as follows: first, floods as an ecological disaster which causes environmental management are not an important concern of the community as they are regarded as a common issue that happens every year; second, the flood issue was used to criticise the former governor

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in a satiric way; third, the flood issue was used as a momentum to test the popularity and electability of candidates for the presidential election as a result of the political division after the 2017 Jakarta Election and the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election. This article argues that the political debate for the 2024 presidential election in Indonesia was more interesting than the awareness of environmental damage.

Key Words

Flood politicization, discourse, satire, ecological disaster, presidential election

Introduction

Flood disaster adorned Indonesia's face in early 2021. Floods inundated many areas in South Kalimantan, DKI Jakarta, Central Java and other areas in Indonesia. The National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB) noted that from January 1 to April 19, 2021, 487 flood events hit Indonesia (Katadata.co.id 2021). That figure touched 42% of the 1,153 natural disasters that occurred in the country this year.

Floods are the most frequently discussed natural disasters in Indonesia. Discussions on floods not only happen in the real world but also on social media. This is proven by hashtags, keywords, or comments that are related to flood which become popular on social media such as Twitter. Moreover, it became a trending topic in the early months of 2021. Hashtags such as #KalselJugaIndonesia, #BanjirDKI, and #BanjirJakarta attracted a lot of attention from social media users. Nevertheless, the flow of conversations that took place was not about how crucial the ecological disaster due to environmental degradation caused flooding, but rather about the satirical narrative about the promise of government and its eligibility on competing in the 2024 presidential election. In addition, the statements of regional heads related to flood management were greeted with various opinions, pros and cons. The discussion is not only about the efforts made by regional heads to handle, prevent, or reduce the possibility of flooding, but it extends to the long journey to the presidential election in 2024. The reason is that several names of regional heads appear in various results of the 2024 presidential candidate electability survey.

The trend of conversation on social media shows the political expression of citizens who are liberated to express their opinion in the new public sphere. The media is positioned as a place to express anxiety and complaints, including expressions of annoyance, disappointment, partiality and hatred (Anshori 2020). The existence of social media in Indonesia

is currently a place for anyone regardless of class status and gender to participate in politics openly and freely. Social media in Indonesia makes it easier to disseminate information and its use in the fields of activism and political engagement (Saud et al. 2020).

Regarding floods in Indonesia in 2021, we see the issues that occurred were dragged into political interests. One of the issues was the Jakarta flood which was used as a momentum to criticize the Governor of Jakarta, Anies Baswedan (Gunawibawa and Oktiani 2020). The fierce battle for the 2017 DKI Jakarta election remains due to the political polarisation that resulted in two camps so the flood phenomenon is always associated with a comparison to the success of the current Jakarta leaders and previous Jakarta leaders in dealing with flood issues. In addition, the 2019 Presidential Election saw a political polarisation that resulted in two camps, so the current flow of conversation is often sensitive to how appropriate regional heads are to contest in the upcoming 2024 presidential election. The conflict of siding with the camps in the 2019 Presidential Election was also manifested through satirical talks, both in the form of narratives and memes circulating on Twitter accompanied by the flood hashtags (#).

Political studies on the role of the media in framing natural disaster phenomena have been carried out by many researchers. The power of the media can be used to frame some events as political commodities. According to Heersink (2020), natural disasters that occur often become a determining factor for voters to punish the incumbent that is considered a failure so that it affects the electability level.

In some studies, the use of media in framing floods is considered very influential in gaining popularity and electability by both incumbents and political opposition (Rudolph 2018). Apart from the responsiveness and effectiveness of government policies to the flood phenomenon, several studies on the presence of the media in disaster framing have had a significant impact on political electability and have provided a new arena of contestation in achieving electability scores from the community. As in the political study of flood cases in the UK and Germany, the politicization of flood disasters through media framing has increased the popularity of local incumbents (Albretch 2018).

Previous studies used a lot of media framing analysis to see the politicization of the flood phenomenon. This analysis is mostly done by looking at the narrative that is built from the title and the appearance of the newspaper media. A study on media framing of the flood disaster in Jakarta has been carried out by several studies that focus on major media, namely Kompas and Jawa Post with the phenomenon of the Jakarta flood case in

2013, 2017, and 2020 (Pinontoan 2020). The political framing carried out by the two media is contradictory, which is shown by the narratives that are used as the main page in reporting on the Jakarta floods. However, the flood issues raised in early 2021 were different from the previous ones. As we know, the flood issue is always carried on by the gubernatorial candidate for gubernatorial election or local election but the difference is shown in 2021. The flood issue was used to criticize and measure the capability of the local head of government who has been predicted to be the next presidential candidate in 2024.

We conducted research on Twitter by mapping and analysing its content to explore the flow of talks related to the politicization of floods which contains the irony of ecological disasters, political stairways and the 2024 presidential election contestation. Twitter was chosen because it is one of the most popular platforms used by netizens. With its rapid development, Twitter has become one of the main channels for people to carry out communication activities in public spaces. Statistics released in 2021 show that Indonesia is the country with the fifth most active Twitter users in the world, behind India and the United States.

Country	Active Twitter Users
United States	73,2 Million
Japan	54,15 Million
India	18,8 Million
United Kingdom	18,3 Million
Brazil	17,9 Million
Indonesia	15,1 Million
Turkey	15,1 Million

Figure 1. World Active Twitter Users (Statista 2021)

In Indonesia, with Internet penetration in early 2021 reaching 73.7 per cent of the total population, Twitter stands in the 5th with the highest use of social media in Indonesia (Apriyani 2021). With the high use of Twitter by Indonesians, political communication channels have also been crowded through this social media platform. It was recorded that on 17 January 2019, Twitter became very crowded with 1,3 million tweets related to the 2019 presidential election (Agusti 2021). In the election campaign in the 2019 presidential election, the use of hashtags that are correlated with the presidential election or general election also has a very high intensity

of use on Twitter (Achsa 2018). Political discourse in the United States was also inseparable from the hectic tweets about the 2020 presidential election which reached more than 240 million tweets from 20 June until 9 September 2020 (Ferrara 2020).

The features presented by Twitter such as hashtags and retweets are considered to be the reasons for the ease of communication and discussion space, especially when trying to dig up the latest and hot information. Different from other social media, the limit of 140 characters that can be uploaded on Twitter makes the discussion space on Twitter faster, more effective, and more focused (Emeraldine 2019).

We use critical discourse analysis from Teun van Dijk to see the discourse on the use of language and speech as a form of social practice that shows the dialectical relationship between certain events and the institutional situation and social situations that shape them. Critical discourse analysis emphasizes ideological or dominant forces and believes that knowledge is power (Cummings 2018). The function of critical discourse analysis is an effort to strengthen understanding of messages hidden in symbols and signs including revealing the hidden political dimension (the hidden interests) that took place during conversations related to the Indonesian flood in early 2021. This was done by breaking down into three levels of analysis: the structure macro on the topic that is put forward in the text, the superstructure by analyzing the schematic of the text and the microstructure by semantic analysis of the text (Nurjamin 2019).

The Early 2021 Flood and Its Flow of Conversation on Twitter

At the time of the flood in early 2021, every trending topic on Twitter was reported further through mass media, especially online mass media with real-time and fast features that make news from viral or trending content on social media. Communication scholars, political scientists, and policy analysts have long acknowledged the news media's ability to shape public opinion via frequent coverage and presentation of a given subject from several angles (O'Neil 2020). Despite the present prevalence of social media, newspapers have maintained their dominance.

In chronological order of events, the early 2021 floods in Indonesia began in January 2021 in almost all areas of South Kalimantan Province. However, the flood news in South Kalimantan was not as busy as the news related to the flood in Jakarta. The South Kalimantan flood was voiced more by netizens through Twitter with a special hashtag. IDN Times noted that 319 thousand of tweets appeared on Twitter using #PrayforKalsel and

became a trending topic on January 15, 2021. It was also reported that the hashtag (#) #KalselJugaIndonesia was trending with more than 232 thousand tweets on Twitter (IDNTimes. com 2021). Interestingly, online media such as Kanal Kalimantan.com mentioned that the hashtag (#) emerged as a form of netizens' disappointment with the media and the central government who seemed to ignore what was happening in South Kalimantan by not paying the same attention to what was happening in the capital city and other areas hit by the disaster (KanalKalimantan.com 2021).

Many areas in West Java, such as Bekasi, Karawang, and Subang, were also flooded due to high-intensity rainfall. As reported by Tirto.id on February 9, 2021, floods that occurred in several areas caused a lot of losses. In Bekasi Regency, within 187 villages and sub-districts, floods inundated 17 villages in 12 sub-districts with a total of 97 flood points. Meanwhile, the flood that hit Karawang Regency expanded to inundate 11,044 housing units and 450 hectares of rice fields with water levels of 10-150 cm spread across 17 sub-districts which resulted in 8,648 residents who had to be evacuated. In Subang, 35,972 residents were displaced and a total of 15,003 housing units in 5 sub-districts were affected by flooding.

In addition to the above three areas in West Java, floods also occurred in Indramayu (Kompas.com 2021b), on February 8, 2021, at four o'clock in the afternoon, hundreds of houses spread across 8 sub-districts were flooded with a height of 1 meter and recorded 4,400 souls were evacuated. On the same day, a few hours later news emerged that the flood previously only occurred in 8 sub-districts, expanded and increased to 21 sub-districts. Apart from being caused by high rainfall intensity, widespread flooding was thought to be caused by overflowing water from the Cimanuk and Citarum rivers, as well as tidal waves of seawater (Kompas.com 2021c).

As reported by iNews.id (2021), Kompas.com (2021b), and Republika.co.id (2021) on February 20, 2021, the keywords "Flood" and "Flood Jakarta" became trending topics on Twitter Indonesia. Floods in Jakarta that occurred in early 2021 made the name of the Governor of DKI Jakarta Anies Baswedan busy in public discussion and even became a trending topic on Twitter. One of the hashtags #AniesTenggelamkanJakarta which was uploaded on Twitter instantly became a trending topic when floods hit Jakarta with 7,240 tweets. The hashtag became a satire to Anies for the ongoing flooding in the Jakarta area. When Jakarta experienced floods, the province of South Kalimantan was still hit by major floods so the dynamics of the flood topic surfaced on Twitter.



A day later, still related to the floods that inundated most of Jakarta, Anies Baswedan and Basuki Tjahaja Purnama alias Ahok also topped the trending topic rankings on Twitter on February 21, 2021 (Sindonews.com 2021). It was reported again that netizens were busy highlighting the performance and political promises of the Governor of DKI Jakarta to its citizens to solve the flood problem which was considered unfulfilled. In addition, some netizens compared Anies Baswedan's capabilities with his predecessor, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama who was considered better than Baswedan in dealing with floods (Suara.com 2021; Voi.id 2021).

Floods also hit the city of Semarang, Central Java after heavy rains. Released by Detik.com on February 25, 2021 and CNNIndonesia.com on February 26, 2021, the Kaligawe-Genuk highway, Genuk District, Semarang, was flooded with a height of about 80 cm which caused some motorists asked not to cross the Pantura route. The flood in the city of Semarang became a turning point for the flow of conversation on the topic of flooding on Twitter because previously there was a meme that mocked the governor of DKI Jakarta because he was considered incompetent in dealing with the problem of flooding the capital that was always repeated, coupled with the manoeuvres of members of the DPRD DKI Jakarta who conducted a comparative study in Semarang to learn flood management there.

Even though what happened was the same phenomenon, also at the same time, it did not mean that the news about the flood that appeared would present and refer to the same thing. If you look closely, the news about floods that hit several areas in West Java and Central Java looked different from the news about floods that occurred in both Jakarta and South Kalimantan. For cases of flooding that occurred in Bekasi, Karawang, Subang, Indramayu, and Pantura, the news that appeared only contained information on the latest developments in the area and the evacuation of residents affected by the flood. The phenomenon of flooding in these areas was not much discussed, both in the real world and in cyberspace. We assume that is why the flood cases that occurred in the area were not widely highlighted by the public, social media, mass media, and the government.

The results of our social network analysis indicate various topic variants were obtained related to #Banjir, #BanjirJakarta, #BanjirKalsel, #PrayforKalsel, #KalseljugaIndonesia, #AniesNgapainAja and other related hashtags as shown in Figure 2.

Tabel 1 Tweets on Flood Politicization on Twitter

No.	Tweets	Images
1	<p>- @Hilmi28: The flood in Jakarta will be easier to handle if @aniesbaswedan becomes the President at the 2024 Election, am I right? (@Hilmi28: Banjir di Jakarta In syaa Allah akan lebih mudah diatasi jika Pak @aniesbaswedan jadi Presiden 2024. Eh, setuju ga?)</p>	 <p>Hilmi Firdausi @Hilmi28</p> <p>Banjir di Jakarta In syaa Allah akan lebih mudah diatasi jika Pak @aniesbaswedan jadi Presiden 2024. Eh, setuju ga ?</p> <p>Translate Tweet</p> <p>15:59 · 21 Feb 21 · Twitter for iPhone</p> <p>1,975 Retweets 169 Quote Tweets 11.5K Likes</p>
2	<p>- @angrysipelebegu: If the flood happens in South Kalimantan, you blame the rainfall. But if the flood happens in Jakarta, you DON'T blame the rainfall. The rainfall must have a different political choice at the presidential election, doesn't? (@AngrySipelebegu Kalimantan Selatan banjir parah yang disalahkan Curah Hujan. Jakarta banjir parah yang disalahkan BUKAN Curah Hujan. Pasti kedua hujan itu beda pilihannya di pilpres ya)</p>	 <p>Saut Situmorang @AngrySipelebegu</p> <p>Kalimantan Selatan banjir parah yang disalahkan Curah Hujan. Jakarta banjir parah yang disalahkan BUKAN Curah Hujan. Pasti kedua hujan itu beda pilihannya di pilpres ya 🤔😏</p> <p>Translate Tweet</p> <p>19:21 · 20 Feb 21 · Twitter for Android</p> <p>187 Retweets 5 Quote Tweets 703 Likes</p>

- 3 The condition of South Kalimantan after the president's statement about the worst flood ever in history is very worrying. @walhikalsel has given repeated warnings to the local government that KalSel is having an emergency ecological disaster (made by human acts). IMAGE: Be Aware of Environment Criminals. (Kondisi kalimantan selatan setelah presiden datang yang simpulkan banjir terparah dalam sejarah Kalsel akibat curah hujan sangat memprihatinkan. @walhikalsel telah berulang kali mengingatkan pemerintah bahwa kalsel alami yang namanya darurat bencana ekologis (bencana yang ditimbulkan karena ulah manusia)



WALHI Ajukan JR UU Minerba! ... · 21 Jan ·
Kondisi Kalimantan Selatan stlh Presiden dtg yg simpulkan banjir terparah dlm sejarah KalSel akibat curah hujan sgt memprihatinkan

@walhikalsel telah berulang kali ingatkan pemerintah bhw KalSel alami yg namanya darurat bencana Ekologis (bencana yg ditimbulkan krn ulah manusia)



Kementerian LHK and 9 others

8 102 184

- 4 @sudjiwotedjo: Is it true that Semarang is having a flood disaster? I got a message from a friend. Is that true?
The social media looks so silent. It is weird because it is often noisy with the tweets from numbered-accounts about flood information and the swearing words to the governor as its addition. Is the message from my friend a hoax? please let me know
(Semarang dikepung banjir, ya? menurut WA dari temen barusan. Apa betul?)
Soalnya medsos sepi. biasanya kalau memang ada banjir tuh medsos penuh rombongan akun berangka yang ramai infoin banjir itu plus maki-maki gubernurnya. Apa WA temanku itu hoaks? pls let me know)



Jack Separo Gendeng
@sudjiwotedjo

Semarang dikepung banjir, ya? Itu menurut WA dari temen barusan. Apa betul?

Soalnya medsos sepi .. biasanya kalau memang ada banjir tuh medsos penuh rombongan akun2 ber-angka yang ramai infoin banjir itu plus maki2 gubernurnya.

Apa WA temenku itu hoaks? Pls let me know

[Translate Tweet](#)

1:56 PM - Feb 6, 2021 - Twitter for iPhone

4,487 Retweets 805 Quote Tweets 14K Likes

- 5 @BRizeky: Missing the era of ahok which able to made the flood in Bundaran HI
#WhatHaveAniesDidSoFar
Image of Flood fulfilling Bundaran HI
(BRizeky: kangen zaman ahok yang bisa bikin banjir di bundaran HI
#AniesNgapainAja)



At the first level of analysis, we used the macrostructural dimension to reveal the themes of tweets as seen in Table 2.

Table 2 Tweets on Flood and Their Themes

Tweets	Themes
Text 1	The text shows an expectation and optimism of flood handling if they were a reposition of the president by Anies Baswedan
Text 2	The text shows a satire about the rainfall and its politicization
Text 3	The topic of the text is about the expression of feeling annoyed in case of repeated warnings about human acts that caused the flood disaster.
Text 4	The topic is about numbered-account (unknown and anonymous accounts) which seems silent during the flood in Semarang
Text 5	The text shows a comparative narration between two politicians using the flood as the object.

We analyzed the texts using a level of superstructure analysis that considers ideological dimensions or in Van Dijk's terminology referred to as social cognition to understand the ideological structure and power relations manifested in a discourse. The categorization includes the following:

- a. Membership: Who are we? Who belongs to us? Who can be admitted?
- b. Activities: What are we doing? What is the plan? What is expected of us?
- c. Aims: Why are we doing this? What do we want to achieve?
- d. Norms: What is good or bad, allowed or not in what we do?
- e. Relations: Who are our friends or enemies? Where do we stand in society? and
- f. Resources: What do we have that others don't? What don't we have that others do have?

These are questions that ordinarily are related to a group's identity and belief systems. We see that this information is about Us vs. Them. Undoubtedly, belief systems ordinarily organize people and society in polarized terms (van Dijk, 2004).

Text 1 includes the following scheme:

- a. Membership: what is not included in the membership criteria referred to in this manuscript is anyone who does not support Anies Baswedan;
- b. Activities: The text writer expects Anies as President of Indonesia to be able to overcome the Jakarta floods;
- c. Aims: The author aims to ridicule other political figures who have conveyed the same narrative related to floods that would be easier to overcome if they played the role of President. Meanwhile, the text is positioning itself to defend Anies who is in charge of flooding as the Governor of DKI Jakarta;
- d. Norms: In this text, the group's belief is to continue to support Anies Baswedan and counter the narrative that blames or discredits Anies for the Jakarta floods;
- e. Relations: The author is in opposition to anyone who tries to vilify Anies due to the Jakarta flood; and
- f. Resources: The author believes that Anies can solve the Jakarta floods compared to other political figures who have governed Jakarta.

Text 2 includes the following scheme:

- a. Membership: Those who are not part of the criteria for membership in the text are those who have different political choices from the author;
- b. Activities: The author uses the flood momentum to show the political polarization that occurs in the community and political elites in responding to the South Kalimantan floods and Jakarta floods;
- c. Aims: Text in the form of satire to satirize various warring parties due to differences in “political beliefs”;
- d. Norms: The author hints in the text that distinguishing the causes of flooding in South Kalimantan and Jakarta is a mistake in thinking due to the fanaticism of support from both the community and the political elite;
- e. Relations: The text shows the author’s position regarding criticism for those who are not balanced in commenting on the flood; and
- f. Resources: The text shows that the author is in a rational position and understands the flow of political talks related to floods.

Text 3 includes the following scheme:

- a. Membership: Clear membership criteria for environmentalist groups activities: the text disseminates information that floods in South Kalimantan are not only caused by rainfall but are also caused by human activities that clear forests for plantations;
- b. Aims: The author of the text aims to spread information and knowledge while at the same time trying to make citizens aware that flooding is an ecological disaster that needs attention;
- c. Norms: The author of the text spreads the value of caring for the environment and the consequences if we ignore it, namely an ecological disaster;
- d. Relations: The text positions itself as a victim of flood caused by environmental criminals. This text also positions itself not to get caught up in the politicization of floods that lead to debates among certain political actors; and
- e. Resources: The text producers have access to more comprehensive knowledge regarding flood disasters than other netizens who only comment on floods without understanding the causes and effects of floods.

Text 4 includes the following scheme:

- a. Membership: The criteria for membership in this text are those who are sceptical of political talks related to flooding;
- b. Activities: The text seeks to find information about floods in Semarang which is not widely reported and even commented on Twitter;
- c. Aims: This text is satirical because it explicitly states that the Semarang flood event is different from the Jakarta flood, which is always talked about a lot and the Jakarta governor is blamed for the flood, while the Semarang flood is quiet on Twitter.
- d. Norms: The text conveys the meaning that as citizens we need to find valid information from an event such as a flood so as not to be dragged into the current of politicization of disaster;
- e. Relations: The text producers are positioned as a group that tends to be critical of netizens who easily blame the governor for the floods in Jakarta, but are unfair regarding other floods; and
- f. Resources: The text producers display their identities as truth seekers and rational commentators because they try to find out information before making judgments.

Text 5 includes the following scheme:

- a. Membership: The criteria of membership in this text are those who support the government of Anies Baswedan and contradict the government of Ahok;
- b. Activities: The text tries to contrast the work of the government in Jakarta and the previous government using a satiric way;
- c. Aims: This is a satirical text which tries to show how good the current governor is at flood handling;
- d. Norms: The text shows how the good government should deal with the flood, especially in Jakarta where flood is one of the most frequent issues, and focus on its handling;
- e. Relations: The text shows a contrasting position which blames the previous governor for its failure to handle the flood; and
- f. Resources: The author believes that the previous governor is not as good as the current governor, especially in flood handling.

Political Agenda in the Flood Discourse

A language is a tool for maintaining the hegemony and domination of those who do not have access to power or information (Anshori 2020). Van Dijk reviews power relations in the context of grammar to show the discursive

structure of the text, including the semantic, syntactic, lexical style, and rhetorical dimensions as described below:

- a. Argumentation: The negative evaluation follows from the facts;
- b. Rhetorical figures: Hyperbolic enhancement of their negative actions and our positive actions; euphemisms, denials, understatements of our negative actions;
- c. Lexical style: Choice of words that imply negative (or positive) evaluations;
- d. Storytelling: Telling above negative events as personally experienced; giving plausible details above negative features of the events;
- e. Structural emphasis of their negative actions, e.g., in headlines, leads, summaries, or other properties of text schemata (e.g., those of news reports), transactivity structures of sentence syntax (e.g., mentioning negative agents in prominent. topical position); and
- f. Quoting credible witnesses, sources or experts, e.g., in news reports (Van Dijk 1993)

Semantically, each text reflects a discourse of power relations inherent in it in a unique way. Text 1 shows that semantically there is no subject word used such as “we” or “I” which means the text is intended for the whole society. But there is a question sentence at the end of the text which shows the emphasis on meaning to satirize the situation and position of certain political actors. Text 1 also shows cohesiveness in the text by adding unique conjugations such as “uh, do you agree?”. This conjugation follows the Indonesian spelling means “but”, but the use of everyday language is shortened to something like that. The conjunction shows the discourse contradiction from the first sentence mentioned before. The conjugation also has a rhetorical meaning to show the expression of the text substantially. This text is a form of satire as well as support. The text immediately mentions Anies Baswedan’s account which indicates the only problem of the flood in Jakarta was because of his leadership, as well as shows that Anies is an important actor.

Text 2 does not mention a specific subject, no actor predicate is recorded. In the text, there are words that are printed in the capital, different from other words, namely “NOT”. This means that text producers emphasize differences in political choices that can lead to the dynamics of flood politicization based on preferences and beliefs as a result of the presidential election. The text uses informal and rhetorical words and has implied negative vibes of the issue. Meanwhile, Text 3 comes from a tweet delivered by WALHI, an NGO that is concerned about the environment

and has negative arguments based on the facts they know. This shows that WALHI has more knowledge than the other three texts regarding the causes of floods. Text 3 has a critical tone used as propaganda because it is accompanied by an image of “beware of environmental criminals”. Text 4 is packaged more satirically than the other three texts because it directly uses the predicate “me”, “my friend”, and “a group”. The appointment of this actor gives the tendency and emphasis that this text is intentionally made to offend certain actors. The language used is also quite hyperbolic with euphemisms and denial.

We found that these four texts contain special meanings aimed at a kind of politicization of floods. Text 1, for example, is contextually seen as a counter to the narrative that has been circulating previously. This text is a form of response to the politicization of the flood which is packaged in a satirical style as well as showing partiality to the marginalized actor, namely Anies Baswedan. Of the four texts, which have different issues, it is the third text that opens a different discourse on the politicization of floods. The third text gives a more critical and in-depth look at the causes of floods and what we should pay attention to in ecological disasters. The addition of an image element that reads “beware of environmental criminals” has a very deep meaning in the discourse. This means that so far there has been a fierce conflict between “environmental criminals” versus “society” who are not exposed to the media. Therefore, WALHI took this momentum to show its ideology and alignment with environmentalists.

However, the narrative of the flood that should be a concern as an ecological disaster is not the dominant discourse in the current flood politicization discussion. Even though the second text mentions a little about the causes of flooding due to rainfall, it has negative sentiments and is a form of criticism of the narrative that develops due to different perspectives on the causes of floods that are not fair. The same thing also appears in Texts 1 and 4, explicitly commenting on the unbalanced flow of flood politicization talks.

As a result, conversations about floods on Twitter are “politicized” in a true sense in which flood is used as a foothold issue to put forward the agenda of the text producers. The main agenda of the producers of Text 1 is to satirize Jokowi supporters who blame Anies for the Jakarta floods by recalling Jokowi’s previous statement during the 2014 presidential election which stated exactly the same thing, namely “Jakarta floods are easy to overcome if I become president”. In Text 2, the main agenda is also to criticize the commentators on Twitter who direct comments on the Jakarta flood by blaming Anies while believing the government’s narrative that says the floods in Kalimantan are due to extreme rainfall. The producer of

the text at the same time mentioned the reasons why there was a division of discourse and the extremity of the duality of flood politicization as a result of the unfinished presidential election. Text 4 is more personal because its main agenda is to offend the commentators by directly pointing out words that mean satire and placing the position of the text producer as part of the discourse.

Observing the conversation on Twitter on the Indonesian flood in early 2021 is like entering a labyrinth of endless political divisions again. The flood in Jakarta will always be the centre of the discussion, not on the causes or solutions to the floods but on the influential political actors whether they are praised or insulted. The discourse on floods in Jakarta is biased and politicized from the past. The Jakarta flood has always been the ultimate issue for the sale of promises in regional head campaigns. As a result, when other areas experience floods, the public and even the media become agents of politicization in that they do not discuss floods in depth.

Under a powerless regime, people live in their interpretation or the interpretation of their community and understand facts and events without a frame of agreement on the universality of the meaning of language (Anshori 2020). The Indonesian flood in early 2021 proved how the flood event showed the political character in conversations on Twitter, including power relations, based on the dominance of access to information. The trending conversations on Twitter are dominated by those who have political agendas such as those who support and defend Anies, criticize the government, support Ahok, vilify Anies, and echo the issue of the 2024 presidential candidate. Power provides space for group discrimination and marginalization and provides a stage for the roles of hegemonic and dominant groups. Likewise in language, power is a differentiating factor between one human group and another (Anshori 2020).

Natural disasters that have been politicized are defined and presented as political concerns in such a manner that the disaster's impact is interpreted as a weakness or failure of policies or decision-makers. Previous research has looked at the systemic settings that allow for politicization (Resodihardjo et al. 2016) as well as the repercussions of politicization through policy change and politicization. As mentioned above, in Indonesia, a flood is not just a catastrophic event but also a political one. This political event is strongly influenced by the response and communication patterns of the government and the response of the community in forming opinions in the public sphere.

As a consequence, if the government's crisis management performance reaches a sentimental chord with voters, crises can have a beneficial impact mostly on the government's popularity. But what are the

voters' expectations of the government's crisis management? In electoral terms, what constitutes "excellent" crisis management? In this context, crisis management may be conceptualized in two domains: operational response and psychological reassurance (Edelman 1977). Therefore, the politicization of floods becomes a momentum for discourse producers to schedule electoral activities, supported by the presence of social media to produce discourses and spread ideology in the unlimited public space. Internet-based media gave birth to new creativity in language. Another important position is that the internet can make the distance between the function of language as a communication tool to form new truths and pseudo realities in the lives of Indonesian people today (Anshori 2020).

Conclusion

Conversations on Twitter regarding floods in Indonesia in early 2021 showed a discourse contestation. Floods are politicized for certain agendas and interests related to unfinished political divisions, future presidential candidates, fanatical support for political elites and satire that alludes to the behaviour of people's political participation on social media. This has become the dominant discourse because the power relations over information and access to the media are owned by groups. Meanwhile, the discourse on floods as an ecological disaster is marginal which, although it has been voiced, has not received large support on Twitter.

The dominant discourse on floods on social media should be the discourse on the ecological disaster that deserves attention to show the character of power in the political system in Indonesia. This article shows that flood politicization is now beyond the issue of the local election. The floods become a moment to evaluate the presidential candidates. It also shows that the pivotal matter in Indonesian politics is "the actors", who they are, what their background is and how popular they are. Political actors as well as celebrities attract supporters no matter if they perform well or not.

This article has indicated that although floods have impacted people socially and economically, environmental issues are still not valued appropriately. Electoral issues are considered more interesting than ecological ones. It must be admitted that not all flood-affected communities voiced their political thoughts when the flood event occurred. As seen in the case of floods in South Kalimantan, silent citizens were fed up with the flow of discourse on social media and then used Twitter as a medium of resistance to get attention and recognition.

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