

Peace Journalism in the Kanjuruhan Tragedy

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ABSTRACT

Keywords: Peace Journalism, Kanjuruhan, TVOne, Metro TV

This research focuses on answering the question of how Metro TV and TVOne implemented peaceful journalism in the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy in October 2022. The incident, which killed 135 people and injured 583 people, then developed as a conflict between the police, match organizers, and football supporters, especially Aremania. In the news, conflict issues are always an exciting topic to discuss. Events that contain conflict naturally attract people and have more sales potential than mediocre events. Therefore, researchers are interested in examining how conflict is framed by the media, especially TV, from a Peace Journalism perspective. Using Descriptive Qualitative Research Methods with framing analysis Robert N. Entman 1) Define Problem, 2) Diagnose Causes, 3) Make a Moral Judgment (moral decision maker), 4) Treatment Recommendation (Problem-Solving) and the concept of peace journalism, namely orientation to truth, society, peace, and problem-solving. The results of this research indicate that from the four framing analysis units and the concept of peace journalism, it can be seen that TVOne has implemented three of the four fundamental concepts of peace



journalism, namely oriented toward peace, society, and conflict resolution efforts. This is marked by highlighting issues that focus on victims and losses of conflict and providing space to talk to each figure in the conflict. Meanwhile, Metro TV, of the four components of peaceful journalism analysis, only 1 focuses on efforts to implement peaceful journalism, namely problem solving. Metro TV focuses more on efforts to find the cause of the conflict and resolve the conflict by blaming one particular party but does not focus on the deep sorrow of the victims.

Introduction

The Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy in October 2022, which killed 135 people and injured 583 people, left deep sadness and sadness in the dark history of Indonesian football (Febrianto & S, 2022). This incident was even called the second deadliest disaster in the history of world football (CNN Indonesia, 2022b). The incident started when the match between Arema FC and Persebaya ended with a score of 2-3. Arema's defeat at home triggered four fans to take photos on the field to encourage Arema FC players, but this incident was seen as a repressive action by the supporters by the police. Several witnesses saw that the four supporters had their clothes pulled, and they were beaten (CNN Indonesia, 2022a). This incident caused three thousand Aremania (Arema supporters) to fill the field. A wave of chaos then emerged between the police and the fans.

As a result of the chaos, the police finally used tear gas to disperse the rioters on the field so that the fans ran out of the stadium. Unfortunately, all the exit doors were locked except for door 14. This then caused a buildup and asphyxia (lack of oxygen) among the fans who rushed out (CNN Indonesia, 2022b). The use of tear gas was later discovered to be prohibited in the rules of the Fédération Internationale de Football Association FIFA) especially in Article 19b, which states that no firearms or "crowd control gas" shall be carried or used. It is not permitted to use firearms and gas to control the crowd. This case then named six suspects, three of whom were from the police, two from Aremania, and one from the Director of PT Liga Indonesia Baru (Thomas, 2022).

Many media outlets, including TV One and Metro TV, highlighted this incident as a conflict between the police and football fans. Through the TV One Democracy Notes talk program episode "Kanjuruhan Tragedy: Unfortunate News, from Malang, what is the cause?" and Metro TV through the Indonesia Town Hall talk show program episode "No Football is Worth a Life." Both media highlighted various problems that occurred in the Kanjuruhan incident. Kanjuruhan can be categorized as a conflict between humans because it produces strong negative emotions, misperceptions, and stereotyped views (Rosalina, 2019).

Conflict in the news is always an exciting topic to discuss. Events that contain conflict naturally present an attraction for humans and have more selling potential compared to mediocre events (Eriyanto, 2002). Journalists are the main determinants in constructing reality into news in conflict situations. This position makes journalists like two sides of a coin; they can make the situation even more murky or emphasize the importance of conflict resolution, which has become known as the concept of peace journalism. Peace journalism is a journalist's critical effort regarding the benefits of choosing a focus and angle in a conflict by prioritizing the principles of truth, society, peace, and problemsolving.

There has been much research related to peace journalism. The "Peaceful Journalism and its Perspective in Islam" research presents peaceful journalism from an Islamic perspective that prioritizes caution in conveying news (Rosalina, 2019). This research can be used when there is a conflict involving religious identity.

However, there has not been much research on peace journalism using this perspective, as shown in the research entitled "Peace Journalism in Ahmadiyah Reporting in the Jawa Pos Daily." This research only focuses on reporting in Jawa Pos without a religious perspective involving religious groups (Andarini, 2014). Apart from that, the application of peace journalism is also present in the research entitled "Peace Journalism in the Reporting of the Church Burning in Aceh Singkil in the Alert Daily." This research concluded that Waspada Daily had implemented the principles of peace journalism in its reporting (Nusyur, 2017).

Not only that, but a peaceful journalism approach involving religious conflict also appeared in research entitled "Online Media Peaceful Journalism in the Case of Village Head Susan." This research featured two news portals, Tempo and Kompas, which both reported that the Head of Susan Village was elected to be the first Christian village head amid the Muslim majority in Lenteng Agung, Jakarta. The conclusion of this research states that Tempo has carried out the process of peaceful journalism, while Kompas has not fully fulfilled the principles of peaceful journalism (Rosalina, 2014)

Apart from being related to religious conflicts, peace journalism is often used when reporting conflicts involving certain ethnic groups. The research entitled "Peaceful Journalism in the Framing of Papuan Student Racism News on Tribunnews.com and Detik.com" examines two national online media reports. The research concluded that both media are equally oriented towards peaceful journalism (Alam, 2020). Similar results can be found in the research "Peaceful Journalism in Reporting Conflict in Papua on the Suarapapua.com and Kompas. com News Portals." The research concluded that these two media prevent ongoing negative impacts on groups in conflict in Papua (Malau, 2022).

From various studies involving horizontal conflicts, both religious and ethnic, there has not been a single peaceful journalism approach in reporting the conflict during the Kanjuruhan fan riot. Research related to Kanjuruhan still revolves around mass media framing, as carried out in the research "Reporting the "Kanjuruhan Tragedy" in an Online Media Frame (Analysis of Robert N. Entman's Framing Model on Kompas.com and Detik.com)" (Putri, 2023). Similar research was also carried out to see the content in Indonesian mass media portals. The research entitled "Content Analysis of Trends in Reporting of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy on News Portals in Indonesia" tries to look at trends in the content of mass media reporting in the Kanjuruhan case (Azqiya dkk., 2023).

Similar research is also available but examines foreign media reporting on Kanjuruhan. The research entitled "The Kanjuruhan Stadium Riot Tragedy in the Frame of Foreign Media" attempts to display the framing of international news (Habibi dkk., 2023).

Not only that but Kanjuruhan research involving all CCTV camera equipment was also carried out in research entitled "Panopticon Practices in TV Narrative Coverage of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy." This research explores how mass media becomes a funnel providing information and frees the audience to judge themselves (Qadzafi, 2022). Narrative media reporting was also conducted through research entitled "Framing Analysis of Narrative Media Reporting About the Malang Kanjuruhan Tragedy." This research highlights the framing carried out by Narasi, which targets the stakeholder elements of the PSSI football organizers and what caused the Kanjuruhan tragedy (Hamid dkk., 2023).

Apart from that, many studies related to Kanjuruhan have questioned the abuse of authority of officials in the field, such as in the research entitled "The Kanjuruhan Tragedy and Abuse of Authority in the Implementation of State Administrative Procedures" (Utama dkk., 2022)125 (seratus dua puluh lima. Another research entitled "The Role of Komnas HAM in the Kanjuruhan Stadium Tragedy in Malang Regency" explores the role of Komnas HAM in this case (Nadhillah & Lubis, 2023).

This research is new in applying peace journalism in mass media reporting from the various studies presented. Using Robert N. Entmant's framing analysis and comparing it with the peace journalism approach, this research tries to see how much journalism practices are carried out in two large media, Metro TV and TVOne.

Method

The research method used in this research is descriptive qualitative, describing the phenomena from the Kanjuruhan stadium incident through efforts to frame Metro TV and TVOne in the application of peace journalism. Researchers use the framing analysis method. Framing is an inseparable part of how journalists practically work. Framing is closely related to the editing process, which involves all staff in the editorial department. Journalists in the field decide who they will and will not interview, what questions to ask, and what questions they will not ask. The editor who works at the office concerned, together with or in consultation with the editor-in-chief or editor-in-chief, determines whether the journalist's report will be published and prepares the title (Eriyanto, 2002).

The framing analysis model used in this research is Robert N. Entmant's framing analysis model, which focuses on four stages of analysis, namely 1) Define Problem, 2) Diagnose Causes, 3) Make a Moral Judgment (Moral decision maker), 4) Treatment Recommendation (Problem-Solving) (Eriyanto, 2002).

The results of Entmant's fourth analysis were then reviewed from Johan Galtung's concept of peace journalism, which McGoldrick and Lynch then developed with four main foundations referring to the principles of truth, society, peace, and problem-solving. Peaceful journalism is a journalistic practice that relies on actions

to reject violence in a conflict. Peace journalism invites all parties to think about the dangers of conflict. According to the term used, peace journalism is a type of journalism that aims to convey information that impacts peace (Alam, 2020).

What Peaceful Journalists Are Fighting For (Syahputra, 2006) said peaceful journalism consistently implements three things. First, avoid depicting conflict as two parties competing for the same goal. One person wins, and the other loses. Better yet, peaceful journalists would divide both camps into smaller groups, pursuing different goals, thus paving the way for more creative and potential outcomes. Second, avoid accepting differences between yourself and others. This can be used to make an opponent appear as a threat or deviant. Third, avoid viewing conflict as something that only occurs as and when violence occurs. It is best to trace the relationship and its consequences for people elsewhere at that time and in the future.

These two main concepts the researcher then combined these two ideas into the unit of analysis carried out in this research; here is the description:

Robert N.	Perspectives on Peace Journalism				
Entmant Device	Dimensions		Unit of Analysis		Categorization
Define Problem	Peace Orientation	Foc	cus and Angle	to for	onflict is a problem that needs be resolved and we see other rms of conflict that are not ing exploited
Diagnose Causes	Community Orientation	1. 2. 3. 4.	Root of the problem Resource person Conflict actors: To what extent does the media present the impact of conflict as an example of peace? Show wise character outside the circle of conflict	2.	Look at causes and effects in many places and times, trace the history of conflicts, etc. Give a voice to all conflict actors in a balanced manner Doesn't even hide the truth (all perpetrators of the conflict are named) Journalists morally emphasize that conflict only brings harm to society Interesting journalists highlight community peace efforts

Table	1.	Units	of Analy	ysis
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Make Moral Judgment	Truth Orientation	 Opinion Diction 		Don't mix subjective opinion and news Do not use "our" expressions or words and phrases that lead to provocation
Treatment Recommen- dation	Completion Orientation	Solutions offered	2.	Highlight peace initiatives and try to prevent war Improve the structure and culture of a peaceful society Next: resolution, reconstruction and reconciliation

Television was chosen because it is a mass medium that is very influential in the broader community. Through audiovisuals, television has become the most critical media compared to other media. The presence of television is a sign of change in the central point of civilization and communication interaction in modern society (Morissan, 2018). The choice of TVOne and Metro TV is because these two TVs are the pioneers of news TV in Indonesia. Hence, all developments in issues and phenomena are the fastest topics and discussions on these two TVs.

Meanwhile, there are lots of TV programs presented in TV shows. According to (Morrison, 2013), examples of television programs in hard news include straight news, feature news, and infotainment, while the soft news category includes talk shows, documentaries, and so on. So, in this case, talk shows are one of the journalistic products from TV in the form of soft news.

Findings

TVOne in the "Catatan Demokrasi" talk show program episode "Kanjuruhan Tragedy: Unfortunate News, from Malang what is the cause?" which aired on October 5, 2022, inviting many speakers, including (1) Nurdin Halid, Former Chairman of PSSI (All Indonesian Football Association (2) Gusti Randa, Former Acting General Chairman of PSSI and Former Commissioner of PT.LIB (3) Jamal Aziz, Former Member of the Indonesian House of Representatives (4) Tommy Welly (Football Observer), (5) Ahmad Riyadh, Chair of the PSSI Investigation Team, (6) Munif and Siti Maryam, Parents of the victims of the death of Kanjuruhan (7) Rudi, Direct witness to the Kanjuruhan tragedy (name and faces obscured) (Catatan Demokrasi tvOne, 2022). Meanwhile, Metro TV, in the Indonesian talk show program Tawn Hall episode "No Football is Worth a Life," which aired on October 6, 2022, invited several speakers such as (1) Zainuddin Amali, Minister of Youth and Sports (2) Pudji Hartanto, Commissioner of National Police Commissioner, (3) Anton Sanjoyo, Member of TGIPF (Independent Joint Fact Finding Team), (4) Syaiful Huda, Chairman of Commission, (7) Slamet Sanjoko, Aremania Korwil Bantur, (8) Tommy Welly, Football Observer (Indonesia Town Hall Metro Tv, 2022).

TV One divides the 1-hour 15-minute program into four segments. At the start of the TVOne segment, we first interviewed the victims' parents, then explained the chronology of events from direct witnesses to the Kanjuruhan tragedy, and then continued with comments from the sources. From the overall results of the framing analysis of the four segments of the TVOne Democracy Notes episode "Kanjuruhan Tragedy: Malang News, from Malang what is the cause?", the following analysis is:

Define Problem	TVOne sees this problem as a sad event in football history, even the second worst deadly tragedy in world history.		
Diagnose Causes	 Cause: Repressive efforts by the authorities when they saw supporters taking to the field. Spraying tear gas into the stadium stand area which is not in accordance with FIFA Stadium Safety and Security Regulations article 19 paragraph B. The organizing committee and Security Officers were negligent (thought it was easy) in security efforts. 		
Make Moral Judgment	TVOne considers that the organizers of the Persebaya and Arema FC matches were stumped and considered all the tech- nical implementation easy, resulting in 135 deaths.		
Treatment Recommenda- tion	 TVOne hopes that all parties, including PSSI, security officers, police will be responsible and accept all sanctions for the Kanjuruhan incident Stop creating narratives about victims who died in vain, because it only makes the victim's family and victims suffer 		

Table 2. TVOne Framing Analysis Results

Meanwhile, Metro TV in the Indonesia Town Hall program "No Football is Worth a Life" presented more segments than TVOne, namely six segments totaling 1 hour 14 minutes. At the start of the event, Metro TV displayed an SOT (Sound On Tape) release from National Police Chief General Listyo Sigit Prabowo, who had named six suspects, then continued with the presenter introducing and giving time to the resource persons to respond to the development of the Kanjuruhan case, the following is the analysis framing from Metro TV:

Define Problem	Metro TV defines the problem as a dark tragedy of Indonesian foot- ball which is being evaluated by all parties, especially PT LIB, because its negligence resulted in the death of 135 people.	
Diagnose Causes	1. The shooting of tear gas caused Arema FC supporters to become even more panicked, causing them to rush out of the Kanjuruhan stadium.	
	2. PT.LIB also made a mistake in forcing broadcast hours to be set at night.	
	3. The police's reckless actions in dealing with the supporters who came down to the field just to hug Arema FC players.	
Make Moral Judg- ment	1. Appreciating the performance of the police, because within 5 days they had identified a suspect.	
	2. In FIFA regulations, holding football at the Kanjuruhan stadium violates FIFA rules, therefore in the future in Indonesian football regulations we will understand more about FIFA rules	
Treatment Recom- mendation	Everything must be evaluated totally so that events like the Kanjuru- han tragedy do not happen again. Everything was done together, not just PSSI but all responsible parties.	

Table 3. Results of MetroTV Framing Analysis

In general, Metro TV has highlighted the mistakes of Ahmad Hadi Lukita, director of PT Liga Indonesia Baru, for his negligence in the technical implementation of stadium verification. Arema vs Persebaya Surabaya, which competes in the East Java Super Derby league, is scheduled for 15.30, not 20.00 WIB. This request was made to the police due to security concerns, as it is known that the two football clubs have been bitter enemies for a long time. However, this request was rejected, and it was still held at night with a capacity of 42 thousand tickets, exceeding the permitted number of spectators, namely 38 thousand tickets (Awaludin, 2022).

The organizing committee's mistake became a continuous highlight of the Metro TV talk show. In the application of peace journalism, several differences can be seen between the two TV stations, which are the object of this research following the analysis.

Orientation	Unit of Analysis	Application of Peace Journalism
Peace Orientation	Focus and Angle	Since the beginning of the broadcast, the TVOne talk show presented a narrative from the victim's family, first expressing condolences to the victim's family. In defining the problem, TVOne focuses on seeing this problem as a tragic event in the history of football. This incident must be thoroughly investigated to the end, to find out who is responsible for the deaths of 135 people.
Community Orientation	The root of the problem, sources, the extent to which the media displays the losses of conflict as a mirror for peace, and displays wise figures outside the circle of conflict	The composition of the sources presented by TVOne was quite balanced, starting from PSSI, witnesses, victims' families, TGIPF, and parties outside the conflict such as football observers. The root of the problem shown by TVOne from the diagnosis stage of the cases looks very objective, all parties responsible, be it the police, the organizers must be responsible for this tragic incident.
Truth Orientation	Opinion and Diction	TVOne uses the diction "stammer" "think it's easy" in the make moral judgment framing analysis unit. This indicates that they are the perpetrators responsible for the Kanjuruhan case.
Completion Orientation	Solutions offered	It is hoped that the Treatment Recommen-dation offered by TVOne in this case can provide appropriate sanctions for all parties responsible. Apart from that, the orientation towards peace efforts and a focus on victims can be seen that at the end of the session there was an emphasis that "there should not be a narrative of 'waste' for every victim. who died, because it will leave deep wounds on the victim's family."

Table 4. Results of TVOne Peace Journalism Analysis

Meanwhile, the results of the analysis of Metro TV's peace journalism researchers are described in the following table:

Orientation	Unit of Analysis	Application of Peace Journalism
Peace Orientation	Focus dan Angle	Since the broadcast's start, the Metro TV talk show has presented the latest data regarding the determination of the six suspects in the Kanjuruhan tragedy. Metro TV highlighted the negligence of the Director of PT. LIB was later named a suspect. According to Metro TV, this should be pinned on PT.LIB due to weak supervision from before until the end of the match.
Community Orientation	The root of the problem, sources, the extent to which the media displays the losses of conflict as a mirror for peace, and displays wise figures outside the circle of conflict	The composition of speakers presented by MetroTV was quite balanced, but several speakers, like PSSI and the police, could not attend. Metro TV did not feature sources from witnesses or victims' families but instead presented sources from Jakmania; in the circle of Jakmania supporters, they are friends of Arema FC supporters and enemies of Persebaya supporters. In the selection of sources, it can be seen that Metro TV is more dominant towards Arema supporters, and from the root of the problem raised, it can be seen that Metro TV is dominant in blaming PT. LIB appreciates the police for thoroughly investigating the defendant in the Kanjuruhan case, even though in this tragedy, the police were also responsible for the violation of the use of tear gas.
Truth Orientation	Opinion and Diction	The diction "appreciation" favors the work of the police, indicating that even though the police were involved in the Kanjuruhan tragedy, they are also responsible for thoroughly investigating the Kanjuruhan problem.
Completion Orientation	Solutions offered	The Treatment Recommendations offered by Metro TV must all be evaluated in total so that events like the Kanjuruhan tragedy do not happen again. Metro TV also hopes that PSSI and other parties will take responsibility.

Table 5. Results of Metro TV Peace Journalism Analysis

Discussion

Peace journalism inherits the normative impulse to prioritize peace as the central value and starting point of analysis. Peaceful journalism, as a particular mode of socially responsible journalism, is a program or framework for journalistic

news reviews that contributes to creating and maintaining peace in succession to conflict resolution (Fitriawan, 2015). However, in practice, many media still prefer to highlight long-standing conflicts for the sake of rating shares or simply clickbites. Mass media subjectivity is often present in the news to give a negative impression of the news being reported (Amelia & Sukartik, 2022).

In the results of the analysis by researchers, there are apparent differences between the two TV programs above. TVOne, in its peace orientation, defines conflict as a problem that must be resolved. Conflict must be seen in other forms, including conflicts that do not use violence. TVOne focuses on the losses resulting from human conflict in the Kanjuruhan tragedy by presenting visualizations of the victim's family accompanied by condolences to the victim's family. From the material displayed, TVOne wants to state that behind every conflict incident, there are always those who suffer losses afterward. Because after this case surfaced and was widely reported in various media, people quickly forgot about it within 2-3 months. Even so, the victim's family will never forget for the rest of their lives what happened to one of their families at the Kanjuruhan Stadium. The spirit of the victims also received much support from various civil movements by holding an exhibition to commemorate the first anniversary of the tragedy on 2 October 2023 (Humas FIB Brawijaya, 2023). Iwan Fals also expressed his solidarity through a "Kanjuruhan" song (Melati dkk., 2023).

Meanwhile, Metro TV focuses on the six suspects the police have named, especially the Director of PT. LIB. Metro TV is indeed trying to ensure that the suspect is punished as severely as possible, but the human side is not shown enough on Metro TV; instead of looking for who is right and wrong, Metro TV focuses on the mistakes of one party, namely PT. LIB.

In Community Orientation, too, TVOne is much more objective, selecting sources to cover all sides, not just cover both sides. If a resource person cannot attend the studio, they convey this via a Zoom meeting (meaning trying to find alternative options) so the resource person still has a place to speak. This differs from Metro TV, where the composition of sources could be more balanced. Metro TV focuses a lot on the guilty parties, looking for the roots of who is responsible for the Kanjuruhan tragedy. In peace journalism, society's orientation should focus on looking at the causes and effects in various places and times and giving voice to all conflict actors in a balanced way. In addition, the mass media does not cover the truth, and all actors involved in the conflict are mentioned.

In truth orientation, both media actually have diction and frames that point to the negligence of the organizers. TVOne even emphatically said that it "stumbled" and "thought it was easy" for the technical implementation of the Arema FC and Persebaya match. Likewise, Metro TV uses "appreciation" for police performance, showing Metro's partiality towards the police and dominantly blaming PT. LIB only.

Then, in the resolution orientation, both media wisely said that all parties responsible for the Kanjuruhan tragedy must receive appropriate sanctions without exception, be it PSSI or PT. LIB, or the police. The visual narration shown by TVOne at the end of the program plus a closing statement from the ustaz while praying together for the deceased and the deceased victims of the Kanjuruhan tragedy who said, "Don't let there be any more narratives that they died in vain, who knows, in the midst of their oppression, they were looking for a way out, they didn't forget to read tasbih, tahmid and always remember Allah." This religious narrative was created so that the victim's family would not be swept away in constant sadness.

The biggest challenge for TV media when raising conflict issues is topicality. TV journalists are required to broadcast quickly with sufficient visualization for the broadcast duration, especially since it is difficult to present sources who are still busy dealing with ongoing problems. It's really not an easy thing to show all of this, especially since they also have to compete with other TV news outlets. However, some creativity is clearly visible in TVOne, which presents parties outside the conflict (the presence of statements from the victim's family, an ustaz to read prayers, and resource persons who are unable to come to the studio are made interactive via Zoom meetings), this is where media creativity in peace efforts becomes a necessity that must be implemented.

Conclusion

From the four framing analysis units and the concept of peace journalism above, it can be seen that TVOne has implemented three of the four fundamental concepts of peace journalism, namely, oriented toward peace, society, and conflict resolution efforts. This is marked by highlighting issues that focus on victims and losses of conflict and providing space to talk to each figure in the conflict. Meanwhile, Metro TV, of the four components of the analysis of Peaceful Journalism, only one leads to efforts to implement peaceful journalism, namely problem-solving. Metro TV focuses on efforts to find the cause of the conflict and efforts to resolve the conflict by blaming one particular party and does not focus on the deep sorrow of the victims. So, TVOne implements peaceful journalism far more than Metro TV.

Suppose journalists do not adhere to the principles of implementing peaceful journalism in the Kanjuruhan case or other conflict cases. In that case, efforts to find a solution and determine who is most responsible will be wishful thinking. Journalists will be busy with the principle of "bad news is good news" by highlighting parties who blame each other, fighting over each other's opinions without a clear end regarding the fate of victims and the human side. Ideally, a journalist plays an informative function and carries out social control and peace efforts that side with truth and society. After the issue of conflict fades, journalists will get a new issue and then cover normative things as usual. However, for the victim's family, this will always be remembered for the rest of their lives. Journalists are not news manifesting robots, but they work with a conscience through what they report in the mass media.

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