Kanjuruhan Football Disaster in News Framing of Kumparan+ and Kompas.id

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyse how the online media Kumparan+ and Kompas.id reported on the riots in Kanjuruhan Malang. The Kanjuruhan tragedy is a disaster in Indonesian football. One hundred thirty-five football fans died after rioting after the match between Arema FC and Persebaya Surabaya at the Kanjuruhan Stadium. The research method is the framing analysis model of William A. Gamson and Andre Modigliani. This study found that Kumparan+ and Kompas.id framed the news about the Kanjuruhan tragedy as a major disaster in football. Kumparan+ and Kompas.id packaged the framing that the violence at the Kanjuruhan stadium was the leading cause of the tragedy. The use of tear gas by the police has increased the number of victims. Kumparan+ stated that the poor facilities at the stadium, especially the exit doors, caused chaos at the Kanjuruhan stadium. Kompas.id also emphasizes the public's disappointment with the handling of the Kanjuruhan tragedy. This research found that the framing by the Kumparan+ and Kompas.id media had different views in reporting the same event. This can be seen from the analysis results, which show that in its reporting regarding the riots in Kanjuruhan, Kumparan+ identified itself with the team supporters. Meanwhile, Kompas.id identifies with the Indonesian people who view this riot case as the responsibility of all parties involved.

Keywords: Kanjuruhan, Football, Framing, Kumparan+, Kompas.id

INTRODUCTION

In Saturday, 1st October 2022, A BRI League one football match brought together Arema FC as the host with Persebaya Surabaya at Malang Kanjuruhan Stadium. The security forces, in this case, the police, requested that this match be held at 03.30 PM or earlier than the schedule determined by the organizing committee, like the previous matches. In the end, the organizers, namely PT. Liga Indonesia Baru (LIB) sets the match to start at 20:00 West Indonesia Time, considering that the match schedule has already been agreed with the broadcaster, in this case, the television station broadcasting the match. At first, this match proceeded smoothly and peacefully without any problems. However, that all changed when the referee blew the whistle to signal the end of the match, where the Persebaya Surabaya team won the game with a final score of 2-3. This defeat triggered a feeling of disappointment from the Arema FC team fans, leading to chaos between the Aremania fans and the police. Supporters forced their way down to the field, which was then followed by tear gas shooting by security officers towards the field and the stands. The shooting of this tear gas panicked the spectators in the stands, who immediately jostled towards the stadium exit. As a result of this incident, as many as 754 people became victims, 135 of them were declared dead, and this human tragedy adds to the dark history of world football in Indonesia.

Source: https://pixabay.com/id/illustrations/festival-pengunjung-penonton-gerbang-3476256/

The human tragedy at the Kanjuruhan Stadium in Malang, East Java, has become a heartbreaking tragedy for the world of football in Indonesia. This incident had become a special concern not only for the local media who reported on this incident but also for the international media to talk about this tragedy. Many media institutions have been found directly and openly, from the print, electronic to online media, trying to generate public attention to events that have taken place and have claimed many lives. The media in being able to move audiences to be able to feel an event that is happening.

Currently, the press in Indonesia is increasingly varied, from print to digital media, and has become a force in providing information and social control in society. Masduki (2003:7) stated that freedom of the press is a term that refers to guarantees for the rights of citizens to obtain information as a basis for forming attitudes and opinions in the social and aesthetic context required by the mass media

as a social institution. It is the duty of those involved in the world of journalism to be able to present information in shaping public opinion and social control in society. Journalism in Indonesia faces various challenges, such as limited access to information, limited resources, high competition between media, and rampant hoaxes. Around the 1990, technological developments also encouraged the formation of new media, known as new media, in which "dotcom" based news portals were equipped with internet networks, personal computers, and laptops. With the presence of the internet, the science of journalism has also developed as online journalism (Sambo & Yusuf, 2017:19).

One of the breakthroughs made by the media in Indonesia today is by presenting the concept of paid digital media. The purpose of this paid content is content from websites where users are required to pay to access the content presented. Paid digital content offers better quality content, reduces fake news or information, and avoids free content that is usually clickbait. High awareness from users in obtaining quality information cannot be obtained for (Dirgantara et al., 2020). By implementing a paid content business pattern, the media will also get additional income apart from advertisers (Haq & Fadilah, 2019). This is a form of appreciation to journalists as newsmakers so that they can produce quality, relevant and exciting news.

The media try to construct reality, which is followed by certain interests of the media itself. There are still found the interests of media conglomerates in the reporting process, which have an impact on efforts to maintain their respective market shares (Ramadhani, 2020). In this case, several media do get news sources from a particular soccer team. It was also found that the media took the middle way in reporting on a particular tragedy in which the writer in a report tended to play it safe when reporting on events related to unrest in the world of football (Prastya, 2016). The partiality of certain media towards capital owners should be set aside and not affect news content in a media (Syadzwina et al., 2014).

In this study, the researcher chose to use the online media Kumparan+ and Kompas.id because Kumparan+ and Kompas.id are online media that always present the latest information actively, and the information written has gone through a manuscript editing process which has an impact on the level of accuracy of the information. Then these two media, Kumparan+ and Kompas.id, are one of the many media in Indonesia that are rarely studied, so this research can add to literacy studies that raise this media. And finally, according to the researcher's point of view, both Kumparan+ and Kompas.id have a website design concept that is quite interesting in terms of the arrangement of news headlines selection of advertisements that are not too massive. The features presented are also quite complete. In addition, these two media also come in the form of an application that allows users to read news practically via smartphone so that these two media are very close to and relate to today's audiences who are starting to switch from print media to online media.

Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann introduced the concept of constructionism in 1966. Berger and Luckmann in Sobur (2018:91) stated that the constructionist paradigm separates the understanding of "reality" and "knowledge". Reality or reality is defined as a quality recognized as having an existence that does not depend on anyone's will. Whereas knowledge is defined as the certainty that reality is objective and has unique characteristics. The construction of social reality can occur through the process of communication, which includes the exchange of information and ideas between individuals and social groups.

Source: https://pixabay.com/id/illustrations/tanda-plang-realitas-memang-492996/

Reality is very complex, full of intrigue and primarily presented in media news. Many media construct about visible and hidden actors, subjects, and objects. All constructions of reality are inseparable from various media interests. The interests of the media are inseparable from media ownership which has power over the media itself so that it can form certain opinions, images, and discourses (Rianto et al., 2014). Various factors, such as beliefs, social norms, culture, and social structure, can influence social reality.

Because we know that language is not something that is value-free, language is always related to values and cultural contexts that affect the meaning of the word or phrase. A word or phrase can have different meanings depending on a person's cultural context, background, and experience. Language is used to convey information and more abstract and complex messages, such as norms, values, and views on life. As in the case of the riot at the Kanjuruhan Stadium in Malang, each media has different reporting approaches. Such as using words, sentences, and pictures to determine the object and subject of the news. The audience, in this case, becomes an active subject to produce their own meaning based on their experience, perspective, education

and environment. Meaning always has the potential to have many meanings (Eriyanto, 2002:41).

Framing is an analysis that focuses on how the media packages and frames news, what methods the media uses, what factors influence the news, and what aspects are the focus of the news. An event is understood not to be taken for granted. Still, journalists actively shape their reality so that the point of attention is not the media reporting negatively and positively about an event (Eriyanto, 2002:7).

The term frame was initially used as a conceptual structure or set of beliefs that organized political views, policies, and discourses that provided standard categories for appreciating reality. Framing is a choice of fact that emphasizes an inevitable reality in the communication text. The texts are highlighted and then massively repeated, thus making certain aspects look more meaningful to the public (Eriyanto, 2019:72). Selection and prominence can be identified by looking at how reality is defined, who is the source of the problem, what moral claims will be made, and what recommendations will be offered.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann introduced the concept of constructionism in 1966. Berger and Luckmann in (Sobur, 2018:91) stated that the constructionist paradigm separates the understanding of "reality" and "knowledge". Reality or reality is defined as a quality recognized as having an existence that does not depend on anyone's will. Whereas knowledge is the certainty that reality is objective and has unique characteristics.

The media in the positivist paradigm is seen as only a channel, how a message is conveyed from the communicator to the audience and the media is seen as a neutral means. The media in the positivist paradigm does not have a role in constructing reality; this makes what appears in the news what happens. In contrast to the constructionist paradigm, the media is seen as an agent of reality construction in this paradigm. This paradigm rejects the argument that the media is only a place to transfer messages. The news we read not only displays the opinions of news sources but also shows the construction of the media through the various instruments that follow it (Eriyanto, 2002:25).

Framing is an analysis that focuses on how the media packages and frames news, what methods the media uses, what factors influence the news, and what aspects are the focus of news. An event is understood not to be taken for granted. Still, journalists actively shape their reality so that the point of attention is not the media reporting negatively and positively about an event (Eriyanto, 2002:7). In his book, Eriyanto analogizes framing to a window frame for a house. Framing determines the view and limits the idea of what we see and do not see.

Several experts developed framing itself based on different theories. Murray Edelman defines framing as categorization. Categorization is an abstraction and a function of the mind that helps humans understand various irregular realities into meaningful realities. Robert N. Entman also has his definition of framing. According to him, framing selects various aspects of reality so that certain parts of an event stand out more. This prominence makes information more meaningful, engaging, and accessible for audiences to remember. William A. Gamson and Andre Modigliani also have a definition of framing. According to Gamson and Modigliani, framing is a way of telling stories or a group of ideas that are organized in such a way and present the construction of the meaning of events concerning the object of discourse. This way of telling or perspective by Gamson and Modigliani is also called packaging or packaging. Packaging is an understanding scheme or structure used by individuals to construct the meaning of the message conveyed and interpret the purpose of the message received (Eriyanto, 2002:261).

Pamela J. Shoemaker and Stephen D. Reese (1996) in (Sudibyo, 2001:7) mention several factors that influence decisions in the reporting process, including the following. First, individual factors. At the individual level, it examines how the personal aspects of media managers influence the messages exposed to the public. Personal characteristics such as gender, age, or religion also affect people's portrayal (Sudibyo, 2001:8). Second, media routines. This factor depends on the message discovery mechanism and process (Sudibyo, 2001:8). Third, organizational factors. Each news organization has its mission and corporate philosophy, among many elements. These elements influence journalist behaviour and how events should be reported in the news (Sudibyo, 2001:9). Fourth, External Party Factors. This level refers to environmental factors outside the media. Despite being outside the media organization, in many cases, issues outside the media organization affect media coverage to some extent. Some things that include external party factors are news sources, sources of income, and the government or business environment. Fifth, ideological factors. Ideology, in this case, is defined as a specific frame of mind or frame of reference used by individuals to see reality and how they deal with it. Refers to one's perception or position in interpreting reality (Sudibyo, 2001:13).

METHOD

This research will use a type of descriptive qualitative research that is used to gain a deep understanding of a social phenomenon, how to see the perspective of the subjects involved. Afrizal (2017: 14) states the definition of a qualitative research method is a social science research

method that collects and analyses data in the form of human words and actions, and researchers do not perform calculations, so they do not analyse numbers. The focus of this research is based on two online media, news media that connect audiences with events, in this case, the riot that occurred at the Kanjuruhan Stadium in Malang. The data source used in this study is news text about the Kanjuruhan riot, which was published after the incident in online media, namely Kumparan+ and Kompas.id. The data taken is in the form of words or sentences in online news texts from the media that have been mentioned previously. The data collection technique used in this study was a documentation study in which the researcher obtained information from written documents available on the online media Kumparan+ and Kompas.id. The first stage in data collection was carried out by finding written data sources in the form of news texts published online after the riot incident at Kanjuruhan Stadium. The next stage is to review the existing data with William A. Gamson and Andre Modigliani's framing analysis theory by determining the primary framing to be conveyed and analysing it with the analytical components, namely framing devices, and reasoning devices.

Picture 1. Gamson dan Modigliani Model on News Framing
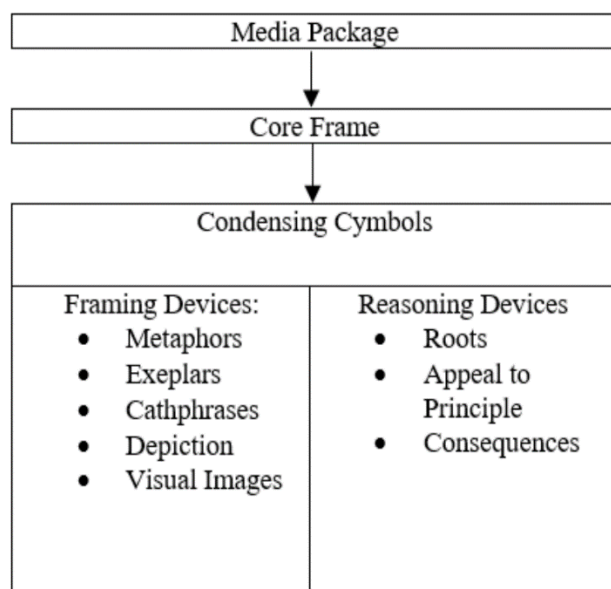
RESULT AND DISCUSSION
A.   Kanjuruhan Disaster in Kumparan+ News Framing
(1)   Kanjuruhan Tragedy: Restricted Access to Stadium Exit

The first frame is based on data collected from Kumparan+ on October 10, 2022, consisting of two news articles that can be pulled out as a frame "Tragedy of Kanjuruhan: Limited Access to Stadium Exit". This can be interpreted that the riot that occurred at the Kanjuruhan Stadium on Saturday (1/10) night was an incident that violated the law. In this frame, it seems that Kumparan+ wants to emphasize the organisers' negligence of the match between Arema FC vs Persebaya, which caused many fatalities from supporters and security forces.

This is reinforced by the emphasis on each element in it, from the framing devices. From the exemplar elements, there is an emphasis on the following sentences:

"And our weaknesses should not be compared to foreign clubs, Indonesian clubs don't have a stadium, the stadium belongs to the regional government, so good cooperation is needed, the government intervenes for this" (Kumparan+, October 10, 2022).

Furthermore, in this frame, it is also stated that terms that refer to depiction elements are found in the use of the word "domino effect" in the sentence:

"Maybe there is something like that because changing the schedule cannot be unilateral, it can have a domino effect with the others" (Kumparan+, October 10, 2022).

The use of the word is another form in that, in this frame, it is interpreted that there is a connection between several parties regarding changes to the match schedule so that it cannot be done unilaterally. The use of the word "domino" by Kumparan+ was obtained through direct information from PSSI to describe the issue. While the elements of catchphrases are found in sentences:

"Tens of thousands of Aremania—the nickname of Arema supporters—witnesses the worst tragedy in the history of Indonesian football" (Kumparan+, October 10, 2022).

In this sentence, there is a jargon or slogan or a designation for supporters of the Arema FC club called "Aremania". This is an emphasis made by Kumparan+ that the tragedy of this riot is one of the worst tragedies for both the name of the club itself and the world of football in Indonesia.

In the reasoning device, roots were found, which were the reason why exit number 13 of the stadium was locked shortly after the match was over. The cause and effect is found in the sentence:

"However, not long after, when he looked back, Aremania waves were coming rushing towards the aisle at Gate 13. They came from other stands, like him" (Kumparan+, October 10, 2022).

The main issue raised in this article focuses on the point of view of the survivors of the tragedy during the incident who

are looking for a way out through the stadium exit. However, it turned out that many of the exits to the stadium were locked and caused a buildup of crowds at exit number 13, so access to the stadium exit was closed and obstructed. Then the element of appeals to the principle contained in this article is in the form of a moral claim from the Police, which is contained in the sentence:

"The condition of the overcapacity stadium was also not followed by the readiness of the implementing committee to carry out security. The committee does not make safety and security documents for stadium spectators and does not prepare emergency plans if unwanted situations occur" (Kumparan+, October 10, 2022).

Based on this moral claim, it is a strengthening of the frame where the riot that occurred at Kanjuruhan Stadium is considered to influence the idea that there is still a lack of awareness of the importance of standard operating procedures, in this case regarding the readiness of the match organizing committee. As well as there is an element of consequences regarding the news issue raised. The consequence is contained in the sentence:

"In the end, all these acts of neglect led to a major disaster that killed 131 people on Saturday October 1, 2022" (Kumparan+, October 10, 2022).

The consequence is the impact that arises from a series of events so that in the end, there are objects that become victims who are harmed and give rise to a view that there are groups that are considered negatively as perpetrators of riots.

2. Tear Gas Caused the Kanjuruhan Tragedy

The article published by Kumparan+ on October 7, 2022, tries to build a frame that the use of tear gas by security forces is the focus of news sources. The presence of a framing depiction element in the sentence supports the frame:

"This is when the security forces started using shields and sticks. Supporters who advanced to the south bench were beaten. You can see three officers wearing green stripes ganging up on a supporter using sticks and kicking him" (Kumparan+, October 7, 2022).

The use of the word "green stripes" here is intended for the security of the stadium, namely the police. Here Kumparan+ does not clearly mention the police because they want to maintain the image of the police themselves so Kumparan+ uses another word to represent it.

This is supported by the finding of catchphrases in the sentence:

"Chases took place between officers and fans. A supporter in the penalty box in the southern part of the field was seen running helter-skelter, then collapsed. A few seconds later, eruptions began to be heard" (Kumparan+, October 7, 2022).

The word "running headlong" has the meaning of someone's irregular, awkward, unsteady movements while running. In this case, Kumparan+ describes the situation of Arema fans who came down to the field running in a panic because they were beaten and fired with tear gas by the security forces. As for the reasoning device, the elements of roots are found in the sentence:

"The crowds descended on the field more and more, 42 sounds of explosions including tear gas shots were heard throughout Kanjuruhan, white smoke rose, panic struck, seas of people were hysterical looking for a way out, and finally 135 people died" (Kumparan+, October 7, 2022).

This sentence leads to the initial cause of how riots can occur shortly after the referee blows the whistle signalling the end of the match, which in the end causes loss of life. Meanwhile, the elements of appeals to principle are found in moral claims through direct quotes from National Police Chief Listyo Sigit Prabowo during a press conference.

"With the increasing number of spectators who took to the field, some personnel fired tear gas. There were 11 personnel [who fired tear gas]: about 7 shots to the south stand, 1 shot to the north stand, and 3 shots to the field." (Kumparan+, October 7, 2022).

Through the conference, security forces tried to secure it by firing tear gas at several corners of the stadium. Apart from that, in this case, there is an element of consequence which is that no matter how severe the punishment or sanction for the responsible party will not restore the lives that have been lost.

B. Kanjuruhan Disaster in Kompas.id News Framing

1. Shadows of the Horror of the Tragedy in Kanjuruhan

In reporting on the October 12, 2022, and October 13, 2022, editions, Kompas.id published news articles with frames of the horror impact of the Kanjuruhan riots with lots of pictures. Through this frame, Kompas.id tries to voice the voices of the people who seem to be silenced to demand justice for the victims of this horrific incident. Framing depiction elements are found in the following sentences:

"After that grey incident, a number of parties did establish trauma healing services, including those provided by the local government" (Kompas.id, October 12, 2022).

The use of the word "grey event" is another form that the frame wants to show something certain. This means that the meaning of using the word grey event is an event that makes a person feel uncomfortable and impacts that situation in the future, such as experiencing trauma. Then also found elements of metaphors in the sentence:

"Sadness, anger and hatred can still be smelled and felt when passing through the main streets in Malang City, East Java" (Kompas.id, October 4, 2022).

The use of the word "hate still smells" is an emphasis to describe the atmosphere of disappointment over the recent riots. Then the affirmation is supported by the presence of catchphrases that refer to thoughts and reinforce other elements. This element is found in the sentence:

"Striking and striking for anyone who reads it. The tone is the same, someone must be held responsible for this tragedy" (Kompas.id, October 4, 2022).

This clearly illustrates the existence of certain thoughts by using the phrase "striking and striking", clearly this sentence refers to a thought that it is a feeling of disappointment over the tragedy of the riots that needs to be thoroughly investigated which party should be responsible.

From the factor of reasoning devices, there are several elements found in this report. The framing roots element can be found in the sentence:

"TGIPF (Tim Gabungan Independen Pencari Fakta), among others, found exits 12 and 13 at the Kanjuruhan Stadium in a closed condition when the incident occurred. According to standard operating procedures, all stadium doors should have been opened 10-15 minutes before the end of the match" (Kompas.id, October 12, 2022).

In this report, Kompas.id explains the chronology of the riots from the point of view of one of the victims, a journalist named Ulul Azmi, where this incident caused deep trauma, which is haunted by the moments of the riots. Through the element of cause and effect described in the sentence, the cause of the large number of victims was due to closed stadium doors 12 and 13, causing a buildup of crowds where the stadium exit should have been open 15 minutes before the match was over.

From the results of the roots element, there were appeals to principle or moral claims originating from the opinion of the Head of the Aremania Legal Aid Team, who stated that the naming of six suspects had slightly lessened the disappointment of the victim's family. This can be seen from the following quote:

"Determining the suspect status is a good start. However, we emphasize this as the beginning of a thorough investigation of the case. Of course, we hope that this process will continue so that other parties related institutionally and non-institutionally can be legally held accountable" (Kompas.id, October 12, 2022).

Based on the above moral and causal claims, the Consequences element is found in the sentence:

"In resolving this case, the legal aid team also hopes that there will be no attempts of intimidation, discrimination, or even criminalization of witnesses or victims of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy. The team received information that there were actions that led to these things" (Kompas.id, October 12, 2022).

The consequences in question are efforts that must be made to protect witnesses and victims so that intimidation by certain parties does not occur. This framing element ultimately strengthens Kompas.id's frame by being more inclined to interpret the news positively by choosing sources that influence and give readers a different feeling.

2. Kanjuruhan Tragedy: Disappointment with violence in sports

In this frame, Kompas.id wants to show a message that contains the public's disappointment with the enforcement of security in the scope of a football match which should be an entertaining spectacle but ends up being a heartbreaking incident. In two news articles that Kompas.id published on October 4, 2022. These frames were found in framing tools and reasoning tools. From the exemplar elements found in the sentence:

"Sad because hundreds of Aremania, Arema FC supporters, had to die at the Kanjuruhan Stadium, Malang Regency, East Java" (Kompas.id, October 4, 2022).

This framing element strengthens the frame, emphasizing that Arema FC supporters don't have to lose their lives to support their favourite club to compete. This is an indirect justification that Arema FC supporters can accept their team's defeat without having to have a big riot.

This affirmation is supported by catchphrases that refer to thoughts and reinforce other elements. This element is found in the sentence:

"Striking and striking for anyone who reads it. The tone is the same, someone must be held responsible for this tragedy" (Kompas.id, October 4, 2022).

This clearly illustrates the existence of certain thoughts by using the phrase "striking and striking", clearly this sentence refers to a thought that it is a feeling of disappointment over the tragedy of the riots that needs to be thoroughly investigated and which party should be responsible.

From the elements of framing reasoning devices, several framing elements were found that affected the Kompas.id frame. As in the roots element contained in the sentence:

"How could I not, hundreds of lives have been wasted during the excitement of watching football. Police fired tear gas to disperse the fans. Panic in the stands as tens of thousands of fans scrambled to leave the stadium to avoid tear gas" (Kompas.id, October 4, 2022).

This sentence contains a causal meaning. It means that the panic at the Kanjuruhan Stadium was caused by the shooting of tear gas by the police, which caused the fans to run to avoid the tear gas.

These roots are strengthened by the appeals to the principles that follow. The moral claim is a justification argument in building news. The claim is contained in the sentence:

"The sportsmanship stage which should be an entertaining spectacle ends in a heartbreaking tragedy" (Kompas.id, October 4, 2022).

From the cause and effect and moral claims, it finally gave rise to consequences that strengthen Kompas.id's frame, namely the riots resulted in the loss of a person's life as shown in the sentence:

"Lost lives cannot be returned" (Kompas.id, October 4, 2022).

The consequences that arise are an impact of various elements that influence it. In this frame, Kompas.id emphasizes the need for new policies in the future, especially those governing standard regulations for holding football matches, so that this incident is expected to be avoided.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

This study found that Kumparan+ and Kompas.id framed the news about the Kanjuruhan tragedy as a major disaster in football. Kumparan+ and Kompas.id packaged the framing that the violence at the Kanjuruhan stadium was the leading cause of the tragedy. The use of tear gas by the police has increased the number of victims. Kumparan+

stated that the poor facilities at the stadium, especially the exit doors, caused chaos at the Kanjuruhan stadium. Kompas.id also emphasizes the public's disappointment with the handling of the Kanjuruhan tragedy.

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