

DISASTER MITIGATION IN TRAGEDY OF MALANG KANJURUHAN STADIUM: STUDY ON POLICIES IN SOCIAL CRIME DISASTER

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Abstract: This study aims to describe policies on social crime disasters, especially those related to the Kanjuruhan Malang stadium tragedy. This research approach is a qualitative approach with the type of library research, analyzing the results of research published in scientific journals, books, and other written sources, regarding the Kanjuruhan football tragedy, Malang. The data analysis technique uses content analysis. Through literature study and content analysis, it can be explained that the Kanjuruhan stadium tragedy occurred due to the lack of socialization and communication of various regulations issued by PSSI and FIFA to the security forces, Panitia implementation committee, and supporters, especially related to the use of Tear Gas, sharp weapons, alcoholic beverages. The organizers should have heeded the police's suggestion that the Arema vs. Persebaya challenge should not be held at night. Also, the police needed to prepare adequate security following the SOP. PT LIB prioritizes financial benefits, thus ignoring high-risk matches. All parties involved in the Arema versus Persebaya competition did not carry out policies according to their duties and shifted responsibility to each other.

Keywords: policy, fans, football, and the tragedy of the recommended stadium

1. Introduction

Football is always interesting to talk about because this sport is not only favored by parents but also among youth and children. Almost every football match, whether live on television or coming directly to the green field (stadium), is always in demand by the audience. Even today, almost all countries make football a pilot project to promote their country so it is better known worldwide. For example, Indonesia has spent more than 130 billion to repair a stadium that will be used for the Asian Cup. The

South African country spent \$ 5 trillion to renovate a stadium that will be used for the 2010 World Cup (Zainuddin, 2011). Football is not just a sports achievement, but it has also become an industry that brings financial benefits and, at the same time, becomes a melting pot, namely a medium for uniting various elements of the football-loving community from various social, religious, ethnic and cultural strata into one. This has proven that the football industry can hypnotize the world community.

The enthusiasm of football fans, especially those playing their favorite football club--as if fanatical fans must watch live matches on a green field. Such conditions cause the football match stadium to blow up. Due to the overcapacity of the stadium and his favorite football club experiencing defeat, it may cause riots which can be detrimental to the football club and sometimes cause casualties. Namely, a medium unites various elements of the football-loving community from various social, religious, ethnic, and cultural strata into one. This has proven that the football industry can hypnotize the world community. Football fans' enthusiasm can be seen when your favorite football club competes. For them, it is as if diehard fans must watch the game live on the gridiron. Such conditions cause the football match stadium to blow up. Due to the overcapacity of the stadium and his favorite football club experiencing defeat, it may cause riots which can be detrimental to the football club and sometimes cause casualties. Such conditions cause the football match stadium to blow up. Due to the overcapacity of the stadium and his favorite football club experiencing defeat, it may cause riots which can be detrimental to the football club and sometimes cause casualties. Such conditions cause the football match stadium to blow up. Due to the overcapacity of the stadium and his favorite football club experiencing defeat, it may cause riots which can be detrimental to the football club and sometimes cause casualties.

Based on notes from CNBC Indonesia (2022), there have been several football tragedies in the world that have killed many fans, including; the first, when the qualifying round match for Argentina versus Peru Olympics was on May 1964 in Peru. The rioting was triggered by the referee disallowing Peru's goal minutes before the end of the game, causing riots that left 318 people dead and more than 500 injured. Second, riots between fans during the Celtic versus Rangers match in Glasgow in January 1971. The riots claimed the lives of 66 people, including children. Third, riots and burning of the stands of the Bradford Stadium, England, in May 1985 killed approximately 56 people and injured more than 200 people. Fourth, Juventus played against Liverpool in Heysel, Brussels, during the European Cup match in May 1985. In that riot, at least 35 people died, and most of those killed were Italians. Fifth, the match riot between Asante Kotoko and Hearts of Oak in May 2001 in Ghana fired tear gas at the fans. As a result of the tear gas fired, tens of thousands of fans left the stadium and killed 126 people in the riot. All these events have black pages in the world's football history.

In Indonesia, before the Kanjuruhan tragedy, according to the records of Tempo.co (2022), there had been several football matches that ended in the death of

supporters, including; first, the death of a PSS Sleman supporter, Tri Fajar Firmansyah, as a result of abuse in a riot between supporters during a riot of supporters in Yogyakarta on July 25, 2022. Second, two Persib Bandung supporters fell and were trampled to death when they were about to enter the Bandung *Gelora Stadium Lautan Api* (GBLA) during the 2022 President's Cup on June 17, 2022. The several examples of bloody tragedies that have killed football fans above are only a few and did not only occur in Indonesia but in countries that have developed football, riots that claimed lives also occurred. The Kanjuruhan Malang tragedy is the worst history of Indonesian Football in the last two decades.

I was quoting information from the *tirto.id* page (2022), it is explained that the riot tragedy at Kanjuruhan Malang Stadium began after the League I match (2022/2023) between Persebaya versus Arema FC on October 1, 2022, where the final score of the match was 2-3 in favor of the Persebaya team. The defeat disappointed Arema's fans, so around 3,000 fans took to the field, some of whom did the damage. This caused the police to fire, tear Gas and cause, panic, and to be evacuated one point of the door (door 12), causing a mass buildup. As a result, about 125 people died from lack of *oxygen* and *asphyxiation*, and 323 received injuries and injuries. The Kanjuruhan tragedy in Malang district indicates that football policy regulations in Indonesia have not been managed optimally. Everyone has the right to protection of self, family, honor, dignity and property under his control, and has the right to feel safe and protected from threats of fear to do something that is a human right.

The article above it is illustrated that acts of violence against football fans are a violation of human rights because they can threaten the safety of others. Security forces (read: police) are given the authority to act to protect everyone from acts of violence. The police are obliged to act quickly as part of social control so that anarchic actions of football fans do not occur and, at the same time, protect the safety of fans so that there are no casualties.

The police must use a persuasive-humanist approach and act fairly toward fans. Because in the 1945 Constitution Article 30 paragraph (4), it is explained that; The National Police of the Republic of Indonesia as a tool of the state that maintains security and public order has to protect, protect, serve the community, and enforce the law. This means that the police, as an instrument of the state, must maintain public order and security, including the order and security of football fans. Offensive actions taken by the police, such as what happened at the Kanjuruhan Stadium in Malang by firing tear gas, were banned by the world football governing body, FIFA. The FIFA Stadium Safety and Security Regulations in article 19 b stated, no firearms or crowd control gas shall be carried or used (firearms or mass control gas cannot be carried or used). This highlights the recommendations from the fact-finding team for the Kanjuruhan tragedy, Malang. Law Number 11 of 2022 Articles 54-55 has also been regulated regarding sports fans, including football fans. Articles 54-55 explain that sports supporters, including football fans, actively provide encouragement, motivation,

and support inside and outside of sports matches. In other words, the actions of football fans who are anarchic and disorderly are, in principle, very much against the spirit of Law Number 11 of 2022 Articles 54-55. From the description above, this paper aims to describe policies on social crime disasters, especially related to the Kanjuruhan Malang stadium tragedy. It is also hoped that this paper can contribute ideas to policymakers and other stakeholders so that a similar tragedy will not happen again.

2. Methods

This research approach is a qualitative approach to the type of library research. As library research, this research is library work, so data sources are collected and analyzed from the results of research published in scientific journals, books, and other written sources (Khatibah, 2011), regarding the Kanjuruhan football tragedy in Malang district.

The data collection technique used in this study was reading all written data sources related to the Kanjuruhan tragedy. The data analysis technique used by researchers is content analysis. According to Guba and Lincoln, as quoted by Lexy J. Moleong (1993: 163), that content analysis is any technique used to conclude by trying to find the characteristics of the message, and is done objectively and systematically. Noeng Muhadjir (2000: 8) also says that content analysis is the scientific analysis of the contents of a communication message. Because this research discusses social crime disaster policies, specifically related to riots in Kanjuruhan Malang as a form of social crime because it has claimed hundreds of lives, content analysis is used to study policies regarding the rules of football matches in Indonesia, especially during the Persebaya versus Arema FC match at the Kanjuruhan stadium, Malang. Using this content analysis, the researcher tries to describe the Kanjuruhan tragedy so that a comprehensive picture of the riot can be obtained. Then the data that has been concluded deductively to produce general data becomes specific. Using this content analysis, the researcher tries to describe the Kanjuruhan tragedy so that a comprehensive picture of the riot can be obtained. Then the data that has been concluded deductively to produce general data becomes specific. Using this content analysis, the researcher tries to describe the Kanjuruhan tragedy, so a comprehensive picture of the riot can be obtained. Then the data that has been concluded deductively to produce general data becomes specific (Mustafa, 2016).

3. Literature Review

many previous researchers, including; Sulistiyono (2011) in his article, highlights football as an industry that can benefit all those who play a role in it. The profits are not only from ticket sales and player transfers but also from companies that can promote their products and investors. However, only some football clubs in Indonesia

can take advantage of this opportunity because the clubs still need to be managed and oriented toward industrial activities.

The article by Dewi Suci Kusuma Astuti and Retno Wulandari Hariyadi (2013) focuses more on the acts of violence by supporters, most of which were triggered due to fanatical factors with ethnic and regional nuances. To overcome or anticipate this fan violence, the police, according to Law 2 of 2002, need to take action according to their duties and authorities. In addition, the active role of PSSI is urgently needed to prevent anarchic actions from supporters, for example, increasing the professionalism of match referees, setting match schedules, not throwing responsibility, and others. In his article, Yusuf Adam Hilman (2017) reveals that the library research approach concluded that the Aremania and Bonekmania fan conflicts were dominated by the reactions of these two groups of supporters who wanted a proportional and quality match. This will lead to the maturation of behavior for supporters and further increase their loyalty and love for their favorite football club.

The article by Laras Astuti and Heri Purwanto (2021) explains that a classic problem faced by football competitions in Indonesia is riots between fans which damage public stadium facilities and sometimes claim lives. Like the death of Haringga Sirila (Persija Jakarta supporter) when Persija fought Persib Bandung at SGBLA. In that article, one of the efforts to tackle fan vandalism is through enforcing criminal law policies and the need to instill the values of fair play and coaching, and sportsmanship for supporters. Based on the literature review above, it can be emphasized that research on supporter anarchism has been carried out before and published in various scientific journals. So far, no research results have been published in the journal about the Kanjuruhan stadium tragedy, Malang. Therefore, this article will discuss the Kanjuruhan tragedy from the aspect of public policy.

One of the conclusions of the Report of the Joint Independent Fact-Finding Team for the Kanjuruhan Stadium Tragedy, Malang, is that riots by football fans which have claimed hundreds of lives, were caused by PT. LIB, the host broadcaster, the organizing committee, the police, and PSSI, who are considered unprofessional, need to understand the responsibilities and roles of each party. So that it ignores various regulations and standards that have been previously set and transfers responsibility to other parties. Such attitudes and practices are the roots of problems in a football-competitions in Indonesia (TGIPF, 2022:123). Based on the explanation above, it can be concluded that the Kanjuruhan tragedy was caused by the inappropriate implementation of the policy for dealing with fan riots. For policy implementation to be optimally successful, it is influenced by many variables, and each variable is interrelated. In the theory of public policy implementation put forward by George Edward III (2017:31-34), four variables, namely: (1) communication; (2) resources; (3) disposition; and (4) bureaucratic structure.

3.1. Public Communications

Public policy implementation is effective when the scope and objectives of the policy are understood by those responsible for achieving the policy objectives. Clarity of policies and objectives must be communicated appropriately to implementers. Consistency or coherence of policies and policy objectives must be communicated so that implementers know exactly the scope and objectives of the policy. Three indicators can be used to measure the success of this aspect of communication, namely; 1). Transmission; 2). Information clarity; and 3). The consistency of the information conveyed.

3.2. Resource

The intended resources can be human resources, namely the skills of implementers and financial resources. Resources are an important factor for effective policy implementation. Without resources, policies remain on paper and become documents. Lack of human resources, both in number and skills (competence), does not allow policy implementation to materialize because proper monitoring cannot be carried out. If the number of policy-implementing staff is limited, the skills/capacity of implementers to implement the program needs to be increased. This requires human resource management. Other resources that are also important are the authority to direct program implementation, the authority to spend/manage finances, both the allocation of funds and the appointment of staff, and the appointment of supervisors. Facilities such as offices, equipment, and sufficient funds needed to implement the policy should be provided. The program can only run optimally, with supporting facilities, both human resources and financial resources (funds).

3.3. Public Policy Disposition

Disposition is the character and qualities of executors, such as commitment, democratic nature, and honesty. There are three forms of an actor's attitude towards the policy, actor's awareness, actor's directions/instructions to respond to the program towards acceptance or rejection, and intensity of response. The implementer may understand the intent and purpose of the program but often fails to implement the program properly because it rejects the goals that have been set. Hence, it secretly diverts attention and avoids implementing the program. In addition, the support of implementing officials is also needed to achieve the objectives of the policy program.

3.4. Bureaucratic Structure

The organizational structure responsible for policy implementation has a significant influence on the success of policy implementation. One of the most important structural aspects of any organization is the existence of a Standard Operating Procedure (SOP) which can be used as a guideline for every implementer in this field. Bureaucratic performance can be seen through various dimensions, such as accountability, efficiency, effectiveness, responsiveness, and responsibility. Various kinds of literature that discuss the efficiency of the bureaucracy have an important fundamental similarity, namely to see the extent to which the results of bureaucratic

services are achieved. Bureaucratic performance is a concept consisting of indicators that vary significantly depending on the focus and context of their use. Meanwhile, Grindle states that in implementing policies, it must first set goals and objectives, work programs, and financial resources so that they can achieve the goals to be achieved (Grindle, 1980: 7). Grindle added that the success of implementation is influenced by two factors, namely the content of the policy and the context of implementation. In terms of content, this policy covers, first, the extent to which the interests of the target group are included in the contents of the policy; second, the type of benefits that the target will receive; third, the extent to which changes are desired from a policy; and fourth, whether a program is on target. In Winarno's view, the environmental aspect of the policy is also important to note because it relates to the interests and strategies of the actors involved in implementation. As well as,

4. Result

4.1. The Existence of Supporters in Law Number 11 of 2022

The term supporters are the twelfth player is known among football fans. This term shows that the fans are very important in football matches because, without supporters, a football competition will be bland, like vegetables without salt. It is almost certain that a football club has fanatical supporters; for example, Liverpool has a fanatical supporter called Liverpudlian, AC Milan has a supporter named Milanisti, SS Lazio has Laziale, and so on. In Indonesia also, football clubs have fanatical supporters; for example, Sriwijaya FC has Singa Mania, Arema FC has Aremania, Persib Bandung has Bobotoh, Persija Jakarta has Jak Mania, and others. Supporters, including football supporters, are regulated in the new Law Number 11 of 2022 concerning Sports, specifically in Article 55, as follows;

- (1) In organizing a Sports Championship, there are Sports Supporters who actively provide enthusiasm, motivation, and support inside and outside of Sports competitions.
- (2) The Sports Supporters, as referred to in paragraph (1), form an organization or legal entity for Sports Supporters by obtaining a recommendation from the club or Main Organization of the Sports Branch.
- (3) The Sports Supporters organization or legal entity, as referred to in paragraph (2), has statutes/bylaws and registered members.
- (4) The management of the Sports Supporters organization or legal entity, as referred to in paragraph (3), is responsible for managing and coaching its members.
- (5) Sports Supporters, as referred to in paragraph (2), have the right:
 - a. Obtain legal protection, both inside and outside of sports matches;
 - b. Get coaching from the Sports Supporters organization or legal entity that oversees it;
 - c. Meet a priority opportunity to own a club through share ownership following statutory provisions; and



- d. Provide direct or indirect support, both inside and outside of a Sports match
- (6) Sports Supporters, as referred to in paragraph (2), have an obligation to:
- a. Register as a member of a certain Sports Supporters organization or legal entity; and
 - b. Maintain order and security, both inside and outside sports matches.
- (7) Sports supporters can play a role and support the development of the Sports Industry with Sports Industry players through a mutually beneficial partnership pattern.

It refers to Article 55 of Law Number 11 of 2022 above supporters are one of the important elements that receive priority in this new sports law. This sports law has opened opportunities for supporters to own shares in their respective clubs. Furthermore, football fans are the twelfth player expected to provide good motivation, enthusiasm, and support to their favorite football club. Moreover, on the other hand, football fans are entitled to legal protection both when there is a match and outside the match. Psychologically, supporters, as the twelfth player, encourage the rise of a football team and must be managed with good management so that they become a symbol of pride for a football team with high loyalty. Even supporters will bring financial benefits to football clubs, for example, by selling t-shirts, *merchandise*, and other trinkets.

Behind the innovative and creative energy, football fans sometimes trigger various anarchist riots. Football clubs must have fanatical supporters, but fans must not have excessive fanatical feelings. Because if that happens, it will eventually lead to vandalism from the fans. According to Alwi (2002: 1258) and Indiarto (2015: 183), vandalism is a behavior that can destroy or destroy in a vicious and heinous way. In the context of football fans, fan vandalism can be interpreted as destructive behavior or damage done by football fans to anyone who is considered the opponent of their favorite team. Usually, the emergence of vandalism behavior or anarchist attitudes of supporters is influenced by emotional factors. Rees and Schnepel (2009) stated that riots occur due to frustration of fans who feel their favorite team deserves better results. That frustration is what drives them to riot.

So, the existence of football fans has explicitly received a strategic place in the football industry in Indonesia through a mutually beneficial partnership pattern. Because it is very unfortunate if, in reality, football fans commit acts of violence (anarchy) that have harmed all parties, both football clubs, players, officials, and coaches, and damaged the public facilities of the stadium where the football match was played.

4.2. *Public Policy Regulations and Kanjuruhan Tragedy*

Efforts to overcome the anarchist behavior of supporters cannot be done by fixing the fans alone but must be fixed collectively in the internal policies of football itself. In

other words, quality football policy regulations need to be supported by quality football governance rules, starting from regulation of match schedules, supporters, players, and officials, as well as the quality of the Indonesian football parent organization (PSSI) itself. When referring to the results of the Report of the Joint Independent Fact-Finding Team for the Kanjuruhan Malang Stadium Incident (TGIPF) (2022: 1), which was stipulated through RI Presidential Decree No. 19 of 2022, it was found that 132 victims died, 96 were seriously injured, and 484 victims were lightly and moderately injured. Analysis of the findings of the tragedy at the Kanjuruhan Stadium, among others;

First, in the preparation phase, when PT LIB compiled the match schedule, there was no evaluation at this stage. Because before the Arema versus Persebaya match was held, an incident occurred between Persebaya and Ran Nusantara FC at the Gelora Delta Sidoarjo Stadium, which damaged the stadium's public facilities. It did not stop there; when verifying all aspects of each club participating in League 1, it was only a formality. It was proven that the Security Officer and the Organizing Committee needed competence, and the stadium's condition needed better safety standards. During the competition between Arema and Persebaya (October 1, 2022), the organizing committee needed legality when carrying out their duties. Such conditions become vulnerable because the organizing committee throws responsibility when an unwanted event occurs at the Kanjuruhan stadium, Poor. Because the organizing committee is illegal, automatically, there is no legal relationship between PT LIB and the football club with the organizing committee (TGIPF, 2022: 106). Because the verification that was carried out was a formality, especially in terms of security and matches that were not optimal, it indicated that PSSI, as the parent organization of football, needed to carry out its duties properly. Ideally, PSSI, as the highest authority for Football in Indonesia, must ensure that before a football competition is held, all rules or regulations related to football competition events must be confirmed. Especially the League 1 club competition. Various regulations made by PSSI regarding security and safety must comprehensively protect all those involved in it. It was not to protect itself that caused PSSI to escape its responsibility when a violation occurred, as was the case with the tragedy at Malang's Kanjuruhan Stadium.

Regarding the licensing process and changes to the kick-off scheduled for the Arema with Persebaya match, it turns out that the Malang Police did not. At first, the Malang Police recommended that the kick-off is at 15.30, but PT. LIB and the host broadcaster insist on holding it at 20.00 WIB. As a result, the Polres only added security personnel from 664 personnel to 2034 personnel (TGIPF, 2022). This shows that Panpel has no competence, needs to be more professional, violates PSSI and FIFA regulations, and needs to prioritize security considerations because the number of spectators exceeds the stadium's capacity.

Second, at the implementation stage. When the Arema versus Persebaya match was held at Kanjuruhan Stadium, Malang Regency, the security forces involved

elements of the Malang Police whom Dalmas from the Sidoarjo Police and the East Java Regional Police Mobile Brigade Unit strengthened. Because that 2,034 security personnel are needed, and the Malang Police can only provide 600 personnel, additional personnel from the Mobile Brigade Unit and other Polres are needed. All security personnel for the Arema versus Persebaya match admits that they do not know and understand article 19 of the FIFA Statutes, which explains that there is a prohibition on the use of tear gas and the use of firearms in the stadium during a football (match.TGIF 2022: 110).

Because of that ignorance, when around 3,000 Arema supporters entered the football field, SKK Brimob and SKK Dalmas fired Tear Gas at the supporters who were considered to disturb security. Moreover, supporters in the VIP stands threw flares, thus triggering the security forces to fire Tear Gas toward the spectators. This action was immeasurable because Tear Gas was fired at the spectators in the economy stands. Such conditions caused the fans to panic, who jostled each other out of the narrow and steep stands. As a result, spectators piled up, and acute shortness of breath was exposed to Tear Gas. Not even a few were trampled, which resulted in injuries and death (TGIPF, 2022: 111). If seen from the facts on the ground, the process of securing a football match at the Kanjuruhan Stadium was carried out by the Malang Police. Its reinforcements were not well coordinated because there were no steps to anticipate various possibilities on the field.

If observed from the perspective of Edward III's public policy theory, the PT can be said. LIB, the host broadcaster, the organizing committee, and the police needed better, more intensive, and effective communication with the supporters, so the planned regulations were outside the implementation. This means there is an error in information and communication (Arifin, 2000). Therefore, TGIPF Kanjuruhan Stadium Tragedy, Malang stated that the stakeholders of League 1, who were related to the tragedy at Kanjuruhan Stadium Malang, needed to understand their respective duties and were very unprofessional and needed to heed the various regulations. Strangely enough, each side gave the impression of washing their hands over this bloody tragedy.

5. Conclusion

Based on the description above, it can be concluded as follows;

- a. The Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy occurred due to the lack of socialization and communication of various regulations issued by PSSI and FIFA to security forces, the organizing committee, and supporters, especially related to Tear Gas, sharp weapons, and alcoholic beverages.
- b. The organizers should have heeded the police's suggestion that the Arema versus Persebaya challenge should not be held at night. Also, the police needed to prepare adequate security and follow adequate SOPs.
- c. PT LIB prioritizes financial benefits, thus ignoring high-risk matches.

- d. All parties involved in the Arema vs. Persebaya competition did not carry out their duties and shifted responsibility to each other.

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