

The Root of Violence in Kanjuruhan Tragedy: An Evaluation for The Police Institution

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Abstract

The Kanjuruhan tragedy is the biggest football tragedy in Indonesia, even the second largest after similar catastrophe in Peru in 1964. The highlight of this tragedy was the shooting of tear gas by the police. This is certainly Contrary to the regulations of the Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), that firearms and tear gas cannot be used for crowd control. The purpose of this study is to review academically the roots of violence for evaluation for Indonesian Police Institutions to be better and such tragedy will not happen again in the future. This study employes Erich Fromm's theory to solve the roots of violence. The method used a qualitative method with a case study approach with data collection techniques of observation, interviews, and documentation in Kanjuruhan, Malang. The results obtained by the researchers are that the Kanjuruhan tragedy is classified as destructive violence, this is because many casualties in the tragedy were caused by panic and less conducive conditions. In connection with this, the National Police institution must implement proper regulations.

Keywords: *violence, kanjuruhan tragedy, police*

Introduction

1st Oktober 2022, Indonesia experienced deep sorrow. The grief was due to a tragedy at Kanjuruhan Stadion which claimed the lives of many Arema FC supporters when they competed with Persebaya FC. It also received international concerns from various international media, such as The Guardian media reporting with the title more than 120 people were reportedly killed in a riot at an Indonesian football match. It is not enough for The Guardian media to report and share in the concerns. Media Daily Star also wrote with the title over 100 football fans and two police officers have died after a riot reportedly broke out following a match between Arema FC and Persebaya Surabaya in Indonesia (Sadeli, 2022).

Considered one of five most tragic riots in the history of football, Indonesia is the second largest of similar tragedy. The largest one is Peru with 318 deaths in 1964, the second is Indonesia during the Arema FC match with Persebaya in 2022 with 153 deaths, the third tragedy in 2001 with 126 fatalities in Ghana, then in England to be precise Hillsborough in 1989 with 96 fatalities, and the last one in Port Said precisely in Egypt in 2012 with 79 fatalities (Arman, 2022).

The tragedy that occurred in Kanjuruhan Malang has a dramatic chronology. Precisely on Thursday, September 12, 2022, the organizing committee of Arema FC sent a letter to the Malang Police regarding the match which would start at 20.00. It was then officially

responded by the Malang Police Station (the local police authority) to change the schedule to 15.30 for safety consideration. However, this was rejected by Liga Indonesia Baru (LIB) company because the time of the match was shifted, because this had a consequence that would be borne, such as the payment of compensation. The Malang Police then held a coordination meeting and added officers from 1,073 to 2,034 officers who would be on duty in the match between Arema FC and Persebaya. The match would be held on October 1, 2022 at 20.00 ended with a score of 2-3 with the victory won by Persebaya. The matching game went smoothly. Yet, several supporters appeared on the field and the team tried to secure and evacuate the officials and players of Persebaya FC.

The evacuation process took approximately one hour and went smoothly led by the Malang Police Chief. Yet at the same time, more and more spectators descended from the stands to the field. The security members in charge began to use force, one of which was some personnel firing tear gas. The shot caused the spectators or supporters who were in the tribute panic and tried to leave the stadium. But especially at doors 3,10, 11, 12,13, and 14, there were problems because the door opened only less than 1.5 meters and the gate guards were not in place. With this situation, there was a crowd of supporters who were in a blockage at the exit for almost 20 minutes (Febrianto, 2022). With the tragedy in Kanjuruhan which is very concerning, the researcher wants to examine the roots of the violence in the Kanjuruhan tragedy as an evaluation of the Indonesian Police Institutions (POLRI). The purpose of this research is to provide input for POLRI.

There are many reviews related to violence, examples are child abuse, sexual violence, and domestic violence. For Child violence, children should be an asset to the next generation of the nation. Children who are victims of violence need to get special attention in handling it which involves parents, government, and society. This strategy must be able to prevent and solve violence holistically and comprehensively (Uswatun, 2016). Therefore, in providing child protection, it is necessary to have a social welfare system approach for children, families, and laws according to international standards (Noviana, 2014). The violence that often occurs is domestic violence. Domestic violence is usually significant because of economic factors. Within the past 2 years, with the existence of Covid 19, social distancing and self-quarantine were implemented, and all people had to stay at home every day. The policy raises a dilemma and brings consequences in many aspects. The negative aspect is that in the economic aspect, it is difficult for people to work to fulfill their needs so domestic violence occurs (Theresia Vania Radhitya, Nunung Nurwati, 2020; Supartinah & Anwar, 2021). Many have reviewed violence related, but this article is interesting because this violence occurs in the sport of football which killed supporters with tear gas shots towards the stands, where there were still many supporters, there were small children and women trapped could not get out of the stadium.

From the description above, this paper focuses on the act of releasing tear gas and it reaped the pros and cons of various points of view from the Parliament (DPR) Commission X. Syaiful Huda questioned related to the use of tear gas carried out by the apparatus because it was not according to "FIFA Stadium Safety and Security Regulation" article 19 B which prohibits the use of firearms and tear gas in crowd control. This was also reinforced by Armal Marhali as the Coordinator of Save Our Soccer. In his opinion, the shooting of tear gas carried

out by police officers was not by procedure and this was the negligence of the Indonesian Football Association (PSSI) in cooperating with the police (Hakiki, 2022).

Literature review

The Roots of Violence

There are many studies about football stadium incidents (Cocking and Drury 2014; Richardson 2019; Darby, Johnes, and Mellor 2004; Bennett 2017; Doidge 2015; Rookwood and Hughson 2017), but this literature review will focus on the root of violence. In the study of a library to describe the formulation of the problem, the researcher uses literature related to the roots of violence belonging to Erich Fromm. Born to Naphthali Fromm and Rosa Krause on March 23, 1900 in Frankfurt am Main, Germany. Both of Erich Fromm's parents were contradictory in thought and had different social conditions as well. Naphthali is an Orthodox Jew, an introvert who gets hurt easily, and the least successful man among his brothers. Meanwhile, Rosa Krause is very energetic and has high aspirations from a prominent family. From his parents, who had the opposite nature, Fromm lived in conditions that were less humane or inattentive because his father, who was busy dealing with the conflict between premodern and modern Jews, was busy studying Talmud, pursuing luxury, and overcoming the individualistic rivalry that gave Naphthali a tough stance on Erich Fromm. While his mother paid less attention because of the name Fromm he carried. He felt that his mother loved him not as a Fromm because his mother was from the Krause family (Evans, 1966). It was such a situation that influenced Fromm's thinking that human beings must be aware of a basic conflict of unfulfilled longing for the mother and rebellion against the authority of the father. So, Fromm must break this condition with a rational way of life (Fromm, 2007).

It does not just stop there that shapes Fromm's thinking. Fromm's thinking was also formed from the world war where the conditions at that time were collective madness (fanatic) when the Germans have swept away in a state of war of feelings of nationalism and hatred of the enemy endemic in conditions of war, in Fromm's view this was evidence of the loss of rationality within oneself humans, especially the rulers of the time. According to Fromm's view, the irrational behavior of the masses in war at that time overturned a reality that was usually wise and polite into a reality that was cruel and devoid of consideration. These conditions raise a big question mark for Fromm, why it all happened. So, Fromm was very interested in becoming his opus magnum entitled *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness*. Fromm's thoughts as a teenager began to focus, he was accompanied by two companions, namely Rabbi Dr. Nahemia Anton Novel and Dr. Salman Baruch Rabinkow. For Fromm himself, these two teachers are very important. Rabbi Nahemia was able to open up something completely new spiritually and intellectually to Fromm with the pressure or heterogeneity that was so distinctive between the conservative Jewish life praxis which was less strict, and rigid, his religious feelings intensive, and Herman Cohen's philosophical knowledge that combined Goethe's ideas related to humanity with philosophy owned by Kant.

Erich Fromm was influenced by the three thinkers introduced by the teacher Ravinkow. Ravinkow introduced the great Jewish philosophers named Marx, Spinoza, and Maimonides so that Fromm knew the term "rational humanistic". Meanwhile, Ravinkow himself generally understands that humans have an autonomous nature and should not expect salvation from outside, instead they should develop their own unique and autonomous individuality by using their spiritual powers and rationality. Thus, the individual Jew could be responsible for the world. According to Fromm, this thought is very inspiring and associated with productive, loving, and rational.

Precisely in 1918, Fromm received a tertiary education in law at the University of Frankfurt with the motivation to build a new society based on law, but this was not achieved. Fromm's course only lasted one year because he no longer felt interested. Fromm then moved to the University of Heidelberg to study philosophy, psychology, and sociology. At the university, Fromm met Alfred Weber, a sociologist from Max Weber. Alfred Weber was also the one who guided Fromm's dissertation. Fromm not only met Alfred Weber, but also met philosophers Karl Jaspers and Keirich Rickert. Fromm studied existential phenomenology from Jaspers, it is not interesting for Fromm because it is abstract, formal, and metaphysical. For Fromm, philosophy refers to a person who is oriented to praxis, with this view Fromm builds a new philosophical anthropology.

Fromm himself also admired Karl Marx and Freud. Fromm learned from Karl Marx related to the existential condition of man, while from Freud a richer understanding of man. By nature, humans are creatures that have consciousness. He is also involved in the unconscious in certain impulses. The views of the two figures made Fromm aware that philosophy should not be pure, meaning that it only dwells in the realm of abstraction and metaphysics, but has sociological, psychological, and practical ethical dimensions. Fromm considered Marx to be a humanist philosopher so throughout his life Fromm quoted Marx's writings. While Fromm Freud has reduced humans to instincts, even though these ideas are a condition that is Contrary to the true nature of human beings.

During Hitler's leadership in Germany in 1933, many brilliant scholars were expelled from Germany so many migrated to the United States and Fromm was one of them. In the United States Fromm continued his therapeutic practice by accepting a professorship at Columbia University in 1939. In the new place, Fromm adapted his psychoanalysis to the sphere of America which had bourgeois capitalists and lifestyles while in Germany (pragmatic psychoanalysis). After several years of living in America, to be precise in 1973 Fromm moved to Switzerland. During his life in Switzerland from 1969-1973. Fromm focuses his attention on the problem of aggression, especially human destructiveness. Then appeared a book titled *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness* in 1973.

Factors Driving Violence

According to Fromm, there are three conditions associated with violence. First, the world's socio-political conditions at that time, in the loss of many lives. Fromm himself witnessed human corpses falling due to violence by the authorities, the two behaviorists who separated the act of aggression from the subject. In behavioristic theory, it is said that the evil behavior of a person has nothing to do with human existence as a rational individual but is

due to external stimuli. With this view, behavioristic Erich Fromm reduces humans to mechanistic machines that are determined by a certain environment. Third, is the discovery of Konrad Lorenz who concluded that aggression is an expression and an innate instinct of the evolutionary process inherited by humans from animal ancestors. So, Lorenz underlined that related to the presence of flowing aggression is a hydraulic model, the model is an automatic and mechanistic flow of energy. The energy of aggression is produced spontaneously and continuously in the human brain whose pressure is increasing so that it is overflowed through aggressive actions that can result in conditions that are threatening to the person concerned. From these three conditions, Fromm argues that aggressive behavior is a fact that humans are far crueller than animals and this is a frightening fact. The energy of aggression is produced spontaneously and continuously in the human brain whose pressure is increasing so that it is overflowed through aggressive actions that can result in conditions that are threatening to the person concerned. From these three conditions, Fromm argues that aggressive behavior is a fact that humans are far crueller than animals and this is a frightening fact. The energy of aggression is produced spontaneously and continuously in the human brain whose pressure is increasing so that it is overflowed through aggressive actions that can result in conditions that are threatening to the person concerned. From these three conditions, Fromm argues that aggressive behavior is a fact that humans are far crueller than animals and this is a frightening fact. The energy of aggression is produced spontaneously and continuously in the human brain whose pressure is increasing so that it is overflowed through aggressive actions that can result in conditions that are threatening to the person concerned. From these three conditions, Fromm argues that aggressive behavior is a fact that humans are far crueller than animals and this is a frightening fact. The energy of aggression is produced spontaneously and continuously in the human brain whose pressure is increasing so that it is overflowed through aggressive actions that can result in conditions that are threatening to the person concerned. From these three conditions, Fromm argues that aggressive behavior is a fact that humans are far crueller than animals and this is a frightening fact.

With the rejection of the notion of Konrad Lorenz and the behavioristic that stems from violence on instinct, Fromm wants to say that acts of violence that occur in humans are different from violence perpetrated by animals. The violence that occurs in humans must be seen in terms of their existential conditions. Existential conditions are behaviors that have human interests in committing violence. Fromm reveals from the question "conditions that do not allow the individual to develop positively". That is, new violence becomes a reality if the individual cannot develop positively.

Thus, violence is not located and inherent in humans, as a bad character that is within a person is automatically realized, without any other factors. Violence stems from situations where a person has obstacles to growing well. The existing inhibitions lead to positive growth to the act of destruction or death, Fromm said that "aggression is a behavior that supports the life process to grow positively but is hindered so that it turns into a desire for destruction in which a person turns life into death". In such conditions, the most basic human ability, namely rationality, does not work, so people who act violently are people who act irrationally.

Fromm firmly admits that there are two potentials in a person. namely the potential for good and the potential for evil. The potential for good becomes the basis for fighting for

life (biophilia), while the potential for evil makes a person side with death (necrophilia). Thus, Fromm's central thesis says that malicious and dangerous aggression is related to a basic human situation, but that it is not something inherent in human existence.

There are two types of Scientific studies of violence from Fromm the emergence of acts of violence in a person. Violence itself can be done because it maintains something desired from a group or someone who is considered valuable. The term Fromm calls it defensive aggression and destructive aggression. Defensive aggression, for Fromm, is a defense by someone for the interests of the opponent. Aggression is a reaction that a person does because of a threat from something fundamental to him. In other words, aggression has the purpose to maintain one's own life. Fromm believes that every person has basic values and guidelines in their life,

The second type of violence is destructive aggression, this aggression is different from defensive aggression. This destructive aggression is so cruel because it has the nature of lust, suffering, and torture. According to Fromm, this has a purpose not to maintain continuity and humans do not have an instinctive nature as is said by the behaviorists and Konrad Lorenz. This destructive aggression is a response to a state of panic about human existence. Thus, the cause of destructive aggression is the fact that someone is unable to live the existence and perversion of human desires.

Method

The research method used is qualitative research with a case study approach. The qualitative method is a method for analyzing social phenomena experienced by humans to be described and analyzed (Harahap, 2020). This case study approach was chosen to obtain comprehensive data about events that occurred at the level of individuals, groups of people, and institutions at various times in certain situations (CRESWELL, 2013). Data collection techniques used by researchers are observation, interviews, and documentation. Observation is the process of researchers observing and recording the object of research in a structure. The interview is an interaction carried out by researchers with informants to obtain certain information (Samsu, 2017). Documentation is a method to find data through mass media, books, journals, and transcripts, then researchers can analyze to get accurate and credible data.

According to Samsu (2017), a data source is a piece of information from an object under study. There are two sources of data namely primary data and secondary data. Primary data is a source of data directly from an informant, the informants in this study are Arema FC supporters. Secondary data is indirect data such as mass media, journals, or other written documents (Sugiono, 2018).

Discussion

In analyzing this problem, this study uses Erich Fromm's point of view to explore the roots of violence in the Kanjuruhan tragedy. In the beginning PT. The New Indonesia League

would hold Arema FC and Persebaya football matches in Kanjuruhan, Malang Regency, This was helped by the Arema FC organizing committee sent a letter to the Malang Police to ask for permission to hold the Arema FC match with Persebaya. This is a tug-of-war related to the implementation time of PT. The New Indonesia League wanted the match to be started at 20.00 and the Malang Police suggested at 15.30 for reasons related to security. But PT. The New Indonesia League refused to comply with the proposal from the police and continued to be held at 20.00 so that the police added personnel to monitor security in the match from 1,073 to 2,034 personnel.

Precisely on Saturday, October 1, 2022, Arema supporters have gone to the Kanjuruhan field in Malang Regency. The majority of supporters leave early to avoid traffic jams and find seats that match the tickets that have been obtained. The gate has been open since the afternoon. Most of the informants interviewed went with friends, some went with their families. The informant also said that every time Arema FC was competing, they always came to give the club the spirit of pride because he was born in Malang, so it is obligatory to provide support. From there it can be interpreted that the supporters were carried away in a collective madness and pride. (Sihotang, 2009)

Exactly at 20.00, the whistle of the match between Arema FC and Persebaya began. The match was very exciting, scoring goals with each other so that the two scores were the same, but at that time it was still under control here there were swear words from supporters because there was a sense of disappointment. At 20.45 the referee's whistle was heard signaling the end of the match in the first half. During the break, there was a commotion in the 13th tribune but the officers at that time were able to suppress the commotion. Then in the second half of the match, the situation was so heated. Moreover, in the 51st minute, Persebaya scored again against Arema FC so the score 2-3 Persebaya was superior to the Arema FC team. Harsh words came out again to Arema FC supporters and shouted in the hope that the Arema team could score a reply. In the last 10 minutes, it turned out that the Arema FC team could not keep up with Persebaya, some here were supporters who threw plastic onto the field because according to Arema FC supporters, it seemed that Persebaya was buying time. This is like what Fromm said a peak event of irrational behavior owned by Arema FC supporters and reverses a rational reality that previously the mass of supporters was ordered to turn into chaos (Sihotang, 2009).

From the stands, seven supporters started to get disappointed by throwing rice packets onto the field, what's more, there was an additional seven minutes. However, Arema FC still could not score a goal to offset Persebaya. Then the match ended with the superior score of the Persebaya team against Arema FC. The police swiftly escorted the Persebaya players to the locker room. Then the Arema FC coach and the manager came to the audience from the east from his gesture to apologize. Then from the south stand there was a fan who took to the field he came to the player Sergio Silva and Maringa did not know what he was saying but the fans hugged him. From there, one porter descended into the field, the other supporters were also provoked to come down to the field. Meanwhile, the police forcefully chased them away. Seeing the police evict with violence, it seems that the others were also provoked, dozens of supporters began to jump over the guardrail, and hundreds of others followed from behind. Hundreds of supporters from stands seven and eight began to descend,

followed by stands ten and twelve and various objects were thrown onto the field such as bricks, iron, and so on. Meanwhile, the police were no less harsh, according to the police's testimony, many of them beat them so many were provoked. As Fromm said, every individual human being must have the possibility to do good and evil, where one supporter took to the field who did good to hug his fans, namely Sergio Silva and Maringa, apparently, it was followed by dozens of other supporters. This is one of the supporters who wanted to show their existence as rational human beings because when the match was over, they were free to go down to the field. So, the police took action because many supporters took to the field (Sihotang, 2009).

Finally, police dogs were taken down, and tear gas was fired. The first shot was at the field, then the next shot was at the stands. The fire in the twelfth tribune created a sea of smoke, and even though there were mothers and small children, tear gas was also directed at the eleventh and thirteenth stands and even expanded from the 10th to the 14th. The shots created mass panic, many supporters said they could not see and it was hard to breathe which made the supporters confused. However, the supporters are still headed for the exit. At that time, it was no longer hundreds of supporters but thousands of supporters jostling and some were even trampled on, the screams and cries of small children, There were female supporters who were hysterical and screaming in such conditions, the men were helpless, with many testimonials, many could not breathe and were trampled on. Even the supporters did not know that the person who stepped on it or the floor was due to the smoke from the tear gas, from which the victims began to fall. Moreover, going down to the 13th tribune door, the supporters locked the door more and more erratically and there was pressure, which the supporters knew was a way out. At that time what was open was the door of stand 14 but only one door, while the others in stands seven and eight, even though they were not shot with tear gas, could also feel the effect, many people panicked and there was even a mother hugging her unconscious child. It was also seen that many other male supporters were also not aware. Not to mention what happened to the doors of the twelfth, thirteenth, or fourteenth stands where the smoke was the thickest and some of the doors were locked and the informant managed to survive. It turned out that outside the stadium the condition was no less tense. Police with stones were seen as well as police cars that had been destroyed. Of course, there were also many victims outside the stadium who fell, so it was impossible to tell which one was alive, dying, or dead. Of course, hundreds of victims could not be accommodated in the hospital. That night, eight hospitals in the Malang area were flooded with patients. thirteen or fourteen, which is where the thickest smoke is and some of the doors have been locked the informant managed to survive, it turned out that outside the stadium the conditions were no less tense, the police were still firing tear gas, while supporters threw stones at the police and seen a police car that had been destroyed. Of course, there were also many victims outside the stadium who fell so that it could not be distinguished which one was still alive, dying, or who had died. Of course, hundreds of victims could not be accommodated in the hospital. That night, eight hospitals in the Malang area were flooded with patients. thirteen or fourteen, which is where the thickest smoke is and some of the doors have been locked the informant managed to survive, it turned out that outside the stadium the conditions were no less tense, the police were still firing tear gas, while supporters threw stones at the police and seen a

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From the description of the paragraph above Fromm divides two types of violence, namely defensive and destructive. This tragedy is classified as destructive violence, this is because the violence occurred in a malicious manner, torturing supporters so that many lives were lost. Violence is also a response to panic or unfavorable conditions for humans who encounter obstacles or are isolated (Sihotang, 2009).

Concluding remarks

The conclusion of the article above is that wherever and under any conditions there is a possibility that violence will occur. Violence itself is a reality that adorns every individual or group journey because within the individual or group they have the urge to commit violence instinctively when experiencing an obstacle to developing in a positive direction. Violence itself has two types, namely defensive and destructive. The Kanjuruhan tragedy is classified as destructive violence. This is because it caused so many fatalities from Arema FC supporters who were hit by tear gas from the police.

It is suggested that the police institution must have a rationale, meaning referring to the rules, especially in football or FIFA rules in article 19 B. In addition, the police institution must be able to implement community policing (Polmas) as stated in the National Police Chief Decree (PERKAP) No. 737 of 2005 (which was later updated PERKAP NO. 7 of 2008). Polmas is a model of policing strategy that emphasizes an equal partnership between the police and the community. The implementing committee must be more orderly in checking the supporters before entering the stadium so as not to bring objects that can injure the security forces and other supporters. And when the match is over, every door in the corner of the stadium should be opened quickly, this will minimize the occurrence of riots or violence.

While this study uses Fromm perspective, the Kanjuruhan tragedy can be investigated by further researchers using different theories and methods from previous research. There would be many aspects to study. As many would view, the Kanjuruhan Tragedy is a complicated case that deserves scrutinizing.

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