



Football, Tragedy and Social Solidarity Movement

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Abstract

This study discusses social solidarity movement in the case football tragedy in Kanjuruhan. Kanjuruhan tragedy occurred on October 1, 2022 in Malang City. It killed 219 spectators and triggered a social movement involving football supporters, human rights activists, and civil society organizations. The main issue raised in this research is how the social movement emerged after the tragedy can encourage stadium security reform and the accountability of the actors involved. This research uses a qualitative approach. The theory used is Charles Tilly's social movement theory that views social movements as organized collective actions with political or social goals. In addition, resource mobilization theory is also applied to understand how supporters groups organize themselves through social media and social movement. The findings show that the social movement after the Kanjuruhan Tragedy is able to build a strong solidarity between supporters groups that are usually divided due to rivalry. And, this movement succeeded in pressuring the government to create a collaborative independent fact-finding team (TGIPF). Despite the progress in raising public awareness and discussing football management reformed, the social movement faces any obstacles in enforcing transparent accountability and deep institutional reformation. These findings underscore the importance of collective action and resource mobilization in driving social change.


Keywords: Solidarity action · Social movement · Football supporters · Tragedy

BACKGROUND

On October 1, 2022, there was a riot after a football match between Arema FC and Persebaya at Kanjuruhan Stadium which then is known as the Kanjuruhan Tragedy. The Kanjuruhan Tragedy was the biggest incident in the history of soccer in Indonesia, as it left 132 people dead and thousands of spectators injured ([Sakti dan Sinduwiatmo, 2023](#)). The beginning of this riot began when Arema FC supporters who felt disappointed with the results of the match and tried to come in the

field, which then triggered a great chaos. This incident attracted public attention because of its huge and tragic impact. The news of the Kanjuruhan riots spread quickly, becoming the main topic in various local and national media ([Azqiya et.al., 2023](#)). In addition, the cases also got an international attention. Various foreign media outlets reporting on the incident and expressing concerns over safety and security in sporting events. The Guardian is one example of a foreign media outlet that reported on the Kanjuruhan tragedy, with a story titled “more than 120 people reportedly killed in riot at Indonesian football match” (see this report in [CNN Indonesia, 2022](#)).

The Kanjuruhan tragedy caused many casualties which then affected the families of the victims. Victims in this tragic tragedy can be categorized into three categories they are lightly injured, seriously injured, and death. Based on data from Malang Regency Crisis Center Post on

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October 13, 2022, there were a total of 754 victims, with details of 596 people suffering minor injuries, 26 people suffering serious injuries, and 132 people died (CNN Indonesia, 2022). The impact of this tragedy was also felt by the families of the victims who lost their family members. This had a significant psychological impact on the families of the victims, including trauma, depression, anxiety, and stress due to the loss. This psychological impact also led to a sense of distrust towards the world of soccer and the extent that some families prohibited their family members from watching soccer matches.

In response, the Government of Indonesia formed a Collaboration of Independent Fact-Finding Team (TGIPF) led by the Ministry of Political, Legal and Security Affairs. Based on their findings, there were many irregularities during the organization of the football match between Arema FC and Persebaya. One of which was the large number of spectators who exceeded the stadium capacity, as well as the negligence of various parties in fulfilling their responsibilities during the match (TGIPF, 2022). In the end, several parties were examined and held accountable, including the Indonesian Football Association (PSSI), PT Liga Indonesia Baru, the match organizing committee, security officers, and law enforcement.

The Kanjuruhan tragedy triggered a social movement among soccer supporters in response to the tragedy. The social movements that emerged grew simultaneously in Indonesia, both conventionally carried out in various places and virtually social movements (Mogot, 2022). Not only waiting for explanations from the authorities, they were also actively involved in various social actions to support the victims and their families. The social solidarity shown by Aremania is a significant form of social movement, which illustrates their deep concern for the impact of the tragedy.

Social movements refer to a collective effort made by a group of individuals or organizations to encourage change in social, political or economic aspects (Hidayaturahmi, 2023). In social movement theory, Charles Tilly emphasizes that social movements are often triggered by feelings of injustice felt by aggrieved groups, who then mobilize resources to achieve their political or social goals (Tilly, 2015). In the context of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy, the solidarity of football supporters is a concrete manifestation of resource mobilization, where supporters use various tools and strategies to organize themselves, garner support, and pressure the government and football authorities to take some any actions.

According to Mayer and Tarrow (1998) in their book entitled *Social Movement Society*, define social movements inclusively, namely common challenges based on common goals and solidarity in ongoing interactions with elite groups, rivals or enemies, and authorities (Derysmono, 2022). According to Anthony Giddens, a social movement can be defined as a group of people involved in seeking a solution or to hinder a process of social change, social movements usually appear shortly after social unrest occurs (Anshori et al., 2023). Meanwhile, according to Della Porta and Diani's opinion, it emphasizes the importance of collective identity in social movements, where group members share the same experiences and values, thus strengthening solidarity and common goals. With this understanding, social movements become an important tool in people's struggle for change and justice (Hapsari et al, 2020).

In the context of social movement theory, Charles Tilly (2015) explains that Tilly defines social movements as "contentious politics", contentious in the sense that they involve collective making of claims that, if realized, would conflict with someone else's interests, and political in the sense that their activity extends to the political sphere. Collective mobilization is carried out to demand social or political change through protests, campaigns, and resource mobilization (Tilly, 2015). In the case of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy, the post-tragedy football supporter solidarity movement is a clear form of organized collective mobilization. This social movement involved Aremania and other supporters which included various activities, such as holding joint prayers, fundraising, direct assistance to the families of the victims, and campaigns to raise awareness about the importance of justice and reform in the world of football. In addition, social movements are also carried out virtually, which usually appear in hashtags on social media Instagram, Twitter, Tiktok, and Facebook. This social movement not only reflects their support and concern for the tragedy of the soccer's riot in Kanjuruhan, but also a collective effort to urge the government to conduct a transparent and thorough investigation.

This solidarity action by Aremania and other soccer supporters had a significant positive impact, helping the victims feel valued and feel not alone in facing this hardship. In addition, their actions also encouraged the wider community to be more concerned and involved in seeking for justice. By surmount the differences of religious, racial and ethnic, Aremania's solidarity strengthens the social bonds between them and increases the opportunity for greater positive change. Overall, Aremania's

social movement serves as an example of how supporters groups can play an active role in supporting the victims and their families, as well as in driving a social change needed to prevent similar incidents in the future.

Some studies that examine social movements in the Kanjuruhan Tragedy can be seen in several literatures. First, research conducted by Mogot (2022), shows that social movements often emerge as a response to people's dissatisfaction with public policies and existing social conditions. Second, in the context of violence in stadiums, Daroini and Aprilinda (2023) revealed that fundraising and solidarity between supporters can be an effective form of social mobilization to fight for justice. Third, research by Jarmal et al. (2023) that shows how the supporters' community plays a role in creating a strong solidarity network to drive change.

In this research that examines social movements after the Kanjuruhan tragedy, there are several study gaps that need to be filled to enrich the understanding of this phenomenon. First, while there is a focus on supporter solidarity actions, more in-depth research on cross-club dynamics and how rivalry between clubs can turn into solidarity in the context of social movements is still rare. Second, the role of social media in movement mobilization needs to be further explored, especially in the terms of how different platforms contribute to the dissemination of information and its influence on public perception. Other gaps include the long-term impact of social movements on policy and changes in public attitudes towards stadium safety. The research comparing social movements in Indonesia with similar tragedies in other countries could provide new insights. In addition, it is important to analyze the authorities' response to the supporters' demands and the psychological impact experienced by the individuals and communities involved. By filling this gap, it will make a significant contribution to the study of social movements and their impact on society as a whole.

Based on arguments of the problems above, the purpose of this study is to analyze how the dynamics and forms of social solidarity shown by football supporters after the Kanjuruhan Tragedy in Malang City. This study also explores the extent to which the post-Kanjuruhan Tragedy social movement influenced the response of government and related authorities in terms of accountability and football reformation.

METHODS

In this research, this study uses a qualitative and descriptive analysis approach. The data in study

through observation and social media reports. The analysis carried out by understanding and studying data and theories from various relevant literatures to the research conducted. The materials obtained from all references then critically and deeply analyzed to support the research propositions and ideas. Using the critical analysis method, the author evaluated to strengthen the research arguments and ideas, as well as provide a more comprehensive understanding of the post-Kanjuruhan Tragedy social movement. It is hoped that this research can make a significant contribution to the development of knowledge in the field of social movement studies and community dynamics.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this section, there are three sub-chapters of discussion that will be discussed, namely the dynamics and forms of social solidarity shown by soccer supporters after the Kanjuruhan Tragedy in Malang City, the factors that encourage the formation of social movements among soccer supporters after the Kanjuruhan Tragedy, and the extent to which the post-Kanjuruhan Tragedy social movement influences the response of the government and related authorities in terms of accountability and soccer reform.

This study uses social movement theory developed by Charles Tilly. According to Tilly, social movements are understood as a series of acts of resistance carried out on an ongoing basis from groups that feel aggrieved against the ruling party. These actions include various forms of public protest, including actions outside of formal political participation regulated by law. The aim is to demonstrate solidarity, commitment and representation of a significant number of members in the group (Tilly, 2015). Tilly also said that a social movement is something that is organized, sustained, rejects self-conscious challenges and in which there is a shared identity among those involved in it. Charles Tilly emphasizes the dynamics of the overall conditions that determine unrest and even social unrest and the characteristics that exist in them, rather than movements in social movements where there are specifically organized actors (Syawaludin, 2017).

The dynamics and forms of the football supporters solidarity movement after the Kanjuruhan tragedy

After the Kanjuruhan tragedy that occurred at the Kanjuruhan Stadium in Malang City in October 2022, the world of Indonesian football was shocked by one of the most tragic incidents in the history of national Indonesian sports. The tragedy caused

many victims, with hundreds of soccer supporters injured and dozens of spectators lost their lives. The incident triggered a solidarity movement involving various layers of society, especially from the soccer supporters' community. The core of this solidarity movement is Aremania, the fanatical supporters group of Arema FC club. However, the solidarity movement carried out by Aremania also spread to supporters from various other soccer clubs in Indonesia, even from abroad. The dynamics of this solidarity movement include various forms of action motivated by emotional backgrounds such as sadness, grief, trauma, and demands for justice for the victims.

One of the most visible forms of solidarity is the protests carried out by soccer supporters in various cities. These actions were held as a form of pressure on the government and soccer authorities to immediately follow up on the tragedy by conducting a transparent investigation and thoroughly investigating the parties responsible. In Malang itself, demonstrations were also held in front of the stadium and government offices, where soccer supporters held banners demanding justice for the victims. The protests took place amidst an emotional atmosphere, but for the most part they were peaceful, although in some locations there were frictions with security forces. Not only soccer supporters, but also students took part in demonstrations to voice the justice for the victims of the Kanjuruhan tragedy. The demonstrations carried out by these students aimed to urge all legal and government authorities to provide maximum protection for the victims (Wicaksana, 2023).

Solidarity actions also be carried out through social media campaigns. The hashtags #PrayForKanjuruhan, #AremaniaBerduka, and #UsutTuntas went viral and were used by thousands of people to voice their concerns and call for the investigation of the incident. The campaign not only involved soccer supporters, but also public figures, celebrities, community leaders, and human rights activists. The campaign was conducted through social media because it has become one of the main tools for supporters to mobilize support and expand the reach of their movement, even to the international level. This shows that social media has an important role in mobilizing solidarity across borders.

A study conducted by Habibi et al. (2023) revealed how social media has played an important role in mobilizing social action in Indonesia, especially after major tragedies that received widespread public attention. The study shows that digital platforms enable the rapid and efficient dissemination of information, and provide space for

various groups of people to participate in solidarity campaigns. This is in line with Tilly's theory (2015), which emphasizes that modern social movements often rely on access to extensive communication networks to expand the reach of protests and strengthen demands on authority

The form of solidarity was also carried out in the form of fundraising and material support for the families of the victims. Various communities of Aremania supporters and other soccer clubs, initiated fundraising to help the families of victims who needed assistance, especially for medical expenses for victims who were injured and financial support for those who lost family members. This initiative emphasizes humanitarian values and a strong sense of community among soccer supporters. It also shows that solidarity is not only manifested in the form of protests, but also in concrete actions to help those directly affected by the tragedy. In addition to soccer supporters, K-Pop fans, Army Indonesia, also held a fundraising event for the victims of the Kanjuruhan tragedy. The action has succeeded in raising funds with a total amount of money circulating between tens to hundreds of millions per fandom (Daroini and Aprilinda, 2023).

The dynamics of solidarity can also be seen in how supporter groups that usually compete in the context of soccer are able to unite for a greater cause. Inter-club rivalries, which usually trigger disputes and conflicts, are temporarily ignored. Supporters from various clubs in Indonesia, such as Persija Jakarta, Persebaya Surabaya and others, showed their solidarity by supporting the #JusticeForKanjuruhan action. This created a rare moment in Indonesian football history where unity in grief and concern for fellow supporters transcended sporting rivalries. This phenomenon shows how tragedy can create strong collective solidarity, especially when basic human rights and a sense of justice are at mortgage.

The Kanjuruhan tragedy sparked attention and support from the international community. Various soccer clubs and supporters abroad also expressed their sorrow and solidarity with the victims. For example, supporters of European clubs such as Liverpool and Manchester United also showed support through official statements or symbolic actions, such as a moment of silence before matches (BBC News Indonesia, 2022). This shows that supporter solidarity is not limited to one country, but extends to the global soccer community. This international response helps amplify the voice of social movements demanding reform and accountability in Indonesian football.

However, behind this solidarity movement, there are various challenges faced by supporters and activists. One of the biggest challenges is the resistance from the authorities, especially regarding the slow investigation process and lack of transparency. Repressive measures against demonstrations have also occurred in some places, with security forces acting against protests deemed to be disruptive. Nevertheless, the movement has shown resilience and continues, driven by the passion to get justice for the victims.

Overall, the dynamics and forms of the post-Kanjuruhan Tragedy football supporter solidarity movement reflect the power of collectivity and social care in responding to a major tragedy. Protests, social media campaigns, fundraising, and cross-club unity show how this solidarity movement has developed into a significant social force. Through this movement, football supporters not only demand justice for the victims, but also advocate for reforms in the management of football in Indonesia, especially regarding stadium security and supporters' rights. This tragedy is a reminder the importance of solidarity and collective care in fighting for social and human rights.

Factors driving the formation of social movements among football supporters

The social movement that emerged after the Kanjuruhan Tragedy in Malang, especially among Arema or Aremania football supporters, was a strong response to a major tragedy that killed many victims. This tragedy triggered solidarity actions and protests aimed at fighting for justice for victims as well as reforms in football security in Indonesia. Through the perspective of Charles Tilly's theory (2015), we can understand the various factors that drive the emergence of this social movement. Tilly, in his theory of resource mobilization and the elements that trigger social movements, identifies campaigns, repertoires of action, and WUNC (worthiness, unity, numbers, commitment) as the main foundations that allow social movements to develop and survive (Tilly, 2015). In the context of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy, we can see how these elements are present and strengthen the social movement among Aremania, driven by several main factors that are emotional, structural, and social in nature. The following are some of the factors driving the formation of social movements among soccer supporters, they are

1. Deep sorrow and collective trauma

The first factor that is very dominant is the deep sense of grief and collective trauma felt by the supporters, especially Aremania as the Arema FC

supporters community. The tragedy that killed more than 130 people left deep emotional wounds among the supporters. The loss of friends, family and fellow soccer fans is the main driver that drives the supporters to unite. This deep sense of grief drives supporters to seek for justice for the victims and ensure that similar tragedies do not happen again in the future. Collective trauma creates a strong shared awareness that there are serious problems in the management of stadium security and supporter protection that must be fixed. This process of collective mourning not only involves memorial services, but also mobilizes collective actions to support and help each other through a difficult time. In Tilly's theory (2015), traumatic events like this can strengthen group solidarity as community members share a common experience of loss and deep grief. Aremania, which is a fanatic community of the Arema FC club, showed a collective reaction that transcended individual boundaries. The solidarity they form reflects emotional attachment in response to a shared sense of loss. This collective trauma becomes a powerful emotional fuel in driving social movements. For many supporter members, this sense of loss drives them to unite in various forms of action, from peaceful demonstrations to other forms of solidarity actions. They realize the importance of fighting for justice for their friends and family who were victims, and acting to prevent similar tragedies from happening again in the future. The trauma felt collectively by Aremania and other supporter communities became the emotional foundation for the social movements that developed after this tragedy.

2. Dissatisfaction with the authority's response

The second factor is dissatisfaction with the authorities' response both from the police, the Indonesian football federation (PSSI), and the government. Many supporters felt that the authorities did not provide a quick and transparent response in investigating the incident. The slow investigation process, lack of accountability, and inattention to the safety of supporters before and after the match are sources of deep dissatisfaction. The criticism of the security forces for acting repressively by using tear gas inside the stadium, in violation of FIFA regulations, further reinforced supporters' distrust of the authorities. This discontent encouraged supporters to organize social movements to push for change and accountability from those responsible. They feel the need to speak out and take action to ensure the safety and well-being of all supporters in the future.

According to Tilly (2015), social movements often emerge in response to the inability or

indifference of authorities to fulfill their obligations to society. In the case of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy, this dissatisfaction was evident in the various protests and demands directed at the stadium security, who were deemed to have acted repressively and inhumanely in dealing with the crowd of supporters. The large number of casualties raised public questions about the security standards applied at the stadium and the riot handling protocols used by the security forces. This dissatisfaction was not only felt by Aremania, but also by the wider community who felt that this tragedy could have been prevented if the authorities had acted more responsibly. This distrust became a strong trigger for protests demanding security reforms at the stadium and transparency in the handling of the case.

3. Collective identity and supporter solidarity

Another factor that is no less important is the collective identity and sense of solidarity among football supporters. Football supporters, especially in Indonesia, have a strong identity and a high sense of togetherness. They are not just spectators, but part of a community that lives side by side inside and outside the stadium. This collective identity makes it easier for them to build solidarity when a crisis occurs, such as the one experienced after the Kanjuruhan tragedy. Brotherhood and a sense of shared destiny are the main drivers for supporters to support each other in fighting for justice and protecting their rights as part of the world of football. This solidarity also extends beyond the club's boundaries, with supporters from other clubs also voicing their support. This awareness of collective identity strengthens the spirit of unity among supporters, thereby creating a larger and more powerful movement.

In Tilly's theory (2015) cross-group solidarity can strengthen WUNC (worthiness, unity, numbers, commitment), which is an important element in building the legitimacy and attractiveness of social movements. This cross-club solidarity shows that this tragedy is not only a problem for Aremania, but also for the entire football supporter community in Indonesia. With this solidarity, the social movements that emerged after the Kanjuruhan Tragedy received wider support and were able to show to the government and the general public that they were part of a strong and committed group. This solidarity not only increases the number of participants in various protests, but also strengthens unity among supporters, which ultimately increases pressure on the government to respond to their demands.

4. The role of social media

The role of social media is also an important factor in the formation of this social movement. Social media provides a platform for supporters to voice concerns, organize protests, and build cross-regional and even international solidarity networks. Online campaigns such as #PrayForKanjuruhan help spread information quickly and widely, and increase pressure on authorities to act. Apart from that, social media is also a means for supporters to share stories and experiences, which strengthens their emotional ties and commitment to the movement. Social media has allowed supporters to connect with each other, even though they are separated by physical distance. With the ability to reach a wider audience, social media has become an effective tool in rallying support and creating greater awareness of the issues faced by supporters. This helps spread the message of justice and the need for reform more widely, not only within the football community, but also in society in general.

According to Tilly, communication technology is an important tool that can strengthen social movements, because it allows the dissemination of information and coordination of action effectively. Aremania and other supporter communities utilize social media platforms such as Twitter, Instagram and Facebook to spread news, organize actions and attract sympathy from the wider community. Social media allows this movement to garner support across regions and even abroad, ultimately creating greater public awareness about the importance of security reform in football stadiums. By using social media, this movement has succeeded in utilizing technology as a tool that expands the reach of their message, increases the visibility of the movement, and encourages participation from various levels of society.

5. Social awareness

The last factor is the social awareness among supporters. The Kanjuruhan tragedy opened the eyes of many supporters about the importance of fighting for their rights as part of the football community. This awareness includes the importance of the safety and welfare of supporters during matches, as well as the need for better regulations in managing matches and stadiums. Many supporters realize that they have a role in pushing for change and demanding fair treatment from match organizers and the government. This social awareness often manifests itself in the form of collective protests and campaigns. Supporters are increasingly realizing that they are not alone in this struggle and that their voices can influence change.

By building a strong social awareness, the solidarity movement can become more organized and focused in demanding the reforms needed in the world of Indonesian football.

The driving factors for the formation of social movements after the Kanjuruhan Tragedy were a combination of emotional experiences, dissatisfaction with authority, collective identity, the role of social media, and the development of social awareness. All of these factors played an important role in strengthening the spirit of solidarity among football supporters, creating a movement that is not only demanded a justice for the victims, but also a wider reform in the world of football in Indonesia. Through this movement, football supporters are not only fight for their rights, but also contribute to greater social change in society. The Kanjuruhan tragedy became an important starting point for strengthening solidarity and collective concerning among football supporters in Indonesia.

The influence of social movements on government response

The social movements that were formed after the Kanjuruhan Tragedy had a significant influence on the response of the government and related authorities, especially in terms of handling incidents and policy reform in the field of football. After the tragedy which caused hundreds of deaths and injuries, various elements of society, especially football supporters, demanded accountability and justice (CNN Indonesia, 2022). This public pressure provides a strong impetus for the government to quickly act in responding the public demands, as well as encouraging reforms to the Indonesian football system.

One of the biggest impacts of this social movement was the acceleration of investigations by the government. Public demands expressed through demonstrations, social media campaigns, as well as peaceful protests by supporters, mean that the government cannot ignore this incident. The Indonesian president immediately ordered a comprehensive investigation into the incident, including an investigation into the use of tear gas by police, which violated FIFA regulations. This pressure from the public forced law enforcement officials and the football federation (PSSI) to take quick steps to identify and take action against the parties responsible for the tragedy.

Beside it, policy reforms related to the management of football matches are one of the real impacts of this social movement. After protests and public pressure, the government began to take serious steps in improving stadium security

regulations and the organization of matches. One important step is the restructuring of security procedures at stadiums, involving various parties, including the police and football organizations, to ensure the similar incidents will not happen anymore. The government has also begun to push for regulation's revision regarding supporters' rights and stricter international security standards. The demands of supporters and the public have opened up discussion to create systemic changes in Indonesian football governance.

International pressure triggered by domestic social movements also influenced the government's response. A solidarity campaign that extended to the international football community drew world attention to the Kanjuruhan tragedy. Many football clubs and international sports organizations showed moral support and highlighted the case, ultimately strengthening the demand for an independent investigation (Syahril, 2024). This international pressure has encouraged the government to show the seriousness in handling this incident in order to maintain Indonesia's image in the eyes of the world, especially ahead of international events involving football game in the future.

However, even though there are any steps that have been taken, the government's response is still faced a criticism from various parties especially regarding the slow court process for parties deemed responsible, including security forces and match organizers. Even though several officials have been removed from their positions, some members of the public and supporters still feel that the actions taken have not been sufficient to provide the justice for the victims. The ongoing social movement remains reflection to the government that the public expects more fundamental and long-term changes in the football system. In the Global Human Right Defense (GHRD) report, it was stated that many parties involved in this tragedy had not received similar sanctions and several of the main demands of supporters, such as the elimination of repressive practices in handling stadium security, had not been fully accommodated (ghrd.org, 2023). Another study conducted by Jarmal et al. (2023) also show that although the post-Kanjuruhan tragedy social movements succeeded in creating significant pressure on the authorities, challenges still remain in terms of transparency and implementation of reforms. This movement shows that resource mobilization, whether through physical or digital action can drive social change, but the final outcome still depends on the government's response and the strength of the movement itself.

However, in general the post-Kanjuruhan tragedy social movement succeeded in encouraging

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a significant response from the government both in the form of more transparent investigations, policy reform, and handling of the parties responsible. This movement also shows that the government's response still does not fully comply people's expectations and therefore football fans continue to fight so that the similar tragedies will not happen anymore in the future. The public pressure and their demands for justice continue to play an important role in driving the government to make comprehensive changes.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of discussion above, it can be concluded that the Kanjuruhan tragedy social movement has strong dynamics among football supporters. The solidarity that is formed is driven by emotional trauma, dissatisfaction with the authority's response and the collective identity of supporters. The form of this movement are demonstration, social media campaign and fundraising with the aim of fighting for justice for the victims and encouraging reform in the Indonesian football system. The factors influencing of the formation in this social movement include a deep feeling of grief, distrust of authority, and the important role of social media in proliferating information and organizing action. The collective identity of supporters as a community also strengthens their sense of solidarity in fighting for their rights. The influence of these social movements is visible in the government's response which accelerated by investigations and pushed for policy reforms regarding stadium security. However, although some steps have been taken, criticism on the slow pace of legal processes and accountability still remains. In conclusion, this social movement was successful in driving for initial changes, but the public and supporters continue to demand a deeper reform for the safety and the justice in the world of football in Indonesia.

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