

Citizen Journalism Influence on Mainstream Media in Reporting the Kanjuruhan Stadium Tragedy

*¹Dhinar Arga Dumadi

Kabrina Rian Ferdiani²

^{1,2} Universitas Gadjah Mada

*Corresponding author: dhinarargadumadi1989@mail.ugm.ac.id

ABSTRACT After the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy—riots after League 1 match between Arema FC and Persebaya football teams at Kanjuruhan Stadium, Malang, East Java happened, multiple information of citizen journalism appeared on social media. This article aims to determine the accountability and influence of citizen journalism on the reporting of mainstream media dealing with the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy on the period between October 1 to 11, 2022. The method applied in this research is a case study with a qualitative approach. Data are collected using observation and documentation techniques from online mainstream media—which is news article—or even offline one—that is character generic in news broadcasts of television station. Meanwhile, data related to citizen journalism dealing with the tragedy are gained from social media. In conclusion, it is proven that information from citizen journalism contributes a major influence to the direction and headlines of mainstream mass media, even though not all of the information is reliable. Initially, mainstream mass media reports such as detik.com, Kompas.com, tvOne, Metro TV and Kompas TV tended to blame Arema FC supporters a.k.a Aremania. The focus of the mainstream mass media reporting was Aremania's anarchic action regarding their favourite team—Arema FC—lost the match against Persebaya. Based on the point of view of the report, the shooting of lachrymatory gas was considered normal due to the out of control chaos happened. Anyhow, not until a day, did the perspective of mainstream mass media reports reverse. It happened due to the emergence of citizen journalism as Twitter tweets, voice recordings, videos and photos on social media. Mainstream mass media then wrapped the reports of Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy as horrors experienced by Aremania in the tragedy. The authorities were blamed on these reports. They were figured as abusive party because they fired lachrymatory gas hastily to the supporters.

KEYWORDS Citizen journalism; Case study; Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy; Mainstream media; Reports.

INTRODUCTION

Citizen journalism or public journalism is more and more popular in daily life. Not only become recipients, the public is more active in reporting information. They act as citizen journalists. Citizen journalism is an activity of casual people. They are not professional journalists. They collect facts on the ground then compile, compose, and report their findings on social media platforms (Nugraha, 2012). Therefore, the development of citizen journalism is supported by new media. The definition of new media refers to various new communication technologies. Their

application is as personal communication devices with wide digitalization and availability (McQuail, 2011). The conclusion is that citizen journalism is closely related to internet-based media.

There are several disparities between citizen journalism and the professional one. Citizen journalists and professional ones use different methods to compose and report news. Professional journalists stick to official news sources. Citizen journalists prioritize opinions and unofficial sources. They apply less professional journalism rules (Hamilton,



2015). Citizen journalism frequently leads the public to fake news or hoaxes. However, their existence can't be eliminated easily. It is a critique of professional journalism. Professional journalism is often considered market-oriented and doesn't accommodate the public interest.

In Indonesia, citizen journalism was initiated from radio. One of the pioneers was Elshinta Radio. Since 2000, Elshinta Radio has invited its listeners to inform about traffic flow, weather conditions, or catastrophes – fire, for instance. They funneled it into the program: 'The Information from You.' It achieved positive responses (Kurniawan in Eddyono *et. al.*, 2019).

The Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy happened on Saturday evening, October 1, 2022. The riot was precisely after the League 1 match between Arema FC and Persebaya football team at Kanjuruhan Stadium, Malang, East Java. The chaos happening killed more than 130 casualties.

Credible mass media competed to report the incident exactly after the riot happened. Several national television stations even broadcast breaking news about the incident since Sunday morning. However – because of the lack of reliable information – the reports in the mass media tend to be less accurate. Initially, it was assumed that the chaos was a fight between supporters of each team. However, this information was soon denied. Not a single *Bonek*—the term for Persebaya supporters—came to the location where the match had taken place. Furthermore, rumor had that the chaos happened because Arema FC supporters—casually called *Aremania*—rushed the field. They attacked Arema FC

players because they were frustrated by the loss of the Malang's pride team. The rumor tended to blame *Aremania*.

Anyhow, sooner, citizen journalism reports regarding the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy rose on social media platforms. Most citizen journalism defined *Aremania* as the victim of the tragedy. The citizen journalism rise even gained attention from mass media. Mass media then adopted it as the source of their reports.

The authors intend to verify the influence of citizen journalism. Mainly to the reporting of the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy in mainstream mass media. Mass media tend to stick to professional journalism standards. This issue attracts the authors because the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy was the world's spotlight event and involved various high authorities. The reporting direction of the tragedy may influence how the case will be settled. Furthermore, it is expected that this study can highlight the strength of citizen journalism in determining the direction of professional journalism reporting.

Literature Review Citizen Journalism

The initiation of citizen journalism was in conjunction with the rise of civic journalism. In 1988 – the *Ledger-Enquirer Newspaper* was headquartered in Columbus, Georgia, United States founded it. Ever since, more than three hundred civic journalism campaigns have been conducted in the United States and the number kept increasing (Haas & Steiner, 2001).

Civil journalism is also known as public journalism. It rose as a response to the degradation of newspaper readers' trust

and civil political participation in the United States. The supporters of civil journalism believed that the issues of the media realm and politics were interrelated. The degradation of civil political participation was the consequence of public perception. They didn't possess a significant role in the political realm (McGraw & Holbrook, 2003). Therefore, civil journalism rose to respond to the increasing sense of public distrust towards the media and the political situation in the United States, redefined news values, questioned the value of objectivity and impartiality, encouraged the order of journalists as active participants in society, and created journalism practices which reflect cultural diversity in the United States of America society.

Citizen journalism involves casual community members who produce media work about topics and issues which affect them and their communities (Campbell, 2015). The media work can be articles, videos, podcasts, blogs, and essays. Citizen journalism rises as personal websites, community newspapers, or social media platforms – Instagram, Twitter, and YouTube – for instance. Citizen journalists are not formally trained in journalism methods and are not employed by mainstream mass media. On the contrary – they care about the citizens who produce their content – which frequently aims to inform and educate (Carpenter, 2010).

Mainstream Mass Media

Mass media is an instrument or a funnel, which applied to deliver information from the sources (communicators) to the audiences (communicants/recipients)

using mechanical communication devices – newspapers, radio, or television – for instance (Suryawati, 2011). Mass media refers to the institutions – that deliver information – newspapers, magazines, television, radio, films, and multimedia websites – for instance. The terminology refers to certain mass media institutions, too. They are radio networks, television stations, film companies, music producers, and the Internet (Ball, 2022). Based on these two definitions, it can be concluded that mass media is an instrument to deliver information to audiences on various devices. They are printed media (newspapers and magazines), electronic media (television and radio), and digital media (websites and social media platforms).

Mainstream mass media is popular media with a definite legal entity and is verified by the Press Council. The funnels of this media are printed newspapers, radio, television, and online media (Santoso, 2019). Mainstream mass media is defined as media – which maintains normal influence, reaches mainstream audiences, leads public opinion, and generates robust social impact (Mills in Xu *et al.*, 2018).

Citizen Journalism Influence on Mainstream Mass Media

The connection between citizen journalism and the professional one is full of variations and inconsistencies. There is an evidence ambivalence degree in practitioners' studies of both types of journalism. On one side – professional journalists frequently try to keep themselves away from citizen journalism. They tend to doubt the credibility, legitimacy, and citizen journalism professionalism. Professional

journalists believe citizen journalism lacks editorial supervision, accountability, and a code of ethics. They make it less trustworthy. However – on the other hand – various professional news organizations invite and drive citizen involvement. Almost all of them allow some level of involvement from the citizens. They are allowed to compose opinions towards news reports, for instance (Roberts, 2022).

In Indonesia, citizen journalism started to be considered, debated, and managed by various media after the 2004 tsunami hit Southeast and East Asia. It was initiated with the rise of Cut Putri's video recording. The video reported the condition of her residence after the earthquake shook and then the tsunami swept. It was then broadcast on the national private television station Metro TV (Eddyono *et al.*, 2019).

Citizen journalism has been a regular contributor to mainstream news reports. It contributes information and some of today's most iconic images. It supports when professional journalists have limited access to news sources – or even no access at all. Citizen journalism parties claim that it is an opportunity to improve. It also makes it more transparent and democratic. The public can confirm the facts. They can easily verify them or supply additional original articles (Jurrat, 2016).

During the 2008 US presidential election campaign, a citizen journalism TV channel – Current TV – partnered with Twitter during the candidate debates. Audiences could tweet. The tweets then would be displayed live on screen. In times of economic crisis and declining audience numbers

– particularly among youngsters – most mainstream mass media had driven non-professional journalists' active involvement in three methods. First, they provoke commentary on the existing news. Second is crowdsourcing. A reporter demands the public to give additional information. They need it to complete a news report or to confirm the facts. The last is uploading content via specific applications on websites – or creating distinctive citizen journalism sites – CNN iReport, for instance (Jurrat, 2016).

The existence of citizen journalism is not only to provide information to the public but also to spread the information broadcast by traditional media. In other words, citizen journalism reports topics that are sometimes overlooked by mainstream mass media. Due to the development of social media platforms and the Internet, sharing information has become simpler. Thus, mainstream mass media can no longer monopolize information (Riaz & Pasha, 2011). Citizen journalism contributes to information diversity in the media. This is because casual people do not have a specific intention. They focus more on reporting what they find and what they feel.

METHODS

This research applies a qualitative approach using a case study method. A qualitative approach is applied in a research to explore and comprehend the significance of individuals or groups related to social issues (Cresswell & Cresswell, 2018).

The case study method is applied to explain what is truth and why the case happens (Yin, 2011). The case study method

can be applied when “why” and “how” issues are questioned related to current events, which are difficult to control by the researchers. This method is research applied in detail intensively and in-depth towards an organization, institution, or specific phenomenon (Arikunto in Gultom & Atnan, 2019). The case that will be examined in this research is the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy on October 1, 2022.

Data was collected by observing mass media reports regarding the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy and the news report documentation in figures and tables. The mass media observed were online news articles and offline media on Indonesian television stations. The observation was on social media platforms, too – Twitter and Instagram – for instance. The social media platforms were rising information media of citizen journalism, which reported the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy. After data was collected, the analysis was then undertaken. Data analysis techniques in the case study method are segregated into four sections. They are data reduction, data presentation,

data verification, and the drawing of conclusions (Sugiyono, 2015).

DISCUSSION

The examined online media in this research were *detik.com* as well as *kompas.com*. These two media are the most popular online news channels in Indonesia. It is based on Oxford University research in 2021. 65% of audiences accessed *detik.com* to reach the news. While 47% accessed *kompas.com*. The data were collected from a total samples test (Newman *et al.*, 2021).

Observations were also undertaken towards offline ones. They were *tvOne*, *Metro TV*, and *Kompas* television stations. Those are the most popular TV stations in Indonesia. The finding was based on Oxford University’s *Digital News Report* in 2021. 53% of respondents watched *tvOne* to get news. In the second place, *Metro TV* got an audience percentage of 48%. Finally, in the third place *Kompas* got an audience percentage of 39% (Newman *et. al.*, 2021). After observation of mainstream mass media regarding the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy report was undertaken, the results are reported below:

Table 1. News Headline or News Generic Character Before Being Influenced by Citizen Journalism

Media Channel	Media Type	News Headline /News GC Before Being Influenced by Citizen Journalism	News Edition
detik.com	Online	Arema FC Supporters Rushed The Field Because Arema Lost to Persebaya	October 1, 2022
		The Authorities Fired Lachrymatory Gas to Disperse Arema FC Supporters Who Rushed The Field	October 1, 2022
		Arema FC Supporters Destroyed 2 Police Official Cars inside The Stadium	October 1, 2022

Media Channel	Media Type	News Headline /News GC Before Being Influenced by Citizen Journalism	News Edition
Kompas.com	Online	The Chronology of The Riot at Kanjuruhan Stadium after Arema vs Persebaya Match	October 2, 2022
		The Chronology of Kanjuruhan Riot, Not A Fight Between Aremania-Bonek	October 2, 2022
tvOne	Television	Aremania Was Mad Because Arema FC Was Defeated by Persebaya	October 2, 2022
		Aremania Burned Police Official Cars And Ruined Kanjuruhan Stadium	October 2, 2022
Metro TV	Television	Aremania Was Chaotical after Arema vs Persebaya Match	October 2, 2022
		Persebaya Players Trapped inside The Stadium	October 2, 2022
		Lachrymatory Gas Was Fired to Dissolve The Riot	October 2, 2022
Kompas TV	Television	The Riot of Arema vs Persebaya Soccer Match	October 2, 2022
		127 People Died, 2 of Them Were Police Officers	October 2, 2022

Table 1. highlights news headlines on online media as well as generic characters on television before being influenced by citizen journalism related to the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy. There are five news headlines as well as seven generic characters from five mainstream mass media.

Table 2. News Headline or News Generic Character After Being Influenced by Citizen Journalism

Media Channel	Media Type	News Headline/News GC After Being Influenced by Citizen Journalism	News Edition
detik.com	Online	Video: Spectator's Horror Confession at The Time of Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy	October 3, 2022
		The Riot Was on The Field, Why Were Those in The Stands Fired With The Gas As Well?	
		Aremania's Suffering Feeling Suffocated, Eyes Kept Watering after the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy	
kompas.com	Online	Aremania's Confession on Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy: The Field Was Full of Lachrymatory Gas, Many Women And Children Collapsed	October 2, 2022
		FACT CONFIRMATION: The Report of A Beverage Hawker Regarding Lachrymatory Gas and The Collapsed Aremania Was Not Valid, Too Much Bizarre	October 4, 2022

Media Channel	Media Type	News Headline/News GC After Being Influenced by Citizen Journalism	News Edition
kompas.com	Online	Both of His Daughters Died at The Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy, The Father: I'm Waiting for President's Pledge	October 5, 2022
tvOne	Television	Lachrymatory Gas Provoked Spectator's Panic	October 2, 2022
		Spectators Panicked, Stadium Exit Gate Was Locked	October 4, 2022
		The Mystery of Beverage Hawker's Voice Was Uncovered	October 13,2022
Metro TV	Television	The Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy Was Not Because Of The Riot Between Supporters	October 2, 2022
		Miserable Tragedy at The Locked Stadium Gate	October 5, 2022
		The Tears of The Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy Victims	October 11,2022
Kompas TV	Television	Armed Forces Commander Investigated Violence Committed by Armed Force Personnel at Kanjuruhan	October 3, 2022
		The Tears of The Casualties' Relatives of The Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy	October 3, 2022

Table 2. highlights news headlines from online mainstream mass media and generic characters of television. There are six news headlines and eight generic characters from five mainstream mass media.

The Initial Reports of The Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy in Mainstream Mass Media

After the incident happened on Saturday evening – October 1, 2022. It was at 10.56 PM (UTC+7). *Detik.com* reported a news headline: 'Arema FC Supporters Rushed The Field Because The Team Lost to Persebaya.' The news reported that Aremania rushed the field. They then attacked Arema FC Players. The players intended to get into the dressing room. The supporters threw the authorities, too.



Figure 1. News headline regarding the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy reported by *detik.com*

Furthermore, on the same day – at 11.12 PM (UTC+7) – *detik.com* rereleased a news report regarding the tragedy with the headline ‘Police Officers Fired Lachrymatory Gas to Dissolve Arema FC Supporters Who Rushed The Field.’ It reported Aremania’s anarchy. It then forced the authorities to fire the gas. The movement caused dozens of Aremania to collapse and suffocate. However, there were many spectators became more and more anarchic as well.



Figure 2. News headline on *detik.com* regarding the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy before being influenced by citizen journalism reporting

The last report released by *detik.com* that night was ‘Arema FC Supporters Destroyed 2 Police Official Cars Inside The Stadium.’ It highlighted the anarchy of Arema FC supporters one more time.



Figure 3. News headline on *detik.com* regarding the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy before being influenced by citizen journalism reporting

Kompas.com released a report – in the early hours of Sunday – October 2, 2022. The headline was: ‘The Riot Chronology at Kanjuruhan Stadium after Arema vs. Persebaya Match’ – at 01.35 AM (UTC+7). The news reported that the tragedy began with the loss of Arema FC. It then provoked Aremania’s madness. The supporter rushed Arema FC Players and threw materials. Besides that, it reported that benches, advertisement boards, and goal nets were broken as well. It was because of Aremania’s madness due to their frustration.



Figure 4. News headline on *kompas.com* regarding the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy before being influenced by citizen journalism reporting

Kompas.com reports that day continued with the news headline ‘The Chronology of The Kanjuruhan Riots, Not A Fight Between Aremania And Bonek.’ The report corrected the previous misinformation. Previously, it was reported that the October 1 riot was a fight between Arema FC and Persebaya supporters. The fact was, Persebaya supporters – casually called *Bonek* – were forbidden to attend the match that evening. In the report, *kompas.com* adopted the information from a police officer as the news source. It reported that Aremania was anarchic. They hindered Persebaya players and threw the players’ vehicles with paving blocks, stones, wood, and other materials.

On Sunday morning – October 2, 2022 – *tvOne* broadcasted the Kanjuruhan Stadium

tragedy Breaking News. It reported that the tragedy began with Aremania’s madness over the loss of their favorite team. The incident reporting seemed to blame Aremania as the one who caused the chaos. It was supported by generic characters (GC): ‘AREMANIA WAS MAD BECAUSE AREMA FC WAS DEFEATED BY PERSEBAYA’ and ‘AREMANIA BURNED CARS AND RUINED KANJURUHAN STADIUM.’ It reported that Arema FC was warned of heavy sanctions from the PSSI Disciplinary Commission. The team – casually called *Singo Edan* – was warned. They won’t be able to hold matches at their home base for the rest of the League 1 season.

TVOne’s Breaking News then broadcasted the Malang Regency Regional Leadership Coordination Forum press conference. The conference was conducted by the East Java Regional Police Chief – Inspector General of Police Nico Afinta. He reported the chronology of the incident at the Kanjuruhan Stadium. He declared that the incident was provoked by Aremania’s madness toward Arema FC. Arema FC lost at their home base within twenty-three years. Aremania rushed the field to approach Arema FC players. They intended to question the loss or even to express their madness. The authorities moved to block and distract them so they didn’t attack Arema FC players. At the movement, the authorities fired lachrymatory gas because Aremania was anarchic. Aremania attacked police officers and destroyed their cars. The Regional Police Chief recognized that their movement caused Aremania to disperse and rush to get out of the Stadium. However – Aremania failed – and at last – they were dying.

Another national private television station – Metro TV – also broadcasted the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy Breaking News on Sunday morning – October 2, 2022. Metro TV's reporting was the same as tvOne's. It highlighted the spectators' chaos. Generic characters reported in Metro TV's Breaking News were 'SUPPORTERS WERE CHAOTIC AFTER AREMA VS PERSEBAYA MATCH' and 'PERSEBAYA PLAYER WERE TRAPPED INSIDE THE STADIUM.' Metro TV – once – reported a Generic Character related to the shot of the lachrymatory gas. However, the report didn't seem to blame the authorities side. The Generic Character was 'LACHRYMATORY GAS WAS FIRED TO DISPERSE THE RIOT.'



Figure 5. Metro TV's Generic Character in Breaking News regarding the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy

Kompas TV also broadcast Breaking News of the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy on Sunday – October 2, 2022. On the broadcast – Kompas TV highlighted a Generic Character: 'THE RIOT OF AREMA VS PERSEBAYA MATCH.' It also reported the damages because of the riot of the previous evening. One of them was the destruction of police official cars. It reported that the damages were because of Aremania's anarchy. Kompas TV reported another Generic Character. It didn't blame Aremania. However – it remained highlighted sympathy for the authorities. Generic Character of '127

PEOPLE DIED, 2 OF THEM WERE POLICE OFFICERS' – for instance.

Generally, the point of view of mainstream mass media reporting focused on the authorities who secured the match. However – as more and more information was brought to the mainstream mass media newsrooms – the reporting perspective reversed slowly. Some of the information was raised from citizen journalism. They were videos and witness confessions. Those were viral on social media platforms.

Citizen Journalism Regarding the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy

The next day of the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy – October 2, 2022 – spectators' videos illustrating the tragedy situation started to rise on social media platforms. Some of the videos highlighted the authorities. They fired lachrymatory gas madly at the spectators. The authorities not only fired the spectators on the field. However, they also fired those in the stands. Consequently, the spectators panicked and dispersed frantically. As well as those who didn't rush the field. Another video highlighted the spectators jammed in the hallway leading to the exit gate. They became more panicky because they found that the exit gate was locked. The video also highlighted the suffocated dying spectators.

Besides that, there was also a video highlighting a conversation between a spectator and a police officer on the Kanjuruhan Stadium field. The spectator begged the authorities to stop firing the gas at the crowd because lots of them were children. The police officer responded by asking the spectator to lead the crowd to

leave the stadium hastily. Furthermore, another police officer came and shouted at him to get out of the stadium sooner.

Not only were videos illustrating the movement of the authorities, but videos highlighting violence committed by armed force personnel to the spectators also rose. The armed forces personnel kicked the spectator, so he fell. The violation was estimated to happen when the spectators rushed the field before the lachrymatory gas was finally fired.

Witness confession followed the rise of the videos. He reported the details of the incident via Twitter. On Sunday – October 2, 2022 – at 02.25 AM (UTC+7), a Twitter account – @RezqiWahyu_05 – tweeted the incident chronology based on his perspective. At least, he tweeted twenty-five tweets.

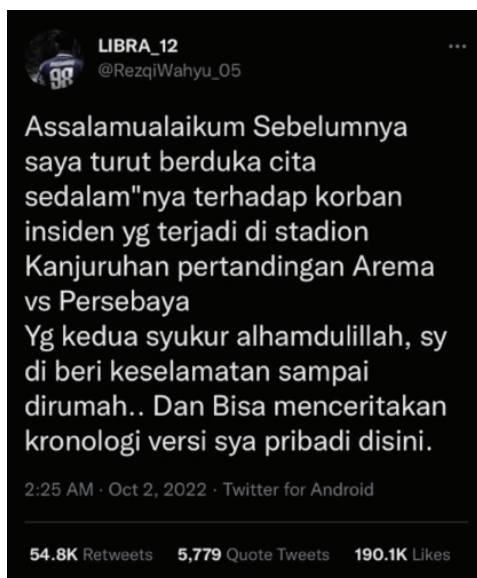


Figure 6. Twitter account thread @RezqiWahyu_05 tweeted the chronology of the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy of her version

His tweet was initiated with his condolences towards the casualties and his gratitude for being safe and alive in

the tragedy. He continued her tweet by describing his first arrival at the Kanjuruhan Stadium before the match began. The situation was calm and in order. During the match, there was no significant chaos. There were once Aremania mocked Persebaya players. There was also chaos in stands 12 and 13. However, it could be solved by the authorities. He tweeted that the tragedy started after the referee blew the whistle to end the match with Persebaya as the victory team. Arema players and the team manager approached the east stand and made a gesture of apology to the supporters. A supporter from the south stand came down to the pitch. He approached Sergio Silva and Maringa to motivate and criticize them. Furthermore, several supporters followed him to rush Arema players and expressed their disappointment. More and more supporters rushed the field, causing chaos. Various material was thrown into the field. The situation became out of control. The players hastily got into the dressing room with the authorities' escort. The situation became more and more out of control. The authorities took various movements to disperse the supporters very cruelly. They beat the supporters with long sticks, stroke them with shields, and even ganged up on one of them. At last, the authorities fired lachrymatory gas at the supporters. They fired those both on the field and in the stands. The spectators panicked. They dispersed to find the exit gate so the hallway leading to the gate was jammed. He found many old people, women, and children were dying. They were trapped inside the stadium, felt suffocated because of the lachrymatory gas shots. However, they couldn't get out of the

stadium because the hallway leading to the exit gate was jammed. The situation outside the stadium was no less tense. Many people collapsed. The spectators threw stones at police official cars. The supporters ganged up on the authorities, who locked them up inside the stadium along with dozens of lachrymatory gas shots. Lachrymatory gas was refired outside the stadium.

@RezqiWahyu_05's tweets achieved thousands of responses from the audience of Twitter users. Besides that account, there was another account @BhaituIR. He tweeted his evidence regarding the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy. The tweets were on Sunday, October 2, 2022, at 11.57 PM (UTC+7). He succeeded in getting out of the stadium along with his friends. He then helped to evacuate other people fired by the gas.

Another citizen journalism regarding the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy was voice recordings that rose on social media platforms. In a voice recording lasting more than one minute, a man's voice speaking in Javanese reported the evidence. He reported that initially, there was no chaos. Only one or two spectators rushed the field. However, furthermore, many other supporters followed to do. The authorities hastily moved. Unfortunately, spectators in the stands were also fired by the authorities. All people blamed the authorities that evening for firing the gas from stands 1 to 14. He confirmed that there was no riot that evening.

Most of the citizen journalism reports blamed the authorities. However, furthermore, video and voice recordings defending the authorities rose. One of them was a video highlighting a spectator attacking armed

forces personnel. The attack provoked other armed forces personnel to rush the spectator.

A voice recording lasting more than three minutes also rose on social media platforms. The voice of a beverage hawker lady reported the evidence of the deathly evening. She reported that what caused the casualties that night was not the gas. However, the cause was the jam and the riot. She confessed that she found a little child stuck in the door and was helped by the authorities. Besides that, she also believed that many supporters were drunk because of alcohol and illegal drugs. She even confessed that many of the casualties smelled of alcohol. She reported that the spectators beat the authorities. Therefore, she assumed that the authorities couldn't be blamed as well as the spectators.

The Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy Reporting in Mainstream Mass Media after Being Influenced by Citizen Journalism

Reports in mainstream mass media then reversed to highlighting violence committed by the authorities to the spectators. The viral video highlighting armed forces personnel kicking Aremania became the Headline News in mainstream mass media. *Kompas* TV – for instance – the television station reported the Armed Forces Commander's response to the violence committed by his personnel against Arema FC supporters that evening. The Commander confirmed that the violation was a criminal. The personnel deserved a sanction. The Commander invited the public's participation to investigate the case. *Kompas* TV reported a Generic Character: 'ARMED FORCES COMMANDER INVESTIGATES VIOLENCE COMMITTED BY ARMED FORCE

PERSONNEL, IN KANJURUHAN.’ The report on *Kompas* TV related to the viral video of armed forces personnel kicking Arema FC supporters. *Kompas* TV then reported the Army Chief of Staff – General Dudung Abdurachman – recognized that his personnel committed violence against the spectators. His personnel was being sentenced.

Similar news was also broadcast by *tvOne*. *tvOne* broadcast Armed Forces Commander – Andika Prakarsa – responded to the violation committed by his personnel. It also highlighted that the personnel visited the supporter to apologize. Besides reporting the violation, mainstream mass media also highlighted the fire of lachrymatory gas committed by the authorities. The use of lachrymatory gas is forbidden. It is according to the World Football Federation (FIFA) – regarding Stadium Safety and Security Regulations. The rise of a video highlighting spectators panicking led the mainstream mass media to more and more blaming the authorities.

Metro TV highlighted the violation of the lachrymatory gas shots committed by the authorities. The report assumed that the shots were the prime cause of the high number of casualties in the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy. *tvOne* broadcast a news headline: ‘LACHRYMATORY GAS PROVOKED SPECTATORS’ PANIC.’ It reported the firing committed by the authorities provoked the spectator’s panic. *Detik.com* – on its online page – reported Aremania’s horror evidence on Saturday evening – October 1, 2022. In a report with the news headline ‘Video: Aremania’s Horror Evidence at The Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy.’ *Detik.com*

highlighted a video of Yoga Ridho Prasetyo’s confession. He was one of the survivors of the tragedy. In the video, he was interviewed when he was in a hospital still. He reported that – at the time of the incident – he was in the stand 11. The authorities fired the gas at the spectators in the stands at close range. The spectators dispersed towards the exit gate. However, they found that gate 11 was locked.

Detik.com reported another piece of news regarding the authority’s gas shots. The news headline was: ‘The riot was on the field, why were those in stands fired as well?’. It also reported the survival of Aremania’s confession as an eyewitness in the tragedy.

@RezqiWahyu_05’s tweets became a news source as well for mainstream mass media. *Kompas.com* reported the news headline ‘Spectator’s Confession in The Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy: The Field Was Full Of Gas. Many Women And Kids Were Dying.’



Figure 7. News headline on *kompas.com* after being influenced by citizen journalism report.

Reports in mainstream mass media not only blamed the authorities. However, it also led the public to sympathize with Aremania. Several national private television stations broadcast interviews with the casualties' relatives of the tragedy. One of them was *Kompas TV* reporting with Generic Character 'TEARS OF CASUALTIES' RELATIVES OF THE KANJURUHAN STADIUM TRAGEDY.'



Figure 8. Generic Character on Kompas report

Besides that, online news reporting seemed to attract the public's sympathy. *Detik.com* news headline – for instance – 'Aremania's Suffering Being Suffocated. Eyes Kept Watering after The Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy.' It highlighted Andi – a sixteen-year-old young boy. His eyes kept watering. He sometimes even lost his breath due to the gas shots.

Citizen journalism information defending the authorities became a news source for mainstream mass media. However, they reported it in different ways and from different perspectives. A voice recording of a beverage hawker lady – reported that – most of the casualties smelled of alcohol. It drove mainstream mass media to verify the information's validity. One of them was *kompas.com*. It reported the news headline 'FACTS VERIFICATION: The

Beverage Hawker's Confession Regarding Lachrymatory Gas And Drunk Aremania Was Invalid, Too Much Bizarre.' The report uncovered anomalies. There was no beverage hawker at the Kanjuruhan Stadium Gate 3. It didn't suit the lady's report in the viral voice recording. Another anomaly was the rebuttal by the Head of the Malang City Health Service. He reported that none of the casualties smelled of alcohol. *Kompas.com* reported his clarification. The Service didn't find any casualties of the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy smelled of alcohol.

TvOne also reported the voice recording. The Generic Character of the report was: 'MYSTERY OF BEVERAGE HAWKER'S VOICE UNCOVERED.' It reported that the information in the voice recording was invalid. It reported that the woman – then known as Suprapti – visited the resident of one of the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy casualties. She came to apologize shortly after her identity was uncovered.

CONCLUSION

Citizen journalism contributes a substantial influence to mainstream mass media reporting. The conclusion is based on the analysis of the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy reporting. Mainstream mass media – *detik.com*, *kompas.com*, *tvOne*, *Metro TV*, and *Kompas TV* – for instance – tended to blame Aremania. It was just before citizen journalism information rose. The focus of the mainstream mass media reports was Aremania's anarchy because their favorite team lost the match against Persebaya. Thus – from the perspective of this report – the authority's movement firing the gas was

normal. It considered that the chaos was out of control.

However – in less than a day – the perspective of reporting in the mainstream mass media reversed. It was because of the rise of citizen journalism on social media platforms. It rose as Twitter tweets, voice recordings, videos, and photos. Even though some of them blamed Aremania – the voice recording of the Hawker – for instance. However, most of them supported Aremania as the victim. They also blamed the authorities because of their reckless movement. Moreover, the information in the viral voice recording was verified to be invalid.

Mainstream mass media then reported the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy as Aremania's horrors. They also reported Aremania's physical wounds and trauma to attract public sympathy. On the other hand, the reports blamed the authorities. They were regarded as abusive. It was because they recklessly fired the gas to the spectators. Besides that, the use of lachrymatory gas was the focus of the reporting. It blamed the authorities more and more.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Atmaja, A. (2022, Oktober 2). Tragedi Kanjuruhan Jadi Paling Kelam Kedua dalam Sejarah Sepak Bola Dunia, Jumlah Korban Melewati Peristiwa Hillsborough. Bola. <https://www.bola.com/>
- Ball, N. (2022). Mass media in modern society: A Sociological Reflection. *International Journal of Creative Research Thoughts (IJCRT)*, 8(3), 2.508–2518.
- Campbell, V. (2015). Theorizing citizenship in citizen journalism. *Digital Journalism*, 3(5), 704–719. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2014.937150>
- Carpenter, S. (2010). A study of content diversity in online citizen journalism and online newspaper articles. *New Media & Society*, 12(7), 1.064–1.084. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444809348772>
- Creswell, J. W. & Creswell, J. D. (2018). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Sage Publishing.
- Eddyono, A. S., H. T., Faruk, & Irawanto, B. (2019). Menyoroti jurnalisme warga: Lintasan sejarah, konflik kepentingan, dan keterkaitannya dengan jurnalisme profesional. *Kajian Jurnalisme*, 3(1), 1–17.
- Haas, T., & Steiner, L. (2001). Public journalism as a journalism of publics: Implication of the Habermas-Fraser debate for public journalism. *Journalism*, 2(2), 123–147.
- Hamilton, J. F. (2015). Citizen Journalism. In J. D. Wright (Eds.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* (pp. 612–618). Science Direct.
- Jurrat, N. (2011). *Mapping digital media: Citizen journalism and the internet*. Open Society Foundations.
- McGraw, K. M. & Holbrook, R. A. (2003). Democracy and the Media. In D. H. Johnston (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of International Media and Communications* (pp. 399–408). ScienceDirect.
- McQuail, M. (2011). *Teori Komunikasi Massa*. Salemba Humanika.
- Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Schulz, A., Andi, S., Robertson, C. T., & Nielsen, R. K. *Digital News Report 2021*. Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.
- Nugraha, P. (2012). *Citizen Journalism*. Buku Kompas.
- Riaz, S., & Pasha, S. A. (2011) Role of citizen journalism in strengthening Societies. *FWU Journal of Social Sciences* 5(1), 88–103.

- Roberts, J. (2022). Citizen Journalism. In G. A. Borchard (Eds.) *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Journalism* 2nd Edition (pp. 319–324). SAGE Publications.
- Sugiyono. 2018. *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, dan R&D*. Alfabeta.
- Suryawati, I. (2011). *Jurnalistik Suatu Pengantar*. Ghalia Indonesia.
- Xu, F., Qi, Y., & Li, X. (2018). What affects the user stickiness of the mainstream media websites. *Electronic Commerce Research and Applications*, 29(1), 124–132.
- Yin, R. K. (2011). *Studi Kasus: Desain dan Metode*. PT Rajagrafindo Persada.