

## DISCOURSE OF INDONESIAN FOOTBALL IN ARABIC NEWS PERSPECTIVE: HOW AL-JAZEERA REPRESENTING ACTORS IN THE KANJURUHAN TRAGEDY REPORTS

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### HISTORY ABSTRACT

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This research aims to identify and describe how exclusion and inclusion strategies are used in representing actors in the news coverage of the Kanjuruhan tragedy. The aim is to identify the image of the actor being represented in order to understand media tendencies. The data for this research was taken from Al-Jazeera media. Data collection was carried out using observation and documentation techniques complemented by descriptive and reflective notes. Data analysis was conducted by referring to Theo Van Leeuwen's AWK framework. The results showed that in Al-Jazeera media there were 2 strategies with the inclusion process and 6 strategies with the exclusion process in reporting the Kanjuruhan tragedy. In the exclusion process, 7 data were found with nominalisation and passivation strategies. Then, in the inclusion process, 14 data were found with the strategies of differentiation, objectivation, abstraction, determination, individualisation, and association. In the exclusion process, Al-Jazeera does not have a certain tendency and tends to be neutral. As for the inclusion strategy, Al-Jazeera tends to present football supporters negatively. This was intended to highlight the image of the police as a positive government agency and cover up the negative stigma of tear gas shooting. Therefore, this study implies criticizing unbalanced discourses so that the public can better understand narratives that tend to be provocative in various news reports.

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## INTRODUCTION

The international world was shocked by the tragedy that occurred on October 1, 2022 at the Kanjuruhan Stadium, Indonesia. The humanitarian tragedy that occurred at the Kanjuruhan Stadium has attracted international attention. This can be seen from the number of social media accounts from various countries that also discussed this event (Subagio et al., 2024; Dhahir, 2023; Ferianto, 2023; Setiamukti & Nasvian, 2023). The mass media also made this event an object of news in their mass media (Adawiyah & Nugroho, 2024; Fadilla et al., 2023; Wibisono & Nuryani, 2023; Qowim & Degaf, 2024). The media itself has a very large influence in shaping public opinion. Moreover, in the news headlines, discourse producers will present more strategic linguistic aspects for market gain, discuss their ideology, or lead public opinion massively (Prihantoro et al., 2019). The international media that also highlighted this humanitarian tragedy was Al-Jazeera from the Arabian Peninsula. Al-Jazeera quickly and actively made the events that occurred at the Kanjuruhan Stadium, Malang Regency, East Java Province, the object of discussion in their news.

The news released by the media occurs so quickly and widely. The development of the era that makes technology increasingly advanced certainly makes it easier for people to access information, so that the media is very influential in building public opinion (Hudders et al., 2021; Rasmussen et al., 2018). Of course, the production of discourse contained in the Al-Jazeera media has hidden ideologies and interests in it because every media outlet has its own ideology (Brooks & Porter, 2020; Gentzkow & Shapiro, 2013; Gershon, 2010; Goodarzi et al., 2021; Iskandar, 2017). As for al-Jazeera, it is the largest Arabic media as evidenced by its influence on various media (Cherkaoui, 2021). To make it easier for the author to reveal the ideology and interests hidden in the news text, the author uses Theo van Leeuwen's Critical Discourse Analysis because this theory aims to reveal the representation of an actor (Leeuwen, 2008). This is relevant to the purpose of this research, which is also to uncover the representation of actors, namely in the Kanjuruhan tragedy.

Based on the search results, the author found 3 previous studies that had made the Kanjuruhan tragedy the object of research. First, Rizka Ayu Nur Aisyah, Melinda Febriani, Ian Wahyuni in their research entitled Critical Discourse Analysis on the Reporting of the Humanitarian Tragedy at the Kanjuruhan Stadium on Metro TV. The results of the study revealed that Metro TV always prioritizes actual information that is neutral and trustworthy (Aisyah et al., 2022). Furthermore, Revy Putra Andaryanto in a study entitled Framing of News of Violence by Security Forces in the Kanjuruhan Tragedy of October 1 in tvonenews.com online media which uses the Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M Kosicki framing model analysis, the results show that the form of framing carried out by TVOne News in constructing the news of the Kanjuruhan tragedy that tends to corner the police as the wrongful actor (Andaryanto, 2023). Then, Cut Nina Sausina in examines Construction of Kanjuruhan Riot News in Online Media with Critical Discourse Analysis of the Norman Fairclough Model. This study stated that Tempo.Com was more biased towards the police with no information taken from the victim while bola.com contained information from the supporters and victims (Sausina, 2022).

Furthermore, based on the author's search results related to the study of Theo van Leeuwen's critical discourse analysis model, three relevant studies were found that the researcher used as references in this study, the first relevant study was a study conducted by Amik Sriani examines Critical Discourse Analysis of Theo Van Leeuwen in the Reporting of the Setya Novanto E-KTP Case in 2017 in Online News kompas.com and

republika.co.id. (Sriani, 2018). Then, study by Wiwi Sapitri examines Critical Discourse Analysis of Theo Van Leeuwen on the Wadas Village Conflict in the Online Media Jawa Pos.com February 2022 Edition (Sapitri, 2022). Study by Annisa Khairunnisa (2022) also examines with the same theory, which examines representation of the Taliban in News Headlines on the Al-Jazeera Channel and CNN Arabic Youtube Channels. The results of the study show that Al-Jazeera Channel and CNN Arabic have certain specific tendencies and represent the Taliban (Khairunnisa, 2022).

Based on the studies above, it can be concluded that studies of actor representation related to the Kanjuruhan tragedy tend to be analyzed in the Indonesian media. Then, Theo Van Leeuwen's theoretical framework, based on the author's observation of the above studies, tends to be applicative, not too critical. Therefore, it is a novelty to study the largest Arabic media (al-Jazeera) by exploring its theory with a more critical approach. Then, theoretically, this research is expected to add to the scientific treasury of linguistics, especially in the field of discourse analysis. While practically this research can be a reference for readers and the public in responding to news discourse related to a particular issue that is currently being hotly discussed so that the public is not easily led by their opinions by certain media that also have a certain ideology and provide an understanding for the public to be more careful in examining the news received.

## METHOD

In the process of working on this research, the approach used by the author is a descriptive qualitative approach, which is interpreted the state of the data as it is. The meaning of "as it is" is that there is no intervention by the researcher in the form of reducing or adding data, meaning it is not without interpretation, only that it is done when analyzing the data. The contents of the news text contained in the news discourse on the Kanjuruhan tragedy on October 1, 2022 were carefully observed according to the existing facts. This research is also categorized as library research. Because the research was carried out without going to the field but using literature in the form of books, news in supporting mass media, or reports of results from previous studies such as theses and journals so that researchers are faced directly with the data collected.

In this study, data is news texts discussing the Kanjuruhan tragedy in Arabic media, namely Al-Jazeera with link [www.aljazeera.net](http://www.aljazeera.net) (Al-Jazeera, 2022) as data sources because al-Jazeera is the largest Arabic media as evidenced by its influence on various media (Cherkaoui, 2021). During October, there were 8 news reports in the Al-Jazeera media discussing the human tragedy at the Kanjuruhan Stadium with the following titles in the Table 1 below.

Table 1. Data Sources

Number	Title	Date	Link
1	ثاني أكثر الأحداث دموية بتاريخ كرة القدم.. 174 قتيلًا وعشرات الجرحى في أعمال شغب تلت مباراة بإندونيسيا	October 2, 2022	ثاني أكثر الأحداث دموية بتاريخ كرة القدم.. 174 قتيلًا وعشرات الجرحى في أعمال شغب تلت مباراة بإندونيسيا   أخبار الجزيرة نت (aljazeera.net)
2	إندونيسيا تعلن إحصائية "مصححة" لقتلى أعمال شغب مباراة كرة القدم	October 2, 2022	"مصححة" إندونيسيا تعلن إحصائية لقتلى أعمال شغب مباراة كرة القدم   أخبار الجزيرة نت (aljazeera.net)

3	أكبر كوارث و"مجازر" الملاعب في تاريخ كرة القدم	October 2, 2022	الملاعب في تاريخ كرة "مجازر" أكبر كوارث و القدم   رياضة   الجزيرة نت (aljazeera.net)
4	تضاعف عدد القتلى من الأطفال.. هذا ما حدث في كارثة مباراة إندونيسيا	October 3, 2022	تضاعف عدد القتلى من الأطفال.. هذا ما حدث في كارثة مباراة إندونيسيا   رياضة   الجزيرة نت (aljazeera.net)
5	التحقيق مع 18 شرطيا.. 32 طفلا ضحايا التدافع في إندونيسيا ورئيس نادي أريما يعلن تحميله المسؤولية	October 3, 2022	التحقيق مع 18 شرطيا.. 32 طفلا ضحايا التدافع في إندونيسيا ورئيس نادي أريما يعلن تحميله المسؤولية   أخبار   الجزيرة نت (aljazeera.net)
6	رئيس إندونيسيا يأمر بتعويض أسر ضحايا أحداث شغب مباراة كرة القدم	October 3, 2022	رئيس إندونيسيا يأمر بتعويض أسر ضحايا أحداث شغب مباراة كرة القدم   أخبار   الجزيرة نت (aljazeera.net)
7	كارثة ملعب كانجوروهان.. الرئيس الإندونيسي يمهل لجنة التحقيق شهرا واحدا لتسليم النتائج	October 5, 2022	كارثة ملعب كانجوروهان.. الرئيس الإندونيسي يمهل لجنة التحقيق شهرا واحدا لتسليم النتائج   أخبار   الجزيرة نت (aljazeera.net)
8	مأساة ملعب كانجوروهان في إندونيسيا.. تضامن واسع مع أسر الضحايا ودعوات لإصلاحات شاملة	October 8, 2022	مأساة ملعب كانجوروهان في إندونيسيا.. تضامن واسع مع أسر الضحايا ودعوات لإصلاحات شاملة   سياسة   الجزيرة نت (aljazeera.net)

In this study, there are 2 steps of data collection carried out. First, inventorying the news of the Kanjuruhan tragedy during October in both media by means of screenshots. Second, listening to the 16 news texts that have been inventoried, equipped with descriptive and reflective information in collecting data. Data analysis is carried out by systematically searching for and compiling data obtained from the selected data collection techniques by organizing data into categories, choosing which ones are important and will be studied, and making conclusions so that they are easily understood by oneself and others. In this research, data analysis is corroborated by the coding news. Then, analyzing data with a critical discourse analysis of Theo van Leeuwen's model, because this theory is relevant to the purpose of this research, which is to uncover the representation of actors (Leeuwen, 2008).

## RESULTS

Referring to the critical discourse analysis framework of Theo Van Leeuwen's model, there is the use of exclusion and inclusion strategies in 8 news items in Al-Jazeera media, which reported the Kanjuruhan tragedy during October. In detail, the two strategies are described as follows.



## Passivation

Passivation strategy can be used by discourse producers to remove or hide actors from discourse. This process can be done by changing active verbs into passive verbs. So that the reader is not known the subject or actor of the action. In Al-Jazeera there are 3 uses of passivation with the following discussion.

**Data 4** وصفت في وسائل إعلام إندونيسية بأنها ثاني أكثر الحوادث دموية بتاريخ ملاعب كرة القدم منذ القرن الماضي

*Described in Indonesian media as the second deadliest incident in football stadium history since the last century*

**Data 5** حصيلة مصححة لقتلى التدافع الذي تلا مباراة لكرة القدم  
*Corrected death toll in post-match stampede*

**Data 6** في الأثناء، قال الوزير الإندونيسي لشؤون الأمن محمد محفوظ إنه تم تشكيل فريق تقصي حقائق مشترك ومستقل

*Meanwhile, Indonesian Security Minister Mohammad Mahfud said a joint independent fact-finding team had been formed*

Passivation in Data 4 above is found in the word **وصفت** which is a passive form that does not basically display an actor. While in Data 5, the passivation technique is marked by the use of the word **سُجِلت** which is a passive verb. In this process, there is no need for an actor in the news which is marked by "there is a name recorded twice" but it is not stated who did the recording. As for Data 6, passivation occurs in the sentence **إنه تم تشكيل فريق تقصي حقائق مشترك ومستقل** which is a passive verb that does not require a subject so that it is not mentioned in the news text regarding the party that formed the independent joint fact-finding team. And the source of this information was obtained from the Coordinating Minister for Politics, Law and Human Rights, only those involved or those who formed the joint team were not mentioned in the news text.

## Inclusion

Inclusion is the process of inserting actors or groups into a discourse through certain linguistic units with the aim of empowering or cornering certain parties. There are 15 data on the use of this strategy by Al-Jazeera media from 8 news about the Kanjuruhan tragedy with the following details in Table 3 below.

Table 3. Inclusion Process in Al-Jazeera

Strategy	Frequency
Diferentiation	6 Processes
Objectivation	3 Processes
Abstraction	1 Processes
Determination	1 Processes
Individualisation	1 Processes
Assosiaton	2 Processes

## Differentiation

Through differentiation strategy, discourse producers represent actors not independently. Presenting comparative actors in discourse to present other actors to further emphasize the bad or good image of a particular group. Al-Jazeera also uses this strategy, as can be observed below.

**Data 7** نزل أكثر من 3 آلاف مشجع إلى الملعب، من بين أكثر من 40 ألفا كانوا بمدرجاته،  
وسارعت الشرطة إلى إنقاذ لاعبي الفريقين

*More than 3,000 fans descended on the stadium, from 40,000 in the stands, and police rushed to rescue players from both teams.*

**Data 8** وحاولت الشرطة، التي وصفت الحادث بـ"الشغب"، إقناع الجماهير بالعودة إلى  
المدرجات وأطلقت الغاز المسيل للدموع عليهم بعد مقتل ضابطين، مما تسبب في  
تدافع واصطدامات بين المشجعين ودهس العديد من الضحايا

*Police, who described the incident as a "riot", tried to persuade fans to return to the stands and fired tear gas at them after two officers were killed, causing stampedes and clashes between fans and hitting many victims*

**Data 9** ففي حين تقول الشرطة إنها لجأت إلى إطلاق الغازات المسيلة للدموع لوقف العنف  
بعد مقتل عدد من الأشخاص، بينهم اثنان من عناصرها، فإن إدارة النادي تتهم  
الشرطة بإطلاق قذائف الغاز المدمع من دون داع، وهو ما يحظره الاتحاد العالمي  
لكرة القدم (فيفا)

*While police said they were forced to fire tear gas to stop the violence after several people were killed, including two of their members, the club's management accused the police of firing tear gas shells unnecessarily, which is banned by FIFA*

The differentiation contained in Data 7 can be observed through the use of the sentence نزل أكثر من 3 آلاف مشجع إلى الملعب which is narrated as the reason the Police saved the players from both teams. This seems to give a negative image to the supporters while the police's efforts to save the team certainly give a positive image. Al-Jazeera again uses a differentiation strategy with a narrative that clearly shows its bias towards the police in Data 8. This can be identified in the narrative "The police are the ones who ... This can be proven by the use of the sentence "The police are the ones who fired tear gas, the police are the ones who fired tear gas." Meanwhile, in Data 9, the discourse producer contrasts the two actors presented in the discourse. The discourse producer not only presents the police with a narrative of being forced to fire tear gas. The presence of club management in the news also gives a negative impression because it uses the word accusing the police of firing tear gas which is unnecessary and prohibited by FIFA.

## Objectivation

Objectivation aims to present actors or events clearly and concretely. The objectivation process can be seen in the following data.

- Data 10**      نوصفت في وسائل إعلام إندونيسية بأنها ثاني أكثر الحوادث دموية بتاريخ ملاعب كرة نلقدم منذ القرمضي  
*Described in Indonesian media as the second deadliest incident in football stadium history since the last century*
- Data 11**      وكانت هذه الخسارة الأولى منذ أكثر من 20 عاما لفريق "أريما إف سي" أمام منافسه الكبير القادم من مدينة سورابايا  
*It was the first defeat in more than 20 years for Arima FC to their arch rivals from Surabaya*
- Data 12**      وكانت هذه أول مرة منذ أكثر من 20 عاما يخسر فيها فريق أريما مالانغ أمام منافسه  
*This is the first time in more than 20 years that the Arema Malang team has lost to their rivals*

Based on Data 10 above, the use of the word ثاني is an objectification process because it provides clear information in the text that the tragedy that occurred at the Kanjuruhan stadium was the second deadliest incident in football history since the last century. Al-Jazeera again uses the objectification strategy in Data 11, where the discourse producer emphasizes that Arema's defeat is not a simple thing. This can be identified in the news text excerpt that provides concrete information in the sentence منذ أكثر من 20 عاما لفريق. This sentence explains that Arema Malang's defeat from Persebaya Surabaya was the first in the last 20 years. Meanwhile, in data 12, Al-Jazeera again repeats the use of the objectification strategy with a narrative explaining that it was Arema FC's first defeat in 20 years against Persebaya Surabaya. The use of this narrative can certainly strengthen the differentiation process used by discourse producers in narrating that the actions of supporters who stormed the field were the reason the police were forced to add tear gas. Because it was found that this was not a simple defeat.

## Abstraction, Determination, Individualization, and Association

The strategies of abstraction, determination, individualization, and association were found in minimal amounts of data as follows.

- Data 13**      إن معظم الضحايا لقوا حتفهم جراء نقص الأكسجين أثناء تدافعهم بعدما اقتحم المشجعون ملعب كانجوروهان  
*Most of the victims died due to lack of oxygen during the stampede after fans stormed Kanjuruhan Stadium*

- Data 14 قال مسؤول حكومي اليوم الاثنين إن عدد الوفيات بين الأطفال (تتراوح أعمارهم بين 3 و17 عاما) عقب واقعة التدافع ارتفع إلى 32، بعدما كان 17 في وقت سابق  
*A government official said Monday that the death toll among children (aged 3 to 17) after the stampede had risen to 32, from 17 previously*
- Data 15 واعتذر جيلانج ويديا برامانا -رئيس نادي أريما- لضحايا التدافع المميت  
*Gilang Widya Pramana, President of Arema Club, apologized to the victims of the deadly raid*
- Data 16 وتستضيف إندونيسيا كأس العالم تحت 20 عاما في مايو/أيار ويونيو/حزيران العام المقبل، وهي ضمن 3 دول تطلب استضافة كأس آسيا العام القادم بعد انسحاب الصين  
*Indonesia will host the U-20 World Cup in May and June next year, and is among three countries that asked to host next year's Asian Cup after China withdrew*

Data 13 shows that the abstraction process is also used by Al-Jazeera. There is 1 use of an abstraction strategy that aims to bring out actors or events in the news, but not in detail. This can be seen from the use of the word *معظم الضحايا* which states that most supporters lack oxygen during the stampede after the fans stormed the field. Data 14 shows a determination strategy, namely eliminating or hiding the identity of the actor in the news text, so that the audience does not clearly know the identity of the official who said that on Monday the number of fatalities was in the category of children aged between 3 and 17 years. The individualization strategy can be seen in data 15, where the sentence *اعتذر جيلانج ويديا برامانا -رئيس نادي أريما-* specifically mentions the actor who apologized to the victims of the deadly riots, so that Gilang Widia Bramana, the President of Arema FC, was identified by the news reader. Meanwhile, the association in data 16 shows that the discourse producer associated the news of the Kanjuruhan tragedy with Indonesia's status as the host of the U-20 World Cup in May 2023. Al-Jazeera also mentioned that there were three other countries that asked to host. Of course, through this strategy, it can lead the reader's opinion that Indonesia's status as host can be reviewed with this tragedy.

## DISCUSSION

Based on the results of the study, in al-Jazeera media, the bias of discourse producers in representing actors is minimal. In this case, it was only found in a small part of the inclusion process involved in the Kanjuruhan tragedy. Al-Jazeera utilized this strategy to provide information on the victims who died after the raid. Al-Jazeera also utilized this strategy to emphasize that this was a deadly tragedy. Although the actors were not mentioned in the discourse, Al-Jazeera did not use it to protect one party and corner the other. Through the use of this strategy, Al-Jazeera remains neutral in representing. Through the exclusion strategy, Al-Jazeera have 3 uses of the passivation strategy. This media do not utilize this strategy to corner one party. In this case, Al-Jazeera use neutral language. The use of that strategy, as stated that the Kanjuruhan tragedy was the deadliest incident in football history. In addition, there is also a narrative that some of the victims'

names were listed twice, because they were transferred to another hospital so they were re-registered. In using this strategy, this media are neutral and do not corner one party.

Al-Jazeera tends to use differentiation strategy as a part inclusion process to compare police and supporters with the narrative that the police were forced to use tear gas to control supporters who stormed the field. Even using this strategy, Al-Jazeera narrates that before firing tear gas, the police had tried to persuade supporters to return to the stands but were ignored, resulting in casualties including 2 police officers. With the presence of supporters in the discourse as comparative actors, it can maintain the good image of the police who fired tear gas. It can be concluded that Al-Jazeera tends to narrate supporters with a negative image and tries to maintain the good image of the police. Al-Jazeera uses objectification strategy to corner supporters and at the same time strengthen the narrative that Arema supporters carried out a raid after the defeat. Through this strategy, the discourse producer clearly states that Arema's defeat was the first defeat in more than 20 years against its rival. The discourse producer tries to lead public opinion to believe that supporters do not accept their team's defeat, because the match is a meaningful match.

Through the determination strategy, this media have no tendency or bias towards the actors in the discourse. This media provide information related to the number of fatalities. Although the actors are presented anomalously, this media are neutral and impartial in representing the actors involved in the Kanjuruhan tragedy. Al-Jazeera utilizes the Individualization strategy with the narrative of Gilang Widya Pramana, who is the President of the Arema Club, apologizing to the victims for the incident that occurred. The discourse producers in the Al-Jazeera media link the news of the Kanjuruhan tragedy with the U-20 soccer match that will be held in Indonesia. Through this strategy, readers can see that this tragedy certainly has an impact on Indonesia's position as the host of the U-20 match. Therefore, in this strategy there is no tendency for Al-Jazeera media towards the actors represented in the news.

The actors represented in al-Jazeera media do tend to be neutral and do not overly corner one party. This can be factored because the social context of the media is not directly in Indonesia, so in order to maintain credibility and integrity, this media maintains a balance of actors to remain neutral. The media tends to be less tendentious if the issue being reported is not related to its affiliation as explained by (Bright, 2018; Davis & Dunaway, 2016; Dvir-Gvirsman et al., 2016). With this, media narratives can be accepted by the general public. However, behind this neutrality, there are media tendencies in the inclusion process, one of which is differentiation that shows partisanship. The al-Jazeera media in the news narrative related to the Kanjuruhan tragedy tends to be pro-government and seems to claim anarchist supporters or the public. Factually, this could have been influenced because Al-Jazeera Media Network as part of al-Jazeera expanded to Indonesia and has had a contract with the government since 2016 because Indonesia is one of the largest readers of news in the Middle East (Al-Jazeera, 2018 & Suparno et al., 2024).

The existence of cooperative interests with the government can influence al-Jazeera's tendency to report the government with a bad image. This is corroborated by research (Ni'mah et al., 2024 & Habibi et al., 2023) which explains that al-Jazeera media in reporting based on their sources tend to represent Indonesian supporters with anarchy and rioting. Despite describing Indonesia's responsibility in international law, this study shows that al-Jazeera in quantity, often narrates focused on the actions of Indonesian supporters and this is in line with research (Bright, 2018; Nurlela et al., 2025). This tendency illustrates the representation of al-Jazeera in general which tends to be pro-

government Indonesia. As described by research [Wahdiyati & Romadlan \(2021\)](#) which in another case, the 212 incident, Al-Jazeera represented muslims in Indonesia as conservatives in demonstrations carried out against blasphemy committed by Ahok, one of the government actors. With that, this research not only reveals the representation of an actor, but also knows the ideology of a media. This is in line with research ([Faisol et al., 2022](#); [Humaira et al., 2023](#); [Khairunnisa, 2023](#)) which reveals elements and ideological elements of a media, such as partisanship, through lingual patterns represented about the actor. Likewise, in this study, the representation of supporters and the government reveals al-Jazeera's ideology which tends to favor maintaining the government's image.

## CONCLUSION

The exclusion process in Al-Jazeera media represents the actors involved in the Kanjuruhan tragedy in a neutral realm. Through this process, the discourse producer focuses on narrating, informing, and stating that the Kanjuruhan tragedy was a deadly incident. Although the use of nominalization and passivation can remove the subject from the sentence, the discourse producer does not corner one of the parties. In the process of inclusion, a small part of Al-Jazeera's pro-Indonesian government tendency was found. It utilizes inclusion with linguistic patterns and structures to corner the supporters as the main party causing the riots. In this case, it could have been factored by political factors, such as al-Jazeera's cooperation with the government. However, in general, al-Jazeera still considers the tendency of neutrality to attract the sympathy of the Indonesian people who also tend to consume its media. Therefore, based on this conclusion, it is hoped that this research can provide practical implications so that every media consumer related to the Kanjuruhan tragedy can be selective and wise in interpreting the narrative and not be led by the discourse represented. This is because each media has its own purpose.

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## AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

The first author contributes to designing research, data collection, analysis, and the preparation of the initial draft of the article. The second and third authors provide theoretical guidance, critical analysis, and significant contributions to the preparation of the discussion and final revision of the manuscript.

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