

Construction of Reality and Social Criticism in the Frame of Online Media (Framing Analysis of News on the Kanjuruhan Football Tragedy in Tempo Online Magazine October 10-16 2022 Edition)

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ABSTRACT

The rapid development of social media provides easy access to unlimited information and freedom of information. Access to the internet allows every individual to access a variety of available information. Information about the Kanjuruhan football tragedy which caused many fatalities is an interesting topic for the media to cover. The methodology used in this research is framing analysis developed by Pan and Kosicky, while the approach adopted is a qualitative approach. The findings obtained from this investigation are that Tempo online magazine's reporting on the tragedy was critical, informative and very provocative. These indications can be seen from the results of the framing analysis carried out, namely in the framing of the main news: in the Kanjuruhan tragedy there were errors and omissions caused by the security team (either the political committee or police officers), syntactic elements: strengthening the main framing by using unbalanced quotes from sources and the news writer has too many opinions, script elements: strengthening the news, the How element to reduce the why element, thematic elements: there are 5 big themes in the news as material for the news writer, rhetorical elements: the use of cover photos and several graphics and words used to emphasize elements of news that seem hyperbolic and provocative. Furthermore, it can be concluded by researchers that Tempo Online magazine constructs reality for the purposes of social criticism to the Kanjuruhan tragedy competition committee and the government, especially the Indonesian National Police, in reporting through a framing process.

INTRODUCTION

The relationship between humans and the mass media is very close. The mass media plays an important role in conveying information to people about matters related to themselves, other people, and the environment. In this modern era, every human being is very dependent on the mass media and needs it to get information. According to George Gerbner, the mass media has become a form of religion that is widely recognized by today's society. It is not surprising that McQuail stated that the media is an information channel that allows individuals to see events happening in the outside world (Ishanan, 2019).

Several forms of media that are currently popularly used by the public include print media such as newspapers and magazines, electronic media such as television and radio, and online media such as websites and social media platforms. The rapid development of technology and information in recent years has changed people's preferences in choosing communication channels, with online media becoming an increasingly popular choice. This phenomenon is the main reason why conventional communication has changed to become more modern and digital (Bungin, 2008).

According to Kumala (2022), with technological advances, we can now obtain various information quickly even though not all of it is accurate with the actual situation because it is responded to by various media. One of the media that currently provides various kinds of information quickly is online media. Online media is the third generation of mass media after print media and electronic media which provides various information via the internet.

In carrying out its role, the mass media does not operate in an isolated, free or independent manner, but is bound by social reality. There are various interests involved in the mass media, or in other words, there is a battle between "ideologies" in it (Basit, Abdul, 2007).

The basic principle is that the ideological orientation of a press institution significantly influences the characteristics of the news it publishes. However, at the same time, it is important to remember that criticism of press institutions always reflects problems that arise and are felt by society in general. Therefore, it requires not only the intelligence of journalists in conveying criticism, but also the intelligence of the government and state administrators in carrying out evaluations and introspection in order to sort out incoming criticism. Moreover, criticism, no matter how bad it may seem, must have significant informational value (Ishanan, 2019).

In the process of identifying ideological trends, it is important to consider the presence of relevant issues. The study of each of these cases or issues involves various abstractions and groupings by the individuals involved. According to Edelman, quoted by Eriyanto, the categorization process is basically a creative and reconstructive process which is important to give a reasonable and rational impression, so that it can change a person's views or attitudes. In general, the reality observed is similar, it's just that differences in the language used to describe the reality can influence a person's perception when seeing and interpreting the reality (Eriyanto, 2008).

In the context of selecting issues and framing news from a media, one of the interesting issues to study is the issue of the football tragedy at Kanjuruhan Stadium in Malang which left 132 supporters dead. This tragedy not only became a trending topic in Indonesia in early October 2022, but also became a trending topic worldwide. Various international news sites reported on the tragedy with various news framing.

(<https://www.republika.co.id/berita/rj4efl485/tragedi-stadion-kanjuruhan-diberitakan-di-settle-dunia> accessed on 16 October 2022 at 15.47)

In this incident, the FIFA President also responded to the Kanjuruhan tragedy which resulted in many fatalities in the match between Arema FC and Persebaya Surabaya. FIFA jointly expressed its condolences for the tragedy that occurred in Kanjuruhan. In addition, it was decided that all international football matches must observe a moment of silence as an expression of prayer for the victims of this tragedy. (<https://m.merdeka.com/sepakbola/bolacom/ Pernyataan-besar-presiden-fifa-terkait-tragedi-kanjuruhan.html> accessed on 16 October 2022 at 15.50)

News about the Kanjuruhan case was almost published in all online media in Indonesia, with various different frames, because the public was very interested in this incident. Likewise with one of the online portals <https://majalah.tempo.co/> which also reported on the tragedy. Researchers chose magazines.tempo.co as the research object because as part of the Tempo Media Group and magazines.tempo.co has been involved in the world of journalism for a long time.

Apart from that, the Tempo Media Group is known as a media that dares to publish criticism of the government, by obtaining the right data and choosing reliable sources in the research process. In fact, in 1982, Tempo magazine experienced its first ban because it was considered too critical of the New Order regime. The second ban occurred on June 21 1994 when the government through the Minister of Information Harmoko decided to ban Tempo magazine. (<https://www.tempo.id/corporate.php> accessed on 16 October 2022 at 16.10).

Another and most important reason related to this research is that magazines.tempo.co is the only online portal that has created a special column with a magazine focus cover for the 10 October - 16 October 2022 issue about the Kanjuruhan tragedy. In this special column there are several main reports related to interesting topics related to the Kanjuruhan tragedy.

In reporting, the media has a frame, the media has an important role in selecting and reporting news. The perspective or point of view used will influence the facts given, the parts emphasized or omitted, and the purpose of the news. In more detail, framing is a strategy used by journalists in selecting and compiling issues that will be made into news. In this framing process, journalists will choose a particular point of view or perspective that will be used to compile the story. Thus, the perspective or point of view used will influence the facts chosen, the parts that are highlighted or omitted, and the direction that will be taken in the reporting. (Sobur, 2011).

Media news will be significantly affected by the ideology attached to the media. Differences in media construction can be seen in the way they report an issue, due to differences in the ideology underlying the media. The media has a subjective point of view in conveying news. Framing analysis is a research method that focuses on mass media and is based on social construction theory. This theory states that the reality seen or read through the mass media is not the actual reality, but is the result of a construction process by the media. This theory was introduced by Peter L. Berger, an interpretive sociologist, who argued that the concept of reality is formed scientifically and is not something handed down by God, but instead, reality is formed and constructed by humans. (Eriyanto, 2011).

The method of framing analysis is always widely used by researchers and the issue of tragedy in football is always interesting to study. However, currently no research has been found that focuses on framing analysis associated with tragedy, especially in

football. The closest research using the keywords "framing" and "football" was carried out by Pratama et al (2022) regarding framing analysis regarding Lionel Messi's move from Barcelona to PSG carried out by bola.com and bolasport.com, there are similarities in the reports of Messi's arrival at PSG between bola.com and bolasport.com.

Another close research is that conducted by Sandi, et al (2022) "Analysis of Detik.com's Online Media Framing in Reporting Victims of Beatings by Bobotoh" shows that Detik.com has portrayed HS too in-depth, including his personal life, which violates the victim's privacy. Researchers recommend that Detik.com understand and follow the Cyber Media Reporting Guidelines in its journalistic practices.

The limitation of the two studies above is that researchers have not seen the relationship between framing in the construction of reality and social criticism in reporting. Media has an important role in forming meaning. Fundamentally, media work involves the task of reality construction, where the diverse realities presented in the field are collected and selected for construction, while others are ignored. Because of its ability to construct reality, the media has a significant influence in providing understanding and images to society as a result of its construction.

Bearing this in mind, this study is intended to examine how Pan and Kosicky's framing model was used in framing the coverage of the Kanjuruhan Football Tragedy in Tempo.co Online Magazine for the period 10 October - 16 October 2022. Apart from that, this observation also aims to see how a media constructs reality and social criticism. Through framing. This research is also expected to be able to contribute to increasing understanding of how to present the news. And can broaden people's insight to better understand what the media is in packaging news and can be a reference for the media in conveying neutral news.

METHOD

In this research, a qualitative approach was taken where the data collected was not in the form of numbers, but came from sources such as field notes, personal documents, memos and other official documents. The purpose of this research is to describe and understand the phenomena experienced by research subjects through descriptive methods and qualitative approaches. In this research, data will be collected using words and language which will be analyzed to gain a deeper understanding of empirical reality and its relationship with existing theory (Moleong, 2014).

In the view of Boghdan and Taylor (cited in Moleong, 2014), a qualitative method is a research method that produces descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words originating from individuals and observable behavior. Rachmat Kriyantono, (2014) revealed that research that utilizes qualitative descriptive methods also has the aim of forming propositions or revealing the meaning behind the observed phenomena. This kind of research seeks to see events that occur in the real world and present the findings obtained from the research.

In terms of research techniques, researchers utilized Pan and Kosicky's framing analysis method. The subject of this research took the subject and primary data source from magazine.tempo.co regarding the Kanjuruhan football tragedy period 10 October - 16 October 2022. In the period above there were 5 news stories picked up by magz.tempo.co, but the researcher only took 1 news story, this was selected by the researcher because only that news was suitable for analysis because it had a complete

news structure and was in accordance with research topic. Researchers will analyze the headline published by the online media tempo.co "Deadly Shots of Expired Tear Gas".

Framing analysis is used to study stakeholders in a hierarchy of power, groups who benefit and groups who lose, parties who carry out oppression and parties who are victims of oppression, as well as policies that receive or do not receive support. (Eriyanto, 2011). The Pan and Kosicki framing analysis method was chosen because this method is known to be very suitable for studying problems related to this issue. This method has the advantage of conducting a comprehensive analysis of the coverage provided by the media under study.

There are four tools used by Pan and Kosicki to analyze framing, namely syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical. One of the framing principles states that journalists can implement certain standards of truth, objectivity and boundaries in processing and presenting news (Eriyanto, 2011).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Tempo.co magazine, which acts as a media that has a wide reach, demonstrates an analytical approach in reporting the tragic incident in Kanjuruhan by examining all matters related to the disaster, the policies adopted by the government, as well as the aspects of power involved. Tempo.co magazine can be called a media that is not only informative and educative, but also provocative in nature with the intention to provide understanding to the public so that they are aware of the problems that are currently happening.

In the context of reporting on the Kanjuruhan football tragedy, Pan and Kosicki's Framing Model analysis was used to analyze how the media reported the incident:

A. Syntactic Structure

1. Title

The title is the most important element in a story because it functions as an identity. As such an identity, the position and reputation of the media that publishes it, broadcasts it, or shows it is at stake. In fact, the integrity and capabilities of the media as a whole can be reflected in the headlines they write. A mass media that has a reputation and high integrity will ensure that the headlines it produces comply with its capacity standards. Their goal is to be seen as an intellectual, proportionate, and professional source of news. In addition, they also want to be appreciated and respected as a mass media that has an educational function. The mass media do not want to be blamed for using non-standard words and terms in their titles, they realize that the mass media has a function as an educator who always sets a good example. This function should also be reflected in the news titles and articles presented by the mass media (Juwito, 2008).

Titles play an important role in identifying information. High quality news will lose meaning if it is not given the right title. The significance of the news headline can be interpreted through two important views. First, in terms of the news itself, without a title it will make it unidentifiable, unknown and abstract so that it does not have any meaning. This will hinder his ability to convey the message that is at the heart of communication. Second, from the reader's perspective, news headlines play an important role. The headline is the main factor that attracts readers to read, or even just skip it. An effective news headline must meet the following seven criteria: (1) have provocative elements,

(2) be short and concise, (3) relate to a relevant topic, (4) have a clear function, (5) use formal language, (6) represent the content of the news as a whole, and (7) use standard language (Sumadiria, 2004).

Magazine.tempo.co chose a title related to reporting on the provocative case. The researcher saw two provocative titles, namely the title of the news being researched at this time, namely "Expired Tear Gas Deadly Shot" and the title on the cover of the magazine, namely "One of the Commands in Kanjuruhan". Without realizing it, the news writer seemed to highlight and highlight that the Kanjuruhan tragedy referred to a mistake on the part of the authorities, in this case the police because the word "commando" is a word that refers to the military/police world. It's different, for example, if the word command is replaced by the word command, then the reader will wonder whose order this is, because the word command is a more general word.

Apart from that, in making this title it looks like the news is exaggerated. The use of the word "death" in the title tends to give a negative connotation and seems very dangerous. This, as expressed by Thussu (2007), is that more attention is focused on things that are horrendous, scary and considered "crazy" rather than factual news. Media presents information that is considered important by the public or audience, as well as content that is considered interesting and can increase popularity and income.

2. Leads

The news headline is the initial paragraph that conveys the main facts or information in the context of journalism. News core functions include seeking the reader's attention, providing recognition, linking with other information, and giving credence. To prevent the possibility of invalid news appearing, it is necessary to clarify these functions so that every journalist, including reporters and editors, always pays attention to them and pays attention to them. (Juwito, 2008).

The lead in the news read: "The Kanjuruhan Stadium Tragedy Started with a Messy Police Chain of Command. Triggered by Tear Gas Shots towards the Tribune" The author of the lead news story at magz.tempo.co also seemed provocative and exaggerated. If in the news writer's headline the previous title said it was not clear whose command it was, in the lead it was further emphasized that it was a command from the police, the news writer claimed that the command that occurred was a mess but whether it was proven to be a mess would of course have to wait for further investigation.

Apart from that, news writers at magazine.tempo.co prioritize the use of how leads and often include their personal opinions in creating their news leads. This shows that magazine/tempo.co wants to highlight the value of information. Thus, the value of news lies in the substance of the events that occurred, not in the identity of the informant.

In the field of journalism, there is the phrase "news is disaster" which means that news is anything related to disasters. Disasters always attract attention wherever they occur, whether they are surprising or have terrible impacts such as the tsunami tragedy in Aceh (Juwito, 2008).

The selection of a lead or news opener based on considerations about how an event occurred, the solution steps to be taken, or how to deal with a problem, is considered to have higher news value than other elements, namely the

perpetrator (who), a description of what happened (what), determining the time of the incident (when), the location of the incident (where), and the reasons behind the incident (why).

3. Background information

According to researchers, magazine.tempo.co, from the beginning of the report, in the process of making the news, had background information that errors and omissions lay with the security team (both the political committee and police officers) so that the quotes taken by the sources referred to this big theme. This is done with the aim of strengthening the title and introduction that has been made before.

Based on this information, there is a possibility that there was an attempt to damage the reputation of the police and the implementation team in the incident. Majalah.tempo.co focuses on omissions/errors in the background information of each publication. This is in accordance with Assegaf's research, (1991) which states that with the information conveyed, readers cannot obtain evidence of unusual information, even the information obtained tends to be boring and creates fear. In fact, extraordinary or strange things will always attract human attention.

4. Source Citations, Statements of Fact and Opinions

Quotes from sources used by magz.tempo.co as a source of news information directly related to the subject of the news obtained from various sources, according to researchers, there are too many so that readers will be confused about interpreting the news. Researchers analyzed 15 sources whose statements were quoted. Then the researcher concluded that there were 9 sources who tended to blame the security team and the match committee. There were 4 speakers from the political committee and the police and 2 neutral sources. This scheme has certainly been seen to place the panel and the police in a less prominent role, but also in the minority among other views. In fact, according to Rosentiel, (2003) maintaining a balance of information is important in every journalistic activity to avoid information bias.

In this research, it can be observed that magazine.tempo.co tends to use statements from news sources in compiling its news. But the researchers also saw that there were quite a lot of statements of fact and opinion used by news writers. The researchers analyzed that one third of the news was written statements of fact and opinion. Not to mention that there are still many quotes from sources that are only quoted a little, used at the end of the paragraph, with the initial paragraph being a statement of fact/or opinion from the news writer, so the source is used to strengthen the statement of fact/opinion from the news writer.

For greater clarity, the researcher provides several examples of news paragraphs. One of them is the following paragraph:

"At around 21.39 W1B, the referee blew the long whistle. The match ended with a score of 2-3 in favor of Persebaya. Persebaya players went straight to the dressing room under the VIP stands on the west side of the stadium. Meanwhile, Arema players and officials stayed on the field. "After 23 years, this is the first time Arema has lost at home against Persebaya."

The news paragraph above is an example of a fact statement from a news writer, according to the conditions that occur in the field. Facts that are true

can be proven with valid data, for example the fact of the final result of the match and the fact that Arema's defeat was the first to be kicked by Persebaya.

"Hundreds of police who guarded the stadium considered Aremania's actions a threat. Moreover, the number of supporters who take to the field is increasing."

The news paragraph above is an example of an opinion statement from a news writer, the phrase "consider it a threat" is a form of opinion whose truth is not yet known, the news writer did not interview the police whether it was true that it was considered a form of threat from the police officers on duty.

"The police believe the Arema vs Persebaya match committee is guilty. As chairman of the committee, Haris was considered responsible for the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy. "He ignored police advice and did not produce safety and security documents before holding the match," said General Listyo."

The news paragraph above is an example of an opinion statement from a news writer which is supported by the source's statement. In delivering its communications, magazine.tempo.co appears to act as an intermediary in communication, with the source as the party conveying the message and the reader as the party receiving the message. This indicates that magazine.tempo.co really fulfills its function as a media that is critical and informative but also provocative because the various sources clash sharply in the news with the addition of statements of facts and opinions from news writers.

In the field of journalism, a theological approach can often result in a lack of awareness among media actors regarding the social phenomena that should be communicated. Therefore, critical reflection is needed on the application of deontological moral principles. Deontological ethics is a principle that guides communication practitioners. This principle emphasizes the importance of carrying out obligations sincerely without expecting anything in return. In this deontological view, the processes and requirements that enable the attainment of goodness or virtue are of utmost concern. When evaluating the moral value of an action or activity, the principles on which it is based must be considered without regard to possible consequences. This means that moral values are intrinsic and universal (Choliq, Abdul, 2011).

5. Closing

At the end of the news, there is a summary containing the author's interpretation, recommendation or opinion regarding the main problem being expressed as a guide for readers. (Juwito , 20 08). The analysis unit for closing the news in Tempo.co magazine is compiled using fact statements which are then strengthened by news sources. Covers on magazine.tempo.co tend to be more closed.

To clarify, the researcher provides an example. In the news researched, even though it is one news story, there are two major themes in the reporting so there are two concluding paragraphs, the data can be seen below:

"This incident has made a number of state agencies investigate the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy. National Human Rights Commission, Protection Agency the RI Ombudsman, the Indonesian Football Association Investigation Team, as well as a joint independent fact-finding team formed by the

Coordinating Ministry for Politics, Law and Security also went to Malang. "Tragedies occur because of unclear lines of command," said Komnas HAM Commissioner Mohammad Choirul Anam. " (first cover)

"The PSSI Disciplinary Commission has imposed sanctions on Abdul Haris, Suko Sutrisno, and Arema FC management. Haris and Suko are prohibited from managing football in Indonesia. Arema FC management was fined Rp. 250 million. For the next year, Arema matches are prohibited from being attended by sponsors. They are only allowed to hold matches as close as 250 kilometers from Malang. "If it's not made worse," said PSSI Disciplinary Commission Chairman Erwin Tobing (second cover).

The news paragraph above is an example of a closed paragraph, starting with a statement of fact and then supporting it with a quote from the source. In this case the reader is not given the opportunity to draw conclusions but is immediately invited to follow the conclusion that the party and the security committee were at fault in this tragedy. According to Al Fitri (2006), a closed closing approach refers to the method of using source statements that have final characteristics. In this aim, the final view is formed to be presented to readers without leaving room for them to draw their own conclusions.

News reports are often composed in narrative form. This is caused by two factors, first, many news reports try to show connections, where the event being reported is a continuation of a previous event. Second, news generally has a goal of connecting the written text with the social context of the reader. The general format of this script is known as 5W+1H, although it is not always found in every news article, the presence of complete elements can be an indication of significant framing. In this context, journalists have a strategy to ensure that the news they write can attract readers' attention. The emphasis on this storytelling strategy can be considered as an indicator of the framing to be conveyed (Eriyanto, 2011).

The researcher analyzed the elements of the 5W+1H script in the magazine.tempco.co report regarding the Kanjuruhan tragedy. Following are the results of the analysis:

a. What element

This element is quite clear in the news, namely the news about the Malang Kanjuruhan tragedy case, contained in the news paragraph, namely: *"The tear gas shot ended in disaster."As of Friday, October 7, the Malang District Health Service recorded that the death toll from the Kanjuruhan tragedy reached 131 people, around 500 people suffered light to moderate injuries."*

b. where

In this element, because it is a disaster, the locus is also clearly at the Kanjuruhan Stadium in Malang, as stated in the news paragraph, namely *"A total of 35 tickets in the hands of Simon Zakaria were sold out a week before the football match between Arema FC and Persebaya Surabaya was held at the Kanjuruhan Stadium, Poor"*

c. when

This element is quite clear in the news, namely October 1, 2022, contained in the news paragraph, namely: *"With great joy, they came to the stadium on Saturday afternoon, another 1 October. Simon, 38 years old, also brought his wife. They watched from the East Stand."*

d. Who

In this element, magazine.tempo.co in reporting on football tragedies, researchers analyze that news writers have carried out news framing, because in this element, apart from focusing on the who element on the victims (supporters), the who element in the news also focuses on sources more came from elements of the government (both sources who were suspected of being guilty or sources who corroborated the mistake). So that It is clear that magazine.tempo.co builds social criticism towards the parties involved, both good and bad, in relation to the tragedy. The emphasis on elements of the match committee and the government (the police) as who in the news shows that there are provocative and critical messages in the practice of journalism..

e. why

In this element, magazine.tempo.co in reporting on the football tragedy , researchers analyzed that to support the framing related to who, the news writer has done a big framing on this why element, a lot of information that should be important and may also have a big role in the tragedy is not given a large portion, it was actually eliminated.

An example of a researcher's analysis, for example, if from the start the big framing suspects that many victims were caused by tear gas, the portion of the news about why the police fired tear gas should have been enlarged or increased, as seen in the following paragraph:

"Several policemen fired tear gas at the fans who were scattered on the pitch. They ran helter-skelter towards the stands. The tear gas shots ended in disaster. "As of last Friday, October 7, the Malang District Health Service recorded that the death toll from the Kanjuruhan tragedy reached 131 people, around 500 people suffered light to moderate injuries."

"Most victims were found at Doors 9 to 14 in the South Stand. They were allegedly crushed to death while trying to get out of the stadium. Some doors are locked. Meanwhile, other doors only opened less than a meter due to being hampered by iron. Video footage of spectators trapped in closed doors is also circulating on social media."

From the paragraph above, it is clear that tear gas was fired and the number of closed doors resulted in many deaths. News writers should have explored more deeply the motives of the police for firing the gas and why many doors were closed because they were blocked by iron so that people who read could has broad and deep information. In its capacity as a major media entity, magazine.tempo.co should be able to produce more consistent and accurate news, so that readers can achieve a clearer understanding of the information conveyed in every news story they read.

f. How

In this element, magazine.tempo.co is deep reporting on the Kanjuruhan football tragedy , researchers analyzed that this element is too excessive, the researcher's analysis of this how element can even make up half of the news itself, the news writer wants to take the reader to see the chaotic conditions that occurred at the Kanjuruhan stadium and emphasize that the conditions at that time were truly very chaotic, worrying, tense and even full of sorrow reinforced by many supporting news photos totaling 4, all of which support this condition. The following news writer attached the photos:



Permainan sepakbola antara Arema melawan Persebaya di Stadion Kanjuruhan, Malang, Jawa Timur, 1 Oktober 2022. Foto: <https://www.tempo.co>



Permainan sepakbola antara Arema melawan Persebaya di Stadion Kanjuruhan, Malang, Jawa Timur, 1 Oktober 2022. Foto: <https://www.tempo.co>



Permainan sepakbola antara Arema melawan Persebaya di Stadion Kanjuruhan, Malang, Jawa Timur, 1 Oktober 2022. Foto: <https://www.tempo.co>



Permainan sepakbola antara Arema melawan Persebaya di Stadion Kanjuruhan, Malang, Jawa Timur, 1 Oktober 2022. Foto: <https://www.tempo.co>

Apart from that, in this how element, researchers analyzed news writers who deliberately reproduced it to minimize the why element so that readers did not focus on the why element and were more invited to share their concern and mourn over the tragedy.

c. Thematic structure (sentences, propositions, relationships between sentences).

Magazine.tempo.co is thematically deep reporting on the Kanjuruhan football tragedy, the researcher analyzed that this element has 5 major themes that support the main theme. These major themes include: 1. the number of victims of the tragedy 2. The chronology of the tragedy 3. Social criticism of the Panpel and Police 4. Government organizations flocking to investigate 5. Supporters as victims and not the guilty party.

Researchers also found that the news data amounted to 44 paragraphs of news, with details of 31 paragraphs of source quotes and 13 paragraphs of statements of fact and opinion. According to the researcher, this is an imbalance and has been explained in the syntactic elements.

Then, regarding the elements of relationships between sentences, in making news reports, magazine.tempo.co is still not good, there are many paragraph placements that are like information that stands alone and is not sequential in explaining the problem. The process of moving between paragraphs does not have smooth coherence and some do not even have coherence.

To clarify the above analysis, the researcher provides detailed paragraphs:

Aremania FC manager, Ali Fikri, regretted the excessive actions of the security forces. According to him, the presence of fans should be handled without violence. After all, the fans' descent onto the field was not to injure Arema's players. They hugged a number of players, such as Sergio Silva and Johan Alfarisi, as a form of showing support for the defeat to Persebaya. "I saw them give motivation with one heart, one soul. Keep up the enthusiasm," Ali said, imitating the words of a supporter who came to the players.

Komnas HAM commissioner Mohammad Choirul Anam assessed that the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy was getting out of control because the commando ticked swimmers. He highlighted the presence of the Malang police chief Adjunct Commissioner Ferli Hidayat when the riots broke out. The former member of the National Police Chief's Personal Staff was not in the field. Previously, he was in the VIP stands. After the match, he accompanied the Persebaya players and officials out of the stadium using a police armored tactical vehicle. "As a result, each field leader takes their own discretion," said Anam.

In the paragraph above, at the beginning it opens with a statement that the Arema manager argues that he regrets the excessive actions of the officers and the fans who came out on the field not to cause injury, the next paragraph, the Commissioner of Komnas HAM argues about wrong command, according to the researcher's analysis this is not related. Apart from that, there are still many things that are placed incorrectly and come out repeatedly, such as the opinion of the Komnas HAM Commissioner arguing that this wrong command was issued at the beginning of the paragraph and then issued again in the middle of the paragraph.

Another interesting analysis is the dwarfing of the sources, as contained in the following paragraphs:

Chairman of the Arema FC-Persebaya organizing committee. Abdul Haris, rejected the notion that ticket sales exceeded the capacity of the audience seats. He claims that the Kanjuruhan Stadium can accommodate 45 thousand people because it was not designed with a single seat. All the spectator seats in the stands are flat, elongated concrete benches. "It's still worth it," he said.

The decision to appoint Haris as chairman of the committee was also controversial. The PSSI Disciplinary Commission punished Haris in 2010. He was deemed responsible for the chaos between players in the Arema FC versus Persema Malang match.

Haris claimed that the sanctions were annulled when he submitted an appeal. However, Haris' claim was denied by the head of the Disciplinary Commission at the time, Hince Panjaitan. "I have never whitewashed the sanction decision for him," he said.

The process of stunting the resource persons occurred in the sources who were also the main suspect in the tragedy, namely Abdul Haris as the organizing committee. At the beginning of the paragraph the news writer included the opinion of Abdul Haris as the main suspect for covering both sides, but in the second paragraph he included data about his suitability as chairman of the panel which was controversial because he had actually been convicted. Then Abdul Haris was given the opportunity to refute by assuming that he had filed an appeal, but the news writer hit back with a rebuttal opinion that the disciplinary commission had never whitewashed a witness.

From the placement of these facts, it is very clear that the news writer cornered Abdul Haris, how could he officiate the match if he had previously been sanctioned. It seems that the news writer wanted to show readers that the figure of Abdul Haris was not worthy to be chairman of the committee, so this tragedy occurred.

The last thing that researchers also criticize is. The function of the media as a good educator is not given by magazine.tempco, from the start of the news according to the researchers there should have been 2 (who) who were also given more portion in the news namely the supporters themselves and PSSI. The news writer did not provide data on the relationship between the two who participated in contributing to the tragedy. The frame of the news writer is only supporters as victims and given statements of defense and PSSI as an organization that will give sanctions with various statements.

News writers should also see that these supporters must also be given education that their actions in entering the field were wrong, even the results of the fact-finding team obtained data that they carried out disgraceful actions, quoted from the news below:

NEWS WRITER'S VERSION: *"Aremania FC manager, Ali Fikri, regrets the excessive actions of the security forces. According to him, the presence of supporters should be handled without violence. Moreover, the supporters came onto the field not to hurt the Arema players. They hugged a number of players, such as Sergio Silva and Johan Alfarisi, as a form of support for the defeat to Persebaya. "I saw them providing motivation with one heart and one soul. Keep up the enthusiasm," said Ali, imitating the words of a supporter who came to the players.*

Five minutes later, a spectator from the stands jumped over the fence and ran onto the green field. His behavior was followed by another supporter. "They intended to encourage the players, not cause chaos," said one of the spectators in the VIP stands who saw the incident, Totok Prasetyo.

TGIPF VERSION: *"In the conclusion stated by the Joint Independent Fact-Finding Team (TGIPF) on the Kanjuruhan Tragedy, there are three points regarding the supporters. The first is because the fans broke the rules by going down and entering the playing field. TGIPF recorded flares from the direction the fans were thrown into the field. The second point is that fans are considered to have committed dishonorable actions against security forces before the riots spread. Namely by uttering provocative words. Then the fans were declared to have taken action against the officers and even against the Arema team themselves."*
(<https://www.bola.com/indonesia/read/5097324/tgipf-juangan-3-error-suporter-dalam-tragedi-kanjuruhan> accessed October 18, 14.16)

The data and facts above are of course very different from what the news writers say about the fans. If the media does not provide learning, it is feared that readers will think that it is normal for fans to enter the field so that it will become a habit and role model for other supporters.

As for PSSI itself, from the start the news writers actually positioned PSSI as an organization that has the right to carry out investigations with all its supporting statements. It was even reported that PSSI had punished the match committee. In contrast to the results obtained by the fact-finding team, such as the data below

NEWS WRITER'S VERSION: *The results of the investigation by the PSSI Disciplinary Commission stated that this suggestion could not be implemented because the match tickets had already been sold out. To overcome this, the combined security personnel, which was originally*

planned to number a thousand people, was increased to 2,034 personnel. "In the coordination meeting, it was finally agreed that the number of security personnel would be increased," said member of the PSSI investigation team, Ahmad Riyadh.

TGIPF VERSION: *TGIPF conveyed to the president that PSSI and the stakeholders of the Indonesian football league must be held accountable for the Kanjuruhan Tragedy that occurred in the match between Arema FC and Persebaya Surabaya on October 1 2022. Likewise, TGIPF called on PSSI and all members of the Executive Committee (Exco) to resign as an ethical act as a result of the deaths of 132 victims. (<https://www.bola.net/indonesia/report-full-tgpif-tragedi-kanjuruhan-124-page-minta-iwan-bule-dan-exco-pssi-mundur-10145a.html> accessed October 18 at 14.38)*

According to the analysis of news writers, this is like the analogy of "a thief shouts a thief", it would be better for news writers to also position PSSI as a candidate for a responsible party as well, as a criticism of PSSI to reform its organization for the better. It can be concluded that in this thematic element, news writers or journalists for magazine.tempo.co seem to make a hypothesis. From the events covered, the sources followed and various actual statements in order to support the journalist's hypothesis. The thematic elements used in the reporting are consistent with what was explained by Eriyanto (2011) that these thematic elements are more closely related to the way journalists place news in writing. Starting from how sentences are used to placing and writing sources in the text as a whole in detail and coherence.

d. Rhetorical Structure (Words, idioms, pictures/photos, graphics)

According to Eriyanto (2011), the rhetorical structure in news discourse reflects the choice of style or words used by journalists to highlight certain meanings. Journalists use rhetorical devices to build an image and emphasize certain sides, as well as strengthen the image to be conveyed in a story. The rhetorical structure of the news text also reveals the tendency that what is stated is the truth. Some of the most significant elements of rhetorical structure used by journalists are lexicon, selection, use of special words, and use of pictures or graphics.

Rhetorically, mag.tempo.co is in reporting on the Kanjuruhan football tragedy, the researcher analyzed that in this element there is a lot of rhetoric given by news writers to be included in the news. Researchers analyze in terms of images or graphics first. Starting from the cover of magazine.tempo.co with the following picture:



By looking at the magazine cover photo above, the researcher's analysis shows that magazine.tempo.co seems to want to highlight the figure of the police (with the image of their shoes and brown uniforms) playing a major role in the tragedy. Not to mention that his big, jagged shoes and stepping on other shoes shows that the stamping is rhetoric that the police have the power to control the security of football matches and that something that is stepped on will definitely hurt and make something scar (connected to the fact that the tear gas fired causes a painful effect viewer). Furthermore, the words "**WRONG COMMAND**" in large and bold letters add emphasis to the impression that the police in this tragedy had made a mistake in their command, this was created by the news writer as reinforcement in the process of social criticism given to the police.

Another rhetoric used is the use of graphic images to support the news with the following graphic images:



By looking at the magazine cover photo above, the researcher's analysis of looking at magazine.tempo.co seems to want to highlight that it wants to explain how the incident made many victims by showing the points of death everywhere and inviting readers to share in the grief by exploring the moments of the tragedy.

Next, regarding the choice of words used in the report, there is a lot of rhetoric. It can be seen from several news paragraphs below (rhetorical words are marked in bold):

1. The headline of the current research is " **Deadly Shots** of Expired Tear Gas"
2. Most of the police and Indonesian National Armed Forces personnel who were on the southeastern side also **pushed** into the field. They dispersed the crowd **using batons**.

3. Finally Eko managed to enter after the outflow of the stadium died down at all the doors. His brother and sister survived. However, he was psychologically disturbed when he saw several lifeless bodies, including children and women, around Gate 13. **"It was like a mass grave,"** he said.

According to the researcher's analysis, the use of the word "death" is excessive, news writers certainly want to emphasize that the shooting was very powerful, extraordinary, great and even very deadly, resulting in many fatalities. Even if the word death is removed from the title, its meaning can still be read.

Tempo's goal is to become a reference in efforts to increase public freedom of thought and opinion and to support the development of a society that values intelligence and diversity. In addition, Tempo is also committed to producing multimedia products that are independent and free from pressure, as well as being a fair platform for different voices. It is clear that the reporting on the Kanjuruhan tragedy case has made Tempo stick its ideology in accordance with the company's vision and mission by constructing the reality of the news. The indicator is that while other media are still busy looking for agenda setting and framing related to the Kanjuruhan tragedy, the online tempo magazine has dared to make this case the main column of the magazine with a critical cover and provocative reporting that even tends to corner the image of the Police and the match committee.

This is in line with what was expressed by Masrun, et al (2022) and Scheufele (1997) that media ideology is a form of ideology that is formed through media structure, so that it can be recognized through the media's vision and mission. This ideology is embodied or produced by the media through framing analysis to build news construction. Based on the framing classification according to Scheufele (1997), the resulting media frame is the dependent variable, which means that the existing framing is the result of the perspective of the media organizations and journalists who involve them.

In addition, the researcher's analysis that Tempo embedded ideology and carried out reality construction in the process of reporting on probationary cases turned out to be in line with the thoughts of Fadilah, et al (2022) who explained that Tempo media needed this perspective to design news narratives with various constructions of reality that give organizational identity to audience. The news presented by Tempo is influenced by their media ideology which is in accordance with their vision to become a reference in increasing people's freedom of expression and building an archipelago that values intelligence and diversity. Tempo effectively uses its media ideology to produce various facts and news topics in its journalism practices (Fadilah, et al, 2022).

Apart from that, Tempo is known as the media which always reports negative and critical things related to the Police. The findings from Tayipnapis' research (2019) on Police Reporting in Tempo Magazine stated that the police often blacken their image by the print media, especially Tempo, by pointing out weaknesses in the police organization. Meanwhile, according to Kartika (2014), negative perceptions of the image of the police still exist because there are many satirical photos that damage the reputation of the police, while photos that show the human side of the police are still lacking.

Lastly, is an analysis related to the reporting of probationary cases whether there is an element of social criticism contained in the news. According to the researcher's analysis of the results of the framing analysis that has been carried out, there are several elements of framing where the direction of the news tends to corner the political committee and the police, even giving a negative impression and of course indirectly this will represent a social criticism of an organization or community.

This is in line with the thoughts of Akbar (1997), who informed that the press has a normative function in society, one of which is as a means of social control by conveying social criticism. Social criticism also means the press as a medium for conveying social aspirations, namely the aspirations of society. Likewise, the mass media uses social criticism as a strategy to make itself a tool for society to lighten social burdens, releasing their anxieties, concerns, even anger. This social criticism is carried out by the media by using framing in the news, to form a construction of social reality.

CONCLUSION

In analyzing the provided data, it can be concluded that the report on the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy has several critical aspects. There are two main themes in the report. Firstly, it focuses on the mistakes and criticisms towards the event organizing committee and the police. Secondly, the report highlights the impact of the tragedy on the victims and the restrictions imposed on Arema FC. Furthermore, the report employs various rhetorical elements, including powerful images and words, to influence the reader's perception. This is evident in the cover image highlighting the words "WRONG COMMAND" and the excessive use of the word "death" to describe the severity of the tragedy. Additionally, the report shows social criticism towards the organizations involved, especially the event organizing committee and the police. Emphasizing their errors and criticisms can be seen as part of the media's role as a tool for social control and conveying societal aspirations. However, the report also has some weaknesses, such as an imbalance in the use of source quotations and a lack of balance in presenting facts. Moreover, the excessive focus on the "how" aspect can overshadow the "why," which may be crucial for a deeper understanding of the tragedy. In conclusion, the report effectively utilizes rhetoric and framing to criticize the parties involved in the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy but also exhibits some shortcomings in factual presentation and analytical balance.

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