Kanjuruhan tragedy in the New York Times: A critical discourse analysis

Achmad Arinal Qowim and Agwin Degaf[*]

Department of English Literature, Faculty of Humanities, UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, 50th Gajayana Street, Diyono, Lowokwaru, Malang, East Java, 65144, Indonesia

ABSTRACT
On October 1, 2022, the Kanjuruhan Football Tragedy in Malang, Indonesia, marked a poignant event, drawing significant media coverage, particularly by The New York Times. This incident, involving the police, supporters, and the government, unfolded amidst complex dynamics of action and response. This paper aims to dissect the media portrayal of these entities, examining the nuances of representation in news narratives. Adopting Van Leeuwen's (2008) Critical Discourse Analysis framework, the study employs a qualitative methodology to analyze how Social Actors are depicted through inclusion and exclusion strategies, alongside the portrayal of Social Actions through action and reaction approaches. The analysis of The New York Times' coverage reveals that the police were frequently portrayed as the enforcers of security, often resorting to measures like firing tear gas, while the supporters were depicted as reacting to these measures and significantly impacted by the tragedy. The government was represented as the overarching authority, responsible for managing the situation and its aftermath. This study uncovers a multi-layered narrative in the news discourse, highlighting the complexity of representing different actors in high-impact events. It concludes that media narratives in such scenarios are intricate, often shaped by the interplay of various actors' roles and actions. The findings emphasize the need for comprehensive discourse analysis in understanding media representations, suggesting future research should extend the scope of analysis by integrating broader elements from Van Leeuwen's framework and other Critical Discourse Analysis theories to gain deeper insights into media portrayals in similar situations.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis; representation; social action; social actor

INTRODUCTION
In recent times, law enforcement institutions have encountered significant challenges in maintaining public trust, as reflected in increasingly negative public perceptions. A critical incident exacerbating this issue was the Ferdy Sambo case, involving a high-ranking police official, which notably undermined public confidence in law enforcement, as reported by Dewi (2022). The resurgence of the hashtag #PercumaLaporPolisi ("it's useless to report to the police") on Twitter, highlighted by Dewi et al. (2022), serves as a testament to this growing skepticism, likely intensified by a natural propensity to engage more with negative news (Ajao et al., 2019; Al Rawi, 2019).

Twitter's significant role in news dissemination and information exchange, emphasized by Fauzy et al. (2023), has been instrumental in amplifying these perceptions, aligning with Sari et al. (2021)'s observations on social media's impact in driving social change movements. The public's dwindling trust in the police further deteriorated following the Kanjuruhan Football Tragedy. Bambang Rukminto, serving as a police observer at the Institute for Security and Strategic Studies (ISESS), commented on this issue. He noted that misinformation surrounding the case of Ferdy Sambo, a high-

* Corresponding Author
Email: agwindegaf@uin-malang.ac.id

ranking officer involved in a murder case, further amplified the public's distrust towards the law enforcement agencies of the Republic of Indonesia State Police (POLRI), as reported by Sulistiyawan (2022).

Anshar and Setiyono (2020) underscore the vital role of law enforcement agencies, particularly the police, in upholding state authority and enforcing laws globally. The Kanjuruhan Football Tragedy significantly affected Indonesian society and garnered international media attention, as observed by Hardiantoro (2022). The influential role of mass media in shaping public perceptions, particularly regarding the portrayal of the police, is discussed by Ng and Tan (2021) and further explored by Sari and Pranoto (2021). This context underscores the need for research to understand the media representation of social actors involved in such incidents.

News media, known for its reliability and speed, serves as a vital source of information, as affirmed by Duanprakhon (2012). People rely on various media platforms, including print and electronic media, for updates on global events, especially in the political and security domains, as highlighted by Hassan (2018). The integration of news into social media platforms, while enhancing reach, also raises concerns about accuracy and potential bias in reporting (Lutfiana et al., 2023; Ruan et al., 2021), necessitating guidance in discerning factual accuracy and potential bias in news consumption, as emphasized by Yu et al. (2021).

The mass media's ability to influence public opinion and behavior is well-established (Degaf, 2016; Van Dijk, 1995). Variations in media language can result in diverse perceptions and actions (Degaf et al., 2019), and in certain instances, can even influence public policy or judicial decisions, as evidenced by Sugeng Teguh Santoso from Indonesia Police Watch (IPW) (Septiana, 2023). This situation calls for the application of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyze the underlying messages in news language. CDA examines the relationship between discourse and societal elements like power dynamics, ideologies, and social identities (Fairclough, 2013; Xie, 2018), using a qualitative approach to assess how language subtly creates and justifies social imbalances (Al Fajri, 2017; Mullet, 2018).

This research focuses on media reporting about the police, acknowledging the profound impact such representations have on public trust, essential for the effective functioning of police organizations. It extends beyond examining Social Actor and Social Action Representation strategies in the media to include other key players such as the government and Arema supporters, aiming for a comprehensive understanding that benefits all involved in the discourse. This inclusive approach seeks to provide

holistic insights, enhancing the study's relevance for police institutions. It proposes potential strategies for shaping public perception and strengthening public relations and trust, as suggested by Choi et al. (2020) and Sofyan and Zifana (2019). The study employs Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), utilizing theoretical frameworks developed by scholars such as Norman Fairclough (2013), Teun A. van Dijk (2006), and Theo Van Leeuwen (2008), to explore the complexities of media representation and its impact on societal perceptions and actions.

In exploring media representation in Indonesia, this research builds on the work of scholars like Fairclough, Van Dijk, and Van Leeuwen. Prior critical discourse analyses have covered various aspects of media representation, including Fisabilillah's (2020) examination of language variations in reporting on racial protests, Jamil et al.'s (2021) exploration of ideologies in news coverage, and Septiana and Sumarlam's (2018) analysis of rhetoric in institutional and social contexts. These studies highlight the media's tendency to favor certain ideologies. In terms of social actor representation strategies, research by Sahputra et al. (2021) and Irawanto et al. (2022) has been instrumental in understanding the use of inclusion and exclusion techniques to convey particular ideologies, contributing significantly to the body of knowledge in this field.

Additionally, studies by Cocking and Drury (2014) on the Hillsborough Disaster and Nuryani and Wibisono (2023) on the Kanjuruhan disaster have focused on how media reporting on disasters can influence the perception and marginalization of specific groups through language choices. Cocking and Drury's analysis of the Hillsborough Disaster particularly investigates the use of the term "panic" in the context of "mass panic," scrutinizing its implications in assigning blame for the catastrophe. Nuryani and Wibisono's study, on the other hand, examines the Kanjuruhan disaster in Indonesia, employing Fairclough's three-dimensional framework and Halliday's systemic functional grammar to explore how different media portray the supporters and the police. This research aims to fill a notable gap in the area of Social Action Representation, particularly in the context of football tragedies that involve the government, supporters, and the police. By doing so, it seeks to provide a more comprehensive understanding of how these social actors are represented in media narratives, especially in high-stakes, emotionally charged situations such as the Kanjuruhan Football Tragedy.

The research addresses two main questions: 1) How is the representation of key social actors, specifically the police, the government, and Arema's supporters, portrayed in the international online media coverage of the Kanjuruhan Football Tragedy by The New York Times? 2) In the context

of the Kanjuruhan Football Tragedy, how are the actions and responses of these social actors depicted and analyzed in the news coverage by The New York Times? The study's significance lies in both theoretical and practical realms, aiming to deepen understanding of social practice elements and raise public awareness about media representations. Theoretically, it enriches the less-explored area of Social Action Strategies in CDA research. Practically, the study provides law enforcement with insights into media representation to aid policy formulation. The discussion will also explore these news narratives from the perspective of violence, as conceptualized by Galtung (1990), recognizing that the involved parties are victims of violence.

METHOD

In this study, a qualitative research methodology was implemented, guided by Tracy (2019)'s assertion that such methods are crucial for deeply exploring and understanding narratives within discourse, especially in news media contexts. The research was underpinned by Theo Van Leeuwen's Analytical Framework, which focuses on scrutinizing Social Practice elements like Social Actor and Social Action Representation. This approach aimed to elucidate the ideologies underpinning the articles.

The researchers themselves acted as the primary instruments for data collection, analysis, identification, and reporting, a stance reinforced by Shufutinsky (2020) and Tracy (2019). This approach necessitated observations and analyses without specialized tools, with emphasis on self-reflection regarding the researchers' objectives, passions, tendencies, and biases.

Data for the study were carefully sourced from The New York Times' official website, focusing on articles about the 2022 Kanjuruhan Football Tragedy. A total of 10 articles were selected to ensure a diverse and comprehensive representation of the narrative as portrayed in The New York Times. This selection process was meticulously designed to avoid redundancy and ensure a wide range of content and contexts. The chosen articles provided a rich pool of words, phrases, and sentences crucial for the analysis, thereby enabling a thorough understanding of the media portrayal and its implications.

The data collection process was multi-layered. Initially, the research team reviewed international news media sources, with a specific focus on The New York Times' reporting of the Kanjuruhan Football Tragedy. Articles were selected for their unique content, ensuring no overlap. The researchers then conducted an in-depth review of these articles to fully grasp their content, the

representations they offered, and the ideologies they conveyed. This process included identifying how the main actors, namely the police, supporters, and government, were represented in each article. The news texts were then categorized into Social Action and Social Actor Representation categories, based on Van Leeuwen's (2008) framework.

The data analysis phase entailed pinpointing specific data related to social action and actor networks within the sentences. This involved examining the portrayal of actions and responses in the context of the Kanjuruhan football tragedy. The findings were then segmented into either social action (action or reaction processes) or social actor processes (inclusion or exclusion processes). The final step of the analysis was to identify and categorize any transformations within these social action and social actor representation strategies, thereby providing a comprehensive understanding of how the tragedy was depicted in the media.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This section of the study encompasses two primary segments: findings and discussion. The findings segment involves a detailed analysis of the representation of social actors and social action strategies within the news articles covering the Kanjuruhan Football Tragedy. This analysis focuses on examining how key figures, including the police, the government, and the supporters, are portrayed through various linguistic elements such as words, phrases, clauses, sentences, and paragraphs. In the discussion segment, the interpretation of the data involves examining the occurrence and transformation of various types of social actor and social action representation strategies. This interpretation is based on Van Leeuwen's (2008) theoretical framework, aiming to uncover the nuances of how the newspaper represents the actors and actions within its discourse.

The representation of these actors in the discourse is examined through the main Social Actor Strategies and Social Action Strategies as depicted in selected news articles from The New York Times. The titles of these articles, which serve as the basis for this analysis, are listed in the following Table 1. The data samples encompass three social actors— the Police, the Government, and the football Supporters—distributed across ten articles in The New York Times that report on the Indonesian Football Tragedy in Kanjuruhan. In this study, the data samples focus on the depiction of three principal social actors—the Police, the Government, and football Supporters—within ten articles from The New York Times that cover the Indonesian Football Tragedy in Kanjuruhan.

Table 1
Article's Title Taken

No	Article Title (Sources)	Date of data taken
1	A fan says he can still hear the 'voices screaming.'	10-April-2023
2	A police focus on establishing order instead of safety can magnify danger, a policing expert says.	10-April-2023
3	Arema's coach said players had tried to help victims of the disaster. Some died in the changing rooms.	10-April-2023
4	At the Malang stadium, tear gas fired by the police had also turned deadly in 2018.	10-April-2023
5	Indonesia says police officers suspected of wrongdoing will face criminal charges.	10-April-2023
6	Police fired tear gas as fans rushed onto the field.	10-April-2023
7	While deaths are rare at soccer games, aggressive policing can light a match.	10-April-2023
8	The global soccer community mourned the death of fans in Indonesia.	10-April-2023
9	Soccer is second to badminton in Indonesia, but it has a huge following.	10-April-2023
10	Sorrow and anger mix as families and Arema supporters mourn the victims.	10-April-2023

Employing the discourse analysis model derived from Theo Van Leeuwen's frameworks, the research meticulously explores how these actors and their actions are portrayed in the media narrative, aiming to understand the impact of these representations on readers' ideological perceptions, both consciously and unconsciously. Van Leeuwen's method involves a detailed examination of whether social actors are individualized or generalized, whether their roles are portrayed as active or passive, and whether they are presented as part of the narrative or omitted, thereby illuminating their projected importance and roles in the events reported (van Leeuwen, 2008). Additionally, this framework analyzes the depiction of actions—determining if they are directly linked to the actors or abstracted—and considers the implications of the choice of verbs and their connotations for narrative construction (van Leeuwen, 1995). It further investigates narrative strategies, such as the sequencing of events and the establishment of causality, which steer readers toward specific interpretations and influence their ideological positions regarding the actors and actions (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). This comprehensive analysis is crucial for grasping how The New York Times' discourse on the tragedy shapes readers' beliefs, values, and attitudes toward the social actors involved, using Van Leeuwen's model to probe into the newspaper's portrayal of these actors.

To aid in the analysis of Social Actors and Social Action Representation, a structured layout table is utilized. The first column of this table lists sentences extracted from the news articles, each representing the actions or characteristics of the Police, the Government, and the Supporters. The subsequent column highlights the realizations or transformations of social actors or social action as depicted in these sentences. To facilitate clarity and brevity, some abbreviations are used to denote each type of transformation within the subcategories as listed in Table 2.

Table 2
Abbreviation of Strategies

No	Social Action Representation		Social Actor Representation	
	Abbreviation	Meaning	Abbreviation	Meaning
1	DeAct.	Deactivation	Supp.	Supression
2	O	Objectivation	Back.	Background
3	Dec.	Descriptivization	Subj.	Subjection
4	DeAgt.	Deagentialization	Ben.	Beneficialization
5	Ev.	Eventuation	Asso.	Association
6	N	Naturalization	Dif.	Differentiation
7	Ex.	Existentialiazation	Nom.	Nomination
8	Abs.	Abstraction	O. Det	Over Determination
9	G	Generalization	Inter.	Interdetermination
10	Dist.	Distillation	Indiv.	Individualization
11	OverDet.	Overdetermination	Assim.	Assimilation
12	S	Symbolization	Abstr.	Abstraction
13	I	Inversion	Obj.	Objectivation

In this research, The New York Times' coverage of the tragedy is analyzed, focusing on three key social actors: the Police, the Supporters, and the Government. Their portrayal is primarily examined through Social Actor Strategies of Inclusion and Exclusion. Inclusion strategies, such as Activation and Passivation, highlight the active or passive roles of these actors. Additionally, the Personalization strategies, including Association, Dissociation, Differentiation, and Indifferentiation, enrich the narrative by linking actors with specific qualities or actions. Over Determination, Genericization, Specification, Individualization, and Assimilation strategies contribute to a multifaceted portrayal.

In contrast, Exclusion strategies play a crucial role in the narrative construction, subtly guiding the audience's focus and interpretation by omitting

details or actors. This selective approach influences the readers' perception of the event. For instance, a sentence from The New York Times in 2022 illustrates this: "*Eyewitnesses said that the gas was at times fired indiscriminately into the stands, forcing the overcapacity crowd to rush for the exits.*" In this example, the police are excluded through backgrounding, focusing on the action of firing tear gas without explicitly mentioning the police. Meanwhile, the supporters are included, emphasizing their involvement and experience. This showcases the varied treatment of social actors through exclusion and inclusion strategies.

The analysis identified 201 instances of inclusion strategies and 71 instances of exclusion strategies in the analyzed articles, revealing the media's strategic narrative choices. These strategies are more than linguistic elements; they represent the power dynamics and ideologies guiding the media's discourse. Inclusion strategies engage social actors actively in the narrative, often humanizing them and eliciting empathy. For example, portraying supporters through personal accounts may create an emotional connection with the readers.

On the other hand, exclusion strategies, though less frequent, significantly impact narrative construction by creating ambiguities regarding accountability and responsibility. This deliberate omission reflects the media's understanding of its role and the expectations of its audience, unveiling the complex dynamics of power and ideology in reporting. For readers, recognizing these strategies underscores the need for a critical engagement with the news media, acknowledging the constructed nature of news reports influenced by editorial decisions and the broader societal power structures. Such a critical lens enables readers to interrogate the portrayal of social actors, pondering the motivations and consequences of what is made visible or invisible in the news. Grasping these editorial choices provides a window into the larger societal narratives and power relations that inform public discourse, especially in the wake of major incidents like the Kanjuruhan Football Tragedy. This event is a prime example of how societal narratives and power relations play out, involving powerful institutions and actors such as the police, football supporters with their significant societal impact, and the government wielding its authority. These groups engage in a battle of narratives constructed by the media, highlighting the intricate interplay between media representation, societal narratives, and power relations in shaping public perception and discourse.

Table 3
Social Actor Representation Strategies

No	Actor(s)	Social Actor Strategy													
		Exclusion		Inclusion											
					Passivation		Personalization					Person/Imperson		Impersona-lization	
		Supp	Back	Activation	Subj	Ben	Determination				Inter	Specification		Abstr	Obj
							Asso	Dif	Nom	O.Det		Indiv	Assim		
1	Police	4	34	41	15	1	6	10	7	21	0	7	26	0	1
2	Supporter	0	26	57	63	2	11	23	18	31	4	18	53	7	8
3	Government	0	1	21	1	0	0	4	8	6	0	14	6	0	1
		4	67	119	79	3	17	37	33	58	4	39	85	7	10

Table 3 in the study presents a detailed view of how The New York Times represented social actors in its coverage of the Kanjuruhan Football Tragedy. It records 119 instances of activation, portraying actors in proactive roles, and 79 instances of passivation, showing them in more passive roles. Additionally, occurrences of strategies such as beneficialization (3 instances), association (17), and differentiation (37) illustrate the varied ways media represent these actors.

The research focuses on the portrayal of the Police, the Supporters, and the Government in ten articles, employing Van Leeuwen's (2008) discourse analysis frameworks. It differentiates between Material Actions, which are physical acts like "kicking," and Semiotic Actions, encompassing verbal communications like "saying." This distinction points out the media's approach in portraying both the physical and verbal aspects of the tragedy.

An example from the coverage clearly demonstrates this: "*Many people fainted, he said, adding that police stood by and did nothing. He saw a boy of perhaps 13 or 14 crying and screaming from the pandemonium.*" In this sentence, "stood by" and "did nothing" represent Material Actions, indicating the police's physical inactivity, while "said" and "adding" fall under Semiotic Actions, focusing on the verbal aspect of the event. The study identifies 253 material actions and 110 semiotic actions, indicating a thorough representation of both types of actions.

Furthermore, the research identified 57 reactions in the discourse, which are mental processes influenced by perception, emotion, and cognition. These reactions provide insights into the internal mental states or responses of individuals. For instance, the coverage states, "*While investigators begin to examine the deadly stampede at an Indonesian soccer match those witnesses said began after police used tear gas, a leading expert in crowd policing stated that a focus on public order rather than public safety in stadiums can often cause the police to overreact, causing dangerous escalations.*" This reveals how the reactions attributed to the police involve their perception, thought processes, and emotional responses.

This in-depth analysis is important as it provides a comprehensive understanding of social actors by examining both their visible actions and internal states. The study offers a multi-dimensional view of the event, which not only informs the public but also influences their perception by highlighting certain aspects of the actors' roles and responses. This kind of examination is crucial for a full understanding of complex events like the football tragedy, acknowledging that each actor operates within a specific context and set of circumstances. This approach promotes a more informed and balanced public discourse.

In conclusion, the analysis of 363 actions and 57 reactions in The New York Times' coverage offers a thorough understanding of media portrayal during the tragedy. It emphasizes the importance of critically examining news narratives to understand the interplay between media representation, societal narratives, and power structures. Van Leeuwen (2008) notes that these portrayals can undergo transformations like deletion or substitution, which affect how they are presented in the media. The study details these transformations, providing insights into the construction of media narratives and their impact on public perception.

Table 4
Social Action Representation Strategies

No	Actor(s)	Social Action Strategy												
		Action		Reaction		Transformation								
						DeAct		Ex	DeAgt			Abs	Over Det	
		Material	Semiotic	Unspecified	Specified	O	Desc		N	Ex	G	Dist	S	I
1	Police	112	31	2	15	40	13	15	4	2	52	61	2	0
2	Supporter	124	45	0	34	40	5	24	4	4	32	70	1	0
3	Government	17	34	0	6	15	2	2	0	1	15	28	0	0
		253	110	2	55	95	20	41	8	7	99	159	3	0

In The New York Times' coverage of the Kanjuruhan Football Tragedy, Table 4.4 provides an extensive analysis of social action representation strategies. This table categorizes various approaches, including 95 deactivations, 20 descriptivizations, 41 eventuations, 8 naturalizations, 7 existentializations, 99 generalizations, 159 distillations, 3 symbolizations, and notably, no inversions. This comprehensive data set demonstrates the narrative's construction, emphasizing certain actions while minimizing or abstracting others, thus influencing how readers perceive and interpret the events and the actors involved.

The portrayal of the police, primarily through the supporters' perspective, focuses on their interactions with the crowd. The strategic use of exclusion in depicting the police, particularly in their security role, subtly suggests their presence and actions, inviting diverse interpretations that could question the effectiveness of the police or leave their role in the events somewhat ambiguous. This approach could reflect broader issues regarding authority and its representation in media narratives.

Concurrently, the narrative gives minimal emphasis to the government's role, concentrating mainly on their policy decisions and responses to the tragedy. This limited focus might suggest the government's marginal involvement or be interpreted as a critique of their crisis management and response strategies. By focusing more on immediate, ground-level actions and reactions, the narrative steers the attention away from broader systemic and institutional decision-making processes.

Utilizing Van Dijk's (2006) polarization strategies, the narrative frames the police as the outgroup, highlighting their negative actions during the tragedy and distancing them from the readers' empathy, while portraying them more as antagonists in the story. In stark contrast, the supporters are depicted as the ingroup, emphasizing their traumatic experiences and victimization. This portrayal normalizes any negative behaviors by the supporters, aligning readers' sympathies with them. The minimal portrayal of the government's role complements this polarization, shifting the focus away from systemic or institutional factors, thereby influencing public perception towards more individual and immediate factors in the tragedy.

The analysis also incorporates Galtung's (1990) categorization of violence, identifying direct, structural, and cultural forms within the narrative. The supporters are shown as victims of these forms of violence, their potential impeded by the overwhelming circumstances and the actions of the police. The police and government's inability to effectively control the crowd and maintain a positive public image signifies a failure in realizing their potential, embedded within the societal hierarchy and power dynamics between the police and the supporters. Direct violence is evident in the physical confrontations, while cultural violence emerges from the narrative's portrayal of the supporters as victims and the police as aggressors, reinforcing prevalent cultural assumptions and biases.

Incorporating insights from Mahfud's (2022) TGIPF report enriches this analysis by offering a more comprehensive context for the media representations examined. This report highlights the complex nature of the tragedy, focusing on the critical mismatch between FIFA's security regulations and local police guidelines, as well as the actions of the supporters as significant contributing factors. The TGIPF's findings reveal that the tragedy resulted from a series of missteps and misunderstandings by both the police and the supporters, indicating a multifaceted causation that

challenges simplistic narratives and calls for a more nuanced understanding of the dynamics involved.

The TGIPF report paints a picture of the tragedy as the result of cumulative actions and failures by multiple parties, including the police and the supporters. Both groups contributed to the disaster's escalation, failing to comprehend and apply their roles and responsibilities adequately. The police's misalignment with FIFA's security regulations and the supporters' actions, such as violating prohibitions against entering the playing field and throwing flares, significantly exacerbated the chaos and severity of the situation.

This in-depth media analysis offers insights into the football tragedy and the significant role of media narratives in shaping public discourse and understanding of complex events. It underscores the importance of critically engaging with media portrayals to fully comprehend the nuanced and often subtle ways events are framed and perceived in society. The study highlights the power of media narratives in recounting events and shaping public perceptions of the roles, responsibilities, and ideologies of the involved parties.

CONCLUSION

This research focused on analyzing the representation of social actors and their actions in The New York Times' coverage of the Kanjuruhan Football Tragedy, which took place on October 1, 2022, in Kanjuruhan, Malang City. Applying van Leeuwen's (2008) frameworks for Social Actor Representation and Social Action Representation, the study identified the primary roles of the police, supporters, and government in the event. The police were responsible for security and maintaining order at the match, the supporters were the attending audience, and the government held a supervisory role over the police. The analysis revealed a variety of portrayal strategies, including 71 exclusion strategies and 201 inclusion strategies for social actor representation. It also identified 363 actions and 57 reactions in the context of social action representation, with the supporters receiving the most extensive coverage, followed by the police, and the government being the least represented.

The inclusion and exclusion strategies used in the reporting varied according to the context, reflecting different perspectives of the tragedy. The supporters were often portrayed as victims of the incident, experiencing its direct consequences. In contrast, the police were shown as agents whose actions led to tragic outcomes, primarily from the perspective of the supporters. Notably, there were instances where the police were entirely omitted from the narrative, particularly in references to their own casualties during the tragedy. The government's portrayal focused mainly on their investigative and policy responses to the event. The analysis indicated that the police's actions were mostly about managing the supporters, whereas the supporters' actions centered on responding to the police and mourning the tragedy. The government's actions were largely investigative, concerning the aftermath of the incident.

While this study concentrated on Van Leeuwen's framework, it underscores the potential for a broader analysis of discourse, including various dimensions beyond social actor and social action representation. Future research could explore aspects such as time, space, legitimation, purpose, and visual representation in discourse. Critical Discourse Analysis, being inherently multidisciplinary, offers diverse analytical possibilities across different types of discourse and sectors, providing deep insights into the portrayal of policies and events in media. This approach is vital for stakeholders seeking to understand various perspectives and address conflicting narratives. In summary, the research provides a detailed understanding of the media representations of social actors and actions during the Kanjuruhan Football Tragedy, emphasizing the need to consider multiple discursive elements and perspectives for a comprehensive understanding of media narratives.

REFERENCES

Ajao, O., Bhowmik, D., & Zargari, S. (2019). Sentiment aware fake news detection on online social networks. In *ICASSP 2019 - 2019 IEEE International Conference on Acoustics, Speech and Signal Processing (ICASSP)* (pp. 2507-2511). Brighton, UK. https://doi.org/10.1109/ICASSP.2019.8683170

Al Fajri, M. (2017). Hegemonic and minority discourses around immigrants: A corpus-based critical discourse analysis. *Indonesian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *7*(2), 381-390. https://doi.org/10.17509/ijal.v7i2.8349

Al-Rawi, A. (2019). Viral news on social media. *Digital journalism*, *7*(1), 63-79. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2017.1387062

Anshar, R. U., & Setiyono, J. (2020). Tugas dan fungsi polisi sebagai penegak hukum dalam perspektif Pancasila. *Jurnal Pembangunan Hukum Indonesia*, *2*(3), 359-372.

Choi, J., Yim, H., & Hicks, R. D. (2020). Direct and indirect effects of crime-related media consumption on public confidence in the Police. *International journal of police science & management*, *22*(1), 38–49. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461355719880572

Cocking, C., & Drury, J. (2014). Talking about Hillsborough: "Panic" as discourse in survivors' accounts of the 1989 football stadium disaster. *Journal of Community &*

Applied Social Psychology, *24*(2), 86-99. https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.2153

Degaf, A. (2016). Jokowi dalam pemberitaan media Pro-Prabowo: Kajian analisis wacana kritis. In *Isu-isu Mutakhir dalam Kajian Bahasa dan Sastra* (pp. 225-237). Interlude

Degaf, A., Wijana, I., & Poedjosoedarmo, S. (2019). Textual analysis on celebrity news in the online media. *LiNGUA: Jurnal Ilmu Bahasa Dan Sastra*, *14*(2), 249-260. https://doi.org/10.18860/ling.v14i2.7428

Dewi, M. S. R., Astuti, Y. D., & Attaymini, R. (2022). Uncover the digital movement of opinion war in #PercumaLaporPolisi on Instagram. In *Annual International Conference on Social Science and Humanities (AICOSH 2022)* (pp. 46-54). Atlantis Press. https://doi.org/10.2991/978-2-494069-87-9_7

Dewi, S. (2022). Tingkat kepercayaan publik ke Polri anjlok karena Sambo. IDN Times. https://www.idntimes.com/news/indonesia/santi-dewi/mahfud-buntut-kasus-ferdy-sambo-kepercayaan-publik-ke-polri-anjlok

Duanprakhon, P. (2012). *Critical discourse analysis of news headlines: A case of youth crime in Thailand*. [Master's thesis, School of Language and Communication National Institute of Development Administration]. http://repository.nida.ac.th/handle/662723737/721

Fairclough, N. (2013). *Language and power*. Routledge.

Fauzy, A. R. I., & Setiawan, E. B. (2023). Detecting fake news on social media combined with the CNN methods. *Jurnal RESTI (Rekayasa Sistem dan Teknologi Informasi)*, *7*(2), 271-277. https://doi.org/10.29207/resti.v7i2.4889

Fisabilillah, L. W. (2020). *Discourse analysis on The Guardian news text about Papua demonstration on August 2019*. [Unpublished undergraduate thesis]. UIN Malang.

Galtung, J. (1990). Cultural violence. *Journal of Peace Research*, *27*(3), 291-305. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343390027003005

Hardiantoro, A. (2022). *Media asing soroti tragedi Kanjuruhan Malang yang menewaskan 127 orang*. KOMPAS.com. https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2022/10/02/080000065/media-asing-soroti-tragedi-kanjuruhan-malang-yang-menewaskan-127-orang

Hassan, A. (2018). Language, media, and ideology: Critical discourse analysis of Pakistani news bulletin headlines and its impact on viewers. *Sage Open*, *8*(3). https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244018792612

Irawanto, M. F. (2022). *Exclusion and inclusion strategies of social actors' representation in Russia and Ukraine issue on CNBC news media*. [Unpublished undergraduate thesis]. UIN Malang.

Jamil, A., Daniel, D., & Qasem, A. (2021). News discourse on the 212 social movements: Critical discourse analysis on Republika and Media Indonesia. *Bricolage: Jurnal Magister Ilmu Komunikasi*, *7*(2), 203-212. https://doi.org/10.30813/bricolage.v7i2.2748

Lutfiana, S., Utami, S., Hermawan, A., & Sa'diyah, L. (2023). Teun A. van Dijk's critical discourse analysis model of the premediated murder case of Brig. Joshua Hutabarat by suspended internal affairs chief Insp. Gen Ferdy Sambo reported on the online media Kompas.com. *Journal of Development Research*, *7*(2), 236-248. https://doi.org/10.28926/jdr.v7i2.341

Mahfud, M. MD. (2022). *Laporan tim gabungan independen pencari fakta tragedi Stadion Kanjuruhan Malang: 17 October 2022. Kementerian Koordinator Bidang Politik, Hukum, dan Keamanan*. Polkam. https://polkam.go.id/laporan-tgipf-tragedi-kanjuruhan/

Mullet, D. R. (2018). A general critical discourse analysis framework for educational research. *Journal of Advanced Academics*, *29*(2), 116-142. https://doi.org/10.1177/1932202X18758260

Ng, R., & Tan, Y. W. (2021). Diversity of COVID-19 news media coverage across 17 countries: The influence of cultural values, government stringency and pandemic severity. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, *18*(22), 11768. https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph182211768

Nuryani, D. I., & Wibisono, B. (2023). A critical discourse analysis of news report on Kanjuruhan Tragedy in Tempo and CNN Indonesia. *ELITE Journal*, *5*(2), 291-304.

Ruan, Q., Mac Namee, B., & Dong, R. (2021). *Pseudo-labelling enhanced media bias detection*. ArXiv. https://arxiv.org/abs/2107.07705

Sahputra, D. (2021). Cabinet reshuffle news for 2020 in Van Leeuwen's Critical Discourse Analysis. Polit Journal: *Scientific Journal of Politics*, *1*(1), 11-18. https://doi.org/10.33258/polit.v1i1.363

Sari, N., Rahmat, W., & Samsiarni, S. (2021). News of violence in Posmetro Padang daily, a study of discourse analysis. *Journal of Pragmatics and Discourse Research*, *1*(1), 19-25. https://doi.org/10.51817/jpdrv1i1.132

Sari, K., & Pranoto, B. E. (2021). Representation of government concerning the draft of criminal code in The Jakarta Post: A critical discourse analysis. *PAROLE: Journal of Linguistics and Education*, *11*(2), 98-113. https://doi.org/10.14710/parole.v11i2.98-113

Septiana. (2023). *IPW menilai vonis mati Ferdy Sambo tidak layak*. Tempo. https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1690942/ipw-menilai-vonis-mati-ferdy-sambo-tidak-layak?utm_source=Digital%20Marketing&utm_medium=Babe

Septiana, D., & Sumarlam, S. (2018). Palangka Raya the capital city of Indonesia: Critical discourse analysis on news about moving the capital city from Jakarta. In *Proceedings of the International Seminar on Recent Language, Literature, and Local Cultural Studies (BASA 2018)*, *1*, 173-185. Atlantis Press. https://www.atlantis-press.com/article/25906086

Shufutinsky, A. (2020). Employing use of self for transparency, rigor, trustworthiness, and credibility in qualitative organizational research methods. *Organization Development Review*, *52*(1), 50-58.

Sofyan, A., & Zifana, M. (2019). Representing social action in Indonesian: A case of Indonesian presidential race. *Indonesian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *9*(2), 252-262. https://doi.org/10.17509/ijal.v9i2.20216

Sulistiyawan, L. (2022, October 7). *Tragedi Kanjuruhan jatuhkan kepercayaan publik, apa yang harus dilakukan Polri?* Kompas.com.

Tracy, S. J. (2019). *Qualitative Research Methods: Collecting Evidence, Crafting Analysis, Communicating Impact*. John Wiley & Sons.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1995). Power and the news media. *Political communication and action*, *6*(1), 9-36.

Van Dijk, T. A. (2006). Ideology and discourse analysis. *Journal of political ideologies*, *11*(2), 115-140.

van Leeuwen, T. (1995). Representing social action. *Discourse and Society*, *6*(1), 81–106.

van Leeuwen, T., & Wodak, R. (1999). Legitimizing immigration control: A discourse-historical analysis. *Discourse Studies*, *1*(1), 83–119.

van Leeuwen, T. (2008). *Discourse and practice: New tools for critical discourse analysis*. Oxford university press.

Xie, Q. (2018). Critical discourse analysis of news discourse. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, *8*(4), 399-403. https://doi.org/10.17507/tpls.0804.06

Yu, S., Martino, G. D. S., Mohtarami, M., Glass, J., & Nakov, P. (2021). *Interpretable propaganda detection in news articles*. ArXiv. https://arxiv.org/abs/2108.12802