

A Critical Discourse Analysis of News Report on *Kanjuruhan* Tragedy in *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia*

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ABSTRACT

Critical Discourse Analysis aims to explore the hidden ideology of the discourse, thereby exposing injustice, discrimination and prejudice in the discourse. The Kanjuruhan tragedy occurred in October 1st 2022, which caused hundreds of football supporters and two police officers died. It is due to many supporters were stepped on and run out of oxygen. This article uses Fairclough three-dimensional framework and Hallyday's systemic functional grammar as tools, and select the news about the chronology of the Kanjuruhan tragedy based on two different news media *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia*. After analysis, it is found that *Tempo* tends to blame police institution towards Kanjuruhan tragedy but *CNN Indonesia* tends to blame the supporters.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, three-dimensional Fairclough, Kanjuruhan.

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INTRODUCTION

The Kanjuruhan tragedy is the worst tragedy of Indonesian football. It happened in Kanjuruhan stadium, Malang on October 1st 2022. Many supporters died from being trampled and asphyxiated from inhaling too much tear gas. It caused hundreds of innocent people died. This tragedy has become an international issue and many media reported about this incident both nationally and internationally. Various kinds of news emerged because they felt very concerned about this incident. There are those who blame the officers for using tear gas but there are also those who blame the supporters because they are anarchists.

From various news appeared shows that language is never neutral. It can be used for telling and creating people opinion about something. Then CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) comes to explore inequality, power relation and ideology which is stated implicitly in the discourse. Therefore CDA can expose injustice, discrimination and prejudice in a discourse (Wang, 2021). CDA has been applied in exploring the critical phenomenon about certain ideology, domination, genders, relation and social class in media. Media is an instrument that has various ideologies is enforced in public and influence people (Widuna, 2018).

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In this 4.0 era many people can easily access tons of information through media from all over the world including the news. In present day, the readers can read the news whenever and wherever they are because newspaper now transforms into online news. Many channels provide the news such as *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia*. These news platforms have enormous readers from all ages and social classes.

Tempo was founded in 1976 which a paper printed news in its first appear but now it transforms into online platform because *Tempo* always wants to adapt in the development of the digital era which all target readers have already literate in information technology. *Tempo* is willing to be the clearing house of information by presenting reliable information in the midst of the spread of hoaxes, especially on social media, which is increasingly widespread (redaktur *Tempo*, n.d.). *Tempo* is the first media which is not affiliated to politics therefore *Tempo* was banned several times by the government due to its critical news about government.

CNN Indonesia is a member of the Transcorp media group collaboration with Warner Bros under CNN License. It focuses on general news, business, sport and technology. The owner of Transcorp is Chairul Tanjung. He is not only a businessman but also as Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs replacing Hatta Rajasa from 19 May 2014 to 27 October 2014.

Language is socially shaped and restricted in its use by the social order (Fairclough, 1989). Through language, the writer's ideology can be shared. Language as a carrier of ideology and unequal social relations often appears vaguely for that the reader needs to know the 'struggle for power' through critical discourse analysis (Kristina, 2020). The struggle for power can be explicit and implicit.

Fairclough states three steps of critical discourse analysis: description, interpretation and explanation. Description focuses on textual analysis. Fairclough believes that language form and meaning should be involved in text analysis. Fairclough draws on Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar and describe the formal and structural feature of text in term of vocabularies, transitivity and modality (Wang, 2021). Interpretation is a step which analyze the relation between text and interaction through analyzing context of situation. Explanation related to relation between interaction and context of social. This step is to explore the social effect through three dimensions of discourse: situational, institutional and social discourse.

Systemic functional linguistics is introduced by M.A.K Halliday 1960 (Wiratno, 2018). SFL is a linguistic which is concerned with how to choose language forms in the context of using language as text. The unit of analysis in SFL is a text with various aspects and levels in it so that it can be used from various levels from lexicogrammar to text structure so that the meaning of discourse can be expressed (Wiratno, 2018). According to Halliday in (Santoso, 2003) there are three metafunctions in connection with the use of language in the social process in a society: ideational, interpersonal and textual.

Ideational function consists of experiential ideational and logical ideational. For ideational function language is used to express physical-biological reality and with regard to interpretation and representation of experience. For interpersonal function language is used to express social reality and with regard to the interaction between the writer and the reader. For textual function, language is used to express semiotics reality and with regard to the way the creation of text in the context. Those three functions do not stand alone but rather a unified whole in the metafunctions unit (Wiratno, 2018).

The tragedy of *Kanjuruhan* shocked many parties: the government, the world of football and society. Therefore, various kinds of news appeared related to this tragedy. This article seeks to explore the implied ideology of the news platform through a critical discourse analysis study of Fairclough assisted by Halliday's theory. To explore the implied ideology, this article try to study the following questions: (1) what are the language differences between *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia* in reporting *Kanjuruhan* tragedy ? (2) How *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia* present the news report of *Kanjuruhan* Tragedy? (3) Why *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia* have the difference in language use?

The previous research is conducted by Wang Yi entitled A critical Analysis of news report on Covid 19 in people's Daily and The New York Times. Wang Yi states that there is different ideology about Covid 19 of the news platform People daily and The New York city due to the different background of both. People Daily id from China and The New York Times is from Amerika. The research gap is in the object of the study: this article will try to find the ideology of news platform from Indonesia and this article will explore the news report of *Kanjuruhan* Tragedy.

METHOD

This article will combine qualitative and quantitative analysis to answer the questions of this article. At the first stage is to find the news related to *Kanjuruhan* tragedy and then analyze them then classify the news having different point of view towards this tragedy. After that the researcher select two news from two different platform which have different ideology.

This article will use three dimensional frame work from Fairclough which is supported by Hallyday's analysis tool about clause meaning in the description level and then to explore the implied attitude and ideology of the news about *Kanjuruhan* Tragedy delivered by two different news platform: *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia*.

FINDING

The Result of the Need Analysis

Data is taken from *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia* Platform. After finding the news related to *Kanjuruhan* tragedy in *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia* then researcher analyze the data found. In analyzing text, the researcher uses Halliday's theory to analyze the description stage of three-dimensional framework of Fairclough. The data stated on the tables below:

Table 1 ANALYSIS CLAUSE TEXT: TRANSITIVITY

No	TYPE	TEMPO	CNN INDONESIA
1	Material process	68 %	59 %
2	Mental Process	14,9 %	9 %
3	Behavioral Process	-	-
4	Existential Process	-	-
5	Relational Process	4,3%	-
6	Verbal Process	12 %	31,8 %

Table 2 ANALYSIS CLAUSE TEXT: MOOD

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No		TEMPO	CNN INDONESIA
1	Indicative declarative	100 %	100 %
2	Indicative interrogative		
3	Imperative		

Table 3 ANALYSIS CLAUSE TEXT: THEME

No	TYPE	TEMPO	CNN INDONESIA
1	Topical Marked theme	25,5	27,2 %
2	Topical unmarked theme	44,7 %	54,5 %
3	Textual theme	29,8%	18,1 %

From the table 2 it can be seen that the all clauses in table 1 are classified as indicative-declarative clauses. This means that the author positions himself as a provider of information about the chronology of the tragedy in *Kanjuruhan*. The readers are invited to as if they were in that situation.

From the table 1 it can be seen that both *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia* most of the process is material process. It indicates that the writers want to describe the *Kanjuruhan* tragedy as the psychical activity.

From the table 3 it can be seen that the distribution of information the text can be revealed through theme. Most of the theme used in both text *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia* is topical unmarked theme. It shows that from both texts, the main issues raised are mostly through the subject. Marked topical themes are used in both texts to determine the main areas of the issue discussed within the boundaries of the location, time and chronology of the events taking place. Textual themes used in both texts to compile the events that occur in the tragedy.

DISCUSSION

Text representing in news report from *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia* on the issue of *Kanjuruhan* tragedy

The first stage of Fairclough three-dimensional framework is description, this article analyzed two different news report form *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia* from its vocabulary and its clause. According to Halliday's systemic functional grammar, vocabulary selection cannot be separated from the classification system. In the news discourse the writer will use different vocabularies to have different effect in the same event (Wang, 2021). The following is the analysis of words used by the *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia*.

Lexical classification

Reporters and editors have full control over the choice of words he uses. They can and must choose certain words among a row of words that are almost similar but have different tastes (Wibowo, 2018). This indicates that language is not neutral. Reporter can use the word chosen to make the news report based on their stand.

"Lima belas menit setelah pertandingan itu, ketika seluruh pemain Persebaya sudah masuk ke ruang ganti, ada dua suporter yang turun dari tribun dan mendatangi serta berdiskusi untuk memberi semangat para pemain Arema,"

("Fifteen minutes after the match, when all the Persebaya players had entered the dressing room, there were two supporters who came **down from the stands and came and discussed to encourage the Arema players**,").

In this example, the *Tempo* uses the words 'encourage' to describe the positive reason of the supporters who came down from stands and meet the 'Arema'. In this sentences *Tempo* wants to delivered message that the supporter was not anarchy at that time and wanted to just give support for their favorite team 'Arema'. In addition, it also shows that the police officers who are anarchy and excessive to supporters

Tindakan dua orang suporter itu, kata Dito, membuat aparat mengejarnya ke dalam lapangan. Pengejaran itu yang memancing suporter lain untuk ikut masuk ke lapangan. "Padahal sebenarnya tidak ada apa-apa kalau aparat tidak mengejar, buktinya pas Persebaya masuk ruang ganti, tidak ada masalah," kata suporter Arema berusia 34 tahun ini.

(The actions of the two supporters, said Dito, made the officers chase him into the field. The pursuit that **provoked** other supporters to join the field. "In fact, there is nothing if the authorities don't catch up, the proof is that when Persebaya entered the dressing room, there was no problem," said the 34-year-old Arema supporter.)

The *Tempo* uses the words 'provoked' to indicates negative meaning. *Tempo* wants to describe that if the police officer had not chased the two supports who came down to give support for their team, then the riot would not have happened. It indicates that the police officer are the ones who responsible for the tragedy.

Sebelumnya, kerusuhan terjadi di Stadion Kanjuruhan usai suporter Arema memasuki lapangan karena kecewa timnya kalah melawan Persebaya. Mereka menerobos masuk untuk menyampaikan langsung kekecewaannya kepada pemain dan ofisial.

(Previously, riots occurred at the Kanjuruhan Stadium after Arema supporters entered the field because they were **disappointed** that their team had lost against Persebaya. They barged in to convey their disappointment directly to players and officials.)

The *CNN Indonesia* uses the words 'disappointed' to indicates negative meaning. *CNN Indonesia* wants to describe that if supporters had not been disappointed then entered the field, then the riot would not have happened. It indicates that the supporters are the ones who responsible for the tragedy

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"Ada yang mengejar Arema karena merasa kok kalah. Ada yang kejar Persebaya. Sudah dievakuasi ke tempat aman. Semakin lama semakin banyak, kalau tidak pakai gas air mata aparat kewalahan, akhirnya disemprotkan,"

("There are those who **chase Arema** because **they think why they have lost**. Some are after Persebaya. They have been evacuated to a safe place. More and more, if you don't use tear gas, the authorities are overwhelmed, eventually it is sprayed,")

In the other hand it can be seen from example above, the *CNN Indonesia* uses the word 'chase' indicates the bad attitude of supporters who come down from the stage. In this sentence *CNN Indonesia* wants to deliver message that the reason of the supporter who came down from the stage is to make riot and the police officer must handle that chaos situation by spreading tear gas.

From the sentences delivered by *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia* indicates that both of them has different stand about the case, *Kanjuruhan* Tragedy. it can be seen from the different of the different vocabularies used in both texts.

Transitivity

Transitivity is the focus of textual dimension on CDA (Wang, 2021). Transitivity if from Halliday's theory about Systemic Functional Linguistics. Halliday states that the transitivity system refers to the various processes that humans can use to describe the real world (Wang, 2021). There are six types of transitivity: material process, mental process, behavioral process, relational process, existential process and verbal process. Material process refers to process of doing something in detail and it is the most objective process among six processes (Halliday, 1985). Mental process is process of sensing to deliver perception, it is used to make clause which indicates opinion (Wiratno, 2018). Behavioral process is the process refers to physical and psychological behaviors such as cough, smile, cry etc. relational process is the process of being (Wiratno, 2018). It refers to process of describing and identifying event or people involved in news (Wang, 2021). Existential process represents existence of something. Verbal process is the process of 'speaking' such as: say, tell, describe etc.

After reading and analyzing the both text the result shows in table 1. From *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia* material process is the most process found in both texts. Therefore, this part will analyze the material process used by both news report.

ada dua suporter yang turun dari tribun dan mendatangi serta berdiskusi untuk memberi semangat para pemain Arema

(There were **two supporters** who came down from the stands **came and discussed** to give moral support the Arema players)
(data A7)

Padahal sebenarnya tidak ada apa-apa kalau aparat tidak mengejar
(there's nothing if the **police** don't **chase**) (data A11)

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From the data (A7) 'two supporters' is the actor and 'came and discuss' is the process. The *Tempo* believes that the motive of supporters came down from their stage is just a good action to give moral support for their favorite team that had lost in that match. In addition, from the data (A11) 'police' is the actor; 'chase' is the process. The *Tempo* believes that if the police don't take repressive actions, the situation will be under control. However, what happened was that the chasing of two supporters by the police provoked anger from other supporters who were still in the stands to join in on the field.

2.000 orang turun untuk mengejar para pemain, baik dari Arema FC maupun Persebaya.

(2,000 people came down to **chase** the players, both from Arema FC and Persebaya)(data B3)

Polisi menembakkan gas air mata agar situasi kembali kondusif.

(Police fired tear gas to bring the situation back to normal.)

(dataB5)

From the data (B3) '2000 people' is the actor and 'chase' is the process. The *CNN Indonesia* believes that there were 2000 people chase the football players that make the situation more chaos. From data (B5) 'the police' as actor and 'fired' is the process. The *CNN* believes that to control the chaos situation the officer fired tear gas to bring the situation back to normal. The police only followed the procedure to control brutal massive action.

Mood

From the table 1 it can be seen that both *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia* use indicative-declarative in delivering the news. Both platforms only describe the chronology of the tragedy based on their own sources. In addition, there is no question and imperative sentence exist in both news report text means that the *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia* try to make the equal position with the reader and try to make reader believe them. Indicative-declarative can be found from data A4 and

Lima belas menit setelah wasit Agus Fauzan Arifin meniup peluit tanda berakhir pertandingan Arema FC vs Persebaya Surabaya di Liga 1 pekan ke-11 telah mengubah sejarah sepak bola Indonesia

Fifteen minutes after referee Agus Fauzan Arifin blew the whistle to mark the end of the Arema FC vs. Persebaya Surabaya match in the 11th week of Liga 1, it changed the history of Indonesian football. (data A4)

Menurut Mahfud, penggunaan gas air mata pada pertandingan tersebut semata-mata karena penonton mengejar pemain sepak bola

(According to Mahfud, the use of tear gas in the match was solely because the audience was chasing football players). (dataB3).

Data A4 and B3 show that both texts only deliver information without any intention to give question or command. The intention of the text is just to create public opinion based on their own news. *Tempo* delivering news from the supporter side and *CNN Indonesia* delivering news from the opposite side, police institution.

Theme

From the table 3 it can be seen that ‘topical unmarked theme’ becomes the biggest theme found in both news report. Topical unmarked theme indicates that *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia* try to deliver the message that the most issue are delivered through the subject.

For example

Tempo mengali cerita dari suporter yang menjadi saksi kejadian memilukan itu

(**Tempo** collects stories from supporters who witnessed the heartbreaking incident)(data A3)

Mahfud MD membeberkan alasan polisi membeberkan gas air mata ke arah penonton di Stadion Kanjuruhan, Malang, pada Sabtu (1/10).

(**Mahfud MD** explained the reason why the police used tear gas at the audience at the Kanjuruhan Stadium, Malang, on Saturday (1/10). (dataB1)

‘Tempo’ in data A3 refers to unmarked topical theme and ‘Mahfud MD’ becomes the unmarked topical theme. From both data A3 and B1 shows that the subject as the theme of the text. From table 3, it can be seen that topical unmarked theme dominates the text of *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia*.

Discourse practice of *Kanjuruhan* tragedy in the text of *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia*.

The second stage of Fairclough three-dimensional framework is interpretation. The focus of this stage is the relationship text and discourse practice. Interpretation is a combination of what is in the text and what appears in the mind of the person who interprets the text(Kristina, 2020).

Headline

From the headline above shows that *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia* has different point of view in delivering the news report especially the chronology of its tragedy.

Kronologi dan Alasan Banyaknya Korban Berjatuban dalam Tragedi Kanjuruhan Chronology and Reasons for the Many Victims Fall in the Kanjuruhan Tragedy (Headline *Tempo*)

(*Mahfud MD Ungkap Alasan Polisi Gunakan Gas Air Mata*)

Mahfud MD Reveals Reasons for Police to Use Tear Gas (Headline *CNN Indonesia*).

In the headline, *Tempo* has not explained who is responsible for many victims yet. It indicates that *Tempo* is trying to deliver the news smoothly about the chronology and the victims because *Tempo* did not take the information from the authority which is created by the government but taken from the witness of that tragedy. In other hand, *CNN* directly states the reason of using tear gas in that tragedy which is caused alot of victims and *CNN Indonesia* wants to emphasize that this information is valid because the news is taken from the chief of TGIPF (Joint Independent Fact-Finding Team) which is created by the government to solve the problem about *Kanjuruhan* tragedy.

News source

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One of the peculiarities of media discourse is the determination of who is invited as a news source to be interviewed. From the choice of sources, it can be seen which perspective is more dominant, including in the preparation of news. Representation is the key to media discourse analysis: who is represented as the cause of the event, who is represented as the actor of a particular action and for whom (Kristina, 2020).

Tempo mengali cerita dari suporter yang menjadi saksi kejadian memilukan itu

(**Tempo** collects stories from supporters who witnessed the heartbreaking incident)(data A3)

Mahfud MD membeberkan alasan polisi membeberkan gas air mata ke arah penonton di Stadion Kanjuruhan, Malang, pada Sabtu (1/10).

(**Mahfud MD** explained the reason why the police used tear gas at the audience at the Kanjuruhan Stadium, Malang, on Saturday (1/10). (dataB1)

From the news reports above, it can be seen that *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia* have different news sources. *Tempo* delivered news based on the witness of *Kanjuruhan* Tragedy but *CNN Indonesia* delivered news based on the press conference of Mahfud MD as TGIPF (Joint Independent Fact-Finding Team). Here, both sides have different versions of the tragedy of *Kanjuruhan*. It shows that *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia* have different stand toward this issue therefore they choose different news resources. Different stand means different ideology.

Content

From the two reports released by *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia*, it can be seen that *CNN Indonesia* was the first to issue news about the *kanjuruhan* incident. this can be proven by the date the news was released in October 2, 2022 or a day after the bloody incident occurred. Then followed by *Tempo* that released the news about *Kanjuruhan* tragedy in October 4, 2022. It is as if *Tempo* is responding to the news delivered by *CNN Indonesia* by conveying the opposite news report.

CNN Indonesia conveyed the chronology of *Kanjuruhan* tragedy that have killed hundreds of people based on a press conference conducted by Mahfud Md. *CNN Indonesia* said that the beginning of this tragedy was when there were 2000 people who chased the Arema team because they were disappointed with the defeat of their favorite team and then chaos ensued so the police were forced to use tear gas to control the situation. Then there was panic and then many supporters were suffocating and trampled underfoot as they scrambled to get out of the stadium. It can be seen from data B4.

Ia menyebut sekitar 2.000 orang turun untuk mengejar para pemain, baik dari Arema FC maupun Persebaya. Oleh sebab itu, polisi menembakkan gas air mata agar situasi kembali kondusif. (DataB4)

He said around 2,000 people came down to chase the players, both from Arema FC and Persebaya. Therefore, the police fired tear gas to bring the situation back to normal (DataB4).

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From the news submitted by *CNN Indonesia*, it can be concluded that the police are considered innocent in using tear gas to control the situation. *CNN Indonesia* reported that it was the supporters who were at fault for acting anarchically and excessively in response to their team's defeat.

However, a different chronology was presented by *Tempo*. *Tempo* reported that what actually happened was based on the testimony of eyewitnesses or survivors of the *Kanjuruhan* tragedy. It can be seen from the data below:

Tempo mengali cerita dari suporter yang menjadi saksi kejadian memilukan itu

(*Tempo* collects stories from supporters who witnessed the heartbreaking incident)(data A3)

Tempo explained that initially there were only two people who went to the field to provide moral support for their favorite team, Arema, because at that time they had lost but the police officers overreacted by chasing and arresting the two people. It caused the anger of the supporters who were in the stands and they flocked to come down the field to fight the rudeness of the officers. It can be seen from the data below:

ada dua suporter yang turun dari tribun dan mendatangi serta berdiskusi untuk memberi semangat para pemain Arema

(There were two supporters who came down from the stands came and discussed to give moral support the Arema players) (data A7)

Padahal sebenarnya tidak ada apa-apa kalau aparat tidak mengejar
(there's nothing if the police don't chase) (data A11)

Due to delivering the news based on the submissions from eyewitnesses, the chronology presented by *Tempo* is more detailed than the chronology presented by *CNN Indonesia*. *Tempo* also reports in detail the process of chaos that caused hundreds of people to be trampled and hundreds of people died. The reader are invited as if they were there and feel the chaos. It can be seen from the table 1 that mental process is the second biggest process used in *Tempo's* news report.

Tempo also presented the fact that tear gas was not only intended to disperse crowds on the field but was also fired at the stands and this causes panic and death of hundreds of people. It indicates that *Tempo* tried to counter the statement from *CNN Indonesia* stating that the police had the right to use tear gas because of the chaos that occurred even though the use of tears was prohibited by FIFA. It can be seen from the data below:

Polisi tidak hanya menembakkan gas yang mengandung chloroacetophenone (CN), chlorobenzylidenemalononitrile (CS), chloropicrin (PS), bromobenzylcyanide (CA) dan dibenzoxazepine (CR) itu ke arah suporter yang berada di lapangan. Sasaran tembak pun diarahkan ke suporter yang tetap berada di Tribun. "Padahal kan yang di tribun tidak berbuat apa-apa dan sudah mau kembali," kata Dito.

The police not only fired gas containing chloroacetophenone (CN), chlorobenzylidenemalononitrile (CS), chloropicrin (PS), bromobenzylcyanide (CA) and dibenzoxazepine (CR) at the fans

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who were in the field. The target of the shooting was directed at the supporters who remained in the Tribune. "In fact, those in the stands didn't do anything and wanted to come back," said Dito. (DataA16).

From the news reported by *Tempo*, it can be seen that the police officers made two mistakes: the first was that the police overreacted to the two supporters who only wanted to encourage their favorite team by arresting and beating them. the second was that the police fired tear gas to disperse the crowd, even though the use of tear gas was prohibited by FIFA. Moreover, tear gas was also fired at spectators in the stands who were actually innocent.

According to Gramsci in (Wibowo, 2018) mass media is an arena of struggle between competing ideologies. Furthermore, he also explained that the media is a space where various ideologies are represented. In other words, the media is a tool used to spread ideology. In this case *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia* are having an ideological war to influence public opinion. The winner is the party who is able to give high intensity to the news. The more often the news is reported, the news will have a greater chance to be accepted by the public as public opinion then become public truth (Kristina, 2020). So, in creating public truth *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia* always publish recent news reports about the case in the same point of view with the previous news. This is done to support their previous reporting.

The socio-cultural context of the *Kanjuruhan* tragedy discourse battle between *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia*

The third stage of Fairclough three-dimensional framework is explanation. The focus of this stage is social practice dimension. The purpose of this dimension is to emphasize social analysis, that is, to reveal the power relations and ideology hidden in the text in combination with the social context (Wang, 2021). Explanation is used to how social structure influence the production of the text and how discourse responds the social stucture. Therefore, the following part will discuss and analyze the social factors which influce media discourse of *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia*

Social -Political aspect

Political changes in Indonesia have also led to changes in press freedom. In the New Order era, the press was very much controlled by the government. If there was news that was not in accordance with the government, the media would be banned the freedom of the press began to be felt since the leadership of president Abdurrahman Wahid (Ariyanti, 2010). This freedom of the press becomes a reference for the media to report all events that exist in the community freely and journalists are free to deliver their discourse through the news report.

In delivering news about *Kanjuruhan* tragedy both media, *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia* are free to get information and report the information. In this case, *Tempo* tends to be against the government and supports the community because *Tempo* shares are owned by the community. In other hands *CNN Indonesia* does not show too much partiality towards the government or society because the owner of *CNN Indonesia* is a former state official who automatically tends to play safe in delivering the news report.

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Economic Aspect

The *Kanjuruhan* tragedy became a national issue that received extraordinary attention from the public. In this case, the media are competing to report it in order to get more profit from the increasing news readership. Not only that, the media are also competing to convey discourse in their news.

Tempo was founded in 1970 from the agreement of six journalists to build an independent media. The financier of this *Tempo* magazine is Ciputra as the founder and chairman of the Jaya Raya Foundation. In the agreement with Ciputra, a businessman of Chinese descent, there is an agreement that the *Tempo* is not tied to the needs of any investor in presenting the news (Fonets, 2021). In other words *Tempo* is founded by the community not entrepreneurs.

Tempo media grub is a public private company listed on the Indonesia Stock Exchange and its shares are owned by several institutions and partly owned by the public. *Tempo* is not controlled by the owner of the capital so that it can be independent in making news needed by the community. So the economic factor is not an influence for *Tempo* to report on an event, so *Tempo* will be very free and bold in its reporting. *Tempo's* courage in broadcasting news can be seen from *Tempo's* history, which was banned by the government three times at that time because it was considered too critical and dangerous.

CNN Indonesia is a news site owned by Trans Media in collaboration with Turner International. *CNN Indonesia* is part of CNN International Commercial's strategy Content Sales and Partnerships Group that seeks to reach more audiences by collaborating with local media organizations. Trans Media itself is owned by Chairul Tanjung, a successful businessman who once served as the Coordinating Minister for the Economy in 2014 during the government of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono.

Unlike *Tempo*, which was banned by the government several times, *CNN Indonesia* has never experienced a ban. *CNN Indonesia* is a media partner of Trans Corp with CNN International which of course has certain rules and regulations in reporting an incident so *CNN Indonesia* is not too straight like *Tempo* in delivering the news report. In other words *CNN Indonesia* is founded by the entrepreneur not only to deliver news report but also to make profit from the media platform. It means that more reader they get, more income they grab.

CONCLUSION

The result of the research showed that there is a hidden ideology of news reports on *kanjuruhan* tragedy. *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia* have different ideologies regarding the *Kanjuruhan* Tragedy, which can be seen from the differences in the vocabulary used, in headlines, in news sources and in chronology presented in the two media platforms. *Tempo* tends to blame the police officers towards the tragedy happened in *kanjuruhan* stadium. While *CNN Indonesia* tends to blame the actions of anarchic supporters who caused the *kanjuruhan* tragedy. This is due to the difference of social-politic and economy factor of *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia*.

This study doesn't aim to decide which media is correct and incorrect but this study only shows the analysis of the language used by both media to find out the implied ideology of *Tempo* and *CNN Indonesia*. Therefore the reader should not directly accept and share any information without analyzing them.

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