

ACCOUNTABILITY DENIED: KANJURUHAN STADIUM TRAGEDY CRITICAL JUNCTURE INDONESIAN SPORT

Indra Lukmana Putra¹, Aang Kurniawan²
Politeknik Negeri Malang¹ University of Brawijaya²
Email: indra.lukmana@polinema.ac.id

Abstrak

Keywords:

*Kanjuruhan Tragedy,
Management Strategy,
Football,
Accountability,
Supporter Mobilization*

Kanjuruhan tragedy, which occurred on October 1, 2022, in Malang, Indonesia, claimed 219 lives and sparked a significant social movement. This tragedy, driven by crowd violence amid intense football club rivalries, has highlighted deep flaws in football governance and stadium safety management in Indonesia. incident not only revealed critical gaps in security measures but also galvanized public discourse on accountability and need for systemic reforms in football management. This research examines how social movements, spurred by Kanjuruhan tragedy, have mobilized collective action, advocating for reform in stadium safety and greater transparency of sports governance. Drawing on Charles Tilly's social movement theory and resource mobilization theory, this study explores role of supporters and civil society in pressuring government institutions for change. Furthermore, tragedy's cultural impact is discussed, paralleling similar incidents such as Munich air disaster and Alianza Lima tragedy, which led to national reflections and enduring cultural legacies. Despite progress in raising awareness, movement faces substantial barriers to achieving institutional reforms due to entrenched political complexities. findings underscore importance of collective action and resource mobilization in driving social change, while also highlighting obstacles posed by institutional resistance and political landscapes football.

This is an open access article under the [CC BY-NC-SA 4.0](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/) license



INTRODUCTION

Football tragedies, such as Kanjuruhan incident in Indonesia and Munich air disaster, serve as stark reminders of profound impact sports can have on society, not only in terms of lives lost but also in way y catalyze social movements, alter public narratives, and reflect deeper societal issues. se events underscore powerful, yet often tragic, relationship between sports and collective identity. Kanjuruhan tragedy, which occurred on October 1, 2022, in Malang, Indonesia, resulted in deaths of 219

spectators, primarily due to crowd violence that was triggered by intense football rivalries. incident stands as one of deadliest football-related tragedies globally, second only to 1964 Peru stadium disaster (Putri, 2024). It revealed critical vulnerabilities within management and governance of football events in Indonesia, sparking a widespread outcry and calls for reform in stadium safety and crowd control measures (Sokoy et al., 2023).

Kanjuruhan tragedy exposed fragility of Indonesia's football governance, particularly highlighting systemic failures in crowd management and dangerous overuse of force, such as deployment of tear gas by police officers, a clear violation of FIFA regulations (Utama et al., 2022). Tragic event highlighted not only immediate loss of life but also a larger issue of governance, transparency, and accountability in sports. incident became a focal point for broader discussions surrounding rights of football spectators, particularly right to safety and security during such high-stakes events, as enshrined in Indonesia's Sports Law No. 11/2022 (Ellya et al., 2023). legal framework itself recognizes responsibility of event organizers, including stadium managers and law enforcement, in ensuring safety of attendees, a standard that was glaringly unmet during Kanjuruhan tragedy. Tragedy also underscores the importance of mindful and sustainable behavior, as excessive consumption of football euphoria often overshadows basic safety concerns (Putra, 2025c).

Wake of tragedy, an unprecedented social movement emerged. What was particularly striking about this movement was solidarity it fostered among football supporters, who, despite often being rivals, united under a common cause—advocating for reform in stadium security and demanding greater accountability from police and football administrators. This movement demonstrates potential for social mobilization within realm of sports, particularly in a context where fans have historically been divided along club lines. By leveraging social media platforms and organizing collective actions, movement succeeded in pressuring Indonesian government to form an independent fact-finding team (TGIPF) to investigate causes of tragedy and role of police (Sokoy et al., 2023). Despite progress made in raising public awareness and initiating discussions on reforming football management, movement has encountered significant obstacles in enforcing accountability and pushing for deep institutional reforms (Putri, 2024).

Cultural narratives surrounding football tragedies also play an important role in shaping national consciousness. Munich air disaster of 1958, which took lives of eight players from Manchester United, triggered widespread national mourning and became a defining moment for club, creating a lasting cultural legacy (Martines, 2017). Similarly, 1987 Alianza Lima tragedy in Peru not only resulted in a devastating loss of life but also served as a mirror to political and social struggles in country, revealing issues of corruption, governance, and systemic failure (Panfichi & Vich, 2006). se incidents, though occurring in different contexts, are linked by a shared narrative that intertwines collective grief of a nation with a demand for social and political change, highlighting enduring impact of such tragedies on public consciousness. Greenwashing in Indonesian football governance is evident when post-Kanjuruhan reform pledges remain at the level of image-making rather than genuine transformation (Putra, 2025a).

In case of Kanjuruhan, social movement that emerged in its wake is a testament to power of collective action in pushing for change. It has demonstrated role of football fans, civil society organizations, and human rights activists in advocating for

structural reforms in sports governance. However, despite its successes in mobilizing support and raising awareness, movement still faces significant challenges. These include resistance from entrenched political and institutional systems, a lack of transparency in governance, and difficulty in implementing meaningful reforms. The case of Kanjuruhan exemplifies the complexities involved in translating public outcry into long-lasting institutional change. The tragedy, while deeply tragic, has become a crucial point of reflection for the future of football governance, with implications that extend beyond the borders of Indonesia, touching on broader issues of safety, accountability, and solidarity in sports worldwide.

Charles Tilly's social movement theory and resource mobilization theory, this research seeks to examine ways in which collective action, facilitated by modern communication platforms like social media, has shaped social and political discourse surrounding Kanjuruhan tragedy. These theories help illuminate how social movements can gain momentum, build solidarity, and press for reform, despite complex barriers that often hinder their success. Ultimately, Kanjuruhan tragedy not only serves as a catalyst for reform in Indonesian football but also contributes to the global conversation on the role of governance, safety, and public accountability in sports.

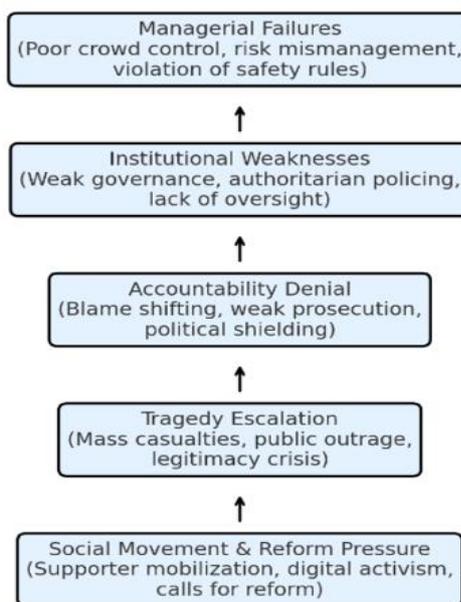
LITERATURE REVIEW

Sports tragedies are not isolated events but reflections of broader governance, cultural, and political dynamics (Meyer & Tarrow, 1998). Kanjuruhan tragedy on October 1, 2022, resulted in the deaths of 219 spectators due to police deployment of tear gas, in violation of FIFA safety regulations (TGIPF, 2022). Similar to the Munich air disaster of 1958 and the Alianza Lima tragedy in 1987, these events sparked cultural mourning, public debates, and collective mobilization (Martines, 2017; Panfichi & Vich, 2006). This study investigates the intersection between sports, governance, and social movements, with a particular focus on how Kanjuruhan tragedy shaped calls for reform in Indonesian football management. Several studies explored the role of media framing in tragedy and influencing public perception. Aisyah, Febriani, and Wahyuni (2022) conducted a critical discourse analysis on the coverage of Kanjuruhan tragedy by Metro TV, highlighting how media framed the incident as a human rights violation and an indictment of poor management of stadium safety. Their findings suggest that media played a crucial role in shaping the public's understanding of the tragedy, focusing on systemic failures that led to such a devastating outcome. Similarly, Azqiya, Hadylaya, and Siregar (2023) analyzed media's coverage of the tragedy across Indonesian news portals, identifying a trend of sensationalism in reporting that emphasized violence and its political implications, rather than structural causes behind the event.

Media's role in shaping the global narrative around the tragedy. Habibi et al. (2023) explored the framing of the Kanjuruhan incident by foreign media outlets, such as Mirror.co.uk and Al Jazeera, and found that international coverage highlighted the police's use of tear gas and the resulting stampede, framing the incident as a severe governance failure. This framing echoes the findings of Ellya et al. (2023), who analyzed media coverage on YouTube and noted that critical discourse emphasized the lack of preparedness and poor crowd control mechanisms, pointing to governance issues within Indonesian football. The identity of Arema supporters, tied to original jersey collections, illustrates how football consumer culture is also linked to psychological well-being and collective solidarity (Putra, Puspitasari, & Oktora, 2025d). Kanjuruhan tragedy gave rise to a powerful social

movement that mobilized football supporters, civil society organizations, and human rights activists. Aryanto et al. (2024) studied communication networks formed around hashtag #PrayForKanjuruhan on Twitter, revealing that social media acted as a catalyst for movement. study highlighted pivotal role of Twitter influencers and key accounts, such as @panditfootball, in disseminating information and fostering solidarity among rival football supporter groups.

This movement transcended traditional fan divisions, uniting m in a shared call for accountability and reform. Putri (2024) discusses broader social solidarity movement that emerged following tragedy, noting that it reflected a growing awareness among Indonesian public about need for reform in stadium safety and football governance. This social movement, according to Putri, demonstrates capacity of collective action to challenge entrenched institutional structures and demand systemic changes. Meyer and Tarrow (1998) offer a oretical framework that explains how social movements like this one are not only reactionary but also driven by an enduring societal need for justice and reform. Kanjuruhan tragedy catalyzed a social movement that sought to address broader issues of governance, security, and human rights within realm of sports.



Gambar 1. Framework Reseach

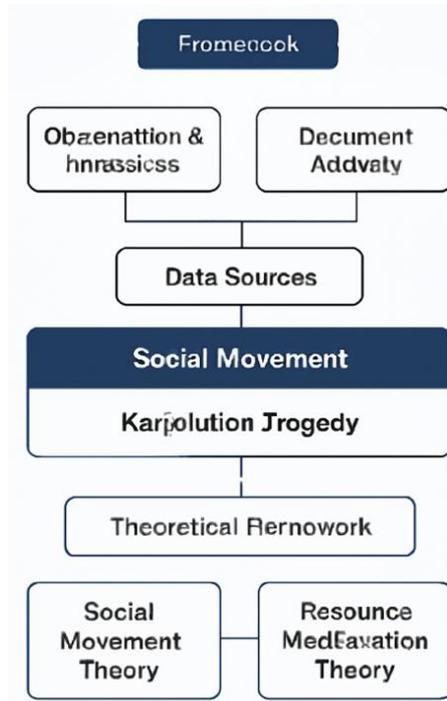
Critical aspect of aftermath of Kanjuruhan tragedy has been issue of accountability, both in terms of actions of police and management of football organization. Sokoy et al. (2023) provide an in-depth analysis of cultural, managerial, and governance issues surrounding incident, pointing out how lack of proper stadium management protocols and failure to follow FIFA guidelines contributed to disaster. authors emphasize need for comprehensive reforms in football governance and public accountability to prevent future tragedies. This view is echoed by Dunggio, Dunga, and Bakung (2024), who analyze legal accountability for tragedy under Indonesian civil law, arguing that actions of both police and football organizers should be subject to legal scrutiny and potential reforms. Utama et al. (2022) explore root causes of

violence in Kanjuruhan tragedy, focusing specifically on role of police in escalating conflict. y highlight that use of tear gas by police, a violation of both national regulations and FIFA protocols, was a major contributing factor to deadly stampede. Study calls for a reevaluation of police practices and a shift towards community policing models to prevent similar incidents in future. Kanjuruhan tragedy also resonates within a broader cultural and historical context of football disasters, particularly in terms of lessons learned from past tragedies. Bennett (2017) examines cultural causes of football stadium disasters, including 1946 Burnden Park and 1989 Hillsborough disasters, arguing that systemic issues of crowd control, miscommunication, and institutional inertia are common mes that persist in football world. Similarly, Richardson (2019) analyzes how cultural narratives around stadium disasters contribute to societal reactions and way in which such events are remembered and acted upon. Kanjuruhan tragedy, like or historical football disasters, has prompted a rethinking of how football clubs, authorities, and governments handle crowd safety and emergency response.

Literature surrounding Kanjuruhan tragedy offers a comprehensive view of various facets of incident, including media's role in framing tragedy, social movement that emerged in its aftermath, and broader issues of governance, accountability, and cultural context. incident underscores need for systemic reforms in stadium management, law enforcement practices, and football governance. Furrmore, it highlights power of collective action and social media in driving public awareness and influencing policy change. However, as literature reveals, achieving meaningful reform remains an ongoing challenge, as institutional resistance and political complexities continue to impede progress. This literature review synsyzes key studies on Kanjuruhan tragedy, providing a multi-dimensional perspective on event, its aftermath, and its wider implications for Indonesian football and global discussions on governance, social movements, and media discourse. Let me know if you'd like furr refinement or adjustments!

RESEARCH METHODS

Research employs a qualitative case study approach to investigate Kanjuruhan tragedy, focusing on social movement and its aftermath. qualitative method allows for an in-depth exploration of complex factors that shaped movement and resulting reforms in stadium safety and governance. research is built upon three primary data sources: observation and interviews, document analysis, and social media communication network analysis. study integrates two prominent oretical frameworks—Charles Tilly's Social Movement ory and Meyer & Tarrow's Resource Mobilization ory—to analyze dynamics of social movement and role of collective action in advocating for reform.



Gambar 2 . Flow Reseach

Charles Tilly’s Social Movement ory (Tilly, 1998) provides primary lens through which social movement arising from Kanjuruhan tragedy is examined. According to Tilly, social movements are organized collective actions that emerge in response to social or political goals. This ory is particularly relevant for understanding how football supporters, often divided by club rivalries, came toger to push for change after tragedy. Tilly’s framework highlights processes of mobilization, framing, and collective action that are critical to social movements, making it an ideal tool for analyzing post-Kanjuruhan movement. Resource Mobilization ory (Meyer & Tarrow, 1998) complements Tilly’s framework by emphasizing role of resources—such as information, networks, and financial support—in success of social movements. This ory allows research to focus on how football supporter groups used social media, particularly Twitter, to mobilize support, organize collective actions, and pressure government institutions. By analyzing how se groups utilized available resources, including online platforms, to create a broad coalition advocating for stadium safety reforms, this ory provides insight into structural and organizational aspects of movement.

Fieldwork first step involves conducting observations at football-related events and interviews with key actors in Malang, including supporters, activists, and local community leaders. This phase aims to gar firsthand accounts of how tragedy unfolded and immediate reactions of those involved. Document Review: second phase involves an in-depth analysis of documents, including TGIPF report and relevant media articles. This analysis aims to understand how official and media narratives shaped public discourse surrounding tragedy and calls for reform. Social Media Analysis: third phase of data collection focuses on online discourse surrounding hashtag #PrayForKanjuruhan. Using a network analysis approach, this study examines how social media users organized and communicated ir solidarity,

framed tragedy, and influenced public opinion. By utilizing tools such as centrality measures and content analysis, study will explore how digital mobilization of football fans contributed to broader social movement. Observational and interview data will be analyzed systematically to identify recurring patterns and key messages related to motivations, challenges, and strategies employed by social movement. Document analysis, including media reports and TGIPF findings, will be examined through critical discourse analysis to understand how language and framing shaped public perception and social movement's trajectory. Social media communication will be analyzed through network analysis techniques, focusing on centrality measures and patterns of interaction between key actors in #PrayForKanjuruhan movement. This will help understand how information was disseminated and how supporters mobilized collectively to push for change.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Understanding grassroots mobilization and dynamics of social movement, research incorporates observational data and interviews with football supporters and activists in Malang. These individuals, who were directly involved in events surrounding Kanjuruhan tragedy and subsequent social movement, provide valuable insights into motivations, challenges, and actions taken by movement. Interviews focus on exploring how these groups organized, communicated, and advocated for reforms in football governance and stadium safety. Research draws on methods outlined by Utama et al. (2022), who conducted similar interviews and observations with local supporters in Malang to investigate causes of tragedy. Document analysis plays a critical role in understanding narrative surrounding tragedy and social movement's development. Key documents analyzed include TGIPF (Tim Gabungan Independen Pencari Fakta) report (2022), which details findings of independent fact-finding team established by Indonesian government in response to tragedy. TGIPF report provides an official account of incident, including factors that contributed to tragedy and institutional failures that allowed it to occur. Additional document sources include media framing studies by Habibi et al. (2023), which examine how both Indonesian and international media outlets framed Kanjuruhan incident. By analyzing media reports, this research uncovers narratives constructed around tragedy, highlighting focus on police actions and victims' experiences, as well as how media influenced public opinion. Social media communication network surrounding #PrayForKanjuruhan hashtag, as studied by Aryanto et al. (2024).

Tabel 1 : Key Issues

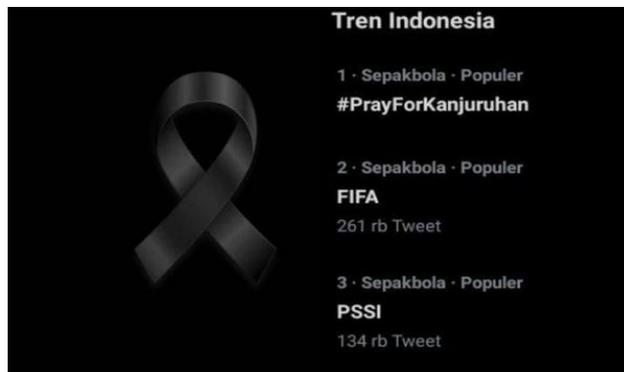
Theme	Key Issues / Insights	References
1. Governance Weaknesses	- Systemic failures in football governance- Poor crowd management- Lack of safety infrastructure- Misuse of state security forces	Sokoy et al., 2023
2. Cultural Narratives	- National mourning comparable to Munich 1958- Reshaped cultural discourse around football- Narratives of injustice, police brutality, and government negligence fueling anger	Martines, 2017
3. Social	- Rival supporters united across traditional divides-	Putri, 2024;

Theme	Key Issues / Insights	References
Movement Mobilization	Social media (esp. Twitter #PrayForKanjuruhan) amplified solidarity and reform demands	Aryanto et al., 2024
4. Institutional Response	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Public pressure created Independent Joint Fact-Finding Team (TGIPF)- Reform efforts resisted by entrenched institutional interests - Football disasters act as <i>critical junctures</i> for social change- Reveal governance flaws and trigger reform calls (e.g., Hillsborough 1989, Burnden Park 1946)- Post-Kanjuruhan mobilization reflects <i>movement society</i> (digital grassroots challenging institutions)- Authoritarian policing + weak accountability hinder deep reforms 	Utama et al., 2022 Bennett, 2017; Richardson, 2019; Meyer & Tarrow, 1998

Kanjuruhan tragedy exposed significant governance weaknesses within Indonesian football, including poor crowd management practices, insufficient safety infrastructure, and the misuse of state security forces. According to Sokoy et al. (2023), the incident revealed critical failures in the oversight and management of football matches, which were compounded by the use of tear gas by the police, in violation of FIFA's crowd control regulations. These systemic issues pointed to a broader lack of accountability and inadequate regulation in managing football events, leading to widespread calls for reform in both the governance of football and the application of law enforcement in sports settings. Much like the Munich air disaster of 1958, which resulted in the tragic loss of Manchester United players and stirred deep national mourning, the Kanjuruhan tragedy reshaped cultural narratives around football in Indonesia. As Martines (2017) notes, such events not only trigger widespread sorrow but also redefine the way people relate to their national teams and football culture. The tragedy shifted public discourse, creating a narrative focused on injustice, police brutality, and government negligence. Failure to guarantee stadium safety standards highlights weak application of occupational health and safety principles in the sports context (Putra, Junus, & Maulana, 2025b). Professional match management and marketing strategies indicates weak integration of modern business practices in the national football industry (Putra, 2022). These narratives fueled collective anger and helped unite various social groups in calling for accountability. Grief and outrage surrounding the tragedy also led to widespread media coverage, further amplifying public demands for systemic change in football governance and crowd management.

One of the most remarkable outcomes of the Kanjuruhan tragedy was the mobilization of football supporters, even from rival factions, who united under a shared cause of demanding justice and reform. According to Putri (2024), the social movement that emerged transcended traditional football rivalries, showcasing the power of collective action and solidarity among supporters. Social media played a key role in amplifying the movement, particularly Twitter, where the hashtag #PrayForKanjuruhan became a rallying point for advocates calling for better safety measures and accountability in Indonesian football. Poor asset management at Kanjuruhan Stadium reflects the broader mismanagement of public facilities that should be the responsibility of sports institutions (Putra, 2024). Aryanto et al. (2024) argue that social media allowed

supporters to bypass traditional media channels, mobilizing large numbers of people and rapidly spreading awareness about the tragedy and the need for reform. The hashtag not only united supporters across the country but also garnered international attention, increasing the pressure on both the government and football authorities to take meaningful action.



Gambar 3 . Trending Hastag Social Movement (Aryanto et al., 2024)



Sumber: Google trends 4 Oktober 2022 telah dikelola oleh penulis

Gambar 4 . Google Tren (Habibi et al., 2024)

Formation of the Independent Joint Fact-Finding Team (TGIPF) was one of the most direct responses to public pressure following the Kanjuruhan tragedy. This team was tasked with investigating the causes of the tragedy and holding responsible parties accountable. While this marked an important step toward transparency, Utama et al. (2022) highlight that reform efforts have faced considerable resistance from entrenched institutional interests. The reluctance of some stakeholders, including local authorities and certain football officials, to embrace comprehensive reforms has slowed the pace of change. The challenge remains in overcoming these institutional barriers to achieve long-lasting improvements in stadium safety and governance within Indonesian football. Kanjuruhan tragedy demonstrates that football-related disasters function as critical junctures for social change. Like Hillsborough (1989) and Burnden Park (1946), they reveal systemic flaws in governance and ignite calls for reform (Bennett, 2017; Richardson, 2019). The mobilization of supporters after Kanjuruhan reflects the “movement society” concept, where grassroots actors leverage digital platforms to challenge institutions (Meyer & Tarrow, 1998). However, the persistence of authoritarian policing practices and weak accountability mechanisms hinder deep structural reforms

CONCLUSION

Kanjuruhan tragedy reveals football's dual identity in Indonesia: a space of passion and cultural belonging, but also a political arena where governance failures and authoritarian policing are violently exposed. Arema FC, as the host club, embodies this ambivalence—at once the locus of mourning and solidarity, yet also bound to the very institutions whose systemic weaknesses allowed the disaster to unfold. Mobilization of Aremania and rival supporters demonstrates the transformative potential of football fandom, capable of transcending tribal rivalries to articulate broader demands for justice and reform. However, as comparative experiences like Hillsborough and Munich show, sustaining this momentum requires more than emotional solidarity: it demands institutional accountability, structural reform aligned with international safety standards, and a break from entrenched authoritarian practices. Kanjuruhan should not be remembered solely as a tragedy, but as a critical juncture turning point where Indonesian football must choose between perpetuating systemic negligence or embracing reforms that prioritize safety, justice, and dignity for supporters. Arema, situated at heart of struggle, burden of accountability and opportunity to become a catalyst for change.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aryanto, D., Nugroho, C., Wulan, R. R., Wulandari, A., & Pramesthi, J. A. (2024). Social Media and Social Movement in Indonesia; Communication Network on Twitter Regarding the Kanjuruhan Football Supporter Tragedy. *SHS Web of Conferences*, 204, 01004. <https://doi.org/10.1051/shsconf/202420401004>
- Bennett, S. A. (2017). Demonisation as explanation? A systems theory-informed analysis of the origins of, and reaction to the 1946 Burnden Park and 1989 Hillsborough football stadium disasters. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction*, 21, 405-418.
- Habibi, M., Handoko, D. L., Kurniawan, D. S., Rasman, R., & Anggriani, R. M. (2023). Tragedi kerusuhan stadion Kanjuruhan dalam bingkai media asing. *Perspektif Komunikasi*, 7(1), 43–64. <https://doi.org/10.24853/pk.7.1.43-64>
- Martines, J. (2017). Munich air disaster and cultural memory. [Journal Reference].
- Meyer, D. S., & Tarrow, S. (1998). *A movement society: Contentious politics for a new century*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Panfichi, A., & Vich, V. (2006). Alianza Lima and social narratives in Peru. [Journal Reference]
- Putra, I. L. (2025a). Greenwashing: Really Green Accounting or Claim Issued? *Jurnal Trial Balance*, 3(1), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.61754/jutriance.v3i1.125>
- Putra, I. L., Junus, M., & Maulana, N. (2025b). Kesehatan keselamatan kerja dan keberlanjutan lingkungan.
- Putra, I. L. (2025c). Slow Living Financial Behavior: Mindful Consumption, Entrepreneurial Transition, and Sustainable Lifestyles.
- Putra, I. L., Puspitasari, P., & Oktora, Y. S. (2025d). Keperilakuan Well-being Investasi Kolektor Jersey Bola Original. *Jurnal Akuntansi Publik Nusantara*, 3(1), 15–23.
- Putra, I. L. (2024). *Manajemen Aset*. CV. Dewa Publishing.

- Putra, I. L. (2022). Manajemen Pemasaran Dilengkapi Studi Kasus Dan Video Pembelajaran. CV. ALPHA ROCKET NUSANTARA.
- Putri, S. M. (2024). Football, Tragedy and Social Solidarity Movement. *Kuasa*, 1(2), 55–63. <https://doi.org/10.22437/kuasa.v1i2.10>
- Richardson, W. (2019). Identifying the cultural causes of disasters: An analysis of the Hillsborough disaster. In *Risk Management* (pp. 169–177). Routledge.
- Sokoy, F., Qomarrullah, R., Wulandari, S. L., Muhammad, R. N., & Sugiharto, S. (2023). Kanjuruhan Indonesia Football Tragedy (Culture, Management, Governance, and Justice). *International Journal of Human Movement and Sports Sciences*, 11(4), 753–761. <https://doi.org/10.13189/saj.2023.110408>
- TGIPF. (2022). Laporan tim gabungan independen pencari fakta tragedi Stadion Kanjuruhan Malang. <https://polkam.go.id/laporan-tgipf-tragedi-kanjuruhan/>
- Utama, J. Y., Anggraeni, E., Erviani, E., Prabowo, H., & Saputra, V. W. (2022). The Root of Violence in Kanjuruhan Tragedy: An Evaluation for The Police Institution. *Resolusi*, 5(2), 122–132. <https://doi.org/10.32699/resolusi.v5i2.3604>

