

## **CONFLICT ANALYSIS IN THE KANJURUHAN FOOTBALL MATCH RIOT IN INDONESIA**

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### **ABSTRACT**

This research was motivated by riots that occurred at Kanjuruhan Malang Stadium when Arema Malang and Persebaya Surabaya were brought together. The defeat experienced by Arema disappointed Aremania fans so many Aremania took to the field and caused conditions at the stadium to become uncondusive. Police officers fired tear gas to stop the action of fans, but this only caused the riots to escalate. This research uses the library study method by looking for various references and data sources from official internet pages and scientific journals. The focus of this research is to analyze the Kanjuruhan riots based on conflict resolution approach stages, namely, conflict events, conflict triggers, causes of conflict, conflict impacts, and conflict resolution. The results of this study suggest that riots in Kanjuruhan can be analyzed based on a conflict-resolution approach by considering various existing aspects.

**Keywords :** *Riots, Conflicts, Supporters, Football*

### **ABSTRAK**

*Penelitian ini dilatarbelakangi oleh kerusuhan yang terjadi di Stadion Kanjuruhan Malang saat Arema Malang dan Persebaya Surabaya dipertemukan. Kekalahan yang dialami Arema membuat fans Aremania kecewa sehingga banyak Aremania yang turun ke lapangan dan menyebabkan kondisi di stadion menjadi tidak kondusif. Petugas kepolisian melepaskan gas air mata untuk menghentikan aksi fans, namun hal tersebut justru membuat kerusuhan semakin memanas. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode studi pustaka dengan mencari berbagai referensi dan sumber data dari laman internet resmi dan jurnal ilmiah. Fokus penelitian ini adalah menganalisis kerusuhan Kanjuruhan berdasarkan tahapan pendekatan resolusi konflik yaitu, peristiwa konflik, pemicu konflik, penyebab konflik, dampak konflik, dan resolusi konflik. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa kerusuhan di Kanjuruhan dapat dianalisis berdasarkan pendekatan resolusi konflik dengan mempertimbangkan berbagai aspek yang ada.*

**Kata Kunci :** *Kerusuhan, Konflik, Suporter, Sepakbola*

### **INTRODUCTION**

As a country with various sports, football is the most popular sport in great demand by the community, especially young people. Football is viewed as a sport that brings people from all backgrounds together and transcends socioeconomic boundaries. Football is an inseparable part of culture and has become the most popular sport in Indonesia. It is everywhere, from streets, clubs, tiny lanes, filled and beautiful stadiums, slums, to abandoned areas of the city (Junaedi et al., 2023). The most popular sport in the world is football with four billion fans (Szczechowski, 2021). The increasing existence of football is

characterized by many regional football clubs, such as Persipura, Persib, Persija, Arema, and Persebaya. According to the official website of the Persatuan Sepak Bola Seluruh Indonesia (PSSI), there are four categories of football tournaments in Indonesia : League 1, League 2, National Soeratin Cup, which consists of two categories, namely, age 17 and 15 years, as well as the Provincial Soeratin Cup, which consists of the Provinces of Central Java, Aceh, and East Java.

A football match, cannot be separated from the role of supporters in providing enthusiasm and support for their proud regional clubs. Football supporters are

usually regarded as the fountain of football life in a metaphorical sense (Paramio Salcines et al., 2014). Supporters as one of the important aspects in the match because it can create conditions that affect the increasing spirit of the club they support, but on the one hand the presence of supporters can also weaken the mental condition of the opposing club (Ridyawanti, 2008). Seeing football as a type of business, especially after the COVID-19 epidemic, the return of supporters and spectators to stadiums is critical to the sustainability of football clubs as it can avert financial collapse, especially in lower-tier teams and competition (Sakhiyya et al., 2024). Ironically, the presence of supporters in football matches can cause competition and rivalry between supporters, resulting in excessive fanaticism between supporters of their respective clubs. This great sense of connection usually sparks disagreements among the supporters of various clubs (Sakhiyya et al., 2024).

Excessive fiscal conditions can lead to a sense of hatred among supporters who support and defend their proud clubs, especially Indonesian supporters, who are classified as fanatical supporters after England and Argentina (Prakoso, B. A., & Masykur, 2013). The condition of these fanatical supporters is also in line with the view that fanaticism is an attitude dominated by passion. This attitude will continue because, someone who already has a fanatical attitude will find it difficult to change his views on something (Prakoso, B. A., & Masykur, 2013). A person who is psychologically fanatical about something generally does not have the ability to understand what is happening outside of himself and cannot understand the characteristics of other individuals outside of his group (Rizkita, 2012). Football disputes are generally marked by confrontations between rival supporters and clashes with police and security staff, not only in Indonesia but across the world. The police approach of “showing strength”

typically worsens riots and disturbances (Junaedi et al., 2023). However, such acts must consider the idea of using force, as well as the principle of protecting human rights (Amin et al., 2024).

The behavior of football supporters, particularly during matches, is type of crowd behavior. The Kanjuruhan tragedy is a crowd behavior phenomenon that occurs when a number of people gather in a special crowd, and has the potential to produce individual behavior that triggers collective behavior. Individuals in a crowd tend to feel multiple courages, because they feel supported by their group. As a result, removing antagonism and harmful behavior in football necessitates ongoing and effective prevention, neutralization, and punishment in accordance with the applicable regulations (Junaedi et al., 2023).

The condition of these fanatical football supporters often causes conflict, such as the conflict between the two big supporters, Aremania and Bonek. Aremania is the name of supporters for Arema, whereas Bonek is the name of supporters for Persebaya. The conflict between Aremania and Bonek is an old story of Indonesian supporters. This conflict began during the semi-finals of Galatama Match in 1992. Match pitted PS Arema Malang against PS Semen Padang at the Tambaksari Stadium in Surabaya. In this match, Arema Malang was lost in Semen Padang. Aremania was disappointed and rioted at the Gubeng Station. The riots caused by Aremania made Bonek furious. In 1993, Bonek responded to the riot when a group in Aremania visited Gresik. The riots continued until 1996, when Aremania visited Tambaksari Stadium with an escort (Saputro & Setyowati, 2016). According to (Frosdick & Marsh, 2005) historical, social, economic, political, and cultural factors influence the type and degree of football-related violence.

The conditions of riots and aggressiveness caused by these football supporters (Saputro & Setyowati, 2016)

arise because of social flows that make their emotions uncontrollable. The rivalry between Aremania and Bonek is still ongoing, although this condition also occurs in the field, such as in sweeping cases, and some residents have suffered losses due to the rivalry between the two supporters (Sukmono, 2015). According to Storey, fan groups are always synonymous with potential bigotry, giving rise to the perception that excessive behavior that results in madness is inherent in supporters as fan groups (Sukmono, 2015). According to (Spaaij, 2007), there is a need to study other aspects of football culture that affect the majority of followers.

Specifically, this article investigates the riots that occurred on Saturday, October 1, 2022, which are described as terrible tragedies for Indonesian football and even the globe (Utama et al., 2022). The contest ended with 135 fatalities, 24 serious injuries, and 624 wounded people. Individuals with minimal injuries (Junaedi et al., 2023). Riots that occur in football supporters not only involve other supporters, but can also occur between supporters and security forces. One such riot occurred at Kanjuruhan Stadium in Malang, East Java. In this case, supporters were involved in clashes with security forces. The riot began when supporters felt disappointed due to the defeat obtained by Arema against Persebaya in League 1 on October 01, 2022. Supporters who felt disappointed took to the field and made the conditions uncondusive, so the security forces began to secure the Kanjuruhan stadium environment. In the process, there were clashes between the supporters and security forces, and the peak occurred when the security forces fired tear gas. This made the atmosphere in the stadium even more uncontrollable, and supporters tried to save themselves, so that a riot ensued. Before the match, there was insufficient communication among all parties involved, including the PSSI, PT. LIB, organizing committee, Arema FC club, police, match commissioner, and security personnel

(Junaedi et al., 2023). Furthermore, among the various causes of stadium disasters are factors such as lack of information about disaster mitigation, amateur actions of organizers and security personnel in managing potential disasters, insufficient stadium architecture to handle disasters, and a lack of human resources and medical facilities in emergencies (Pearson & Stott, 2022).

The riot that occurred at Kanjuruhan Stadium resulted in many casualties and other damage. The tournament ended with 135 people killed, 24 badly injured, and 624 injured. The disaster caused enormous pain for the victims, their relatives, and Indonesian people until it received international attention, ; even though the FIFA President remarked that the event was a terrible day for the world of football (Amin et al., 2024). Based on the description above, it is important to study research related to conflict analysis that has occurred in the Kanjuruhan riots. In this study, researchers used the perspective of describing the Kanjuruhan riots (Nulhaqim et al., 2017). This study aims to build an in-depth analysis and theoretical framework regarding conflict and conflict resolution in the case of the Kanjuruhan riots. In addition, viewing conflict as a social dynamic can make scientific contribution, and football has become the most popular sport in Indonesia, if not the world, and is an integral part of people's culture. Indonesia has experienced several incident of violence before, after, and during football matches, prompting further investigation into the root cause of the problem and potential solutions.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### Conflict

Conflict is the result of behavior as an integral part of human life; therefore, conflict cannot be separated from the dynamics of social life (Thakore, 2013). Conflict comes from Latin word "con" which means together and "figere" which means collision or collision so that conflict

in social life is the occurrence of discrepancies in interests, desires, and opinions involving two or more people (Suhardono, 2015). Fisher (2021) argued that the definition of conflict differs from that of violence. Conflict can occur when the goals of two or more parties are not in line, whereas violence includes various actions, words, and attitudes that can cause physical, mental, social, and environmental damage (Fisher, 2001). Conflict is often considered negative because of differences in the interpretation of facts and perspectives that do not agree between parties or groups in conflict (Mas'udi, 2015).

In reality, conflict is considered to be an inseparable aspect of social life. The existence of differences in the characteristics and perspectives of society that are not managed properly can potentially lead to disintegration, such as conditions of mutual accusation, mutual blame, and mutually aggressive actions against each other (Fauzia et al., 2021). Social conflict is a description of the acts of dispute, tension, and opposition that arise in community life due to differences in opinion, understanding, interests, groups, culture, and so on (Nulhaqim et al., 2017).

Based on several definitions of conflict (Suhardono, 2015) draws the following implications: 1) conflict can occur inside or outside the system; 2) conflict must be recognized by both parties or one party to the conflict; 3) conflict is not about sustainability, but will stop if the goal has been achieved; and 4) action is a self-defense to consider when to act.

A conflict that is not managed carefully will result in losses to the parties involved, including the community, because it can cause many victims, such as lives, property, and unsafe situations (Nulhaqim et al., 2017). Comprehensive handling and involvement of various parties in overcoming conflicts are needed. Conflicts can be resolved using conflict resolution efforts, which are an informal or formal processes for conflicting parties to find

peaceful solutions to disputes they experience (Nulhaqim et al., 2017).

## Riots

Riots have become an issue inherent to society. Social unrest is an event that cannot be predicted when it occurs and cannot be engineered by any party (Mustofa, 2000). One of the riots that occurred in Indonesia was football supporters. Football support riots are divided into internal and external types. Internal supporter riots occur if there is a dispute between internal supporters, whereas external supporter riots occur if there is a dispute between opposing supporters (Nurdin, 2022).

The riots experienced by Aremania supporters and police officers are not new cases of riots in football. Disputes between football supporters that caused riots occurred in previous cases. Previous research has suggested a riot between Persis Solo supporters and PSS Sleman supporters at the Solo Manahan Stadium due to their fanaticism of the two supporters (Pujiyono & Mulyanto, 2014).

Another riot that occurred in the world of Indonesian football the previous year was the riot between Viking, a nickname for Persib Bandung supporters, and Jakmania, a nickname for Persija Jakarta supporters. Research suggests that the conflict between Vikings and Jakmania occurred due to fanaticism towards their supporting football club, so that supporters could commit acts of violence and anarchy, leading to continuous riots (Ulfah et al., 2019).

From various cases of football riots that have occurred, the majority are caused by the anarchism of supporters based on fanaticism towards their proud football club. Suggest efforts to overcome the anarchistic attitude of supporters to prevent riots, namely by instilling the values of sportsmanship and fair play, and as policy guidance for supporters who can provide strict rules when watching live football matches (Astuti & Purwanto, 2021).

### Conflict Resolution Approach

One approach to conflict that can describe the occurrence of conflict from conflict to conflict resolution efforts is the conflict resolution approach. divided the conflict resolution approach into five stages : conflict events, triggers, causes of conflict, impacts, and resolution (Nulhaqim et al., 2017).

#### a. Conflict Events.

Conflict events describe the beginning of a conflict due to a mismatch between two or more conflicting parties. Chronology, such as the time of the incident and the actors involved, is systematically explained at the conflict event stage.

#### b. Conflict Triggers

This stage describes two or more conflicting parties. At the conflict trigger stage, the conflict becomes more open, and each conflicting party begins to gather resources. The conflict trigger stage also describes the development of the conflict and actors involved.

#### c. Causes of Conflict

This stage of the approach describes the causes of the conflict in detail. Each party in the conflict expressed their opinions based on their perspectives.

#### d. Impact of Conflict

This stage describes the overall impact of the occurrence the conflict. The impact of the conflict will affect each party to the conflict; the physical environment, such as infrastructure damage, and the non-physical environment, such as social, cultural, and economic impacts.

#### e. Conflict Resolution

Conflict resolution is a step towards resolving conflicts that occur between two or more parties. At this stage, each actor involved has its own role in making conflict resolution efforts. Conflict resolution efforts are supported by supporting and inhibiting factors; therefore, at this

stage, it also describes the conditions after conflict resolution.

### Crowd Behaviour

There are some specific characteristics of crowd behavior (Kasali, 2019). First, the provides anonymity. Individuals in a large mass are not recognized as individuals, but as part of a whole. The melting of self-identity into group identity is a psychological stage called de-individualization. One "loses" one's sense of fear. Everyone can hide the shadows of others. Second, all actions that occur in a crowd are contagious. What one person does can easily be imitated by others? It is possible for someone to sacrifice their personal desires for collective goals and desires. Third, it explains the existence of estabulity in a crowd. Individual identity merges into a collective mentality that can change a person's behavior to become radical.

### RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses a literature study approach because, in the process, the data that researchers collect comes from books, journals, the Internet, and other literature as a basis for writing. The literature study method involves conducting theoretical studies of various references and other literature that has a relationship with culture, values, and norms that have a relationship to research (Kasali, 2019).

This study focuses on finding articles, journals, news, and official reports from a Joint Independent Fact-Finding Team related to the Kanjuruhan riots. Optimizing Scopus searches with the keywords "kanjuruhan" and "riots" found six publications regarding the Kanjuruhan riots, including three research articles and three conference papers. Search engines are also used to support data on a national basis, such as Google Scholar, using the terms fans and football to generate 3,550 papers and publications on the subject. The search for sources of the fanatic phenomenon in football yielded 2,720 articles and journals.

Various news portals were searched to obtain data on the Kanjuruhan case. The keyword Kanjuruhan was used and 2078 documents were obtained. In addition, the specific keyword Kanjuruhan Riots was used to, obtain 581 documents. Based on this number of documents, a sorting process was carried out according to the needs of the data to be obtained as well as the novelty of the news; thus, 11 documents were used as data sources. In addition, a number of sources from other news websites, such as (BBCnewsIndonesia, 2022) and (Tempo.co, 2022) were also searched, including official websites from related parties to obtain data, such as the Save the Children Indonesia website (CNN Indonesia, 2022).

## Result and Discussions

The results of this study reveal conflict events, triggers, causes, impacts, and conflict resolution in the case of the Kanjuruhan riots based on the perspective (Nulhaqim et al., 2017).

### Conflict Events

Conflicts that Occurred: Time, Location, and Type of Conflict

The Kanjuruhan riot occurred on 01 October 2022 at the Kanjuruhan Stadium in Malang. This event coincided with the League 1 football match in the 2022/2023 season between Arema and Persebaya. When viewed based on the type of conflict (Fisher, 2001). Kanjuruhan riots were included in the surface conflict. This means that the riots that occurred had shallow or rootless root causes, and generally arose due to misunderstandings. In this case, the riot that occurred in Kanjuruhan was a superficial conflict, implying that there were no significant problems between the actors involved. This riot arose in a situation that was not considered conducive.

### Actors Involved

In the Kanjuruhan riot, the actors involved were Arema supporters, known as Aremania, and the security forces in the

Arema versus Persebaya match. At the time of the Kanjuruhan riots, as reported by an independent joint fact-finding team, the number of police and military personnel on duty was 2,034, with 42,000 in Aremania. Furthermore, there are several reasons for conflict or riot, ranging from the history of competition among supporter groups to unprofessional competition management in terms of human resources and supporting infrastructure (Astuti et al., 2024).

### Background of the Conflict

According to a report by the Tim Gabungan Independen Pencari Fakta (TGIPF), the background of the Kanjuruhan riots was the feeling of disappointment from Aremania towards the defeat received by Arema during the match against Persebaya. The disappointed Aremania took to the field, which made the conditions not conducive; therefore, the security forces began to secure the environment by firing tear gas. In the Kanjuruhan Tragedy, it is known that riots were caused by the absence of consistency and synergy, both in operational standards, security protocols, and human resources as authorities, so that safe football matches could not be staged (Astuti : 2023). Poor match management is worsening because PT LIB does not provide guidelines and individual quality requirements for possible match organizers, security staff, and match implementers recommended by football clubs. The Arema FC football club's match organizing committee and management do not prioritize safety and security; as evidenced by the printing of tickets that exceed the stadium's capacity, there have been no concrete steps against security and safety violations, as well as awareness of the presence of tear gas, which is the primary cause of hundreds of casualties, the availability of vehicle facilities, and the guarantee of security devices. Steward provides the highest demand in high-risk circumstances (Junaedi et al., 2023).

### Chronology of the conflict

Indonesia currently hold a League 1 football match during the 2022/2023 season. This match started on July 23, 2022, and is planned to end in week 34. The League 1 match can be said to be quite conducive, until on 01 October 2022 there was a riot that claimed many lives. The riot became a dark day for football in Indonesia. This riot occurred in Kanjuruhan Stadium, Malang, and East Java. At that time, the match that took place brought together two large clubs; Arema and Persebaya. Owing to the dark record between the supporters of the two clubs, in 2016, there was an agreement that when there was a Arema vs. Persebaya match, each supporter was not allowed to visit Surabaya or Malang. Thus, at the time of the match on October 01, 2022, none of the Bonek supporters came to the Kanjuruhan Stadium to watch the match. As reported by the Jatim network, the number of Aremania who attended the match was 42,000, even though the capacity of the Kanjuruhan stadium was only 38,000. Thus, the riot occurred between Aremania and the security forces, which at that time had 2,034 police and TNI personnel.

The riot started from the result of the Persebaya vs Arema match, with a final result of 3-2 meaning Arema was defeated at home by Persebaya. Reporting from the report of the Tim Gabungan Independen Pencari Fakta (TGIPF) shows that at 22.00 WIB Arema supporters, totalling approximately 200 people, began to descend to the field approaching the position of the Arema players and officials. Supporters came down to the field because of their disappointment with Arema's defeat. Under theses conditions, the security forces felt that it would be increasingly unconducive; therefore, the security forces took steps to immediately secure the location by pulling the players to enter and fire the tear gas at the supporters. Based on the results of the report from the Independent Joint Fact Finding Team, tear gas shooting was directed to the southern

stands, namely stands 11, 12, and 13, and to the eastern stands, namely stand 6. The tear gas shooting made the supporters act as anarchists to some security personnel from the TNI, so some TNI members kicked Arema supporters again. As a result of the tear gas shooting, supporters of the stands tried to save themselves. This condition resulted in a riot among supporters who both wanted to save themselves and get out of the stadium; one supporter, and another pushed each other and unconsciously fell and fell on each other. The firing of tear gas caused eye stings and shortness of breath in the supporters; therefore, the riot could not be controlled.

### Conflict Involvement of One and the Other

The Kanjuruhan riot was a single riot, meaning that it was not influenced by the previous riots. This riot arose because of a conflict between supporters and security forces. This conflict occurred when the security forces took action using tear gas to disperse Aremania in the field. However, this action caused supporters to experience shortness of breath, watery eyes, and unconscious crowding to save themselves. This Kanjuruhan riot became one of the dark moments because it resulted in many casualties, besides that this riot also had an impact on the obstruction of League 1 matches and the sanctions given by the authorities to the parties involved in it such as sanctions to Arema Official, PT Liga Indonesia Baru, and security forces.

### Conflict Triggers

#### Initial Trigger of Conflict

The riot incident at Kanjuruhan Stadium, which occurred in October, was triggered by police firing tear gas. The defeat suffered by Arema made Aremania feel disappointed and express their disappointment by going down from the stand to the field. The number of Aremania supporters who came down to the field made the conditions at Kanjuruhan Stadium unsupportive, so that the authorities on duty fired tear gas towards the field and stood

with the aim of dispersing Aremania supporters.

Police firing tear gas triggered panic among Aremania and other parties at the stadium. The tear gas fired by the police at Aremania both in the field and the stands did not only occur once but also many times, making Aremania scramble with each other to get out of the stadium (BBCnewsIndonesia, 2022). The use of tear gas prompted spectators to fight back, resulting in stadium disturbances. Tear gas was initially used to disperse a mob of Arema FC supporters who were acting aggressively by confronting Indonesian National Police officers on duty. Although this is a Stage 5 action, it is governed by Article 7, paragraph (2), letter c of the Regulation of the Chief of the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia Number 1 of 2009 on the Use of Force in Police Actions. However, such measures must consider both the principle of using force and protecting human rights (Amin et al., 2024). The firing of tear gas is also considered an act that violates the FIFA rules (FIFA, 2010). Based on the FIFA Stadium Safety and Security Regulations Guidelines, Article 19 (b) states that it is not allowed to carry and use firearms or crowd-controlled gas. The ban aims to ensure the safety and security of players competing and the safety of supporters watching.

All Aremania who were at the Kanjuruhan Stadium at that time considered that the police had violated FIFA because it could endanger the lives of supporters who were present. However, the perspective of the police was shooting tear gas because Aremania supporters were considered to have caused anarchist actions that could endanger the safety of players. Consequently, the conditions at the Kanjuruhan Stadium became increasingly heated, especially the riots between Aremania and police officers on duty.

#### Conflict Development

The situation that was not conducive due to the firing of tear gas into the stands

caused Aremania to fight back against the police. Tear gas was fired by the police towards the south stands, namely stands 11, 12, and 13, and towards the east stands, namely stand 6. Supporters increasingly showed resistance by behaving with anarchists toward security forces (TNI). The tear gas fired repeatedly by the police caused supporters in the stadium to feel shortness of breath and difficulty seeing the surrounding conditions. The situation at Kanjuruhan began to become chaotic after resistance between Aremania and the authorities tasked with saving themselves.

The Kanjuruhan Stadium has four main entrances and exits for spectators: doors C, D, E, and F. When a riot occurred, access door D, which was the big door of the stadium, was locked and could not be opened. The main door of the stadium cannot be opened because the stewards (the parties holding the key to the stadium door) are not in place. This has violated the PSSI prohibition stated in article 21 paragraph 1 (A) which states that "all exits and gates at the stadium, and all gates leading from the spectator area to the playing area, remain unlocked, supervised and guarded by stewards when the audience is at the Stadium:" (Persatuan Sepak Bola Seluruh Indonesia, 2021).

As a result of the main door not being able to open, all Aremania who were jostling for a way out and they could only pass through a two-metre wide door so that many supporters fell unconscious, pushed each other, and there were even victims who died on the spot because they did not get proper oxygen (CNN Indonesia, 2022; Kemenko Polhukam, 2022). The widespread coverage of social media regarding the Kanjuruhan riot resulted in the Indonesian Football Association (PSSI) suggesting to the general public that they had never received direct socialization from FIFA regarding the ban on the use of tear gas. Due to their ignorance of the FIFA regulation, police officers on duty acted according to police discretion.



### Actors Involved

The actors involved in triggering the conflict at the Kanjuruhan riot were Aremania as supporters of Arema Malang, who felt disappointed at Arema's defeat in Persebaya Surabaya, and the security forces (police and TNI) who fired tear gas into the stands and the field.

### Cause of Conflict

#### Factors Causing Conflict

Based on the analysis of the data collected, the riots at Kanjuruhan Stadium were caused by several factors: 1) the schedule for the matches that were held at night; 2) tickets sold exceeded the capacity of the number of seats in the stadium; and 3) Aremania felt disappointed because Arema Malang suffered a narrow 3-2 defeat to their rival team, Persebaya Surabaya.

The Match schedule changes to night. The match between Arema and Persebaya in the Indonesian League on October 1, 2022, was the decision of the PT. The New Indonesia League (LIB) was agreed upon by the PSSI and Match Organizing Committee. Police officers advised PSSI to carry out matches in the afternoon to prevent riots; however, PT. The New Indonesia League (LIB) stated that the match should be held at night in accordance with the contract of the Indosiar television station PSSI : 2022). The PSSI and Match Organising Committee also thought that because the match did not invite guest supporters (Persebaya supporters), they believed that there would be no rivalry between supporters (Rahmani et al., 2023).

The tickets sold exceeded the capacity of the number of seats in the stadium. Reporting from various news articles (KumparanNews, 2022), it is agreed that the seat capacity at Kanjuruhan Stadium can only accommodate 38,000 spectators. Mahfud MD, as the Coordinating Minister for Politics, Law, and Security, stated that 42,000 tickets were sold by the committee so that not all spectators who watched live could get seats (Prayogo, 2023). Because the number of spectators does not match the

capacity of the stadium, it can make the situation in the stadium more crowded and provide the opportunity to cause riots.

Disappointment Experienced by Aremania. When the game started to finish, the match went smoothly, and there was no chaos in the stadium. However, Arema's defeat caused Aremania to feel disappointed by the stadium. Based on (Rahmani et al., 2023) that after the match was over, Aremania tried to enter the field, so the officers in charge immediately possessed stands that were considered vulnerable. After the match was over, the Persebaya team immediately ran to the Malang Police grantis car. The car was intercepted and pelted with stones and fire, so that the officers in charge tried to take action to break up the Aremania riots. A large number of Aremania broke into the field so that the officers in charge of shooting tear gas towards the south stands (stands 11, 12, and 13) and the east stands (stand 6). As a result of the tear gas being fired at the stands, an increasing number of spectators descended to the field so that the police fired tear gas repeatedly. Aremania is becoming increasingly anarchic and rebellious by destroying facilities and infrastructure in the stadium, including police cars. As a result of the increasingly heated situation, Aremania has lost its life as a result of inhaling too much tear gas.

### Actors Involved

The actor involved in causing the rioting at the Kanjuruhan Stadium, namely Aremania, broke into the field with police officers who violated FIFA's ban by firing tear gas towards the stands and field. Arema fans were indifferent to their players and showed their anger by participating in disruptive behavior at the stadium. Although security authorities and the police have worked hard to control the situation, they face a big challenge. With a total of 2,034 staff, the security and police apparatus sought to handle a crowd of 42,588 people (Naufal, 2024).

## Impact of Conflict

### Parties Affected by the Conflict

The impact of the riot that occurred at Kanjuruhan Stadium after the Arema vs. Persebaya match was felt by many parties, not only Aremania as supporters and security forces but also Arema and Persebaya players, victims' families and other football clubs. The qualities included in the laws and norms of society must be used as guidelines for creating a safe and free football matching environment from anarchic actions in the future (Naufal, 2024).

### Condition of the Physical Environment After the Conflict

The riot that occurred at the Kanjuruhan Stadium caused 754 victims, 134 of whom died. Komnas reported the number of fatalities caused by the use of tear gas by the security forces inside the stadium. The casualties were not only from supporters, but also from two police officers who became victims. The use of tear gas causes stinging eyes to shortness of breath, so many supporters are crowded and step on each other to save themselves. According to MalangTimes; (2022), survivors experienced various symptoms, such as shortness of breath, red eyes, sore throat, irritation, and spots on the body to experience trauma. As reported by the Independent Joint Fact-Finding Team report to help restore the mental condition of the victims, the government together with the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Social Affairs provided trauma healing and psychosocial support to patients with minor / severe injuries and families of victims with a total of 123 patients. In addition, the infrastructure around Kanjuruhan Stadium was damaged. Based on the report of the Independent Joint Fact-Finding Team, 11 cars were damaged and burned, including nine police cars and two civilian vehicles.

### Non-physical environment after the conflict

The aftermath of the riot not only

claimed lives, but also affected Persebaya players. Reported in CNN Indonesia, the news states that Persebaya players were stoned by Aremania and surrounded in a rantis car for one hour. Arema also experienced the impact of Kanjuruhan Riot. The PSSI sanctioned Arema not to host during the League 1 Match. In addition, the president ordered that League Matches 1 be stopped until evaluation and improvement activities are completed. This decision affected other football clubs that experienced delays. One of these directly affected was the match between Persib and Persija, which had to be postponed. In addition, Arema received a fine Rp. 250 million from the PSSI Disciplinary Committee. The impact of the Kanjuruhan riots was certainly experienced by many victims who had lost their family members. The Kanjuruhan riot was a separate football wound in Indonesia. The cry of "No Football at the Price of Human Life" was heard and posted in various places, such as social media.

## Conflict Resolution

### Actors Involved in Conflict Resolution Efforts: The Role of Actors

The many impacts felt by various parties due to the Kanjuruhan riots, government, and other parties made efforts to handle this event. These efforts came from various parties, such as the President of the Republic of Indonesia, the East Java Provincial Government, the Malang Regency Government, and other humanitarian organizations. The role of each actor in conflict resolution efforts is as follows :

- a. The President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, played a role in giving orders for the match to be stopped until the match security procedures were improved, in addition to giving directions to the PSSI, the Ministry of Sports, and PT.LIB to immediately follow up on this matter.
- b. Menkopolhukam : acts as the

- chairman of the Tim Gabungan Independent Pencari Fakta (TGIPF).
- c. The Central Java Provincial Government and the Malang Regency Government provided: assistance to the families of victims of the Kanjuruhan riots.
  - d. Komnas HAM : has a role in providing efforts to handle the Kanjuruhan case.
  - e. Save the Children Indonesia (StC) : In coordination with the Malang District Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Office, it played a role in recording child victims, orphans, and providing psychosocial support.

#### Conflict Resolution Efforts and Conflict Resolution Expectations

Quoted from Media Tempo President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo in his press release ordered the PSSI to temporarily suspend League 1 until evaluation and security procedures we are carried out. This is a resolution given by the government to evaluate and anticipate, such that there are no similar incidents in other matches. In addition, the president ordered the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs Mahfud Md to conduct a special investigation of the Kanjuruhan riot. This is stated in the Presidential Decree No. 19 of 2022.

Tim Gabungan Independen Pencari Fakta (TGIPF) was independently and directly responsible for the president. The team is chaired by the Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs, Mahfud MD, with the assistance of a vice chairman, secretary and ten other members. The task of this team was to search, find, and reveal facts supported by the data and information that could be accounted for by the Kanjuruhan riots. In addition, a team was formed to conduct a comprehensive evaluation of the match between Arema and Persebaya. It is hoped that this team can investigate the chronology, as well as the parties involved, who need to be

responsible for the Kanjuruhan riots. On October 14, 2022, the team completed its work, and the report was given directly to the president.

The East Java Provincial Government also took part in overcoming the Kanjuruhan riots by focusing on providing compensation for victims' families. Quoted from CNN Indonesia, East Java Governor Khofifah Indar Parawansa said that the families of those who died in the Kanjuruhan tragedy would receive compensation totalling Rp. 25 million. This compensation will be provide in and adjusted to the population data of the people who died. On the same page, the Malang Regency government provided assistance in the form of hospital treatment costs for victims of the Kanjuruhan riots. The provision of this assistance is one of the efforts made by the government to help and take responsibility for the tragedy that occurred at the Kanjuruhan Stadium in Malang, which befell the community. In addition, Komnas HAM took part in an attempt to handle this case. Quoted from the CNN Indonesia news, Komnas Ham Chairman Ahmad Taufan Damanik said that he would form a team and send it to Malang for monitoring. In addition, Komnas HAM asked the local government and related officials to continue providing intensive health care.

Another form of resolution was given by Save the Children Indonesia, which urged the government and matched organizers to take immediate action related to the safety and security of children. Reporting from the official website of Save the Children's Indonesia through a press release, the organization coordinated with the Malang Regency Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Office to identify the data and conditions of children who were victims or lost their parents in this incident. Save Children Indonesia (StC) also took part in providing psychosocial services directly to families and children who were victims of the Kanjuruhan riots. Save the Children's participation in the resolution of

the Kanjuruhan riots provided a tangible form that non-governmental organizations were also concerned about the Kanjuruhan riots. The hope is that conflict resolution involving various parties will increase the awareness of the parties involved in reaffirming the rules, so that similar incidents will not happen again.

Resolution efforts by various parties to the Kanjuruhan riots have been pursued through litigation. This can be seen from the presence of the Joint Independent Fact-Finding Team, which sought to reveal who was responsible for the Kanjuruhan riots, which resulted in many victims. Komnas HAM also participated in the investigation as a form of resolution. Other parties, such as the Central Java Provincial Government, Malang Regency Government, and Save the Children's Indonesia (StC), provide a form of non-litigation resolution effort. Victims have the right to seek restitution or compensation from the LPSK or Witness and Victim Protection Agency to ensure that their material and immaterial human rights are met. The LPSK must also exert significant cooperation and engagement to ensure that victims receive distributive support, particularly those who endanger victims' health (Rasyid et al., 2023).

#### Supporting and Obstacle Factors for Conflict Resolution Efforts

In the process of providing conflict resolution during the Kanjuruhan riots, supporting and obstacle factors influenced the success of conflict resolution. If examined further, Kanjuruhan riot resolution efforts could be quickly provided due to the presence of supporting factors in the form of sympathy and preparedness from the various parties involved. This is because the Kanjuruhan riots became one of the darkest events in the world of Indonesian football, resulting in 754 victims and other damage. Many parties that participated in the investigation of this event quickly the resolution efforts. Various parties cooperated in providing reports related to the Kanjuruhan riot, one

of which was Komnas HAM, which cooperated with the Tim Gabungan Independent Pencari Fakta, chaired by the Menkopolhukam. However, we also see that there are factors that hinder the resolution of Kanjuruhan riots. For example, the number of parties involved and conducting investigations independently may differ, such that the information obtained may differs. This condition often causes families of victims and the community to continue questioning definite and clear information. There should be strict enforcement of regulations and legislation, tightening of medical and safety standards, and increased awareness among officials and the public regarding safety precautions in large gatherings (Wiyono et al., 2023).

When a police officer confronts or resolves a problem, emotional dysregulation can result in unpredictable conduct. As a result, emotional dysregulation requires handlers and further training to manage emotions for law enforcement, which is necessary to defend, protect, and engage with the community to establish public order (Andromeda & Handayan, 2023).

#### Conditions After Conflict Resolution Efforts

After various forms of resolution were given to respond to the Kanjuruhan riots, some parties suspected that human rights violations occurred during the incident. One party who suspected this was Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum, Indonesia. As reported by CNN Indonesia, YLBHI Chairman Muhammad Isnur said that the YLBHI suspected that there were allegations of human rights violations committed by the authorities in an effort to control the masses, which caused 150 fatalities and hundreds of injuries. This was due to the use of tear gas, which was not in accordance with the existing procedures. Therefore, authorized police should conduct an investigation on this matter Furthermore, support from social media

through virtual social movements has effectively pressured the government to investigate and take action against individuals believed to be involved for organizing the football match (Yuni et al., 2022).

## CONCLUSIONS

Based on the results of this research, the riot that occurred in Kanjuruhan was considered a single riot that was not influenced by other riots. The riot that occurred in Kanjuruhan can be analyzed based on the conflict resolution approach in accordance with the stages of the approach, namely conflict events, conflict triggers, conflict causes, conflict impacts, and conflict resolution. Based on the results of the previous discussion, the following conclusions can be drawn.

**Conflict Event :** A conflict caused a riot at the Kanjuruhan Stadium in Malang during the Arema VS Persebaya match on July 23, 2022. The result of the match, which stated that Arema had to lose to Surabaya, caused a sense of disappointment with Aremania. Aremania's disappointment was characterized by the descent of supporters into the field, causing stadium conditions to become unfavorable.

The conflict trigger the uncontrolled riot between Aremania and the police resulted in both attacking and defending each other. The Aremania who wanted to save themselves were held back by the access to the main door of the stadium, which could not be opened so that the Aremania who were on the field could only exit through a two meter wide door. The exit was not sufficient for supporters to pass through, so many supporters joined and pushed each other.

The cause of conflict, the main cause of the riot at Kanjuruhan Stadium, was Aremania's disappointment. After the match was said to be over, Aremania broke into the field so that officers on duty began to take precautions. The number of Aremania who came down made police officers on duty take action by firing tear

gas towards the stands and field. This made the situation at the Kanjuruhan Stadium even more heated, and between Aremania and the authorities, they fought each other to save themselves.

The conflict impact, the riot at Kanjuruhan Stadium, caused various impacts ranging from material to non-material. There were 754 victims, 134 of whom died, and the rest were injured due to riots. The victims who died were not only supporters, but also two police officers. The Kanjuruhan riots also caused damage to stadium facilities, sanctions given to Arema to pay fines to FIFA, and were not allowed to host during League 1 matches.

In an attempt to resolve the conflict that occurred in the Kanjuruhan tragedy, various parties were involved starting from the President of Indonesia, the Malang City government, and other organizations that asked the FFI to temporarily suspend matches in League 1. The Malang City Government took responsibility for the families of the victims by providing assistance for hospitalization costs. In addition, humanitarian organizations such as Save The Children Indonesia (StC) and Lembaga Bantuan Hukum (LBH) helped to fight for their rights as they should. Program or activity implementers need to possess a positive attitude (Nulhaqim & Adiansah, 2023), as well as knowledge, comprehension, and other program-related competences. They also need to be attentive to assigned tasks and sensitive to cases. To prevent and minimize the recurrence of anarchic attitudes, rule violations, and riots that occurred in Kanjuruhan, the government, security forces, authorized parties, organizing institutions, and even community components must all play an important role and cooperate fully in developing and improving security and order during a football match. In this case, several qualities covered in Law and Society may be used as the next guideline for the development of a football match that is safe and free of anarchist activities for the people and world of Indonesian football in

the future.

## Notes

1. PSSI refers to Persatuan Sepakbola Seluruh Indonesia (Indonesian Football Association)
2. TGIPF refers to Tim Gabungan Independen Pencari Fakta (the Independent Joint Fact Finding Team)

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