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Ideology and Rhetoric: Framing Metrotv News in The Lapindo Mudflow Tragedy

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Abstract

This study examines the ideology and rhetorical patterns of *MetroTV* news when reporting on the *Lapindo* Mudflow tragedy that started in *Sidoarjo*, Indonesia in 2012. The ideology used to represent facts and opinions on the tragedy were evaluated using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The source of the data comprised 12 recordings of broadcasted news and included words, phrases, sentences, and discourses expressing the mudflow tragedy and its effects on people in the surrounding area. The findings indicate that the rhetorical patterns of Metro TV news included the title, orientation, sequence of events, and closing. Ideology was inserted in any kind of discourse units, imposing power and hegemony as tools of CDA effecting social changes.

Keywords: ideology, rhetorical pattern, critical discourse analysis, MetroTV, Lapindo

Introduction

This paper depicts the ideology in the news texts of the Indonesian news channel MetroTV, which reported on the *Lapindo* mudflow tragedy of 2012. The paper begins with two starting points in the context of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). First, it is essential to define the ideology of a news report in the context of CDA, because news always conveys messages that reflect power. Second, the structure of news as written and oral texts has different characteristics to normal texts with academic intentions.

Ideologies have been the focus of media studies as a means of representing unequal relations in society. The media do not passively describe news events but rather actively reconstruct them based on their own ideological affiliations (Oktar, 2001, p.320). A news story is therefore not fully understood if the reader is unaware of the implicit ideology of elite groups that is embedded in the report (van Dijk, 1988). The ideological structure of texts, especially news headlines, involves power relations that are intended to be legitimized. Political ideologies and power in discourse imply that every word can potentially carry an implicit connotation and a hidden power (Ramanathan & Bee Hoon, 2015, p.62). Specifically, for news headlines, the

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framing of participants and processes may be ideologically significant (Fairclough, 1989, p.122), and it may be aimed at justifying certain points of view.

However, ideological headlines do not provide readers with a full account of the reality, and they may be a biased and tendentious view of the situation. According to Ranciere (1974), ideologies do not necessarily represent true manifestations of reality—on the contrary, they give social subjects a mystified and blurred representation of the society in order to control them in a system of class exploitation. It is now generally accepted that ideology is not necessarily a true representation of reality but rather one that is aligned and tendentious.

In the information age, no one doubts the prominent role of the mass media, which have become a daily necessity, especially television. Behind the primary function of delivering entertainment and information, television also poses a series of problems. This mainly relates to television shows that are often not educational or informative. Many television programs feature violence, pornography, or mysticism, and a program that is presented as entertaining or informative could contain elements of a particular ideology. When such television programs bring a certain ideology, it potentially leads viewers to follow the direction in which the ideology is oriented. While a television program may be entertaining, it may also have an impact, either positive or negative, on the audience.

There are two TV stations in Indonesia that focus on the delivery of news: MetroTV and TvOne. MetroTV initially had a somewhat different concept to other television stations, because in addition to being on air 24 hours a day, it focused purely on news. In the process, Metro also incorporates an element of entertainment. Starting in May 2010, Metro updated it slogan from "Be Smart Be Informed" to "Knowledge to Elevate." Metro entered the ranks of the six most reliable media in the Indo-Pacific Edelman Trust Barometer survey of 2011.

The success of selling political ideology and shaping public opinion through tragedy, as in the case of the Sidoarjo mudflow, is largely determined by the development of a discourse that is built by each television station. The results of this study gives an overview of the ideology contained in the text of news broadcasts by MetroTV and uncover the opinion-forming strategies used.

The text is not something value-free that describes reality as it is. From the view of CDA, textual content is not only determined by the personal preferences of its manufacturer but also influenced by the social structure surrounding the producer. Language is not neutral, and it carries

a certain ideological message that comes from the creator of the text. It should therefore be assumed that there is always a hidden message in every news broadcast by Metro TV, as well as TV stations in general, and this "surrogate message" comes from the owner of the television station.

TV station owners, who could be politicians or business people, can potentially use the media to disseminate messages to television audiences that seek to lead public opinion in a certain direction. Politicians often use mass media to shape public opinion and influence people (Fairclough, Mulderrig, and Wodak, 2011). Television touches a vast range of people from different social statuses, ethnicities, cultures, and locations, so it is an effective way to influence the masses. Through discourse constructed by the mass media, television is able to direct the life of the nation through the news programs aired. Proof of this lies in how Metro presented topics on the Sidoarjo mudflow tragedy. Through its wording, the maker of the text can lead public opinion to follow its understanding, and this includes the phrase "Lapindo Mud." This study is guided by the following research questions.

- 1) What is the structure of the news text about the *Lapindo* mudflow tragedy from MetroTV?
- 2) What ideology is present in the news texts about the *Lapindo* mudflow tragedy from MetroTV?

Literature Review

Ideology in News Texts

Ideology is a representation of aspects in the world that contribute to establishing, maintaining, and changing social relations of power, domination, and exploitation. Every kind of text has an ideological effect that projects a perspective about the world (Fairclough, 2003, p.9). CDA assumes that language plays an active role in bringing about change in society, and it dissects the ideology of what is contained in the language. Although the primary domain of CDA is ideology (Renkema, 2004; Blomaert, 2005; Wooffitt, 2005; Wodak, 2007), CDA also examines critical concepts, power, history, and ideology itself (Wodak, 2007). CDA tries to prove that language actively influences the social order of society.

The use of language in mass media often contains an ideology that is disguised and unperceived by many readers and viewers. Media discourse often carries a powerful hidden ideology (Fairclough, 1989). Problems and social issues became the focus of attention for the

media, especially television. Politicians also use mass media to shape opinion and influence the public (Fairclough, Mulderrig, & Wodak, 2011).

Revealing the ideology projected by the mass media is an example of the proper application of CDA as a social practice. Discourse in the CDA is a social practice (Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak, 2011) that has implications for the connection between events of discourse and elements of the situation, institutions, and social structure that ultimately forms a discourse, so CDA could act as a bridge connecting the micro-linguistic structure and the macro-community structures (van Dijk, 2001). Linguistic structures are used to systematize and transform reality, so dimensions of history, social structure, and ideology are the main source of knowledge and the hypotheses within the framework of critical linguistics (Fowler, 1986).

Hegemony and Power in CDA Research

Hegemony and power are the focus of interest for CDA researchers. Pasha (2011) examines Islam as a social institution and looks at the Egyptian newspaper *al-Ahram*. The study examines how Islam is portrayed in this newspaper in 2000 and 2005, relating to the discussion of the Muslim Brotherhood and the news-making process, the role of ideology, the history of Islam, and the type of relationship between Islam and the regime. News is linguistically analyzed using an idealized framework reader (IR) for transitivity, sourcing, lexical choice, and presuppositions. Pasha concludes that the Egyptian regime has practiced a strategy of constantly and systematically excluding the Muslim Brotherhood. This exclusion is achieved through the use of hard power (detention, prison, and military courts) and soft power (negative representation in the media). The Ideological Framework Square of van Dijk (1998) is appropriate for describing the relationship between the Egyptian regime and Islam: "we are good and they are bad." In short, negative representation occurs because of government fears that Islam will become a political threat, and they desire to maintain the support of the West and continue the discourse.

Mujianto (2011) analyzes the power struggle in the textual media of the *Jawa* Post newspaper for the *Mesuji* case through grammatical analysis, discourse practice, and socio-cultural practices. Mujianto concludes that (1) there is a power struggle by the parties involved in spreading the *Mesuji* case, including the *Jawa* Post, the police, the people living in *Mesuji* and surrounding areas, and the fact-finding team. (2) In the power struggle between the four parties, the *Jawa* Post has the power to bring all parties against the *Mesuji* case, while that police acts as a legal institution

that was most responsible for order and security issues and does not want to be influenced by any other party. (3) There is a form of power in the citizens' struggle in demanding action against murder and their fight for land tenure. Meanwhile, the fact-finding team has power in the form of a development mission from the government to resolve the *Mesuji* case. (4) The strategic power of each party is different and varies. *Jawa* Post has a pattern of nominalizations displaying the state and objects, while the fact-finding team with its patterned action works with a complete structure (subject + verb + object).

Text and Discourse

Text and discourse is often equated despite having substantially different meanings. A text is a written expression that comprises more than one sentence. Crystal (2008) defines text as a series of language words that was recorded for the purpose of analysis and description. Text can be a shaped mass of material, either written or oral, such as a conversation, a monologue, a ritual, and so on. Richards & Schmidt (2002) mention the text as a written or verbal expression. It has four characteristics: (1) a few sentences that together create a structure/unit, such as a letter, report, or essay, although a single word could also be called a text (e.g., "Hazard" on a sign indicates danger); (2) a structure and character for the particular discourse; (3) a purpose, such as for communication; and (4) an ability to be fully understood when linked to the context.

Brown and Yule (1983) state that a text is a verbal record of a communicative act. Widdowson (2004, cited by Mills, 1997) explains how text and discourse are more or less synonymous but notes that in some usages, a text may be written, while a discourse is spoken, so a text would be non-interactive whereas a discourse is interactive. A text may also be short or long, whereas a discourse implies a certain duration. Widdowson (2004) clarifies that discourse is used differently by linguists, although it refers to the same language unit and is separable from sentences. Both terms refer to the same concept, namely that discourse or text is a linguistic unit higher than a sentence.

Discourse analysis is included in the study of language and its use. According to Darma (2009), discourse analysis is a science that studies the use of language in real communication. Studies of discourse are concerned with the study of language and the ownership representation of the non-linguistic factors that determine whether a message can be received or not in communicative activities. Widdowson (2004), citing Stubbs (1983), describes discourse analysis

as the study of language organization above the sentence level, or at least above the clause level, for larger linguistic units, such as a conversation or a written text. According to de Beaugrande & Dressler (1986), text can be understood when the seven standards of textuality exist, namely (i) cohesion, (ii) coherence, (iii) intentionality, (iv) acceptability, (v) informativeness, (vi) situationality, and (vii) intertextuality.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis perceives a language as just an internal mechanism of linguistics and looks beyond the language element critically. The way critical perspectives appear about society and the context is called CDA. CDA views language as a social practice (Fairclough, 1989; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997), and it considers the context. The context comprises all the situations and other things that are beyond the text but affect the use of language, such as the audience, the situation in which the text is produced, and its intended function. Fairclough (1989) states that text analysis is only part of discourse analysis, because discourse has three elements: text, interaction, and social context. The social context is a very important part of CDA, which can acts as a link between the text and the social context.

Discourse does not stand alone but forms a part of social life. According to Fairclough (1989), discourse is a social practice that contains elements of interplay between discourse and social interaction. In social life, there is always a party that has strength and power that they seek to maintain. Fairclough (2003) describes how the approach to critical discourse analysis is based upon the assumption that language is an irreducible element of social life and interconnected with other elements of social life, so social analysis and research always needs to take account of language. Van Dijk (1985) promotes CDA as the study of relations between discourse, power, dominance, social inequality, and the position of the discourse analyst in such social relationships.

In addition, van Dijk (2001) defines CDA as a type of analytical research that primarily studies the way that the abuse of social power, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, or resisted through text and discourse in a social and political context. Inequality and social injustice in society provide interesting discussion material for CDA, such as the social inequality in power and politics (de Graaf, 2005).

In everyday contexts, CDA is used for power-grabbing, new science, regulation and normalization, and hegemony (the influence of one nation over another nation). CDA is also used

to describe something and to translate, analyze, and criticize society through text or speech. CDA is concerned with the study and analysis of text and words to indicate the source of the discursion (e.g., strength, power, inequality, injustice, and prejudice). CDA is associated, maintained, developed, and transformed for each social, economic, political, and specific historical context.

The purpose of CDA is to investigate the relationship between the use of language and social practices (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002), specifically to reveal how social inequality and politics are manifested and reproduced through discourse (Wooffitt, 2005), and it is used to investigate how discourse is reconstructed and purged of elements that are not desired while adding others, as well as how it is organized and replaced by others (Blackledge, 2005). CDA tries to find information as it is from news in newspapers, government publications, research reports, and so on, all of which can possibly project a particular ideology (Anthonissen, 2003). CDA is used not only to detect manipulation and discrimination but also to see and understand social issues (Renkema, 2004), so CDA can strengthen powerless minority groups.

Van Dijk (2001) states that the several objectives of CDA include 1) a focus on social problems and issues and political issues; 2) a multi-disciplinary applicability; 3) an overview of the structure of the discourse and an explanation of the properties of social interaction and social structure; and 4) amore specific focus on how discourse structures play a role, confirm, legitimize, reproduce, or block power relations and domination in society. Fairclough & Wodak (1997) summarize the basic principles of CDA as follows: (1) a targeting of social problems; (2) a realization that power is a form of discourse; (3) a shaping of social and cultural discourse; (4) an examination of ideology; (5) an acceptance that discourse is historical; (6) a mediating relationship between text and society; (7) an interpretative and explanatory discourse analysis; and (8) a recognition that discourse is a form of social action.

Ideology, the abuse of power, and social inequality, especially in public forums like the media, can be investigated through the use of language that carries ideology. Ideology can take the form of formal or informal text, metaphors, processes and participants, nominalization, declarative sentences, imperative and interrogative sentences, active and passive voices, and positive/negative modality, and we need to investigate the scheme being built by the text (Fairclough, 1989).

Methods

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Research Design

This study is a qualitative one using the CDA model of Fairclough. It aims to determine the ideology and discourse structure in MetroTV's news by disclosing the structure of meaning so that the shape distribution and the production of a disguised ideology in the discourse can be recognized. Qualitative research does not engage in the building of theories and concepts as the mainstream in the early stages. Research in this culture starts with the existing data in a field. The theoretical framework and notion are not intended to be tested and used as a limitation but rather as a reference for researchers to track. The theoretical and conceptual framework of this research was constantly developed during the study process. Marczyk et al. (2005) describes how qualitative research does not explain its findings through a formula or statistical analysis—research is rather conducted through interviews and observations, explaining its findings in the form of a narrative description.

Data and Its Sources

The source of data for this research is MetroTV's news footage, which was obtained through YouTube and live recordings. The data included vocabulary, sentences, and textual structures containing ideology of the text "in Sidoarjo mud overflow." The data came from MetroTV news programs, including Metro Morning, Afternoon Metro, Metro Today, Editorial Media Indonesia, Top 9 News, and Highlights Metro. Data were collected from these shows from January 2010 to January 2013. The researchers also visited the site of the mudflow in Porong, Sidoarjo—as well as Nirvana Kahuripan, which is the relocation site for victims—to gather field data.

Research Procedures

The steps for data collection and analysis were as follows:

- a. Text Analysis: Data were collected through recordings of the news programs about "Lapindo Mud" that were aired on Metro TV. These included *MetroPagi*, *Metro HariIni*, and *MetroSiang*, and their development discourse in each block was identified.
- b. Analysis of production and consumption of the text: The researchers used interview techniques to get in-depth data on the production and consumption of the text. Interviews with educated viewers of MetroTV were conducted to explore the depth of information and views of the subjects on various aspects that may help research purposes.

c. The researchers used documents and literature to obtain data about the context surrounding the creation of a news program being broadcast by MetroTV.

Data were analyzed qualitatively by describing the structure of the text, and this made possible an interpretation of the content of the text. The researchers analyzed the texts linguistically to see the level of text description and interpretation. At the description level, the researchers probed the themes raised by MetroTV that contained ideology about the mudflow. Interpretation was achieved through the practice of discourse analysis, which focused on the relationship between text and discourse practice to see the text as a production process. Further interpretation was performed by combining the text with signifying text by using all sources of interpretation to generate an interpretation.

Findings

Rhetorical Patterns of MetroTV News

An analysis of the news structure of MetroTV starts with identification of titles of the news aired, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. *Title of news on Lapindo Mudflow aired by MetroTV*

No	News Title	Program	Broadcast
1	Five Year Lapindo Suffering of Residents of Porong	Metro Today	29 May 2011
2	Barter in Countermeasures of Lapindo Mud Tragedy	Metro Today	9 April 2012
3	Lapindo Mud Swallows Rp 8.6 Trillion from the State Budget	Metro Today	29 May 2012
4	Dozens of Activists Commemorate 6 Years of Lapindo Mud	Headline News	30 May 2012
	Tragedy		
_5	Desperate to Jakarta, Lapindo Mudflow Victims Intimidated	Headline News	16 June 2012

The headlines of MetroTV imply that the more a person (group) watched a news program on Metro TV about the tragic mudflow that occurred in Porong, Sidoarjo, the more they will believe the tragedy was caused by PT Lapindo. The repeated use of the phrase "Lumpur Lapindo" will impress on television viewers that PT Lapindo is the cause. A shift from Lapindo to other aspects of the mudflow, though, will lead to viewers assuming that the tragedy is a natural disaster and nothing to do with PT Lapindo. Thus, there is a shift of meaning through a shift in news topics.

Furthermore, the structure of the news text was analyzed in three stages: description, interpretation, and explanation. The structure of the text in this research is the rhetorical structure contained in the text of MetroTV news that evidently consisted of four discourse units: the title,

orientation, sequence of events, and closing. News text consists of four units of discourse: the title, orientation, sequence of events, and closing. Text construction built by the four discourse units has a different function and forms one kind of text.

The first discourse unit is a title, and this acts to show a significant event that has occurred. This determines whether or not an event is newsworthy. News text should present information that is interesting, important, and relevant, and it could become a phenomenon at a time of controversy in the community. The more controversy there is, the more suitable the news is to publish. This part is achieved by indicating the title as the headline.

The second discourse unit is the orientation, which introduces a core part of the events being reported. Orientation can also be a section for introducing a resource that is a source of information advocates. Metro also uses the second unit of this discourse to insert an additional message.

The third discourse unit is the sequence of events, and this is the most important part of a news text because it explains in full detail the major events that have occurred, and for the text writer, it is a very important section to report. This section comprises participants in the event, when the event happens, and the primary scene of the event. Supporting information sources—such as interviews, statements from informants, and visual images—that support the conveyance of information about the events are served here. Not all Metro news texts are supported by other sources of information like interviews or quotes from experts in the field. Several Metro news texts comprise just the participants, the time, and the primary scene. The sequence of events, as an element of ideology, appears to be a negative identification of the events that occurred.

The fourth discourse unit is the closing, which functions to end the information being broadcast. The closing news texts of MetroTV comprise interview recordings or statements representing responses, comments, conclusions, or assessments about the events that occurred or statements from are relevant person.

In summary, the structure of Metro news text has elements that must appear and choices in the orientation or in the sequence of events. The element that must be present in the core orientation is to introduce the general events in the news. The orientation for the news talk format must present an event to locate the introduced resource. The element that must appear in the sequence of events is the exposure of participants, time, and the primary scene. Supporting informational sources (interviews or quotes from experts) are optional in Metro news.

Ideology of the Texts

The structure of Metro's news text not only provides information but also effectively brings ideology. The main ideology deduced from the message is that the tragedy of the Lapindo mudflow was caused by the negligence of a company, but the government prefers to protect the company because of the political influence of the company's owner. The sub-ideological themes included: (1) The cause of the tragedy is Lapindo. (2) The fate of mudflow victims is unclear. (3) The compensation is too late. (4) Residents are suffering. (5) Rallies have been held for the suffering citizens. (6) The government is weak. (7) The mudflow is draining the state budget. (8) Lapindo should be held responsible, not the government.(9) The mudflow is damaging the region; polluting the land, water, and air; affecting health; and bringing adverse economic, social and cultural conditions.

The MetroTV news text empirically describes the negative aspects of the mudflow in Sidoarjo. In addition to the news texts providing information (events) relating to the mudflow tragedy, they are academically composed as argumentative and an analytic exposition supports that academic description. See Figure 1.

Compensation for Lapindo Mudflow Victims Drain the State Budget

Lapindo hot mudflow at the end of May 2006 apparently continues to drain the state thesis At least the Rp 5 trillion budget has been disbursed to compensate the victims. Currently, the total new mud victims comprise 12.455 inhabitants, and 1,111 people who occupy four villages should be compensated. They are residents of Ketapang village, Tanggulangin sub-district, Besuki village, Jabon Sub-district and villagers from Mindi and Pamotan of Porong sub-district. Argument Sequence The Chairman of the Special Committee of the House of Representatives for Lumpur of Events Sidoarjo, Emir Firdaus, confirmed that the affected areas stipulated in the regulation and reimbursement will become the responsibility of the government. Through the Revised State Budget for 2012, the government has allotted Rp 500 billion for compensation. Outside of these funds, the government will have to spend Rp 50 billion to guarantee the citizens living in four villages. The issue on regulation states that citizens outside the affected map have already Re-Conclusion been budgeted for in the state budget. For the year 2012, the revised budget is already orientation allotted for four-five RT.

Figure 1. Structure of analytic exposition of MetroTV's news text

Theme of MetroTV's News Texts

Metro raised the main theme of the mudflow that occurred in Porong, Sidoarjo, along with several sub-themes: the identity of the mudflow, the cause of the mudflow, the impact of the mudflow, the reaction of citizens, and those responsible for sludge handling and reimbursement, among others.

1) Identity of the Mudflow

The research findings indicate that Metro raised the sub-theme of the identity of the mudflow in some broadcasts. Sub-identity themes included that the hot mudflow in Porong Sidoarjo is not a natural disaster but rather one caused by human error. For example:

(1) About 500 victims of the Lapindo mudflow from 10 villages in three districts in Sidoarjo rallied to commemorate five years of the Lapindo mudflow. [1B-1]

It was found that it also identified the victims of the mudflow as "Victims of Lapindo." See excerpts (2), (3), and (4) for examples of this.

- (2) The demonstration was by the residents of five villages that are members of the Victim Sues Lapindo. [1H-3]
- (3) Payment of compensation to the victims of Lapindo by installment system makes victims of Lapindo have trouble buying a new home. [1L-1]
- (4) One of the victims of Lapindo, which until now was unable to buy a House, is Purwanto, a resident from the village of Renokenongo, Porong, Sidoarjo. [1L-3]

2) Causes of the Mudflow

MetroTV's news text implies that the mudflow tragedy is not a natural disaster but rather one brought about by human activity. The cause of the mudflow from the standpoint of Metro, as stated in the texts' message, is as follows:

- (5) Black Box found when an event mentions mudflow is not caused by a disaster as stated by the Supreme Court, and evidence shows it is a human error. [1A-2]
- (6) Disaster caused by oil and gas drilling company Lapindo Brantas, which is now named Minarak Lapindo Jaya, have drained the state budget by more than 6 trillion. [1G-6]

3) Impact of the Mudflow

MetroTV's news texts that display the sub-theme of the impacts of the mudflow in Sidoarjo portray the misery of citizens, adverse impacts on the environment, and poor social conditions, as stated in the following excerpts:

- (7) The air around the blast of Lapindo leads to acute respiratory infections and respiratory infection. [1C-1]
- (8) In their Eid al-Adha prayers, residents were tearful, given the villages they resided in were drowned by Lapindo mud. [1D-7]
- (9) Disaster caused by oil and gas drilling company Lapindo Brantas, which is now renamed Minarak Lapindo Jaya, have drained the state budget by more than Rp 6 trillion. [1G-6]

4) Reaction of the Residents

The findings related to the reaction of citizens, as captured in Metro news text, are described in these examples:

- (10) Around 500 Lapindo mudflow victims from 10 villages in three districts in Sidoarjo rallied to commemorate five years of the Lapindo mudflow. [1B-1]
- (11) Lapindo mudflow victims from the village of Ketapang, District of Sidoarjo, regency Tanggulangin hold Eid al-Adha prayers in the mud near the embankment. [1D-1]
- (12) Around 150 residents of five villages in Sidoarjo, East Java, on Sunday rallied to reject the gas drilling by Lapindo Brantas Incorporated. [1H-1]
- (13) They demanded Lapindo Sidoarjo pull out of the earth. [1H-2]

5) Responsible Party for the Mudflow

The findings relating to the responsible party for the mudflow tragedy are presented in excerpts (17) to (19).

- (14) In fact, before the rules are issued, Presidential Decree No. 13 of 2006 stipulated budget for Lapindo mud disaster comes from Lapindo Brantas Incorporation. [1G-8]
- (15) The cause prima argument applies that as Lapindo drilled then the company must take responsibility. [1G-29]
- (16) In fact, the funds are taxpayers' money that must not be used for the benefit of private sector. [1I-2]

6) Compensation

The issue of compensation is of considerable interest to Metro because it becomes very problematic. A number of citizens should be compensated appropriately, and the amount to be paid is huge. Issues where citizens appear upset or angry due to delays in

compensation payment are focused on in the news. Metro prefers to use the term "compensation" to show that mudflow victims have been harmed by the tragedy, which buried villages, fields, homes, and schools in Sidoarjo. See the example:

- (17) People who follow the Eid prayer are mostly a Lapindo mudflow victims who are still waiting for compensation payments for their land. [1D-2]
- (18) In the 2012 Revised State Budget, the government has allocated Rp 500 billion to compensate victims. [1F-4]
- (19) A map of the affected people that will be compensated by state budget money is included, foolish people and profitable Lapindo. [1H-8]
- (20) Payment of compensation to the victims of Lapindo with installment system makes victims of Lapindo have trouble buying a new home. [1L-1]

Discussion

This CDA research focuses on the discourse of news texts broadcast by MetroTV news, which is labeled as the Lapindo mudflow tragedy. This way, CDA is used not only to detect manipulation and discrimination, but also to see and understand the social issues (Renkema, 2004). CDA asserts that the news of a media outlet contains certain ideological discourse, so the text of the news broadcasts of MetroTV is bound to contain a certain ideology. CDA can be used to dissect this ideology, as the primary domain in CDA is ideology (Renkema, 2004; Blomaert, 2005; Wooffitt, 2005; Wodak, 2007). The ideology contained in the text of Metro TV news is revealed through the use of text structure.

From the text structure, some facts were discovered. In the title, Metro commonly featured the disappointment of citizens, the adverse events, and the bad handling of the mudflow. Metro's word choices provoke or stir the emotions of viewers, such as the use of the word "leave" or "drain" in parts of the headlines. In the orientation, Metro presented core events and labeled the mudflow as human error. In the sequences of events, the news texts of Metro not only recount the mudflow's frequency but also the negative impacts, such as adverse economic, social, and cultural conditions. They also provide an evaluation of the responsibility of PT Lapindo that is far from satisfactory. MetroTV news text structures are formed by micro-text reconstruction and micro-text exposition, especially an analytic exposition that aims to convince viewers about the bad effects of the mudflow.

From the use of text structure, this finding differs from the opinion of Gerot & Wignell (1994), who state that the social function of news text is to provide information to readers, listeners,

or viewers about a valuable or important incident. MetroTV's news text is not generally shaped to serve a social function and provide important information for the public, but it is trying to convince the public about the facts and negative effects of the mudflow tragedy. MetroTV's news text also contains analytical exposition text that serves a social function by convincing the reader or listener about something that should be done or not done.

The ideology found in the text structure is in line with the opinion of Fairclough (1989), who states that ideology is contained in the text structure. MetroTV's news text contains information on a specific event but also a hidden message from the texts' writers. The common theme discussed by Metro is the mudflow in Sidoarjo, while the sub-themes include the identity of the disaster, its causes, the impact of the mudflow, the reaction of citizens, the handling of the mudflow, and compensation.

This study supports the findings of de Graaf (2005), who states that different ideologies in two different television stations will polarize them into opposing positions: our group and their group. This finding is also consistent with Zaher's (2009) and Pasha's (2011) studies, which asserted that if two media or newspapers are different, they often support two distinct groups. Both media develop an ideology that is espoused, and they develop a positive image of their own group, while other groups carry a negative image in their version of the news.

Above all, CDA is critically involved in analyzing the ideological exploitation of language that results in social inequalities (Wodak, 2001, p. 2). Language is ideological, and it serves to legitimize the power of the ruling classes. It is a system of representations that masks our true relations to one another in society by constructing imaginary relations among people in asocial formation (Althuser, 1971). Van Dijk (1998, p. 138) believes that ideologies typically serve to legitimize power and social inequality. They are assumed to conceal, hide, or otherwise mystify the true reality. They obscure the objective, material condition of existence and the interests of social formation. He also maintains, however, that in addition to the more negative functions of ideology, we should note that ideologies can positively serve to empower dominated groups, create solidarity, organize a struggle, and sustain opposition.

Conclusion

This study attempts to analyze the rhetorical patterns and ideology of MetroTV's news through the lens of CDA. The major finding of this study showed how the textual structure of

MetroTV's news constitutes the development of logical argument. The rhetorical patterns in the text includes the title, orientation, sequence of events that serve arguments, and closing. An academic structure into the news text of MetroTV also appeared in terms of analytical expository. In addition, the ideologies of MetroTV were identified in each element of the rhetorical pattern of the news texts. Ideologies, as ways of representing unequal relations in society, do appear in the news text of MetroTV. Besides showing logical information and arguments about the Lapindo mudflow as a human-made disaster, the ideologies in MetroTV's news explicitly denote political ideologies and legitimize the power behind the tragedy. Politically, the mudflow tragedy shows "the man behind the gun" as being the owner of the Lapindo company, who belongs to the political elite and has considerable power to avoid any pressure being placed on his company. Basically, if the tragedy resulted from human errors in the company, it would imply that the company should take responsibility for reimbursing the victims. In fact, the government accepted the mudflow as a natural disaster, so it allotted funds to compensate the victims. All this indicates that CDA, as a tool for social intervention, applies to the mudflow tragedy of Sidoario.

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