Language of Resistance: Linguistic Landscape in the Protest of Kanjuruan Tragedy, Indonesia

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Abstract

Purpose
Linguistics landscape (LL) is not only a means of showing the identity of a language but also a constructive effort to fight for justice for society. Landscape in this study is a form of protest against security forces for the loss of life of 135 Aremania fans after watching a soccer match between Arema and Persebaya at the Kanjuruan stadium. This research aims, apart from mapping all signs from aspects of language use patterns, also to conduct a critical analysis of the language used.

Method
This study uses quantitative and qualitative methods based on documentation in the form of billboards, boards, and banners installed in various parts of Malang, Indonesia. Content analysis and critical analysis are used to analyze this research.

Results/findings
The findings of this study show that the language used in the landscape has two forms, monolingual and bilingual. In addition, it indicates that four languages are used in the sign. Indonesian has a higher quantity than English, Javanese, and Arabic.

Conclusion
The language pattern used in the landscape tends to reflect sarcasm, cynicism, and rhetoric. This research suggests conducting a follow-up study that examines the same sign in the broader area, including Malang district and East Java region, to obtain varied data and various sign patterns. Thus the data information obtained is more comprehensive.

Keywords
Resistance; language; linguistic landscape; Kanjuruan tragedy.

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Abstrak

Tujuan
Landscape linguistik (LL) bukan hanya sebagai sarana menunjukkan identitas sebuah bahasa tetapi juga menjadi upaya kontruktif memperjuangkan keadilan bagi masyarakat. Landscape dalam penelitian ini sebagai bentuk protes kepada aparatur keamanan atas hilangnya nyawa 135 suporter Aremania setelah menyaksikan pertandingan sepak bola antara Arema dan Persebaya di stadion Kanjuruan. Penelitian ini bertujuan selain memetakan seluruh sign dari aspek pola penggunaan bahasa, juga melakukan analisis kritis terhadap bahasa yang digunakan.

Metode
Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kuantitatif dan kualitatif yang berlandaskan pada dokumentasi yang berupa baliho, papan, dan benner yang telah dipasang di berbagai penjuru kota Malang, Indonesia. Analisis conten dan analisis kritis digunakan menganalisis dalam penenlitian ini.

Hasil/temuan
Temuan penelitian ini memperlihatkan bahwa bahasa yang digunakan dalam landscape memiliki dua bentuk, monolingual dan bilingual. Selain itu menunjukkan ada empat bahasa yang digunakan dalam sign. Bahasa Indonesia memiliki kuantitas lebih tinggi dibandingkan bahasa Inggris, Jawa, dan Arab.

Kesimpulan
Pola bahasa yang digunakan dalam landscape cenderung mencerminkan sarkasme, sinisme, dan retorikal. Penelitian ini menyarankan dilakukan studi lanjutan yang meniliti sign yang sama pada wilayah yang lebih luas mencakup kabupaten Malang, dan wilayah Jawa Timur untuk mendapatkan data yang variatif dan pola sign yang beragam. Dengan demikian informasi data yang didapatkan lebih komprehensif.

Kata kunci
Resistensi, bahasa, lanskap linguistik, tragedi Kanjuruan, Indonesia

الملخص

الهدف
المشهد اللغوي (Language Landscape) ليس فقط وسيلة لإظهار هوية اللغة ولكنه أيضًا جهد بناء للنضال من أجل تحقيق العدالة للمجتمع. المشهد في هذا البحث هو شكل من أشكال الاحتجاج أمام الأجهزة الأمنية لخسارة أرواح 135 من مشجعي فريق أريمانيا بعد مشاهدة مباراة كرة القدم بين أريما وبيرسيبايا في ملعب كانجوروان. ويهدف هذا البحث، بالإضافة إلى رسم خريطة لجميع العلامات من جانب أنماط استخدام اللغة، إلى إجراء تحليل نقدي للغة المستخدمة أيضًا.

الطريقة
يستخدم هذا البحث أساليب كمية وكيفية تعتمد على التوثيق في شكل لوحات إعلانية ولوحات ولافتات تم تركيبها في أجزاء مختلفة من مدينة مالانج بإندونيسيا. تم استخدام تحليل المحتوى والتحليل النقدي لتحليل هذا البحث.

النتائج
تظهر نتائج هذا البحث أن اللغة المستخدمة في المناظر الطبيعية لها شكلين، أحادية اللغة وثنائية اللغة. وبصرف النظر عن ذلك، فإنه يظهر أن هناك أربع لغات تستخدم في الإشارة. إن اللغة الإندونيسية لديها كمية أعلى من اللغة الإنجليزية والجاوية والعربية.

الخلاصة
تميل أنماط اللغة المستخدمة في المناظر الطبيعية إلى عكس السخرية والسخرية والبلاغة. و يقترح هذا البحث إجراء دراسة متابعة تفحص نفس العلامات في منطقة أوسع بما في ذلك منطقة مالانج وجاوة الشرقية للحصول على بيانات متنوعة وأنماط إشارات مختلفة. وبهذه الطريقة، تكون معلومات البيانات التي تم الحصول عليها أكثر شمولاً.

الكلمات الرئيسية
المقاومة؛ اللغة؛ المشهد اللغوي؛ مأساة كانجوروان؛ إندونيسيا

INTRODUCTION

Landscape linguistics (LL) is not only a medium for conveying people's inspiration in the public sphere but also an act of social and political protest (Kasanga, 2014). LL in the Kanjuruan tragedy was used as a form of resistance from the community, especially the Aremania fans, for the use of tear gas, which the security forces misused. This misappropriation resulted in the deaths of 135 Aremania supporters and 575 injuries on October 1, 2022 (Mahfud MD, 2022) in the Arema vs Persebaya match at the Kanjuruan stadium, Malang, Indonesia. This number is the second highest in world football tragedies after the Estadio Nacional Disaster tragedy in Lima, Peru, in the Peru match against Argentina in 1964, where 328 people died, and 500 were injured (Edwin Shri Bimo, 2022). The symbols in LL are installed in various corners of the city, streets, public places, and even in front of the police station to ask for justice for fans, families who have been left behind, and the community. Thus, LL is a medium for voicing public dissatisfaction with government decisions and clarifying demands, and expressing feelings (Papen, 2012).

Tragedy is sad (Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa, 2016). Tragedy is a word that has a negative connotation, which is a description of events that were not expected to occur but have occurred (Ikhwan, 2020). Furthermore, Ikhwan explained that the negativity of tragedy is always seen from the physical aspect, such as damage, destruction, death, injury, and deep disappointment (Ikhwan, 2020). Tragedy can also be interpreted as friction that arises from different dichotomies, namely art that emphasize the beauty of appearance, and art that prioritizes self-expression, between the world of dreams and the fundamental nature (Friedrich Nietzsche, 2015). The emergence of a tragedy cannot be avoided because tragedy is a dialogue process between two different camps (Liawati, 2019). Ebrahimi, M., & Taheri, A. (2017) state that tragedy is a struggle with fate that cannot be won. A tragedy never goes away because its events are always remembered and can develop into lessons that can be found over time.

The Kanjuruan tragedy was a chaotic incident on October 1, 2022, which occurred after the match between Arema FC and Persebaya with a score of 2-3 at the Kanjuruan stadium, Malang Regency, Indonesia (Mahfud MD, 2022). As a result of this defeat, several fans invaded the field area (Rahayu, 2022). Joint security officers from the police and the Indonesian National Army (TNI) tried to drive away the masses using tear gas (Eka Yudha Saputra, 2022). This tragedy has claimed the lives of hundreds of supporters, reaching 135 people, and 575 injured who were treated in hospitals (Komnas HAM, 2022). This tragedy was a deadly disaster and made Indonesia second in football riots with the most significant number of victims after the tragedy at the National Stadium in Lima, Peru, on May 24, 1964, which claimed 328 lives and 500 people were injured (Eduard Lukman, 2022).

In short, LL is defined as using written language in public spaces' (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). This is in line with (Monje, 2017), which states that LL can be in the form of moving posters, placards, banners, and other signs, including text on bodies, t-shirts, umbrellas, and stones. The LL study is a study that involves collaboration between applied linguists, sociolinguists, sociologists, psychologists, geographers, culturalists, and several other disciplines (Rafael et al., 2018). LL is also considered a means of developing globalization that conquers the world through world-spanning commercial networks and massive migration from underprivileged countries to privileged countries (Ben-Rafael, 2015). The collocations of "hidden agenda" and "implicit message" are commonly used to describe the influence of LL on language ideology and pedagogical decisions in specific environments (Przymus & Kohler, 2018). Syrjälä adds that LL is almost exclusively composed of signs in the language of a particular country's identity, as in Sweden, functionally, a variety of different signals can be found on local business centers, bulletin boards, information boards, and general directions (Syrjälä, 2022). LL studies can also analyze and interpret the relationship between language and space, including in the growing field of sociolinguistics (Hélot, C. et al., 2013). In all its diversity, LL can be seen as a linguis-

tic mirror of the dynamics of global society. Thus, LL can be analyzed linguistically and culturally to explore language, culture, politics, and power.

So far, research related to language and protest can be mapped that LL is used as a media protest against public dissatisfaction with the government and political system (Kasanga, 2014; Shiri, 2015; Dabbour, 2017; Kull, 2002; Lintz & Leibenath, 2020; Seloni & Sarfati, 2017). Each code is examined and given a symbolic meaning that reveals the mighty power of signs to provide cultural and political importance to protest (Kasanga, 2014). The language in protest demonstrations reveals a clear shift from monolingual LL, according to the rules of the official language, to multilingual, which refers to linguistic reporters (Shiri, 2015). Dabbour (2017) shows that LL signs of the Tahrir Square protests can offer some insights into Egyptian national identity, as well as bring out the dominant language patterns used in the protests namely sarcasm and faith. Kull's research (2002) revealed that LL used in the introductionv conflicts caused by natural resource management provides a clear picture of farmers' protests and resistance, and about power strategies in resource management. In contrast to research Seloni & Sarfati (2017) which shows that LL is a linguistic and symbolic communication tool used in public spaces during the Gezi Park protests.

This study aims to complement existing studies related to LL. Since the Kanjuruan tragedy, many signs have appeared in various parts of Malang City, Indonesia, with different shapes and patterns on the character. In line with that, this study aims, apart from mapping the languages used in the landscape from the type and number of languages used, it also conducts critical analysis. That is investigating the relationship between language and society to seek an understanding of the structure of language and how language functions.

METHOD

This study uses a qualitative descriptive research method based on a sign showing the protest of Malang City's people over the Kanjuruan tragedy. This Linguistic Landscape was chosen based on the proliferation of signs posted in various parts of Malang. Pictures were taken on signs posted in public places, on roads, bridges, city halls, squares, and stations, in front of police offices, educational institutions, and in front of shops. The unit of analysis in this study is each language they write in the sign. Starting from the variety of languages, the font size of the letters written, and the color of the writing on the sign. The city of Malang was chosen as the locus of the object of study in this study because Malang was the center of the tragedy, which killed hundreds of football supporters in 2022. As the place where the event occurred, Malang is not only a physical location for protests, but also a symbol of community resistance to perceived injustice. The city is filled with a variety of linguistic expressions, including banners, graffiti, and slogans, reflecting citizens' emotions, identities, and political attitudes toward authority.

This study uses documentation techniques in collecting data. Documents in the form of signs in various public places are photographed using the camera tool from HandPone, which has a rear camera resolution of 108 MP, a front camera resolution of 20 MP, and another main camera resolution of 8.2 MP. Data collection was carried out during October-December 2022. It has been three months since the Kanjuruan tragedy started, and the people of Malang are currently installing landscaping as a sign of protest. Another reason was that that month the city courts of Malang and East Java had issued criminal decisions against the perpetrators of the Kanjuruan tragedy. The landscape is installed as a form of open resistance to dissatisfaction and unfair punishment for the perpetrators, which resulted in the loss of more than one hundred lives and hundreds of injuries.

The collected data is then analyzed according to the stages of analysis initiated by Miles and Huberman (Miles & Huberman, 2016), namely data reduction, data display, data statement, and conclusion. Data reduction was carried out by mapping and selecting thematically (monolingual and bilingual signs). Then display data in the form of tables and figures. Data tables are needed to show the quantity and processing of each character. The image is a sample to show the language used in the sign. Data restatement is done

through content analysis and critical analysis. Content analysis calculates the number and percentage of languages used in each character. Language is mapped on the type of language and language patterns used. To know which language is dominant and which is minimally used by the community. Critical analysis was conducted to determine the tendencies of the language patterns they wrote. Furthermore, a relevant conclusion can be drawn.

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

.After the data in photo documents is mapped thematically, the data is displayed as follows.

Table 1. Places placed landscape

No	Places	Monolingual	Bilingual
1	Highway	57	34
2	Bridge	13	8
3	Police station	11	6
4	Town square	7	1
5	Town Hall	24	21
6	Station	15	12
7	Shop	21	7
	Total	**148**	**89**

Table 1 shows the distribution of signs related to the Kanjuruan tragedy installed in Malang, Indonesia. The quantity of signs installed on the highway is more significant than in other places, with monolingual signs with 57 symbols and bilingual signs with 34 characters. Around the town square of Malang, there are signs with the minimum number of monolingual seven and bilingual 1. Meanwhile, in the offices of government officials, namely Malang city hall, there a large number, monolingual there are 24 signs, and bilingual there are 21 signs. In front of the police station, a place for people involved in securing the city, there are 11 monolingual signs and six bilingual signs. At the station for people to go in and out of Malang City and vice versa, there are 15 monolingual signs and seven bilingual signs.

Meanwhile, in front of the shop are 21 monolingual signs and seven bilingual signs. The signs hung on several bridges and reached 13 monolingual and eight bilingual signs. Furthermore, the place where the character of each form and domain is placed can be seen in Figure 1.
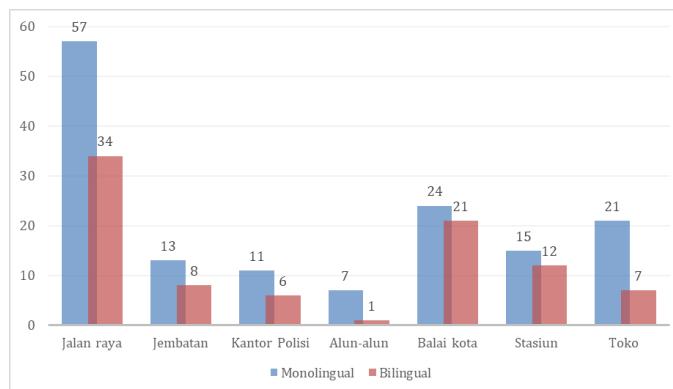

Figure 1. The place of the sign

The findings in this study show that Indonesian is used predominantly by people in various places on the street, city hall, police station, etc., as shown in Table 1 and Figure 1. Likewise, the use of Indonesian is horizontally side by side with other languages for signs using bilinguals. The symbol used does not highlight one language with another. All languages have the same font size and no particular language usage order. The font size is enlarged only on the word that is the focus. This is in line with Beckhaus, who stated that the writing model in signs could be used by using language aligned vertically and language is used horizontally (Backhaus, 2005).

Monolingual Sign

The data shows four languages used in the monolingual landscape: Indonesian, English, Javanese, and Arabic. Indonesian is the dominant language (68 signs) used by the people in voicing protests against the injustice of the state apparatus against the Kanjuruan tragedy. Each picture shows the demonstration differently, with harsh, sharp, and satirical words.

Image 1	Image 2

Figure 2. Monolingual sign in Indonesian

Figure 2 is a sample (two pictures) of monolingual signs in Indonesian. Image 1 reads, "*Usut Tuntas: Pembantaian berkedok keamanan*" (Investigate Completely: Massacre under the guise of security). Using the word massacre means to commit cruel killings with more than one victim. Where the police sprayed tear gas at Aremania football fans on the grounds of security while the stadium consisted of many groups (children, youth, adults, and seniors), they had been running headlong and jostled, to the point of stamping, asphyxiation, etc. This resulted in injuries and even death. Image 2 reads "*Beri kami kepastian hukum. Beri kami keadilan. Beringasnya oknum dan PSSI (Persatuan Sepak Bola Seluruh Indonesia), yang merampas nyawa saudara kami*" (Give us legal certainty. Give us justice. The ferocity of the individuals and the PSSI (All Indonesian Football Association), which took the lives of our brothers and sisters". The sentence in this sign seeks justice with legal certainty set for the perpetrators of the Kanjuruan tragedy and the people in charge of PSSI, East Java Regional Police, and Malang City Police in their failure to secure a football match between Arema and Persebaya.

These findings show how monolingual signs in Indonesia can reflect expressions of social protest and demands for justice. The language used in these signs serves as a tool to articulate pain and anger, reinforcing demands for justice and legal accountability (Loerakker, M., Müter, L., & Schraagen, 2024). In the context of protests, language use limited to one language, particularly the national language, emphasizes collective unity among protesters. As stated by (Rosendal et al., 2023) monolingual signs can increase the effectiveness of protest messages, as a widely recognized language creates a stronger emotional connection with local audiences. In addition, the use of monolingual signs can symbolize resistance to global power or structures, where local languages are used as a form of identity assertion and struggle. Thus, monolingual signs are not only a medium of

communication, but also an important means of reframing narratives of justice and power in the public sphere (Häusler, 2021).

Image 1	Image 2

Figure 3. Monolingual sign in Javanese

This monolingual sign in Javanese uses the roughest level of language, as shown in image 1 (figure 3), which contains "*Gak njilat, gak iso mbadok. #Usut Tuntas*" (No lick, no iso mbadok. #Investigate Completely) can be interpreted as a person, in this case, government officials cannot seek a bite of rice except by fawning (i.e., doing things aimed at gaining their benefit by pleasing others, even if in a way that hurts and even harms many people). Image 2 further shows the community's surrender to the efforts made in various ways, so they write the following sentence "*Lemah teles, Gusti Allah sing mbales*," which means that every good and bad deed will always get a proper reward from God Almighty.

Figure 3 highlights the use of Javanese language in an abusive form as a medium of social protest criticizing government officials. The phrase sarcastically depicts officials' reliance on sycophancy or hypocrisy for personal gain, reflecting society's perception that unethical practices have become commonplace among the elite. In addition, it shows a resigned yet confident attitude that divine justice will come, even when human justice cannot be relied upon. The use of Javanese in this context is rooted in local culture, reinforcing the moral message and deep social critique of the government (Cookson & Stirk, 2019). The use of Javanese is also one of maintaining local wisdom, as expressed by Misbah that as citizens we must continue to preserve local wisdom (Misbah, 2023).

Image 1	Image 2	Image 3

Figure 4. Monolingual sign in English

Figure 4 provides an example of three monolingual signs using English. Image 1 says it reads, "Don't let cops kill more of us," which means that the people ask the police as security guards for the nation and the nation not to commit more killings. They were appointed to maintain the country's stability, not complicate the situation and conditions. Image 2 reads the phrase "Stop police brutality" The public views that the actions committed by the police at the Kanjuruan stadium are a category of brutal behavior, namely acts that are cruel, impudent, impolite, rude, and barbaric. Image 3 reads, "Rest in peace, ACAB. What a bastard, Kanjuruan disaster. "The sign in Figure 3 has three dimensions.

First, it provides support and prayer for Aremania football supporters who have passed away and are given a peaceful life in nature. The second is a word of ridicule and insult to the perpetrators of the murder. Third, there is a ribbon symbol that shows the meaning of mourning, expression of grief, and raising collective support for Kanjuran victims who have died and those who were injured after a mass tragedy.

The landscape reveals a complex discourse related to public outrage and collective grief over police violence during the Kanjuruan tragedy. The addition of the mourning ribbon symbol affirms collective solidarity with the victims, symbolizing public grief and a call for justice (Rahayu, 2022). These signs show how language, symbols and social context come together to criticize systemic violence and call for social change. More than just expressions of resistance, the signs also reflect efforts to build collective awareness among the public about the need for reforms in law enforcement and human rights protection. The messages conveyed through these signs demonstrate that the use of visual symbols can mobilize public action and create space for critical dialogue about ongoing institutional violence (Whitworth and Li 2023; Gardner and Abrams 2023).

Figure 5. Monolingual sign in Arabic

Sign in Arabic illustrates dissatisfaction with the court's decision on the perpetrators of the Kanjuruan tragedy, which killed hundreds of people. Figure 5 reads, "*'Indamaa ikhtafat al-'adalatu wa al-ukhuwwatu wa bil-specifically for Indonesia, hal satabqaa al-dunya shaamitah wa saakitah???*" ("when justice is hidden and disguised, and brotherhood is divided, especially in Indonesia, will you remain silent and calm???"). The sentence in the sign warns the entire Indonesian nation to participate in thoroughly investigating the perpetrators. The Kanjuruan incident seems to have been covered up and kept secret by the masterminds and masterminds of the Kanjuruan tragedy.

The choice of words, sentences, and symbols are also examined to determine the symbolic meaning that expresses the sign's strength to protest the Kanjuruan tragedy. The existing landscape is full of characters and discourses with cultural and political importance as a powerful tool to protest (Kasanga, 2014). These public demonstrations can be seen as LL in which the discursive use of signs, banners, flags, and other protest signs builds an apparent socio-political space for a public conversation around demands for justice, firmness, and responsibility (Ku, 2020). This paper also shows the choice of language, social and grammatical indexicality, image, cultural capital contained, and the choreography of the assembly in the sign. In line with (Taylor-Leech, 2020), who see LL protest as a semiotic aggregate that can become a bridge for society.

Bilingual Sign

Research can show signs installed on the street and other places that use a combination of two languages: Indonesian-Javanese, Indonesian-English, and Indonesian-Arabic. All indications show Indonesian as the dominant language alongside other languages in each character. Every poster that uses bilinguals juxtaposes Indonesian, as shown in Figures 6, 7, and 8.

Image 1

Image 2

Figure 6. Bilingual sign in Indonesian-English

Figure 6 shows the sign using bilingual Indonesian and English. Image 1 reads "*Terlalu banyak kejanggalan dalam tragedi Kanjuruan. Kami yakin disengata dan* by design. *Kawal sampai tuntas*." (There are too many irregularities in the Kanjuruan tragedy. We believe in sting and by design. Watch it to the end). Image 1 shows community resistance to the arrest of the perpetrators, and the punishments imposed on the perpetrators felt too light. They were only given a sentence following Article 395 of the Criminal Code "Anyone who because of his mistake (negligence) causes another person to die is threatened with imprisonment for five years or imprisonment for a maximum of one year. "The community considers This Kanjuruan tragedy as an act planned and deliberate by certain persons. Image 2 reads, "*Usut Tuntas*: All Cops are bastards. Malang disaster" (Investigate Completely: All Cops are bastards. Malang disaster). The sentence begins with the slogan of the Kanjuruan tragedy, "Investigate Completely," which is the vision of the people to find out the brain of this incident—followed by insulting sentences against police officers.

These bilingual signs demonstrate how the use of local and global languages can amplify political messages, extend the reach of protests, and deepen public discourse on justice and responsibility in the context of social tragedy (Darginavičienė, 2023; Premat & Torregrosa, 2020). The use of Indonesian allowed the protest to directly connect with the local community, while the inclusion of English extended the reach of the message to the international community, demonstrating global solidarity and drawing wider attention to the issues raised. This strategy not only increases the visibility of the protest movement

but also underscores the universal nature of the issue, where human rights violations can occur anywhere. In the context of such visual protests, bilingual language plays an important role in shaping narratives that transcend national boundaries and create a collective awareness of the need for justice and accountability, both locally and globally (Bachem, 2023; Dube, 2020).

Image 1	Image 2

Figure 7. Bilingual sign in Indonesian-Javanese

Figure 7 shows bilingual signs in Indonesian and Javanese that the community uses. Image 1 "Duka kami ojo dipolitisi, Malang omahku, ojo dipecah belah karo nafsumu!!! #Usust Tuntas" (Don't politicize our grief, Malang is my home, don't be divided by your lust!!! #Investigate Completely). This sentence illustrates that the people of Malang, in particular, and the Indonesian people, in general, have been grieving due to the Kanjuruan tragedy. Where unhealthy political interests have ridden football matches. The security forces have torn apart the football union, not only Arema football but Indonesian football, which has received attention from FIFA and the world for Malang security. Image 2 "Tugasmu mengayomi/membunuh" (Your job is to protect/kill) reminds government officials that the state asks them to protect the community, not destroy, injure, and even kill.

The use of Javanese in these protests adds a dimension of locality, reinforcing the message that these protests stem from local cultural and community roots, thus deepening the emotional resonance with Malang residents and Javanese society. These bilingual signs not only highlighted public dissatisfaction with the government and authorities, but also showed how language can be used as a tool of social critique to demand change and justice (Sofyan et al., 2020; Wei, 2018). More than just a means of communication, local languages in the context of protests also function as symbols of collective identity, giving legitimacy to people's demands by emphasizing distinctive cultural elements. The use of Javanese in the public sphere shows an effort to deconstruct dominant narratives, repositioning community voices as important actors in the discourse of social change (Pratiwi, 2022). Through local language, this protest invites people to question central authority and assert the right to their own cultural and political space.

Figure 8 shows the use of a sign in two languages, namely Indonesian-Arabic. The sign reads "*Inna lillahi wa inna ilaihi raji'un, keluarga besar Ikatan Alumni Universitas Brawijaya Turut Berduka Cita atas inside di stadion Kanjuruan Malang, Sabtu Malam, 01 Oktober 2022, Salam satu jiwa, jiwa yang sedang berduka*" (Inna lillahi wa inna ilaihi raji'un, the big family of the Alumni Association of Universitas Brawijaya Condolences for the incident at Kanjuruan Stadium Malang, Saturday Night, October 1, 2022, Greetings one soul, a grieving soul). The sentence in this sign is more about condolences for the victims of the Kanjuruan tragedy. In addition, there is a sentence with a larger font size, namely the sentence "*Turut Berduka Cita*," which emphasizes condolences to supporters who have died. The sign is closed with Arema's jargon "*Salam Satu Jiwa*" (Greetings one soul). This sentence shows full support for the Kanjuruan incident,

and the community has united to defend and demand justice. The community as a whole, on behalf of Arema, has become brothers. If one is hurt, the others feel pain and help each other, and vice versa.

Figure 8. Bilingual sign in Indonesian-Arabic

Indonesian has the highest quantity of use in both monolingual and bilingual signs (table 1). This is in line with the identity of the Indonesian nation, where Indonesian is the official language of the Indonesian state, as well as the nation's unifying language, and is used as the language of formal communication, both written and spoken (Dalimunte, 2017; Kurniawan, 2017; Rumandang Bulan, 2019). Indonesia is a good capital for a nation built on ethnic and cultural diversity in fostering nationalism and strengthening national identity (Sanjaya, 2017). In contrast to findings (Monje, 2017), forms of community protest tend to use multilingualism and highlight the language of millennials. Thus, the linguistic landscape can describe how language is used from the dynamics of global society (Hélot, C. et al., 2013).

The language used as a medium for protest has specific characteristics, such as the choice of sarcasm and convincing words (Dabbour, 2017). Along with that (Christoph Steinhardt & Wu, 2016) states that the form of protest carried out by the community can be mapped into four prominent cases, namely: 1) expanding protest constituencies, 2) mobilization for public goods, 3) proactive strategies to prevent government projects; and 4) mutually reinforcing street mobilization and policy advocacy (Christoph Steinhardt & Wu, 2016). The use of specific languages also often arises from various motivations to protest government policies that reduce people's rights to live as a nation and state (Chamberlain & Snyman, 2017). Thus language in the landscape becomes a unit of analysis for signs of protest to find dominant patterns representing national identity (Dabbour, 2017).

The massive signs posted in various public places are an act of symbolic/open resistance by using clear, direct, and to-the-point language (such as asking for an appropriate punishment for the perpetrators of the Kanjuruan tragedy, refusing the sentence imposed on the perpetrators who are considered too light, insulting the perpetrators, insulting government officials, etc.). The selected sentences use four figurative speech patterns: sarcasm, cynicism, rhetoric, and euphemism. Sarcasm sentences are the most frequently written sentence patterns in the linguistic landscape. As Found (Dabbour, 2017) states, the protest media has specific characteristics, such as the word choice that is sarcasm and belief. Where the sentences written by the community expressed their emotional feelings, they use harsh words and are negative in a direct and blatant manner. The sign installation movement in all corners of Malang, Indonesia, aims to get a response from city government officials, Indonesia, and even the world in general. In other words, language is used to attract the sympathy and attention of others (Minocha, 2020).

CONCLUSION

This research reflects on three primary and dominant patterns in the LL Kanjuruan tragedy. First, the choice of language used in the Kanjuruan tragedy protest is more prevalent in sarcasm, cynicism, and rhetoric. These sentences were chosen to show people's emotions and anger toward the government. Second, the signs posted in public places highlight the Indonesian language used to express feelings, in addition to English, Javanese, and Arabic. This proves that the local language's (Indonesian) identity is still the community's leading choice even amid globalization and multi-media. Third, the form used in the sign indicates two forms, monolingual and bilingual. There were no signs using multilingual. In the bilingual sign, Indonesian still dominates, in which Indonesian accompanies and aligns horizontally with other languages.

The findings of this research also reveal the symbolic power of language in shaping public discourse during the Kanjuruan tragedy protest. The linguistic choices made in the signs not only reflect the emotions and resistance of the people but also suggest a deeper connection between language and identity. The use of Indonesian, Javanese, and Arabic in a bilingual format signifies the layered identities of the protesters, where local, national, and religious dimensions intersect. This phenomenon underscores the critical role of language as a vehicle for expressing not only dissent but also a collective identity that resists the dominant power structures. By employing different languages in their protests, the demonstrators strategically use language to challenge authority and communicate their grievances to a broader audience, including international observers.

Moreover, the absence of multilingual signs in the protest reflects the strategic simplification of messages, ensuring clarity and accessibility for the local audience. The dominance of Indonesian in bilingual signs further emphasizes the role of the national language as a unifying force, while the inclusion of other languages like Javanese and Arabic highlights cultural and religious undertones within the protest. This suggests that while globalization introduces multilingualism, the protestors prioritize linguistic clarity that resonates with their immediate context and the cultural values embedded in their local identity. Thus, the linguistic landscape in the Kanjuruan protest is a deliberate and conscious expression of solidarity, aimed at amplifying the voices of the marginalized and calling for accountability and justice in a language that is deeply rooted in their social fabric.
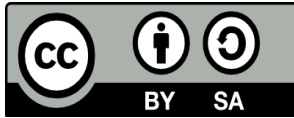
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