

Football Fan Protests in the Linguistic Landscape of Malang

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Abstract:

This study aims to investigate the protest signs that suddenly flooded the streets of Malang, Indonesia, after the death of 135 soccer fans caused by tear gas fired by the police, known as the Kanjuruhan Football Tragedy. This study seeks to answer the following questions: 1. Who or what were the referents of the signs? 2. What languages were used in the signs? 3. What was the function of each language? 4. What were the themes of the protest discourse in each language? 5. What was the narrative rationality of the extracted themes? Ninety-two types of signs comprised the corpus of the study. To systematically interpret the protesters' messages, we used the descriptive interpretative method to analyze and interpret the data, conducting content analysis, sense-making analysis based on narrative paradigm, and visual analysis to extract the themes of the protests. Then, we constructed a chronological narrative to represent the protesters' experiences. Almost all of the referents of the signs were for law enforcement officers. Five languages expressed the thirteen themes of the demand for justice and anger. Indonesian was used for all 13 themes, English – 8 themes, Javanese – 2 themes, Boso Walikan, and Arabic - 1 theme each. Unlike the common protest signs, English remarkably captured international attention. English slogans were mostly borrowed from George Floyd's protests. The harsh protest signs indicated a change in public behavior toward the authorities, especially the police when they demanded justice. Despite the rigid protests in texts and 3D artifacts, the police refrained from actions.

Keywords: linguistic landscape, football fan protest, protest signs, Malang, Indonesia.

足球迷对玛琅语言环境的抗议

摘要:

這項研究旨在調查印尼瑪琅街頭突然出現的抗議標語，當時警方發射催淚瓦斯導致 135 名球迷死亡，被稱為「坎朱魯漢足球悲劇」。本研究旨在回答以下問題：1. 標誌所指的對象是誰或什麼？2. 標誌中使用了哪些語言？3. 每種語言的功能是什麼？4. 每種語言的抗議言論的主題是什麼？5. 提取的主題的敘事合理性如何？研究的語料庫包含九十二種類型的符號。為了有系統地解讀抗議者的訊息，我們採用描述性解釋方法

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對資料進行分析和解讀，進行內容分析、基於敘事範式的意義建構分析和視覺分析來提取抗議主題。然後，我們建構了一個按時間順序排列的敘述來代表抗議者的經驗。幾乎所有標誌所指的都是執法人員。五種語言表達了正義與憤怒的十三個主題。所有 13 個主題均使用印尼語，英語- 8 個主題，爪哇語- 2 個主題，無聊的反向和阿拉伯語- 各 1 個主題。與常見的抗議標誌不同，英語引人注目地引起了國際關注。英文口號大多藉用自喬治·佛洛伊德的抗議活動。嚴厲的抗議標語顯示公眾對當局的行為發生了變化，尤其是當警察要求伸張正義時。儘管有文字和 3D 文物的強烈抗議，警方仍沒有採取行動。

关键词：語言景觀、球迷抗議、瑪琅，印尼瑪琅市。

1. Introduction

Landry and Bourhis (1997) first proposed the term linguistic landscape to include street signs, warning signs, billboards, posters, etc., while Ben-Rafael (2009) expanded it to include all the linguistic objects that mark public spaces, which may refer to any written sign one finds outside private homes. This article concentrates on both the texts and other representations found in public protest signs concerning the Kanjuruhan Football Tragedy. Because the protest signage was not as long-term as the regular signage, it belonged to the transitory linguistic landscape (Hanauer, 2013, p. 140).

The street is a complex social space for visible social movement, so protest signs symbolize the democratic participation of shifting the power from the authority to the people that occupy the street (Beĳar, 2015). The street is also a mirror of a society that portrays what they do and how they make themselves part of the solutions they are hoping to advocate for, to mention some (Kweldju, 2020a).

Kweldju (2017, 2019b, 2020b, 2020c, 2020d, 2021) has written extensively about the linguistic landscape of the city of Malang. However, in the wake of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy, the linguistic landscape of Malang has changed rapidly, as football fan protest signs are visible around the city, calling for justice. Their presence is most salient on the main roads of the city, in the forms of banners, posters, scribbles on the walls, murals, and placards fixed to walls, trees, and street furnishings. A protest action is a communicative act staged to signal situations of injustice. It is usually amplified to gain the media's attention to raise the public saliency of an issue, to activate otherwise silent bystander public, and to press on the authorities to pay attention (Gamson, 2004).

The most dominant theme of the protest signs street users can notice in many different areas is the short and vivid slogan "Usut Tuntas" or "Thorough Investigation," which turns into the slogan among the Aremanias or the Aremania FC fans. They also use large blank walls, especially of the abandoned buildings, to scribble their protests on. Although some signs contain several full sentences or longer texts, mostly the texts are short and bold, painted on simple fabric with rudimentary workmanship, representing the appearance of helpless commoners; very different from the commercial signs, which are made very colorful and stylish with professional appearance and quality, intended to make to last. Going around the city, passers-

by can easily find identical protest signs repetitiously and strikingly posted everywhere intended to etch in the public's memory.

1.1. About the Protest Signs

Kanjuruhan protest signs are public expression and speech to give voice to the disapproval of the deadly Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy after the football match between Arema FC Malang and Persebaya Surabaya on 1 October 2022. The game occurred when they played in Liga 1, the men's top professional football division of the Indonesian football league system.

The tragedy claimed the lives of 135 Aremanias, and more than 300 were injured. Protests have been immediately staged against the law-enforcement agencies as those supporters think that the incident has not been justly resolved. Spurred by the home team's loss of the game, the frustrated fans swarmed to the pitch and prompted a clash with the police. To repel them, the police fired tear gas that caused panic both in the pitch and in the tribune. As two gates were still locked, crowd crush, suffocation, and injuries were unavoidable.

Kanjuruhan Stadium is not in Malang but in a relatively quiet town called Kepanjen. It is a sub-district about 20 km or 30 min south of Malang City. Kepanjen, with a population of around 111,000, is also the regional capital of Malang Regency. The Greater Malang Area is a region in East Java Province, encompassing three areas: the Principal City or Municipality of Malang with a population of around 867 thousand, the Regency of Malang with 3 million, and the suburb Batu with about 300 thousand.

As Malang is the largest and most visited city in Greater Malang and is also known as a university city, the protests are conducted in Malang City instead of Kepanjen, where the tragedy happened. Installing fixed and static signs in the city is one such tactic.

To give the protest signs plenty of exposure and visibility to as broad an audience as possible, the Kanjuruhan protest banners were installed in the intersections of busy main streets, although they were also displayed in random busy streets and crowded neighborhoods. The main aims of the signs are to build the awareness of the street users and to show how Aremanias struggles in solidarity, demanding fair law enforcement and prosecution.

1.2. Linguistic Landscape, Language Policy, Protest Signs, Multimodality

According to Law No.24 of 2009, the language and script displayed in public spaces should be Bahasa Indonesia only. President Widodo already issued the Regulation of President No.63 of 2019 to implement the law. However, before and after the issuance of the presidential regulation, people still break the law, either from ignorance or nonchalance (Kweldju, 2017). In the same vein, the protest signs are not only in Bahasa Indonesia but also in English, Javanese, Boso Walikan, and Arabic.

People in Malang speak both Indonesian and Javanese equally well. Indonesian is the official and national language of the country. It is the language and lingua franca for administrative, education, media and daily conversation. Javanese is the regional language. English is learned as a compulsory subject in school, but it is not a language for daily communication. Most people in Malang are false beginners of English. Despite the law, the empirical evidence shows that the prolific use of English sprinkled with local languages is easily visible in Indonesia, including in Malang, as English is used for gentrification, internationalization, and commercial purposes (Kweldju, 2017, 2020a), and Javanese - for the identity of traditional humbleness, values, glory, togetherness and even humor. They also use the most common Arabic words and phrases in Islamic culture, because the majority of the population are Muslims (94%), and ideal Muslims are supposed to learn Classical Arabic for praying and reciting the Qur'an and Hadith, although their understanding of the verses is based on the translation (Kweldju, 2017).

In fact, according to Kress's (2010, p. 45), social semiotics approach, languages are not actually used primarily for imparting plain denotative messages, but as material forces, as constructive social reality and have real effects in social life. Social semiotics deals with meaning making as a social practice in specific social and cultural circumstances. However, it is not only or chiefly confined to language but all semiotic modes or resources, such as images and 3D forms of various kinds (Shohami & Waksman, 2009). Images are not any more referred to as artistic objects only, but visual devices for communication (Kress, 2010, p. 28) and for invoking covert meanings (Kallen & Dhonnacha, 2010). Texts are integrated with other multimodal resources as modal ensembles to powerfully communicate information.

Because Aremanias are young people who heroically identify themselves as Arek Malang (Arema) or Youth of Malang, the author expected that Javanese would have been used more profusely than English. However, she already found that before the actual data collection, the use of regular Javanese and Malang style Javanese or Boso Walikan seemed to be not as profuse as the use

of English, although Indonesian was still the most frequent language to use. Thus, it is worth investigating the linguistic diversity in the protest signage and the possible motivations behind the language choice. Code choice of languages in protest signs is important to investigate, as it speaks out loud voices (Al-Naimat, 2020).

It seems that Malang people have both a new social behavior and a new forceful strategy to make the authority hear their voice and grab the attention of as large an audience as possible. This is because the Malang people are usually very obedient to the police. Although according to Wikipedia (2023) the anti-police sentiment in Indonesia has been on the rise since 2021, the author has never witnessed any incident that could trigger off a wave of harsh protests like the Kanjuruhan one before.

Actually, putting up communicative artifacts outdoors needs the temporary banner permit and permit fee, written in the No. 2, 2012 of the Malang City Bylaws about Public Order and Environment concerning Orderly Public Infrastructure, Facilities and Utilities (MALANG CITY, 2012). However, the protest signage is hung in public without asking the approval from the authority. Authorized signature and dates of display are not found on the banner.

1.3. Research Objectives

Based on the associations among the Aremania signs makers, the signs they create, and the objective world, this study seeks to answer the following questions: 1. Who or What were the referents of the signs? 2. What languages were used in the protest signs? 3. What was the function of each language? 4. What were the themes of the protest discourse? 5. What was the narrative rationality of the extracted themes?

2. Method

As a preliminary study, in November 2022 the researcher went around the city to survey in which area the linguistic landscape items of the Kanjuruhan Protests could be found. It was discovered that they were mostly in protocol streets, main roads leading to residential areas, business areas, and shopping centers.

To collect the data, from January to March 2023, one of the researchers walked along those areas to take the pictures of the protest signs. A great number of photos were taken, but they were mostly multiple parallel forms with identical texts that were found at many disparate locations in the city. Thus, only unlike and similar items were included as separate types of photos. Duplicates were removed, and 92 photos representing 92 types were made as the corpus of this study.



Figure 1. Examples of one type of parallel forms of identical texts (Developed by the authors)

Then, the items were categorized by the languages used, and by the themes. Among the 92 types it was also discovered that some signs include the combinations of two languages, but they are unbalanced in the appearance; one appears much more prominently in terms of size, color and position than another. Along

with that, the informational value of the less dominant language did not significantly modify the message of the dominant language. In this situation, the signs were considered to belong to the prominent language. However, some uniqueness of code combination may also occur, and it is worth interpreting.

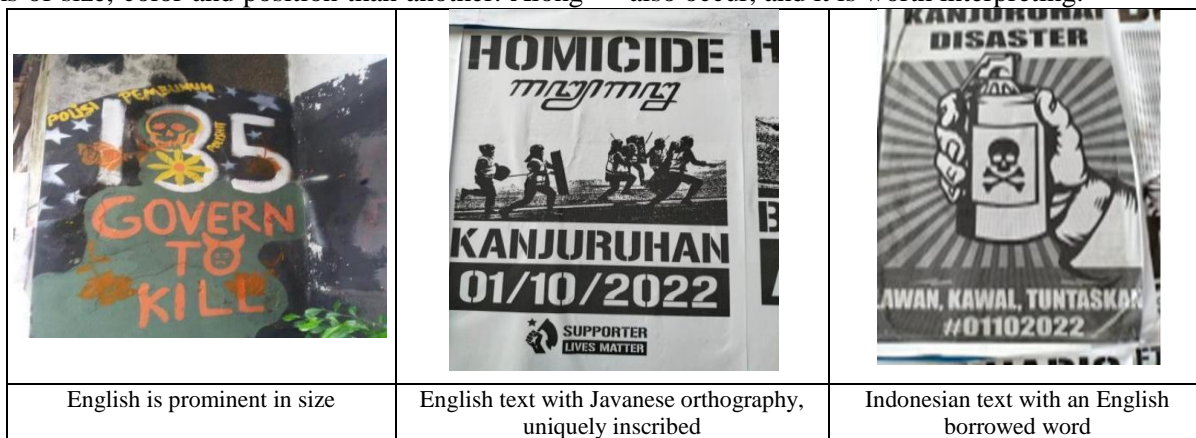


Figure 2. Examples of code combinations (Developed by the authors)

Using the themes, sense-making analysis based on narrative paradigm was implemented to construct a coherent story form. This in-depth analysis was intended to reveal the real message and purpose of the protest writings. Hence, the aggregate signs with their themes displayed in separate places could collectively convey Aremania's complete and holistic voices.

In the analysis, each theme represented an event, and they all made a chronological narrative, in which each event followed another in sequential time order. These themes were obviously not random, and when they were woven together, they followed story logic or a sequence of sensible thinking.

Visual analysis was also conducted to understand how illustrative components were used to enhance the protest discourse. Narrative interpretation was also made to probe behind and inside the photos collected to identify hidden meanings and not just considering the presentation of the photos at face value.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Referents of Signs

All the referents of the signs were intended for the law enforcement officers, except six. One was intended for the football federation; one for both the Arema Football Club and PSSI (Football Association in Indonesia), and four for Lord IB, the abbreviation of Iwan Budianto, the president, director, and majority shareholder of the football club. The supporters expected that both FIFA and PSSI would help them to audit the tragedy, and they also claimed the club director's responsibility for the tragedy. They thought the director shirked responsibility, and only obsessed over profit. As discovered by the National Human Rights Commission, the recommended limit of the stadium capacity is 38,000 spectators, but there were 42,588 spectators present at the Kanjuruhan Stadium on that fateful day (Budiman, 2022).



Figure 3. The six types of placards not referring to law enforcement officers (Developed by the authors)

3.2. Language Choice

Indonesian was the most prominent language used in

the protest signs; 59 types were found and created for the themes of the protest signage. Languages other than Bahasa Indonesia were also used in the protest signs (Table 2). There were 24 types of English signs, consisting of the common slogans familiar to most people, and English phrases borrowed from the protests against the police over the death of George Floyd. Only 4 types were in Javanese. Arabic and Boso Walikan were the least used (Table 1).

Javanese was used both to appeal to Divine Justice and to signify their annoyance for their failing efforts to receive human justice. Arabic was used for being connected to God for consolation, strength, and assistance. Boso Walikan was used to express the native Malang supporters' retaliation and backlash to the police.

Indonesian and English were dominantly used. This indicates that the protesters call the Kanjuruhan Tragedy a national tragedy and that their struggle for justice needs international attention. It is not a concern for local people only.

3.3. Themes Expressed in Five Different Languages

3.3.1. Use of English

Eight themes were found in the English slogans: the supporter's harsh expression of anger for the police's brutality, serious loss of life, need for justice, humanity, resistance, need for God's help, mourning, and never to forgive (See Table 1).

Banners, posters, and scribbles on walls bearing English swear words, slang terms, and slogans were easily spotted everywhere. Those English inscriptions on the Kanjuruhan protest banners were mostly the duplication of harsh phrases used by discontent protesters over the death of George Floyd in May 2020, such as *All Cops are Bastard*—abbreviated as *ACAB*; and *1312*—the alphabetic numeration of the acronym *ACAB*, and *Lives Matter*. The protesters associated the use of tear gas that claimed 135 lives by the police in Kanjuruhan Stadium with the Minneapolis police officer's violent actions against George Floyd. Those borrowed slogans express the themes of brutality and oppression, and the supporters' attitudes toward the police.

Police usually use tear gas or riot control agents to disperse mobs and rioters. However, carrying or using tear gas in a football stadium is against the FIFA regulations, ethics and values. Protesters strongly confronted the police to make their voice heard, as 135 lives were not a small number to ignore. The swear words such as "*Fuck the Police*" showed their disobedience and disrespect, as they pointed out that the police's job was not to use their excessive force and weapons.

More familiar slogans for demanding justice against the oppression and violence of the state, such as "*No justice, No peace*," "*RIP*," "*Justice for all*," "*People Power*," and "*Pray for Aremania*" were used. They also modified the title of the song "*I will never be the same again*" to "*Football will never be the same again*." As not all protest sign makers knew English, they also used irrelevant familiar slogan such as "*Still born*" that is usually used by Pro-Life Activists.

In addition to copying, they also created their own English phrases that sound irrelevant or meaningless; for example, "*In Malang justice is just type*." It seems that what they meant was "In Malang, justice is just words." Another uncommon phrase was *Rest in Pride*. It seems that the sign writer wants to say that the victims could rest in pride because they did not die in vain; instead, their deaths can raise the citizens' awareness about the wrongful acts of the police. They also borrowed English words in their Indonesian slogans, such as *Kanjuruhan disaster. Lawan, kawal, tuntaskan #01102022*.

Longer English phrases and simple sentences, although ungrammatical, printed on folio-size placards make the theme of empathy, humanity, and morality; such as "*RIP humanity*," "*How are you boss? You care about 135+? Yes I's care about money*," "*Football was created by the poor, stolen by the rich*," "*Big Boss not found*," "*Man of the match. Brutality. More than 100 people killed by the police*," "*Fight and stop the brutality. 1312*." Those printed placards with pictures were produced by a group calling themselves "Paper Power." Paper Power, with its hand logo, claims itself as *the language of the unheard*, a phrase that has been used as far back as Martin Luther King's civil rights struggle six decades ago.



Examples of slogans copied from signs in George Floyd's death protests

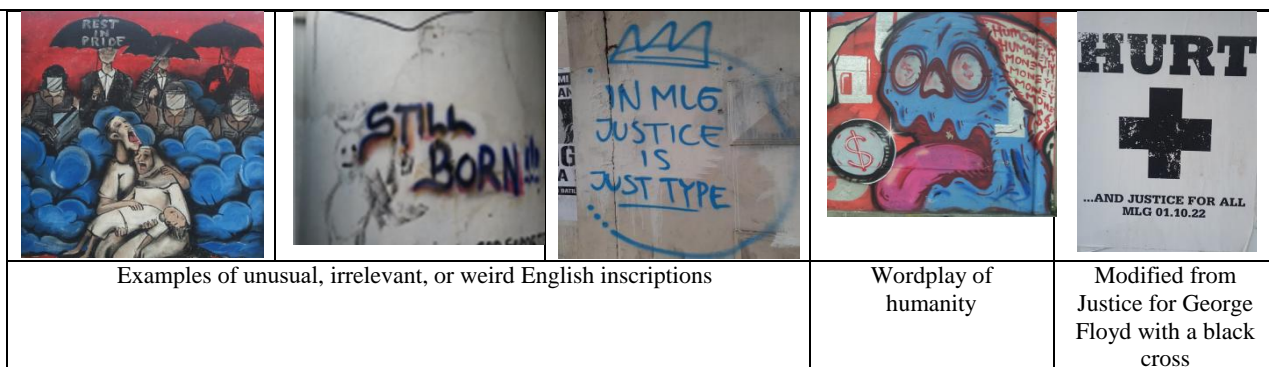


Figure 4. Protest signage in English (Developed by the authors)

Another interesting English inscription is “*Humoneyty, Humoneyty, moneyty, money, money, money, \$\$*”. When “*humoneyty*” caught the eye of street users, they could easily associate it with the standard spellings “*humanity*” and “*money*.” Actually, it is a common American hyphenated neologism used in song lyrics and poems as *hu-money-ty*. What is interesting in this protest mural is that the spelling *humoneyty* gradually loses its “*hu*” and “*ty*” as components of humanity, leaving “*money*” and the dollar signs “*\$\$*.” It seems that the protester wants to forcefully claim that the soccer club has made a lot of money only and sacrificed humanity or the moral values of fundamental well-being.

English is also used to show resistance, when the sign said “*People power*”; the sign bearing the text “The truth is that 100+ dead” indicates the theme of serious loss of life, and the theme of God’s help with “*Pray for Aremania*,” mourning with “*rest in peace*”

and “*rest in pride*,” and it also expressed the theme of never be forgotten and forgiven, “*Always remember, never forget*.”

Being on the street for no-arms unrest, English—as a sign of globalization—is an effective tool to capture the attention of the world for expressions of discontent or dissatisfaction. It is used to attract audiences both at home and the outside world (Beġar, 2015). This is exactly what was told by a lead supporter to the researcher that English was used to attract the support of FIFA officials, football confederations and associations in the world; also, it was intended to make foreigners understand the concern of the protest, and for showing that supporters of Arema FC come from different classes and backgrounds, including English-speaking group which is considered educated and global.



Figure 5. Protest signage with Instagram hashtag inviting the audience to social media (Developed by the authors)

Al-Naimat (2020) also highlighted the enormous capacity of the use of English in protest signs to disseminate messages and voices and attract the international media. Especially today, as mentioned by Dolot (2018), social media has tremendously helped people to reach everyone at every place around the world. The Kanjuruhan linguistic landscape protest is also connected to the social media, as shown by Instagram hashtag in the signs, as shown in Figure 4.

Globalization and the use of social media have changed public actors’ daily social life in terms of values, norms, and social structures (Ben-Rafael, 2016), including how they interact with the police.

3.3.2. Use of the Javanese Language and Javanese Orthography

There were only five signs found in Javanese, and they expressed two themes: Divine justice and attitudes

and emotion (Table 1). “*Gusti Allah mboten sare*” and “*Malangkucecwara*” that appeared in many different places and in different forms; “*gas air mata, air matamu*,” appeared once only but was printed on a huge over-the-street banner in the centermost part of the city. Close to it, “*Ndasku wes mumet koyok kabel*” and “*ee lha iyo kok wisok Lho*” were found on a mural. It seems that Javanese is used to express the supporters’ expectation of divine justice, when they have given up the human justice.

Gusti Allah mboten Sare (God never sleeps) is a common proverb in High Javanese; it is deeply embedded in Javanese culture’s folk wisdom. It is also found in the Christian Bible (Psalm 121:4) and Holy Quran (2:255). One reason to use the proverb is to provide a remark and reminder regarding the unjust treatment that one is forced to surrender; the only last hope one can rely on is the presence and the

incomparably highest power of God to punish those for their evil deeds and to reward those for their good. *Malangkucecwara* is an expression in old Javanese, meaning God destroys evil. It is actually the motto of the city of Malang and is inscribed in the city logo. The display of “Malangkucecwara” expresses the bitter irony of the tragedy.

One huge banner across the street “*gas air mata matamu cok*” (tear gas your eyes fuck)” carried two Javanese very harsh swear words “*matamu*,” and “*cuk*” —the short form of “*jancuk*.” Unlike Australia, Canada,

and the United Kingdom, in Indonesia, there is no article in the Criminal Code that states that perpetrators of insults against law enforcement personnel can be subject to criminal charges. Yet, in general, it is taboo to use swear words in public, especially those printed in a huge banner, as they are considered vulgar. It seems that those curses were boldly displayed as a way to express severe emotional distress of helplessness. This is emphasized by the expression “*Ndasku wes mumet koyok kabel*”, meaning “my head has already been spinning like a cable.”



Figure 6. Signs in Javanese and Javanese orthography (Developed by the authors)

Javanese orthography “□□□□” that reads 1312 which stands for “*all cops are bastard*” was also used. This is interesting because today only a few people know how to read it, mostly Javanese Language scholars. This sign was probably written by a Javanese scholar to ironically indicate that although traditional educated Javanese people are known to be respectful, empathetic, and obedient to authority and always avoid conflicts, the intense grief for the death of more than 100 supporters made them change their attitudes. This is also expressed in the sign “*Eee Lha Iyo kok wisok ilho?*” (“*Hey, come on, why are you looking at me?*”).

3.3.3. Use of Boso Walikan

Attitude and Emotion is the only theme expressed in Boso Walikan (Table 1), that is spoken by the native Malang Youths, especially among close friends, and even by older adults among their old friends. The dialect creates a spirit of unity, togetherness, and emotional intimacy. However, it is very interesting that there were only two phrases of Boso Walikan to find:

“*Alodimu noyug tok!!* (Your idol jokes only), and *Ruja Dji!* (Disaster, Dji!). Dji is a short form of Sutiadji, the mayor’s name. Actually the tragedy took place in Malang Regency, which is headed by a Regent; instead of in Malang City which is headed by a mayor. Also, it is disrespectful to talk to a Mayor in Boso Walikan, and address him with his nickname. In Indonesian culture people should address or refer to a person, moreover a mayor, with an honorific.

3.3.4. Use of Arabic

As Classical Arabic is a religious language, obviously the theme presented by the Arabic scripts is the need of divine justice and assistance (See Table 1). Two signs were written in Classical Arabic; one used Indonesian alphabets “*Kun fayakun. Innallala Ma’ana,*” and the other used Arabic alphabets الفاتحة, read *Al-fatihah*. The former is to console and to confirm one not to give up. The second confirms that God can miraculously solve problems, just by saying “*Kun Fayakun,*” written in a Quranic Chapter of 7 verses.

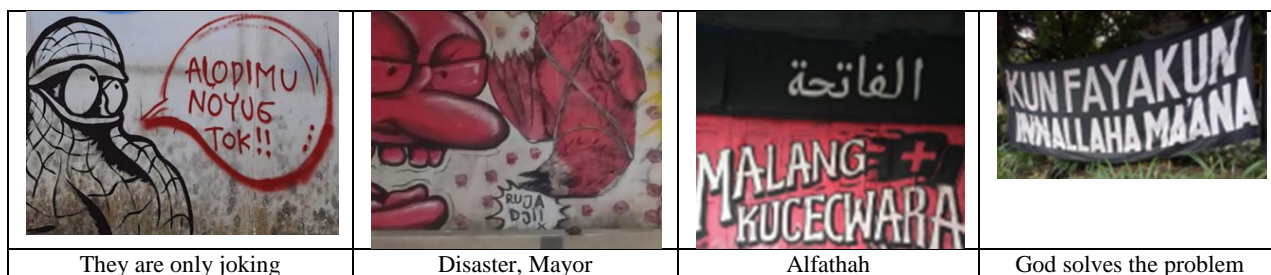


Figure 7. Signs in Boso Walikan and Arabic (Developed by the authors)

3.3.5. Use of Indonesian

As a national language, the use of Indonesian greatly outnumbered the use of other languages. Based on the contents found in the Indonesian inscriptions, 13 themes were extracted. The most dominant one is *Usut Tuntas* or thorough investigation for fairness. The others revolve around brutality and oppression, empathy, humanity and morality theme, mourning, serious loss of life, need of justice, divine justice, tear gas theme, attitude and emotion toward the police, resistance, solidarity, the state philosophy theme, and never be forgotten theme, as shown in Table 1.

Total Investigation Theme is inferred from 17 signs containing the keywords *Usut Tuntas*. For examples, “*Usut tuntas bukan tribun nyamuk*”, “*Usut tuntas tragedi kanjuruhan*”, “*#Usut tuntas tragedi kanjuruhan# Darurat keadilan*” (“A thorough investigation is not a mosquito stand”, “A thorough investigation into the Kanjuruhan tragedy”, “#A thorough investigation into the Kanjuruhan tragedy#Emergency of justice”).

The Brutality and Oppression Theme is generated from inscriptions containing the word *Pembunuh* (murderer); for example, “*Pembunuh*,” “*Polisi pembunuh*,” “*Aremania dibunuh*.” (“Killer,” “Police killer,” “Aremania murdered.”).

The Theme of Empathy, Humanity and Morality is generated from the keywords *nurani* (conscience), *empati* (empathy), *kemanusiaan* (humanity), and *moral* (morality): “*Hati nurani, Usut tuntas, kawal sampai tuntas, tragedi kanjuruhan*”, “*tanggung jawab moral federasi*”, “*Nirempati PSSI sibuk benturan kami*”, “*Saya melihat manusia, tidak melihat kemanusiaan*.” (“Conscientiousness, investigate it thoroughly, control it until it is resolved, the Kanjuruhan tragedy”, “moral responsibility of the federation”, “PSSI's non-empathy is busy with our conflict”, “I see humans, I don't see humanity.”).

The mourning theme is derived from inscriptions containing the keyword *duka* (condolence): “*Aremania berduka, tragedi kanjuruhan*”, “*Turut berduka cita untuk supporter Aremania*”, “*Turut berduka cita atas*

hilangnya keadilan.” (“Aremania mourns, Kanjuruhan tragedy,” “Condolences to Aremania supporters,” “Condolences for the loss of justice.”).

Serious loss of life themes is inductively obtained from the keywords *nyawa* (soul) and *mati* (die): “*135 nyawa bukan sekedar angka!*”, “*Tidak ada sepak bola seharga nyawa*.” “*Ketika sepak bola hanya bicara tentang laba, nyawa taruhannya*.” (“135 lives is not just a number!”, “There is no football worth a life.” “When football is only about profits, lives are at stake.”).

Need of justice theme is created from the inscriptions containing the keywords *keadilan* (justice), *menggugat* (charge): “*Arek Malang hanya butuh keadilan*,” *Masyarakat menggugat, 01/10/22*.” (“Arek Malang just needs justice,” Community sues, 01/10/22.”).

Divine Justice is a theme obtained from the keywords *Malangkucecwara* (God destroys evil) and *Tuhan* (God): “*Kami percaya hukum Tuhan*,” “*Malangkucecwara*,” “*Tuhan membalas, Amin*.” (“We believe in God's law,” “God destroy evil,” “God will reward, Amen.”).

Tear gas theme is derived from the inscription with *gas air mata* (tear gas) as the keyword: “*Air mata vs. air mata ibu*,” “*Gas air mata meledak, rumah duka!*” (“Tears vs. mother's tears,” “Tear gas explodes, funeral home!”).

The attitude and emotion theme is derived from the emotive words *luka* (pain), *sayang* (love), *benci* (hate), *marah* (angry) found in the signs “*Sayang ibu, benci polisi*,” and “*Kami marah! Semangat kami tak pernah padam*.” (“Dear mother, hate the police,” and “We are angry! Our spirit never dies.”).

The resistance theme is inductively inferred from the keywords *lawan* (resist) and *kuat* (oppose) found in the scripts of the signs: “*Lawan dan hentikan brutalitas aparat*,” “*Masyarakat menguat 01/10/22*,” “*Arek Malang melawan*.” (“Resist and stop the brutality of the authorities,” “The community stands up 01/10/22,” “Arek Malang fights back.”).

Table 1. Themes of protest signs with Indonesian, English, Javanese, Boso Walikan and Arabic (Developed by the authors)

No.	Theme	Frequency of languages				
		Indonesian	English	Javanese	B.W.	Arabic
1	Total investigation	17	--	--	--	--
2	Brutality and oppression	6	--	--	--	--
3	Empathy, Humanity, morality	5	6	--	--	--
4	Mourning	5	2	--	--	--
5	Serious loss of life	4	1	--	--	--

Continuation of Table 1						
6	Divine Justice and God's help	4	1	3	--	2
7	Need for justice	3	4	--	--	--
8	Tear gas	3	--	--	--	--
9	Attitude and emotion	3	8	2	2	--
10	Resistance	3	1	--	--	--
11	Solidarity with Activists	2	--	--	--	--
12	State philosophy	2	--	--	--	--
13	Never forget and forgive	2	1	--	--	--
	Total	59	24	5	2	2

The theme solidarity to activists is inferred from the keyword *solidaritas*: “*Solidaritas untuck 8 thanan are Malang. Bebaskan tanpa syara.r*” (“*Solidarity for the 8 prisoners in Malang. Free without conditions*”).

The state philosophy theme is inferred from the protesters’ use and satirical deviation of the formulation of the State Philosophy Pancasila or the Five Principles: “*Kemanusiaan yang adil dan beradab*”, “*Ketuhanan yang dilupakan, kemanusiaan yang disepelekan, persatuan pembenaran, kerakyatan yang dipimpin oleh kekerasan; keadilan sosial bagi oknum*

yang memegang kekuasaan” (“*Just and civilized humanity*”, “*Forgotten divinity, trivialized humanity, justified unity, a people led by violence; social justice for those who hold power.*”)

Never be forgotten and forgiven theme is inferred from the keywords *menolak lupa* (reject to forget) and *dendam* (resentment): “*Menolak lupa, tragedi Kanjuruhan,*” and “*Dendam kami tetap abadi, Pak!!! 01-10-22!!!*” (“*Refusing to forget, the Kanjuruhan tragedy,*” and “*Our revenge remains eternal, sir!!! 10-01-22!!!*”).

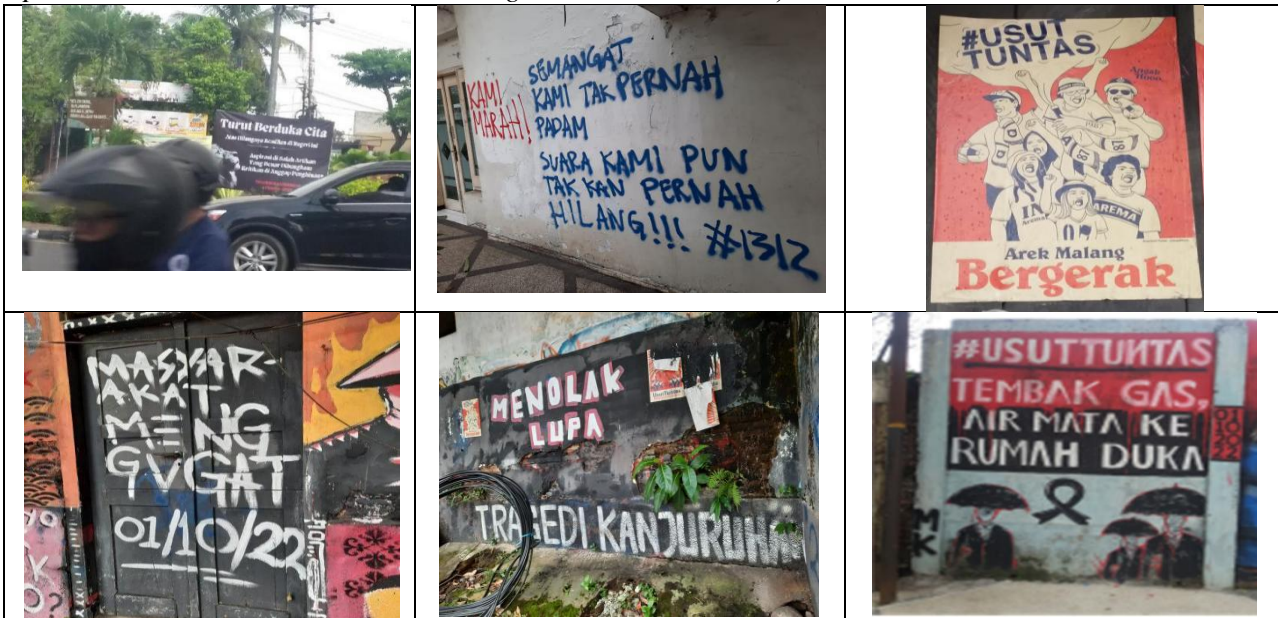


Figure 8. Protest signage in Indonesian (Developed by the authors)

3.4. The Chronological Narrative of the Themes

Narrative analysis was conducted to extract the underlying meanings attached to the thirteen themes already collected (Table 1), to discover its communicative persuasive force via story telling (Fisher, 1984). Those themes reflect the protesters’ experience and initiations in deliberately preparing the protest signs for street users to consider the slogans as symbolic actions to interpret (Fisher, 1987, p. 58).

The story starts with *Theme 1*, which is the firing of tear gas in a relatively closed stadium by low enforcement officials that caused deadly suffocation, crowd crush, and stampede around the exits. The police were thought to be (*Theme 2*) unlawful, brutal, and oppressive, which caused the 135 tragic deaths, not to mention hundreds of victims with minor and severe injuries. It was the second deadliest soccer disaster in history (*Theme 3*). The chaos caused a wide range of reactions to (*Theme 4*) public mourning and collective grief, which fostered social connectedness among the

surviving supporters and the general sympathetic public. The Arema FC supporters (*Theme 5*) question the police’s possibility of treating the people with a more human rights-oriented conception of dignity and a practice of more empathic and moral policing. Furthermore (*Theme 6*), the supporters seem to be concerned about the authority’s commitment to implementing the values of Pancasila in performing the duties of maintaining public order and safety. In general, (*Theme 7*) the supporters’ attitudes toward the police are marked with dissatisfaction, a decrease in confidence and distrust that make them suffer from emotional distress, such as anger, worries, and fear, which are expressed in their slogans.

The handling of the case and the legal action taken after the tragedy (*Theme 8*) still dissatisfied Aremania, and the slogan “*Usut Tuntas*” dominated the LL items. Although 6 people were already determined to be the suspects in the incident, Aremania was still of the opinion that the potential person or persons most

responsible were still not identified. For example, the posters cried out that the majority shareholder was still invisible. Also, in the difficult situation, the Big Boss, as Aremania called him, was still indifferent and let Aremania fight by himself. The bereavement damages and the compensation for the injured victims were also considered very low (Ulya, 2002).

Aremania vowed to watch the handling and the legal action of the tragedy. They called for justice (*Theme 9*), as they also mentioned that there were a number of cases to show that the police had committed obstruction of justice, and Aremania called for all the components of the law enforcement agency to treat the victims with justice (Priyanto, 2022).

Aremania is also ready to resist and fight back if there is any law enforcement misconduct (*Theme 10*). Once when they staged a protest in the office of Arema FC to express their deep sense of despair, they were not well treated by the security guards. Then, their protest turned to violence, and seven people were arrested, but Aremania was committed to demanding the release of the activists (*Theme 11: Solidarity to activists*). They faced up to between 5- and 10-years imprisonments. Aremania claimed the charges as unjust, as they were much higher than the charges for those who were responsible for the death of 135 people, and they cried for the release of the activists.

Aremania keeps fight back, but they are also aware that it is really challenging to seek justice. That is the reason they resort to absolute and divine judgment, and everything can be done according to His will (*Theme 12: Divine Justice*). And in their despair, they call again the authority and public attention to the just investigation that caused 135 deaths as they vowed not to forget the incident of police excessive force (*Theme 13: Never be forgotten*).

3.5. The Rationality of the Narrative of the Extracted Themes

3.5.1. The Harsh Protests and Reaction from the Police

In a civilized and well-mannered society, everyone is expected not to show their anger in public. It seems that a new tactic of protest has changed this mannerism. If they have to, they are supposed to express it indirectly without offending others, as anger with aggressive verbal and non-verbal action can cause a big problem, especially anger toward the authority. However, concerning the Kanjuruhan tragedy, using rude words in English, Javanese and Bahasa Indonesia, the supporters already violated this social norm. That they publicly shame the police with their slogans salient in public spaces, seems to indicate that the supporters have already undergone a change of mannerism toward the police. Students or workers in Malang may stage protests related to the government's policy, but they never put up durable placards, banners, posters, or graffiti as their channels of protest, and a tool for attracting people's attention.

Likewise, the police have also undergone a change

in their strategy for dealing with protesters. They tolerated their expressions of solidarity to develop the feeling of togetherness. In spite of the disrespect, they receive with the swear words the police do not show any response. Those harsh signs are still there when this paper is being written; that is, eight months after the incident took place. The police did not remove the signs or summon slogan producers. Perhaps they have already learned it from George Floyd incident that mishandling the people's protest can only further enrage the protesters and spark new movements; peaceful protest can turn into looting and vandalism.

Considering the horrendous slogans, the municipal police were also reluctant to take any action, although they had the authority to put down those signs, as they were put up without any legal permission from the municipal office. That is also a strategy not to inflame the situation.

3.5.2. Iconographies

The main semiotic characteristic of a sign is to cleverly manipulate the elements of colors, images and number of texts, as they are the key factors for modality (Scollon & Scollon, 2003; Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996, 160). Therefore, the usual posters for the public we find are made very colorful and with interesting typography and copy. In contrast, however, those protest banners and placards took only very minimum costs of fabric and paper; and the colors were dominated by black and white. If it happened that a blank wall was white or blue, the protester just brushed it with white or black paint to scribble their slogans on the wall. However, the black and white colors made them very powerful to indicate their mournful mood over the dead, and commanding in expressing their financial helplessness. Some banners also used red color on top of the usual black and white colors. Combined with the message of the text, the additional red color of some banners gave the intense emotion of daring anger. The rough workmanship of those signs is good manipulation for forcefully demonstrating the content and the emotion of the message.

More variations of words and pictures were found in the computerized black and white A4 placards. The pictures were made large and took the central position of the placards. They were multiplied up using xerox-copier machines. Although they also used A4 placards, those placards were multiplied to cover larger spaces, including the police centre.

Unlike commercial signage, protests signs also took the forms of murals on the wall. Murals were originally teenage graphic protests in the USA at the turn of the 1980s (Maevskaia, 2021). Actually, mural is a street art. But they all share the same characteristics of being big and bold.

In addition to using pictures, 3-D artifacts were also used to make the message more forceful. Two types of 3D artifacts were found in different places; both symbolize death. One type was local Muslim caskets in different places. Some were with texts, while some

others without. The regular color of the caskets is green as in the Quran it is associated with paradise. However, the color used in the caskets is black. The other was a

look-alike of a corpse wrapped in a shroud tied over the head, under the feet, and on the neck. This is the Islamic tradition of handling mortal remains.

				
A-4 placards to cover up a police's sentry	Red color to intensify the usual black and white	Black casket	The look-alike human remains	Colorful mural

Figure 9. Examples of 2D and 3D protest signs: semiotic characteristics (Developed by the authors)

4. Conclusion

The police were the main referents of the Kanjuruhan protest signs as a public expression, although a few signs referred to FIFA, PSSI, and the majority shareholder of the football club. The protest signs were direct, rude, sharp directed at the police showing their civil disobedience, but they did not remove the signs and refrain themselves from using force. This is very unusual. Rudeness is unacceptable according to the local cultural value that always gives honor to the authority and gives priority to polite conduct. Also, installing banners over streets or walkways are regulated by municipalities, but they were installed without legal permission from the city's office.

Indonesian as the national language was the most prominent to use, followed by English. The daily spoken regional Javanese and local Boso Walikan as languages of identity and togetherness were minimally used, so was Arabic. Besides giving the protest signs plenty of exposure and visibility to as wide an audience as possible, this indicates that the protesters want to show that this is a national tragedy that needs national and even international attention, especially from FIFA and other football associations. English is not actually to give off international aroma, but to enable international community to understand the messages of the action and support the protesters' struggle. The English slogans were mostly borrowed from the chanted protests against the police over the death of George Floyd.

It is interesting that 1312 was written in Javanese orthography that young people today do not know how to read it anymore. It is an expression of irony. Javanese people are very polite and obedient to the authority, but the signs displayed the protesters' accusation against the police using the four-number slogan.

Thirteen themes were extracted from the signs. Indonesian was used for all themes. English was used for 8 out of the thirteen themes, Javanese for two themes, and boso Walikan and Arabic for one theme only.

The protest signs were made with rough workmanship. The colors were dominated by black and white, but they successfully indicate their mournful

mood over the dead, and commanding in expressing their financial helplessness. Besides using pictures, 3-D artifacts of look-alike black caskets and corpse wrapped in shroud.

Based on the exploration conducted on the Kanjuruhan a protest sign in different modalities, this study has made it visible how, unexpectedly, English became the second dominant language. This needs special attention as the use of English was actually not for the local audience. They are loan slogans from George Floyd protests that may create the image of offense and hatred according to the standard of local tradition.

Thus, this paper recommends the direction of future research to investigate how global media and the ease of use of social media may shift the public's attitude and mannerism toward law enforcement officers. In addition, whether protest signs with the dominant theme of the demand for justice can really spark the attention of solidarity around the globe, and the reasons why global solidarity is needed to respond to the demand for total investigation over a national tragedy. More studies are recommended to be engaged in the change and motivation of public expressions of protests and public behavior to the authority in order that Malang people can still maintain the traditional harmony that has been passed down from generation to generation.

Authors' Contribution

Conceptualization: SK; Literature Review: SK and CT; Method: SK; Data Collection: SK, Data Analysis: SK and CT; Writing original draft: SK; Editing CT

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