

FOOTBALL SUPPORTER CONFLICTS IN MEDIA DISCOURSE: THE NEWS DISCOURSE OF *KEDAULATAN RAKYAT* AND *TRIBUN JOGJA* ON THE MARCH 13, 2015 SUPPORTER RIOTS

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Abstract

Bad news is good news; that is the principle which is often believed in the practice of journalism. Rather than reporting positive sides, the media in fact prefer highlighting the negative sides of various events that occur in society. One of which is the news about conflicts. In the concept of news value, conflicts become one of the news which is displayed by the media to attract public attention. In Yogyakarta, the city where *Persatuan Sepakbola Seluruh Indonesia* (Football Association of Indonesia) or PSSI was established, the conflicts involving football supporters also become an alarming phenomenon. One of those conflicts happened when PSIM Yogyakarta supporters had physical conflicts with PSS Sleman supporters and Sleman residents. This incident occurred when PSIM Yogyakarta supporters were on the way to support PSIM in an away match versus PPSM Magelang on Friday, March 13, 2015. *Kedaulatan Rakyat* and *Tribun Jogja*, two major local newspapers published in Yogyakarta, made the conflict involving PSIM supporters in Sleman their headlines. This research attempts to explore how *Kedaulatan Rakyat* and *Tribun Jogja* reported the riots in Sleman which involved PSIM supporters. The research's findings show that the supporter riots were discoursed differently by the local newspapers in Yogyakarta. *Kedaulatan Rakyat* highlighted the riots as conflicts between PSIM supporters and Sleman residents. On the other hand, *Tribun Jogja* boldly highlighted the rioters which were PSIM Yogyakarta supporters. *Tribun Jogja* also reported the possibility or potential involvement of PSS Sleman supporters in the riots. In both newspapers, there was a great deal of discourse similarity on the magnitude of damage after the supporter riots occurred.

Keywords: news, discourse, supporters, football

Background

Football fans or football supporters have long been regarded as a source of unrest that occurs around a football match. The worst violent incident involving football supporters was a riot which raged in Heysel Stadium, Brussels, Belgium in May 1985. It was the Champions League final between Juventus (Italy) and Liverpool (UK).

Since the mid-1960s, UK newspapers in fact started using military rhetoric to report the news about football matches and the behavior of football supporters. As a result of the interaction between these two things, the violence that occurs in football world is publicized in a larger amount. It is in line with the increasing number of violence among football supporters (Williams, Dunning and Murphy, 1986: 363).

In Indonesia, conflicts involving football supporters still continue to happen. As happened in England at that time, violence involving football supporter in Indonesia not only occurs inside the stadium, but also extends outside. The road to the stadium becomes one arena where violence involving football supporters frequently happens.

Until the 1990s, conflicts involving football supporters in Yogyakarta were still rarely seen. In that decade, Yogyakarta citizen united to support PSIM Yogyakarta, a football club that was established in 1929. PSIM itself has an important role in the history of Indonesian football world as one of the founders of PSSI. With a spirit to support one football club, the football supporters in Yogyakarta were relatively harmonious.

This harmonious atmosphere changed in the 2000s. Following the local autonomy and decentralization in the reformation era, many football clubs sprung up in various places of Indonesia. Most of those places were not recognized as the football center. In Yogyakarta, PSIM, which had become the one and only football club, began to lose its dominance. PSS Sleman, a football club which was established in 1976, began to attract public support in Sleman after successfully rising to the Indonesia Premier League. Persiba Bantul, a football club from Bantul that was founded in 1967, also followed PSS Sleman's successful steps.

The competition among those three clubs, especially between PSIM and PSS, causes high tension in every match which involves football clubs from Yogyakarta. Furthermore, the change of PSIM supporters' bases into the bases of

PSS Sleman supporters in Sleman and the bases of Persiba Bantul in Bantul increased the rivalry among those clubs.

A recent large-scale conflict which involves PSIM supporters happened when the supporters were on the way to support PSIM in an away match versus PPSM Magelang on March 13, 2015. On the way to Magelang, PSIM supporters were involved in a series of violence. They had physical conflicts with a group of people along Jalan Magelang, especially around Sleman City. According to PSIM supporters, a group of people who were involved in the violence with them were PSS Sleman supporters who later came together with the local residents. However, various news reported by Yogyakarta local newspapers stated that PSIM supporters were involved in conflicts with Sleman residents only. This news incurred the anger of PSIM supporters. They protested the news coverage of the media which was considered disproportionate through social media. The PSIM supporters in this case were the readers of local newspapers. On the other hand, the residents along Jalan Magelang were also the readers of local newspapers. The local newspapers which are published in Yogyakarta had to face news about conflicts that involved their readers so that they must be meticulous and careful in packing their news discourse.

B. Problem Formulation

How did two Yogyakarta local newspapers, *Kedaulatan Rakyat* and *Tribun Jogja*, write their news discourse in reporting the riots involving PSIM supporters in Sleman on March 13, 2015?

C. Research's Findings and Analysis

The riot, which involved PSIM supporters while supporting PSIM Yogyakarta in an away match versus PPSM Magelang in Magelang City, has been widely known by the public in Yogyakarta. This incident, which involved PSIM Yogyakarta supporters, had occurred since Friday afternoon, March 13, 2015. It all started when PSIM supporters who were on their way to Magelang City clashed with local residents along Jalan Magelang, Sleman. Jalan Magelang itself is well-known as one of the strongest bases of PSS Sleman supporters, who had clashed with PSIM Yogyakarta supporters before. It was the social media, especially Twitter, which became the medium in spreading the information about the incident. In the evening, PSIM Yogyakarta supporters went back to

Yogyakarta and took a detour to avoid Jalan Magelang by taking the route of Magelang - Purworejo - Wates - Yogyakarta. However, taking a detour in fact did not change the condition. Physical conflicts that involved football supporters moved to Jalan Wates which is located between Wates and Yogyakarta. Jalan Wates itself is located in the territory of Kabupaten Sleman, and some points along Jalan Wates are also known as the bases of PSS Sleman supporters.

A large group of supporters were then diverted to go through Purworejo in order to avoid bigger clashes. Several desperate PSIM supporters who went back to Yogyakarta through Jalan Magelang became the victims of crowd's wrath. A group of PSIM supporters who passed Purworejo on Friday night again involved in a clash along Jalan Wates, a main road between Purworejo City and Yogyakarta City.

On Saturday, March 14, 2015, newspaper readers in Yogyakarta read the news about the riot. *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, the oldest newspaper in Yogyakarta, on Saturday, March 14, 2015, placed the news about the riot which involved PSIM supporters on the first page as the headline. Moreover, *Kedaulatan Rakyat* allocated half of its front page to report the riot. It was reported in the form of text, photos and graphics. The big title which was written by *Kedaulatan Rakyat* was *Supporter-Warga Bentrok, Polisi Lepaskan Tembakan: Jalan Yogya-Magelang Mencekam* (Supporters-Residents Clashed, the Police Fired Warning Shots: Jalan Yogya-Magelang Frightening). This first page news was written in five columns, and it continued on page 11 in four columns. A large color photograph which showed the damage that occurred in Jalan Magelang Km. 14 was placed on the top of the news. There were also two smaller color photographs which showed a group of people blocking Jalan Magelang and a group of people who were arrested at Kulonprogro Police.

Tribun Jogja, a local newspaper under Kompas Gramedia Group - the largest media conglomerate in Indonesia, placed the news about PSIM supporters on the first page as its headline. The same as *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, *Tribun Jogja* allocated half of the main page for the news about riots which involved PSIM supporters. A color photograph of a group of people who did an interception or *sweeping* towards PSIM supporters on Jalan Magelang KM. 14 was placed at the very top of *Tribun Jogja's* first page. Following the photograph, there was a large size of news titled *Polisi Obral Tembakan* (The Police Fired

Shots) with smaller subhead news titled *Aksi Beringas Suporter Picu Pencegatan di Morangan* (The Wrath of Supporters Triggered Violent Interception in Morangan). In addition to the news about supporter riots, *Tribun Jogja* also reported the news about the match between PSIM Yogyakarta and PPSM Magelang titled *Seto Puas PSIM Ungguli PPSM* (Seto is Satisfied, PSIM Beat PPSM). However, compared to the news about supporter riots, news about the match was much smaller.

On Sunday, March 15, 2015, *Kedaulatan Rakyat* released further news of the previous incident. Similar to the previous publication, *Kedaulatan Rakyat* put the news about PSIM supporters on the first page as the top headline entitled *Kasus Kerusuhan di Sleman: Pelaku Mayoritas Remaja* (Sleman Riot Case: The Actors Mainly Teenagers). *Kedaulatan Rakyat's* headline came up with infographic data showing the damage to houses, buildings and vehicles along Jalan Wates, Gamping, Sleman. *Kedaulatan Rakyat's* focus was no longer the news about the clash on Jalan Magelang but switched to Jalan Wates.

Tribun Jogja itself also kept highlighting the riots involving PSIM supporters on the first page. But unlike previous release, news on *Tribun Jogja's* first page consisted only two columns. It was titled *Supporter PSIM Mengaku Tak Ingin Cari Masalah* (PSIM Supporters Admitted That They Did Not Want To Trigger any Problems). The headline was followed by a subtitle *Polsek Gamping Amankan 2 Motor* (Gamping Police Secured 2 Motorcycles). This news was further news of the previous release.

***Kedaulatan Rakyat's* Discourse: Avoiding to Mention PSIM Yogyakarta Supporters as the Actors**

Kedaultatan Rakyat's discourse about the riots involving PSIM supporters can be analyzed at the text level. At the macro structure, the theme which was highlighted by *Kedaulatan Rakyat* was the clash between football supporters and Sleman residents. In the news entitled *Suporter-Warga Bentrok, Polisi Lepaskan Tembakan: Jalan Yogya-Magelang Mencekam*, *Kedaulatan Rakyat* showed a causal scheme of the clash. At the beginning of the news, *Kedaulatan Rakyat* wrote about the clash between supporters and local residents which occurred at several spots, namely Jalan Magelang KM. 14 and Jalan Wates, Gamping. In the next paragraph, *Kedaulatan Rakyat* reported that this incident occurred after the

match between PSIM and PPSM in Magelang precisely when a large group of supporters went back from Magelang to Yogyakarta. Then *Kedaulatan Rakyat* stated that the residents' wrath was triggered by the incidents which occurred before. On Friday afternoon, PSIM supporters suddenly hurled stones at residents' houses along Jalan Magelang, Dusun Temulawak, Sleman.

Kedaulatan Rakyat tried to emphasize that the ones which involved in the riots were supporters and local residents. A direct quote presented by *Kedaulatan Rakyat* which was taken from *Kapolres* (Police Chief) Sleman, AKBP Fariad Zulkarnain, could be considered as an attempt to emphasize the involvement of local residents. The Police Chief stated, "The people who were blocking the road were local residents. They blocked the road to anticipate another destructive action of PSIM supporters. The situation has become conducive". *Kedaulatan Rakyat* also stressed the magnitude of damage which involving thousands of people. This could be seen in the fourth paragraph of the news by *Kedaulatan Rakyat*:

A number of residents were injured. It was triggered by the incidents which occurred before, in the afternoon. At that time, thousands of crowd who were suspected as football supporters hurling stones at residents' houses. They also damaged several shops, garages, stalls and motorcycles along Jalan Magelang, Dusun Temulawak.

Kedaulatan Rakyat used the word "thousands of crowd" to show how big the mass who caused the damage. The emphasis on this semantic (words) was clearer when *Kedaulatan Rakyat* used the word "suspected". *Kedaulatan Rakyat* did not directly reported PSIM supporters as the wrongdoers. Playing safe, *Kedaulatan Rakyat* only used the words "football supporters" in their syntax.

The word choice which was used by *Kedaulatan Rakyat* showed that this newspaper was trying to report how big the riot was. However, it did not directly mention PSIM Yogyakarta supporters as the rioters. *Kedaulatan Rakyat* used the word "crowd" many times to refer to the residents as well as PSIM supporters who were involved in the riot. *Kedaulatan Rakyat* emphasized the magnitude of the riot by showing police fired warning shots into the air. *Kedaulatan Rakyat* showed the picture of police because it was related to the news titled "*Polisi Lepaskan Tembakan*". The photo which was selected by *Kedaulatan Rakyat* was a

photo showing damage to a building in Jalan Magelang KM. 14. The photo showed pieces of broken glass everywhere. It was how Kedaulatan Rakyat emphasized the magnitude of the riot. Two other photos were the crowd blocking Jalan Magelang and the people who were arrested by the police in Kulonprogo Police Station. The former was Sleman residents, and the latter was PSIM Yogyakarta supporters.

In Kedaulatan Rakyat's news which was released the following day (Sunday, March 15, 2015), the news topic was still about the supporter riot. The difference was that Kedaulatan Rakyat (Sunday edition) gave more emphasis on supporter riots which occurred on Jalan Wates, Gamping. The news scheme of Kedaulatan Rakyat entitled *Kasus Kerusuhan di Sleman: Pelaku Mayoritas Pelajar* was reported based on chronological order of cause and effect. The chronology of incidents which was reported by Kedaulatan Rakyat consisted of several events. Firstly, Sleman police called the supporter coordinator to clarify the vandalism incidents on Jalan Magelang and Jalan Wates, Gamping, Sleman. Secondly, there were four local residents who reported the vandalism incident to the police. Thirdly, the police in fact had tried to prevent the vandalism incident turn into clashes by directing the supporters who were returning from Magelang to Yogyakarta by taking Kulonprogo route. The chronology which was released by Kedaulatan Rakyat was based on the information obtained from the police. At the end of the news, Kedaulatan Rakyat stated that the supporters who were caught by the police were mostly students.

By explaining that the supporters were still "students", Kedaulatan Rakyat tried to report the incidents in the context of juvenile delinquency not in the context of crime. The supporters who were arrested in Kulonprogo were released after the police gave them guidance. In the last paragraph, Kedaulatan Rakyat wrote the reason why the police released them.

The reason why those people were released was that they had not done any anarchic action which led into a crime in Kulon Progo. Most of them were also still students. "Most of them are still students. So, by a certain consideration, all of them were released," said AKP Ricky Boy Sialagan.

The assumption which appeared in Kedaulatan Rakyat's news was that the football supporters who were involved in the riots were students. So, they

were not arrested and should be guided. Kedaulatan Rakyat stated that “30 people who were suspected as football supporters” are still students.

The syntax in Kedaulatan Rakyat's news highlighted the residents as victims of vandalism by football supporters, but Kedaulatan Rakyat did not mention clearly which club the supporters came from. Also, Kedaulatan Rakyat did not mention the identity of the supporter coordinator who would be called by the police. Kedaulatan Rakyat only wrote "supporter coordinator who was associated with the vandalism that occurred in Jalan Magelang” and "a coordinator whose identity has been known”.

Like the previous news, Kedaulatan Rakyat used the word “suspected” and “supporters” many times. It also wrote the words "students" to refer to the vandals. Kedaulatan Rakyat also chose the word "residents" as the opponent of "supporters". Moreover, this newspaper used the word "sweeping" (interception) to label the actions of the local residents in blocking the road to intercept the group of football supporters.



Picture 1: Kedaulatan Rakyat showed the infograph about the riot victims along Jalan Wates.

In its rhetoric, Kedaulatan Rakyat showed the graph of damage to residents' houses, buildings and vehicles along Jalan Wates, Gamping. There was a list of 13 forms of damage with a picture of clenching fist. The image of clenching fist indicated the anger of the residents who demanded redress as written by Kedaulatan Rakyat in the news about the people who reported the incident to the police.

Based on the news written by Kedaulatan Rakyat, it could be seen that Kedaulatan Rakyat, the oldest newspaper in Yogyakarta, considered the supporter riots had a high news value. It could be proven by Kedaulatan Rakyat's decision in placing the news on the front page. However, Kedaulatan Rakyat did

not mention the name of the supporters who were involved in the riots clearly. Instead of reporting the culprit clearly, Kedaulatan Rakyat in fact tried to convince that the riot was a form of juvenile delinquency. It was done by calling the rioters as students. Likewise, Kedaulatan Rakyat only reported that the other party who were involved in the riot was local residents without stating the possible involvement of PSS Sleman supporters.

Tribun Jogja: Accusing Each Other of Who Triggered the Riot

A day after the clash between PSIM Yogyakarta supporters and Sleman residents, Tribun Jogja on Saturday, March 14, 2015, reported the incident as the headline on the first page titled *Polisi Terpaksa Obral Tembakan*. It was followed by a subtitle *Aksi Beringas Suporter Picu Pencegatan di Morangan*.

At thematic level, the headline had shown the topic which was going to be highlighted by Tribun Jogja. It was that the riots involving football supporters in Sleman forced the police to fire the warning shots in order to disperse the rioting crowd. Based on its schematic pattern, the news in the Tribun Jogja was arranged in the form of cause – effect. The destruction and the chaos caused by football supporters triggered the residents to revenge. At semantic level, the message which was emphasized by Tribun Jogja could be seen from the background and details which mentioned the wrath and violence done by football supporters. To emphasize the message of the news, Tribun Jogja used the word “massa” (crowd) which referred to the residents who counterattacked the football supporters.

In its syntax, Tribun Jogja used the word “fans” several times as the alternative word of “supporters”. Tribun Jogja did not mention directly PSIM Yogyakarta supporters by changing the terms with the words “football fans that on Friday afternoon did vandalism to the buildings and shops”. It also used the word “fans who wore attributes of a certain football club”.

In addition, Tribun Jogja localized the conflict by using the words “the residents in Morangan and surrounds”. In the headline, Tribune Jogja used the word “obral” (doing something without prior consideration). It showed exaggerated rhetoric. By paying attention to the headline “*Polisi Terpaksa Obral Tembakan*”, it could be seen that this kind of rhetoric expressed the riot must be

solved by the police with gunfire. It indicated that the preventive and persuasive efforts by the police were ignored by the football supporters.

Related to the topic, *Tribun Jogja* on its news rhetoric displayed photos of Sleman residents. The photos showed that the residents intercepted the supporters who wanted to go back from Magelang to Yogyakarta.

Tribun Jogja's headline in fact did not mention PSIM Yogyakarta supporters at all. Instead, on the first page of *Tribun Jogja* dated March 14, 2015, there was news entitled "*Seto Puas PSIM Ungguli PPSM*". Seto was the nickname of Seto Nurdiyantara, the coach of PSIM Yogyakarta. In accordance with the title, the news reported the result of the match between PSIM Yogyakarta and PPSM Magelang. PSIM Yogyakarta beat PPSM Magelang (by) 3-2. Interestingly, at the last paragraph of the news, *Tribun Jogja* reported,

A victory in an away match was instantly celebrated by thousands of *Laskar Mataram* (PSIM) supporters in Moch Subroto Stadium, Magelang. Two large groups of supporters went to Magelang from Yogya by using two different routes.

The word choice in this news was interesting because indirectly from that paragraph, *Tribun Jogja* connected the news about supporter riots on Jalan Magelang with PSIM supporters. *Tribun Jogja* wrote *Laskar Mataram* to substitute PSIM Yogyakarta. Most importantly, *Tribun Jogja* wrote "two large groups of supporters" to refer to *Brajamusti* and *The Maident*, two large groups of PSIM Yogyakarta supporters.

Based on the information obtained from PSIM Yogyakarta supporters who went to Magelang, they were divided into two major groups. The Maident took a detour to avoid Jalan Magelang, and Brajamusti went through Jalan Magelang. This was so-called by *Tribun Jogja* as "went to Magelang from Yogya by using two different routes".

In *Tribun Jogja* dated Sunday, March 15, 2015, the news about supporter riots was still placed on the first page. *Tribun Jogja*'s news entitled "*Supporter PSIM Mengaku Tak Ingin Cari Masalah*" was followed by a subtitle "*Polsek Gamping Amankan Dua Motor*". The news topic was in contrast with the previous day's news. In the previous news, it was mentioned that the victims were the

residents. However, the latter reported PSIM supporters as victims instead. To support this theme, Tribun Jogja arranged the chronology of the riots into several related events. First of all, PSIM Yogyakarta supporters who went to Magelang were hurled with stones in Morangan, Jalan Magelang, by unknown persons. Secondly, in order to defend themselves, PSIM Yogyakarta supporters tried to pursue the perpetrators and threw stones to them as revenge. This action eventually damaged residents' houses. Finally, PSIM Yogyakarta supporters especially from Brajamusti suffered from injuries because of being hit, being hurled by stones, and being stabbed by sharp weapons.

At semantic level, Tribun Jogja tried to strengthen the incident background by citing a quote from Brajamusti President, Rahmat Kurniawan. Rahmat explained that Brajamusti had actually coordinated the convoy with PSS Sleman supporters before going through Jalan Magelang. They coordinated with Slemania, Brigata Curva Sud and the police along Yogyakarta – Magelang route. This information became the assumption that PSIM supporters did not actually intend to cause the riot on Jalan Magelang. Tribun Jogja's news mentioned the number "dozens of Brajamusti members were injured because of being hit, hurled by stones and even stabbed. The word "dozens" described the magnitude of casualties from PSIM Yogyakarta supporters. Other nominalization could be found in the phrase "Some of them were still treated in the hospital". The word "some" indicated that PSIM Yogyakarta supporters who became victims were not only one but more.

Taking the quote from Brajamusti President, Rahmat Kurniawan, and The Maident's coordinator, Bambang Setiawan, who were contacted separately, Tribun Jogja wrote that the attackers who hurled stones at PSIM Yogyakarta supporters were "unknown perpetrators". Tribun Jogja also interviewed The Chairman of Slemania, Lilik Yulianto, who called the rioters as "irresponsible perpetrators". The alternative word choice showed how the newspaper used the words to describe those who were involved in the riot. Tribun Jogja did not state who were exactly involved in the riot. Tribun Jogja only wrote "unknown perpetrators" and "irresponsible perpetrators". Likewise, in the photo caption on the front page, Tribun Jogja also wrote "a group of people" who did *sweeping* (interception) towards PSIM Yogyakarta supporters.

Interestingly, the word “residents” was not used by Tribun Jogja as in the previous day's news. The word “residents” was only used to refer to the owners of the houses which were damaged because of the riots. Tribun Jogja mentioned the party who became the opponents of PSIM Yogyakarta supporters with the words “a group of people”, “irresponsible perpetrators” and “unknown people”. It was added with a citation from PSS Sleman supporters which could construct a discourse about the possible involvement of PSS Sleman supporters in the riots involving PSIM Yogyakarta supporters.



Picture 2: The main news of Tribun Jogja was started with a photo of *sweeping* by a group of people towards PSIM Yogyakarta supporters on Jalan Magelang.

To emphasize that Brajamusti became the victims, Tribun Jogja in its rhetorical element wrote a paragraph which can be read below.

Brajamusti had anticipated possible bad incidents since the beginning. It was done by coordinating with PSS supporters. In other words, they “asked permission” to two groups of PSS supporters, namely Slemania and BCS.

By using the metaphor “asked permission”, *Tribun Jogja* put Brajamusti as PSIM Yogyakarta supporters who had done procedural and polite actions. The fact that KR mentioned the two groups of PSS Sleman supporters in that paragraph was in fact not followed by any indication that those groups were involved in the attacks on PSIM Yogyakarta supporters. However, if the entire content of the news was read carefully, then it could be seen that PSS Sleman supporters would be associated with the words “unknown persons”. It can be understood as an assumption that PSIM Yogyakarta supporters had asked permission before passing across Jalan Magelang which was in Sleman territory. That place was in fact the base of Slemania and BCS.

Overall, *Tribun Jogja* tried to construct that the riots on Jalan Magelang and Jalan Wates were clashes between PSIM Yogyakarta supporters and PSS Sleman supporters. Then it caused damage to the residents. *Tribun Jogja* emphasized the discourse about the magnitude of the riots by stating the magnitude of casualties among PSIM Yogyakarta supporters. It also mentioned the damage suffered by the residents along Jalan Magelang and Jalan Wates which were passed by PSIM Yogyakarta supporters

Conclusion

The riot involving football supporters on March 13, 2015, were discoursed differently by *Kedaulatan Rakyat* and *Tribun Jogja*. *Kedaulatan Rakyat* reported that the riot was a clash between PSIM Yogyakarta supporters and Sleman residents. On the other hand, *Tribun Jogja* reported the riots on Jalan Magelang and Jalan Wates as the riots which involved PSIM Yogyakarta supporters and PSS Sleman supporters. *Tribun Jogja* then stated that incident eventually caused damage to the residents.

In fact, the public of Yogyakarta had already known that the relationship between PSIM supporters and PSS Sleman supporters was not harmonious. Some similar riots always happen in the football matches which confronted the two clubs. To arouse public memory, *Harian Jogja* once wrote that in 2010 there

was an interception towards PSIM Yogyakarta supporters on Jalan Magelang. Those coherence events indicated a discourse on the possibilities and the potential involvement of “irresponsible” PSS Sleman supporters in the attacks on PSIM Yogyakarta supporters. This incident then sparked a larger-scale conflict between PSIM Yogyakarta supporters and Sleman residents.

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