



#UsutTuntas Kanjuruhan Tragedy Movement Strategy: Expanding Issues, Mass Base, and Internationalizing Ideas

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Abstract. This research inquires strategies employed by actors in the #UsutTuntas Kanjuruhan Tragedy movement and issues built to strengthen the mass base to identify the actors, tendencies, and development of issues related to the Kanjuruhan Tragedy incident. Using qualitative methods, employing interviews and literature study techniques for data collection with actors involved in the #UsutTuntas movement of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy. The Kanjuruhan Tragedy has become a critical issue in Indonesian football and human rights. The large number of fatalities led to the emergence of a massive movement from the community to demand justice, particularly in the Batu City, Malang City and Malang Regency areas. In this case, various protests have been carried out by victims and/or victims' families, activists and students. Until now, they have held a series of discussions and massive mass actions since the incident occurred. Findings suggested that the expansion of the movement idea by the actors involved in the movement needs to be done in order to frame the tragedy as a shared grief that transcends football supporters. In addition, internationalizing the movement is also essential to amplify its impact and achieve justice for the victims and/or the families of the victims.

Keywords: #UsutTuntas Movement, Kanjuruhan Tragedy, Victim and/or Victim's Relatives: Expansion of Movement.

1 Introduction

On October 1, 2022, a tragic event remembered as the Kanjuruhan Tragedy, one of the worst football riot incidents in the history of Indonesia and world wide happened. The tragic event occurred after the match between Arema Football Club (FC) and Persebaya claimed 135 lives. The tragedy puts Indonesia second worst country in the history of soccer tragedy.

The tragedy that occurred at Kanjuruhan Stadium, Malang Regency was marked by chaos even before the match between Arema FC and Persebaya began. According to the chronology submitted by the police, the Arema FC organizing committee initially scheduled the match for 20:00 WIB, but Malang Police recommended changing it to 15.30 WIB for safety reasons. Meanwhile, the New Indonesia League (LIB) as the

organizer, rejected the recommendation on the grounds that there was a risk of compensation penalty if the schedule was changed. Finally, the Arema FC and Persebaya match took place at Kanjuruhan Stadium on October 1, 2022, at 20.00 WIB, with additional security personnel[15].

The match proceeded smoothly and concluded with a victory for Persebaya (3–2). This result sparked disappointment among Arema FC supporters. Several disappointed Arema FC fans forced their way onto the field, leading to clashes with security personnel on duty. Security forces evacuated Persebaya players and officials, but the unrest escalated. The number of supporters entering the field continued to increase.

The chaos prompted security personnel to resort to violent measures, with some officers firing tear gas into the stands. However, the use of tear gas to disperse the crowd in the stands exacerbated the situation. Spectators in the stands panicked and crowded toward the stadium exits, which could not be fully opened. As a result, many spectators became trapped, leading to hundreds of fatalities and injuries [5].

From this brief chronology, the Kanjuruhan Tragedy was marked by human rights violations, such as the excessive use of force, the negligence of organizers prioritizing commercial aspects over safety, and the inability of security personnel to control the unrest. Despite the human rights violations, the incident carries diverse narratives that obscure the parties responsible. Some narratives blame the supporters for storming the field, while others highlight the organizer's negligence and the security personnel's mishandling of the unrest.

With these differing narratives, justice for the victims or their families appears to be sidelined. In the Kanjuruhan Tragedy, law enforcement authorities identified several suspects, including representatives from the Indonesian Football League (LIB), event organizers, security officials, and police officers. However, the determination of suspects has not sufficiently clarified the root causes of the tragedy, leaving a sense of injustice unaddressed.

Amid this injustice, a civil society movement emerged demanding a clear and fair legal process regarding the Kanjuruhan Tragedy. This movement, known as #UsutTuntas, holds a pivotal position in advocating for justice in the handling of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy, which resembles an entangled web of issues. The #UsutTuntas movement has initiated various efforts to press for accountability from the parties responsible for the loss of hundreds of lives in the tragedy.

Prior studies highlighted the causes and chronology of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy yet there has been no attempt to deeply examine the #UsutTuntas movement, which plays a pivotal role in advocating for justice in the aftermath of the tragedy. Addressing this gap, the researcher is interested in conducting an in-depth study on the #UsutTuntas movement in the Kanjuruhan Tragedy, focusing on actor mapping, movement tendencies, issue framing efforts, and movement strategies.

Given its role, it is compelling to conduct an in-depth study of the #UsutTuntas movement in the context of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy. This research aims to map the actors involved in the #UsutTuntas movement, examine the movement's tendencies, and analyze the issue-framing strategies used to strengthen the movement.

Furthermore, the researcher is interested in exploring the strategies employed by the #UsutTuntas movement in addressing the Kanjuruhan Tragedy. This study is expected

to provide an in-depth depiction of the tragedy from the perspective of civil society, which still leaves lingering questions. Additionally, the research seeks to elucidate the dynamics of the #UsutTuntas movement as a significant civil society initiative in the aftermath of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy.

2 Literature Review

Previous studies on the Kanjuruhan Tragedy have been conducted. The first is a journal article titled *The Root of Violence in Kanjuruhan Tragedy: An Evaluation for the Police Institution* [19]. This study examines the roots of violence in the Kanjuruhan Tragedy using Erich Fromm's approach. The journal categorizes the tragedy as destructive violence, involving heinous acts that harmed and tortured supporters, ultimately resulting in significant loss of life.

The second study is titled *Komunikasi Krisis Polri: Strategi Image Repair Polri dalam Tragedi Kanjuruhan* [1]. This research explores the strategies employed by the Indonesian National Police (Polri) to repair its institutional image in the wake of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy. The findings reveal that Polri focused heavily on image restoration by defending itself but tended to neglect efforts to offer apologies.

The third study, titled *Analisis Framing Pemberitaan Media Narasi Tentang Tragedi Kanjuruhan* [2], investigates media framing of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy using Robert N. Entman's concept of framing. The research shows that media coverage predominantly highlighted the mistakes of the police in handling the unrest, which contributed to the tragedy's casualties.

To analyze the #UsutTuntas movement, the researcher employed the concept of social movements. Herbert Blumer asserts that all social movements, including #UsutTuntas, emerge as a response to dissatisfaction with the prevailing social order. Such dissatisfaction develops into public unrest, eventually forming an organized force to establish an acceptable order [3]. Social movements manifest in diverse forms, which Blumer categorizes into three types.

First, general social movements, which are unorganized and lack recognized leadership or membership. Second, specific social movements, which are organized, featuring official leaders and members. Third, expressive social movements, which focus on projecting a group's cultural identity onto specific objects. Religious movements are one example of expressive social movements.

Among these forms, football fandom can be categorized as an expressive social movement akin to religious movements. Football fans share a common interest in their chosen team, expressing this through cultural practices such as their methods of support, loyalty, and perspectives on their team allegiance [14]. The formation of football fandom as a social movement is inseparable from the presence of collective identity.

According to Owen Whooley, collective identity grows out of shared interests, experiences, and solidarity among members. It fosters collective awareness, enabling members to internalize their shared traits, thus strengthening the collective identity [20].

The concept of social movements grounded in collective identity is applicable in explaining how the #UsutTuntas movement evolved as a response to Aremania's (Arema FC supporters) dissatisfaction. By examining the development of this movement, it is possible to identify the actors involved, the movement's tendencies, and its issue-framing strategies concerning the Kanjuruhan Tragedy. The concept of social movements will also be utilized to analyze the strategies implemented by the #UsutTuntas movement in addressing the Kanjuruhan Tragedy.

3 Research Methodology

This study employed a qualitative method with a case study approach to provide an in-depth explanation of the realities surrounding a specific event [7]. Data collection was conducted through interviews and literature reviews. Interviews were carried out with several key figures or actors involved in the #UsutTuntas movement addressing the Kanjuruhan Tragedy. Meanwhile, the literature review utilized media archives and other relevant documents, such as photos and posters.

Data collection focused on the period from October 2022 to March 2023. This timeframe was chosen as it marks the initial occurrence of the tragedy and the emergence of the #UsutTuntas movement. The collected data underwent several processing stages, including transcribing interviews, recording data, and organizing information based on its sources. The data was then reviewed and summarized to identify general ideas. Finally, the data was interpreted to produce research findings [4]. To minimize biased data, researchers also triangulated by interviewing academics who understand the characteristics of football supporter groups in Indonesia, especially Aremania. Researchers also verify data through open information from the mass media. In addition, information from interviews also strengthened and/or verified with literature with the books and/or scientific journals.

4 Results and Discussion

The #UsutTuntas movement emerged as a civil society response to the injustice surrounding the Kanjuruhan Tragedy, which claimed 135 lives on 1 October 2022. From the research conducted, the researcher identified numerous actors involved in initiating and sustaining the #UsutTuntas movement. Broadly, these actors include students, legal aid organizations, academics, supporters, the general public, and victims and/or their families. The #UsutTuntas movement has also been strengthened by the voices of international actors, including various groups such as football federations and supporters. Each actor plays a significant role in sustaining the movement and amplifying the issues arising from the Kanjuruhan Tragedy.

4.1 Wounds and Tear Gas: The Catalyst of the #UsufTuntas Movement

The Kanjuruhan Tragedy, which claimed hundreds of lives, left deep wounds and profound disappointment among those affected. According to survivors, these wounds would not have occurred if tear gas had not been fired into the stands by security personnel following the match between Arema FC and Persebaya at Kanjuruhan Stadium on October 1, 2022.

The use of tear gas is seen as a failure by security forces to manage the unrest effectively. A survivor, Faldy (a pseudonym), expressed deep regret over the brutal actions taken by the authorities in handling the situation. He emphasized that such actions not only failed to restore order but instead escalated the tragedy, resulting in an irreplaceable loss for the victims and their families.

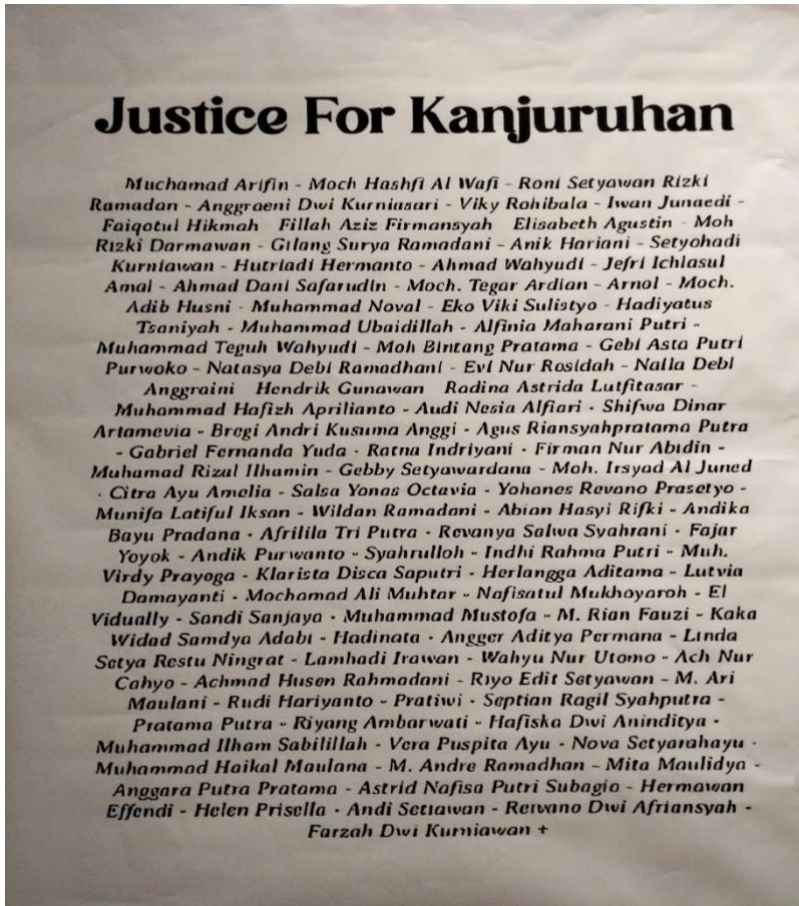


Fig. 1. List of Deaths in the Kanjuruhan Tragedy. Source: Faldy's Document

According to Faldy, the actions of the security forces were arbitrary and amounted to abuse of power. Faldy, one of the key actors in the Aremania Kampus Biru Brawijaya movement, was present at Kanjuruhan Stadium during the tragedy. He stated that tear

gas was not only fired inside the stadium but also outside, purportedly to disperse the crowd and create an exit route for Persebaya players and security personnel.

Echoing Faldy's sentiments, Dandi (a pseudonym), another survivor and member of the Aremania Kepanjen community, expressed deep disappointment with the brutality displayed by the authorities. Dandi, who lost a friend due to the violence, still feels traumatized when recalling the incident. During the tragedy, Dandi witnessed a harrowing scene filled with screams, cries for help, and chaos as the crowd panicked.

Dandi and others were trapped in a terrifying situation, particularly at Gate 13, which was closed. Tear gas drove spectators to attempt an escape through Gate 13, resulting in overcrowding and fatalities. Before the match began, Dandi noted that Gate 13 had been open, with security personnel stationed there. However, the gate's closure during the chaos exacerbated the tragedy, highlighting the lack of adequate crowd management and emergency response.

Dandi shared that when the tear gas spread everywhere, he attempted to escape, but Gate 13, which served as the main exit from the stadium, was closed. As he tried to leave, Dandi saw his friend being carried out, struggling to breathe, and eventually dying. Dandi felt a deep sense of anger and disappointment toward the brutality of the authorities.

Others widely shared this sense of disappointment regarding the authorities' use of tear gas. One notable expression of this frustration was the emergence of the slogan "All Cops Are Beautiful," a sarcastic statement from Aremania conveying their profound disillusionment over the loss of conscience within state institutions that failed to protect the public.

Resistance slogans also emerged after the Kanjuruhan Tragedy. One of them was "Malangkuçewara," derived from the words Mala, Angkuca, and Icwara. The word Mala means falsehood, lies, and hypocrisy, while Angkuca means to destroy or annihilate, and Icwara translates to God [19]. When combined, the slogan "Malangkuçewara" means "God Will Destroy Falsehood." For Dandi, this slogan represents the belief that every authority figure who callously killed his friend and other supporters through the brutal use of tear gas will ultimately face retribution from God.

The widespread disappointment with the authorities' brutality, viewed as a failure to manage the unrest, became the catalyst for the #UsutTuntas movement. As Blumer states, social movements emerge as a response to dissatisfaction with the existing order [3]. The anger and disillusionment caused by the tear gas quickly organized into a more solid movement through #UsutTuntas.

Soon after the Kanjuruhan Tragedy, the international community expressed grief and solidarity. FIFA President Gianni Infantino, in a statement on FIFA's official blog [6], expressed his condolences for the incident. He described it as the darkest day in football and the most tragic occurrence. Football club Barcelona also posted on its social media account, expressing its sorrow for the tragedy and rejecting any form of violence both on and off the field [12].

Solidarity for the Kanjuruhan Tragedy also came from international football supporter communities. Supporters of the Spanish football club Rayo Vallecano, on 4 October 2022, displayed a banner reading "They didn't die, they were killed" during their match against Elche at the Vallecas Stadium. The wave of solidarity continued,

and on the same day, Bayern Munich supporters showed their support by displaying a banner expressing solidarity with Aremania. They strongly criticized the actions of the police for firing tear gas into the stands [10].



Fig. 2. Bayern Munich Supporters' Solidarity Action During the European Champions League Match. *Source: wartakota.tribunnews.com*

Solidarity for the Kanjuruhan Tragedy transcended issues, individuals, and regions. According to I Wayan Suyadnya, a Sociology lecturer at Brawijaya University, the Kanjuruhan Tragedy is not just a football issue but a shared humanitarian issue. Wayan emphasized that limiting concern for the tragedy should be avoided. The Kanjuruhan Tragedy is a collective issue that must be faced together because it is a matter of human rights and dignity.

International solidarity emerged because people shared a common collective consciousness. The Kanjuruhan Tragedy, which occurred in Malang, violated universal human values. Although they were not present at the site of the incident, which claimed 135 lives, people around the world could offer their solidarity. This is because they shared a collective awareness of humanitarian issues [17].

4.2 The Series of Actions Demanding Justice and Efforts at Suppression

The #UsutTuntas movement emerged as an effort to fight for justice for the victims of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy. According to Imam Sahroji, also known as Cak Ji, the founder of the #UsutTuntas movement, this movement was formed due to the dissatisfaction with the lack of concrete actions from the Aremania Joint Team (TGA) in the 40 days following the incident. Imam Sahroji eventually established his movement, consisting of student groups. The #UsutTuntas movement began with

consolidation in front of Gajayana Stadium, with one of its key activists, Ambon Fanda, and several communities from various regions.

Thus far, the #UsutTuntas movement has organized a series of actions demanding justice for the victims of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy. One major action was the road closure on 20 November 2022, at several points, such as Pujon, Karanglo, Landungsari, and others. This action caused significant traffic congestion. According to statements from the movement's leaders, the action aimed to illustrate that the traffic jam in Malang was akin to the gridlock of justice in the Kanjuruhan Tragedy.

Furthermore, on 29 January 2023, a demonstration was held in front of the Arema FC office. This protest escalated into a riot, with the demonstrators causing damage due to their frustration with the Arema FC management's lack of assistance for the victims' families and their failure to address justice for the Kanjuruhan Tragedy. In addition to these two actions, many more protests have been held to demand justice for the Kanjuruhan Tragedy. Below is a table listing the actions organized by the #UsutTuntas movement.

Table 1. #UsutTuntas Movement Actions in the Kanjuruhan Tragedy

Time	Actions	Location	Agenda
02/10/2022	Consolidation, solidarity and the 1000 candles action	Gajayana Stadium	Solidarity action of 1000 candles for the victims of Kanjuruhan and joint prayers
20/10/2022	Silent protest	Malang City Hall	The silent protest involved taking to the streets and turning their backs on the Mayor of Malang, Sutiaji
31/10/2022	Solidarity Action of Malang Raya	Malang City Prosecutor's Office	Demanding justice and government transparency in addressing the Kanjuruhan Tragedy case.
4/11/2022	Malang Black Sunday	Kidulpasar, Batu, Kasembon, Turen, and Purwantoro	Solidarity Actions from Various Areas of Malang Raya
10/11/2022	Action "Perjuangan Arek Malang yang Tertindas"	Gajayana Stadium	Longmarch and theatrical Action of the massacre in the Kanjuruhan Tragedy

16/11/2022	Discussion about Football and Police Violence	Universitas Brawijaya	Discussion on Witness and Victim Protection, Human Rights, and the #UsutTuntas Movement
17/11/2022	Action sending letters of hope for justice “dari arek malang untuk presiden”	Post Office, Malang City	Sending thousands of letters of hope for justice regarding the Kanjuruhan Tragedy from Aremania and the people of Malang, addressed to President Jokowi.
20/11/2022	Demonstration action with road blockade	Sawojajar, Lesanpuro, Blimbing, Pujon, Arjosari, Bumiayu,, Karanglo, Landungsari, Bululawang, etc	Blocking access to main roads in several locations in Malang
08/12/2022	Convoy action	Kota Malang	The convoy aimed to create traffic congestion and block access to public transportation.
14/01/2023	Festival “Solidaritas Kampung Kota”	Mergosono, Kota Malang	An art exhibition with the theme of human rights violations in the Kanjuruhan Tragedy.
29/01/2023	Demonstration at the Arema FC Office	Arema FC’s Office, Mayjend Panjaitan St.	Demanding the management's responsibility to assist in the pursuit of justice for the Kanjuruhan Tragedy.

Source: Processed from various sources.

These actions are carried out as a strategy of social movement to attempt to change an unjust order [3]. Through these actions, the #UsutTuntas movement urges the government, management, and security forces to provide justice for the Kanjuruhan Tragedy. These parties have been seen as playing minimal roles, triggering public anger. During the demonstration at the Arema FC office, David (a pseudonym), coordinator of Arema Campus at a university in Malang, explained that the protest was held to demand that the management play a more active role and show solidarity in supporting justice for the victims' families of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy.

David explained that the management's role in helping uphold justice for the Kanjuruhan Tragedy was minimal. According to him, Arema FC showed no concern for seeking justice for the victims, leaving the supporters to fight independently. He said that his beloved club preferred to continue the competition rather than establish solidarity to support the victims' families. The struggle of the #UsutTuntas movement

is very challenging. In addition to fighting alone, the supporters or members of society who are advocating for justice for the victims of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy are also facing efforts to silence them.

David explained that after the protest at the Arema FC office, there were many victims of wrongful arrests due to the damage caused to the office. David estimated that around 50 people were arrested, some of whom were wrongly targeted and included on the list of wanted persons. In social movements, radical actions or measures are often necessary to change the existing order. Therefore, it is understandable that the #UsutTuntas movement conducted actions that occasionally led to riots. Social movements are used to oppose oppressive powers or arbitrariness. As a form of resistance, social movements may resort to radical actions, such as demonstrations or protests [18].

The use of radical actions is made possible because the #UsutTuntas movement is facing a silent government, management, and security forces, and judiciary system that fails to deliver justice for the victims of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy. Daniel Alexander Siagian, a survivor's advocate from LBH Surabaya Pos Malang, stated that there are several facts that the judicial process has overlooked. He explained that the use of tear gas by state authorities, which led to the loss of lives, constitutes a serious human rights violation that has been ignored. As this is a human rights violation, Daniel argued that those responsible for the Kanjuruhan Tragedy must be prosecuted up to the highest power levels.

However, Daniel further explained that law enforcement against the perpetrators has proven inadequate. From the trial process that has taken place, Daniel pointed out the presence of impunity, where perpetrators at the higher levels have not been held accountable. According to him, the Kanjuruhan Tragedy could be resolved through the Human Rights Court mechanism, by Law Number 26 Year 2000 concerning Human Rights Court, to ensure full justice for the victims.

4.3 Maintaining and Expanding the Hope of the #UsutTuntas Movement

While justice for the victims of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy remains elusive, the hope of the #UsutTuntas movement continues to be upheld. This effort is essential to ensure that the issues of humanity and justice are not forgotten in the unresolved aftermath of the Kanjuruhan tragedy. In addition to demonstrations, the #UsutTuntas movement employs various creative forms of activism to build and maintain awareness of the issue. One example of this is the "Festival Keadilan", organized by the Social Movement Institute (SMI) community and the people of Malang on 29 July 2023. The festival saw the participation of several community groups, including supporters, students, civil society, human rights activists, and families of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy victims.

The public's active involvement in the movement is driven by their hope to change the prevailing injustice [9]. The Festival Keadilan, part of #UsutTuntas movement, serves as a platform to strengthen solidarity within the movement, especially regarding the state's failure to protect its citizens, particularly in the case of the Kanjuruhan

Tragedy. From this event, the people of Malang collectively voiced several demands for justice concerning the human rights violations that occurred in the city.

The families of the victims of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy are demanding the rejection of renovations at the Kanjuruhan Stadium. They are calling for transparency in the legal proceedings, particularly regarding the Model B report, as the previous Model A report was fraught with flaws. To clarify, the Model A report was based on a reconstruction of the events that took place not at the scene of the tragedy, but at another location, namely the Police Stadium, and its findings blamed the wind.

Actions such as the Justice Festival play a crucial role in preserving the issue of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy and maintaining hope for justice for the victims. Such actions are vital to ensure that those in power do not neglect the case and continues to remain a significant agenda [8][11]. In addition to local actions, the #UsutTuntas movement can also preserve hope by expanding and maintaining the issue of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy within the international civil society. The tragedy has attracted attention from the international public, proving that international civil society is not indifferent to human rights issues [13].

International attention, such as from the international football federation, foreign football clubs, and overseas supporters, can be an initial asset for the #UsutTuntas movement to internationalize its cause. International society shares an everyday awareness that can be organized into a broader social movement. This international network can later be utilized to pressure for social change or help achieve justice [16].

5 Conclusion

The #UsutTuntas movement is a social movement that arose in response to the state's failure to deliver justice for the Kanjuruhan Tragedy. This social movement is purely born from the disappointment of civil society over the brutality of state apparatus in handling the unrest at Kanjuruhan Stadium. The #UsutTuntas movement involves many components of actors, such as students, advocates, academics, and civil society organizations. Solidarity for this movement does not only come from local communities but also from international society, which has raised the same concerns.

Driven by collective awareness, the actors are united in their pursuit of justice for the Kanjuruhan Tragedy. Amid the silence of the relevant authorities, including the government, management, and security forces, the #UsutTuntas movement has been actively campaigning to obtain justice for the victims and their families, which is seen as unmet by the state. The strategies employed by this movement are varied, such as road blockades and occupying the club management's office. Despite efforts to silence the movement, the #UsutTuntas movement will not fade. It continues to grow, with various follow-up actions taken to ensure that the authorities do not forget the issues of humanity and justice in the Kanjuruhan Tragedy.

The #UsutTuntas movement will continue to serve as a reminder that the issue of justice in the Kanjuruhan Tragedy has not yet been resolved. This movement has great potential to expand in scale, as it has garnered attention and solidarity from international

communities. With the movement's expansion, it is hoped that the collective voice will help pressure the fulfillment of justice for the victims of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy. Furthermore, amidst the uncertain judicial process in the country, the issue of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy could be brought to several international mechanisms for addressing human rights violations, such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), and the Universal Periodic Review (UPR).

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