

ANDRY WIBOWO

Pop Culture, Identity Conflict, and Chaos: Studies on the Culture and Identity of *Viking* and *Jakmania*'s Supporters in the Indonesian Football Industry

ABSTRACT: Football is most popular sport in the world community. Football is also one form of pop culture itself, where football is no longer interpreted as a game or a way to exercise alone, but also become something that can be interpreted as a culture that bind various communities in the world. This research, by using the qualitative approach with case studies on conflict, will explore deeply about how social identity is present in football, especially in the context of football supporters in Indonesia as part of the development of the football industry in the world. This study has a focus on researching the phenomenon of cultural and local identity in the "Viking" of PERSIB (Bandung Indonesian Football Association) and "Jakmania" of PERSIJA (Jakarta Indonesian Football Association) supporter groups in football matches that are played in national competitions. The formation of identity transforming become an identity conflict in a crowd of football supporters to become the hallmark of football as part of the pop culture in Indonesia. **KEY WORD:** Pop Culture; Conflict; Identity; Crowds; Football in Indonesia.

ABSTRAKSI: "Budaya Pop, Konflik Identitas, dan Kerusuhan: Studi tentang Budaya dan Identitas Suporter Viking dan Jakmania dalam Industri Sepakbola Indonesia". Sepakbola merupakan olahraga yang sangat populer pada masyarakat dunia. Sepakbola adalah juga salah satu bentuk dari budaya pop itu sendiri, dimana sepakbola tidak lagi dimaknai sebagai sebauh permainan atau cara untuk berolahraga saja, melainkan menjadi sesuatu yang dapat dimaknai sebagai sebuah kebudayaan yang mengikat beragam masyarakat di dunia. Penelitian ini, dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif tentang studi kasus konflik, akan mengkaji secara mendalam mengenai bagiamana pembentutakan identitas sosial hadir dalam sepakbola, terutama dalam konteks suporter sepakbola di Indonesia sebagai bagian dari perkembangan industri sepakbola di dunia. Penelitian ini memfokuskan kajian tentang fenomena identitas budaya dan lokalitas pada kelompok suporter "Viking" dari PERSIB (Persatuan Sepakbola Indonesia Bandung) dan "Jakmania" dari PERSIJA (Persatuan Sepakbola Indonesia Jakarta) dalam pertandingan sepakbola yang berlangsung melalui kompetisi nasional. Pembentukan identitas hingga kemudian bertansformasi menjadi suatu konflik identitas dalam kerumunan berbentuk aksi kerusuhan dan konflik menjadi ciri khas sepakbola sebagai bagian dari budaya pop di Indonesia. **KATA KUNCI:** Budaya Pop; Konflik; Identitas; Kerumunan; Sepakbola di Indonesia.

About the Author: Andry Wibowo, M.H., M.Si. is a Student of Doctoral Program at the STIK-PTIK (Indonesian Police Science Institute – Indonesian Police Science University), Jalan Tirtayasa Raya No.6, Kebayoran Baru, Jakarta Selatan, Jakarta, Indonesia. E-mail: <u>wibowoandry1993@gmail.com</u>

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INTRODUCTION

The concept of pop culture is something interesting to be studied since 1950s (Rushkoff, 1994; Sifaki, 2003; and Loyo, 2012). The uniqueness in researching about pop culture is driven by the emergence of our awareness that the world has shown the reality of social life that depends on the cultures that are the way of life for the world community (Swingewood, 1977 and 1998; and Borg et al., 2005). The phenomenon of cultural industrialization encourages academics to look back on pop culture as part of the life of modern society. It is characterized by the inclusive nature of culture in a social class, which transforming into an exclusive one without distinction of social class (Kellner, 2003; Adorno & Bernstein, 2004; Borg et al., 2005; and Ritzer, 2009).

A simple example of the existence of pop culture in today's society can be seen by the life of urban society today is highly dependent on gadgets, such as smartphones that no longer serve as a means of communication but as part of a lifestyle. In the world of sports, there is also a phenomenon similar to the phenomenon of the smartphone in urban society. Football, which at the beginning of the 20th century, has a function not only as a game as well and as a way to exercise for the community, but football can be a part of bussiness and entertainment instruments (Sullivan, 1979; Blair, 2011; Billings & Ruihley, 2013; and Jones, 2015). The meaning of football has changed a lot in modern times, where football has become part of lifestyle and even a determinant value in society.

Football is most popular sport in the world community. Almost two-thirds of the world's population witnessed the World Cup Championship's event through the help of technological developments, such as radio, television, and internet. This illustrates that football is no longer a way for doing body's exercise but also become an important

part of the life in the world community. This condition encourages the form of industrialization of football in the world, which can be illustrated by an indication of the massive amount of jersey sales (clothing used in football) by sports equipment industries, such as Nike and Adidas. This example can indicate a massive football's industrialization by using an indication of the role of media in viewing football as a new culture that is regarded as something that has a very high capital value. The implications for the emergence of football industry is like media, such as Bein Sport, Fox Sport, and ESPN or Entertainment and Sports Programming Network (Blair, 2011; Clark, 2011; Billings & Ruihley, 2013; Miles, 2015; and Eyong, 2018).

Football as a phenomenon of pop culture in Indonesia can also be seen from the great enthusiasm of society towards football in Indonesia. Indonesia, as a country with the fourth largest population in the world, also ogled by the world football industry as one of the countries that have the largest market for football industry. The indication can be seen from the large number of football spectators in Indonesia, who watch through the medium of technology, such as television and internet; or who watch directly in various stadiums to watch the local or international competition (Clark, 2011; Jones, 2015; Gadiraju, 2016; and Duerden, 2017).

Football in Indonesia is also used as a pop culture industry. This is marked by the presence of national competitions, such as Go-Jek Traveloka Competition in 2017 ago. The warm atmosphere of the local competition also affects the enthusiasm of the public towards the effort to support the football club based on regional identity, for example Jakarta residents tend to favor and support the PERSIJA (*Persatuan Sepakbola Indonesia Jakarta* or Jakarta Indonesian Football Association)'s Club; West Java residents or Sundanese ethnic groups tend to support the club of PERSIB (*Persatuan Sepakbola Indonesia Bandung* or Bandung Indonesian Football Association); Minangkabau ethnic community or West Sumatrans tend to support the SPFC (Semen Padang Football Club); and so forth (Ayati, 2010; Hanifan & Herfiyana, 2014; Kristanto, 2016; Amirio, 2017; Sufiyanto, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018).

The combination of pop culture and football industry in Indonesia is also inseparable with the efforts to capitalize on the issue of identity in the aspect of football. Regional or ethnic distinctiveness is attached to the football club itself. For examples, fans club named themselves to make self-identification of the crowds with the same intention of supporting their respective football clubs. Identification of this identity can be exemplified by naming Viking supporters for club supporters of PERSIB; Jakmania for supporters of PERSIJA; and so on (Brown, 1998; Dobson & Goddard, 2001; Gibbons, 2012; Miles, 2015; Hadi, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018).

Identity is also highly visible when football matches based on jersey use, attribute use, and their own behavior. The use of jersey as a symbol of identity has always been a major determinant of selfidentification, which later became the identity identification among supporters. Orange color, for example, to be the basic color for Jakmania's identity, blue color for Viking, and so forth. The use of flag attributes is also a form that symbolizes the existence of the supporter group, especially when the game is held. Behavior can also be a symbol that depicts identity within a crowd of football supporters. This can be identified in the form of riots occurring in the identity clashes between supporters in football games (Ritzer, 2009; Fuller, 2017; Hadi, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018).

Riots in the football crowd became one of the hallmarks of football in Indonesia. The football industry in Indonesia not only shows football as a pop culture, but

also capitalizes on the crowd of football supporters and their behavior inside and outside the game. The identity of Vikings and Jakmanias, for example, are two very strong identity supporters in Indonesia, who often clash these two groups in football matches that have caused riots, security disturbances, and public order disturbances. The uniqueness of the Viking and Jakmania as a crowd identity is the identity of values, which formed from the culture of football and cultural identities which is produced based on regional similarity, the value of the struggle, and so forth (Berlonghi, 1995; Kari, 2009; Conigliaro et al., 2015; Huda, 2016; Hadi, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018).

This study will look at the conditions of *Viking* and *Jakmania* as an identity and as a culture characterized by *Viking* and *Jakmania* as a part of pop culture and as a group that produces a "riot" identity in Indonesia's football industry.

RESEARCH METHODS

Data collection process in this study is using qualitative approach with case studies on conflict between *Viking* and *Jakmania* supporters (Creswell, 1998; Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003; Yazid, 2015; and Wibowo, 2017). The conflict took place inside and outside the PERSIB (*Persatuan Sepakbola Indonesia Bandung* or Bandung Indonesian Football Association) and PERSIJA (*Persatuan Sepakbola Indonesia Jakarta* or Jakarta Indonesian Football Association) football matches that took place over the last five years.

The data collected are data generated through in-depth interviews, direct observation, focus group discussions, expert panel discussions, and document studies over the past five years. The data generated will be analyzed with some references, and information from Police institution in Indonesia (Creswell, 1998; Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003; Yazid, 2015; and Wibowo, 2017).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION The Establishment of Viking and Jakmania Identities as a Crowded

Football Supporters. As a synthetic identity (Hoofnagle, 2007; ID Analytics, 2014; and Voris, 2015), Viking is a metamorphosis of Bobotoh, which became a common icon of PERSIB (Persatuan Sepakbola Indonesia Bandung or Bandung Indonesian Football Association) supporters. Bobotoh is a symbol of the continuity of the greatness of the Padjadjaran kingdom in West Java at this time (Ryza, 2011; Kristanto, 2016; Hadi, 2017; and Kaka, 2017). The naming of Viking is based on Ayi Beutik Suparman's imagination, on the values that existed in the Vikings who once lived in Scandinavia (Ryza, 2011; Hanifan & Herfiyana, 2014; and Haryadi, 2014).

Meanwhile, *Jakmania* is a popular name used on the basis of intention to attract as many members as the term "Jak" symbolizes the identity of the names "Jakarta" and "mania" as *maniac*. This statement is supported by interviews conducted on Gugun Gondrong and former Governor of DKI (*Daerah Khusus Ibukota* or Special Capital Region) Jakarta, Sutiyoso (Ayati, 2010; Sufiyanto, 2017; Wirayudha, 2018; interview with Respondent C, 17/7/2017; and interview with Respondent D, 24/7/2017).

Jakmania has a close relationship with the character of poor people, who live in Jakarta. This identity is represented in the form of Jakmania as illustrated by Clarke McPhail (1997), which shows that members of Jakmania tend to be lower class society and people living in Jakarta (*cf* McPhail, 1997; Sufiyanto, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018). This view is reinforced by sociologists, such as George Ritzer (2009) and Kenny M. John *et al.* (2001), who claim that Jakmania is part of the symbol of the lower middle class who living in Jakarta (*cf* Ritzer, 2009; John *et al.*, 2001; Fuller, 2017; Sufiyanto, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018).

Jakmania and Viking, as a supporter group, are a synthetic identity that have a particular sub-culture. Sub-cultures of good and bad supporters as a sub-culture identity are found in Jakmania and Viking in their daily behavior. The spirit of regionalism, through the principles of conquering and awakening, also marks as the sub-culture of Jakmania and Viking. Both supporters also use violent symbols on the club's symbolic status or supporters. PERSIJA (Persatuan Sepakbola Indonesia Jakarta or Jakarta Indonesian Football Association) uses the meaning of Macan Kemayoran (Kemayoran Tiger) as an imaginary value to the supporters; and PERSIB uses the Maung Bandung (Bandung Tiger) or Viking imagination as an wild's value on their identity (Brown, 1998; Castells, 2000; Ayati, 2010; and Eko, 2012).

Jakmania and Viking have an exploratory and expansive character. This character is formed naturally and fabricated in times of growth Jakmania and Viking as a community of football's biggest supporters in Indonesia. The growth of character in Viking and Jakmania is also in line with the development of football as an industry. This is coherent with the number of football fans as the most popular sport in Indonesia. Family, peers, mass media, social media, and club achievements have also been influential as a trigger for the growing number of Jakmania and Viking's members. The expansion culture contained in the Vikings and Jakmanias can be seen with the pattern of expansion of members in one region, and one ethnic group, which evolves into different regions and to various ethnic groups. In addition, its cultural expansion is also influenced by the role of social media as part of the information revolution, which also enriches both positive and negative impact in Jakmania and Viking's membership (Brown, 1998; Castells, 2000; Ayati, 2010; and Eko, 2012).

Theory of crowds offered by Elias

Canetti (1973); Gustav Le Bon (2002); and others can look *Jakmania* and *Viking* as the same groups, which have cultural properties that are characterized by the character of expansiveness in reaching the goal (Canetti, 1973; Le Bon, 2002; and Ritzer, 2009). *Jakmania* and *Viking* have similarities in the value of irrational violence based on criminogenic factors that are viewed through the perspective of police officers in Indonesia (Oliver ed., 2000; Le Bon, 2002; Kari, 2009; Ayati, 2010; and Eko, 2012).

In the perspective of the second relation, the *Vikings* against *Jakmanias*, or otherwise, have dual theoretical perspectives, namely: *Jakmania* and *Viking* in the process of selflooking can be regarded as an entity that has solidity and solidarity, so transformed into a big power (Canetti, 1973; Kennedy, 2014; Kristanto, 2016; and Wirayudha, 2018). *Jakmania* in the process of viewing *Viking* or reciprocally is regarded as a rivalry of *Jakmania* and *Viking*, where they regard each other as something monstrous (Le Bon, 2002; Kristanto, 2016; Fuller, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018).

Jakmania and Viking have different historical paths. Viking is a PERSIB supporters who have been born first with a background of fanaticism for PERSIB. The love of the tribal base in West Java further strengthens in the Viking itself, which implies the emergence of a "hooliganistic" infiltration that begins to enter into the Viking self-worth. This has greatly affected their behavior, while in the stadium to spectating matches (Conigliaro *et al.*, 2015; McLean, 2015; Kristanto, 2016; Rogers, Woodhouse & Politowski, 2016; and Wirayudha, 2018).

Hooliganistic conditions are always in reproduction by a figure who admired as a protector, i.e. Ayi Beutik Suparman. It further reinforces the value that is in the *Vikings* with its hooliganism practices that are considered as proud/cool/militant people. The culture continues to shape the conditions of *Viking* behavior until now. The solidarity of the power of the mass grew. The implication of this is indirectly the frequent politicians in West Java, who are using *Vikings* in their campaign to attract numbers of vote (Stott & Pearson, 2007; Haryadi, 2014; Kristanto, 2016; Fuller, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018).

The condition which influencing the value in the organic process in the *Viking* body is their condition in their community. The community will continue to hold the value of culture and togetherness in establishing various activities. Together, PERSIB in West Java community put together and form a new community entity. As a cultural binder, this condition is also vulnerable to polluted inappropriate notions, such as enmity with Jakmania that continues to be produced without finding a way out, and conflict without ending which is characteristic of a cultural-based, and conflict based on history and identity (Eko, 2012; Kristanto, 2016; and Wirayudha, 2018).

Jakmania has a more dynamic group identity. Several factors that influencing the dynamics of Jakmania's identity are: firstly, Jakarta as a city with multicultural population, which causes the value of being adopted would not could be in uniform. Secondly, the formation of impure Jakmania comes from lower society as marked by the intervention of the management and Governor Sutiyoso in the Jakmania organization (Brown, 1998; Huda, 2016; Sufiyanto, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018).

Ethnic originality and birth places also do not affect the internal segregation of *Jakmania*'s membership identity. This is shown by the existence of a *Jakmania* named Bung Ferry, which is a figure who admired *Jakmania*, but he was born in Bandung, and originally was the *Commandos*, a Pelita Jaya's Fans Club in West Java (Ismunanto, 2017; Sufiyanto, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018).

The value of militancy and holiganism

adopted by *Viking* is more rooted than Jakmania. In conflicts among supporters, Viking will be hostile to Jakmania with more descending traits. This condition is evidenced by the explanation of one of the Vikings that use the nuanced attribute of racist: "Let this Enmity Stay Eternal" and "Jak is Dog" (Ayati, 2010; Eko, 2012; Huda, 2016; and Rahayu, 2016). According to a Viking's informant, the use of the attribute only applies what Ayi Beutik Suparman used to say that the power of Padjadjaran kingdom as a priority seed. Ayi Beutik Suparman is considered by Viking's members as a respected figure and as a binding cultural identity other than the Sundanese from the majority of the population of West Java (Hanifan & Herfiyana, 2014; Haryadi, 2014; Hadi, 2017; and interview with Respondent A, 3/7/2017).

In the phenomenon of *Viking* and Jakmania, there are also other groups of Viking's border groups. Characters from the border region that are part of *Viking* members often looking for conflict with Jakmania in areas such as Depok and Bekasi in West Java. This group is also in the Viking - Jakmania's conflict, which always making violence to the Jakmanias group. Viking's borders continue to reproduce existing conflicts with Jakmania. The settlement of prejudices arising from Viking, who think on unfinished borders, will continue to be a physical conflict even outside the stadium. The last case is the beating of Ricko (*Viking*) by the Viking border that strikes Ricko as Jakmania in the July 22, 2017's match (Eko, 2012; Hanifan & Herfiyana, 2014; Huda, 2016; Hadi, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018).

In *Jakmania*, there is a group called the Rojali group. This group is often to be the main cause of *Jakmania*'s involvement in conflicts, including *Vikings*. The central *Jakmania* committee admitted the difficulty in dealing with this group. Rojali, according to the claim of the Chairman of Central

Executive of Jakmania stated, that is not part of Jakmania. To anticipate the widespread influence of Rojali, Chairman of Jakmania formed various campaigns, one of the campaigns is by campaigning 7 characteristics of Jak astray. The campaign is to identify Rojali's behavior that often used undermines, vandalism, and anarchy activities. Rojali became one of the causes of the reproduction of the conflict, especially with Viking. In the context of a conflict involving Jakmania organizers, "Rojali" is always placed as a scapegoat without understanding the root cause of the conflict itself (Huda, 2016; Wibowo, 2017; Wirayudha, 2018; and interview with Respondent B, 10/7/2017).

Characteristics of spectators from the matches between PERSIB and PERSIJA can be identified depending on where the game is held. If the match held in Bandung, it was seen that the *Vikings*, who attended the game at the GBLA (Gelora [Gelanggang Olahraga] Bandung Lautan Api or Bandung a Sea of Flames' Sports Arena) stadium, were clustered irregularly. This is due to a number of factors, firstly the factors of crowd's management and crowd's control (cf Berlonghi, 1995; Abbot & Geddie, 2001; Ayati, 2010; and Duerden, 2017) that are not working well; and secondly is the irregularity of parking lot, the escape of the bottles that enter the stadium, the dense access road to and exit the stadium, to plotting officers as ineffective security forces (McLean, 2015; Ayati, 2010; and Duerden, 2017).

The result of this irregularity is the casualties in the *Vikings*. They are often to be the victims of wrong targeting. KAPOLRESTABES (*Kepala Kepolisian Resort Kota Besar* or Head of Big City Police) Bandung has banned *Jakmania* from attending the GBLA stadium, but there are still beatings. This condition is driven by *Bobotoh* (PERSIB supporters)'s disappointment over the game, so the *Bobotoh* acts irrational because of their driving factors, such as the decision of the referee, and the provocation of the audience. This incident also resulted in one Policeman from the Provost unit injured his nose hit by a throw (*cf* Goldstein, 1993; Le Bon, 2002; Chrysnanda, 2011; Rahayu, 2016; Fuller, 2017; and Ismunanto, 2017).

The crowds, in the view of Gustav Le Bon (2002), are (crowd's) life is the transformation of though (Le Bon, 2002). Another view represented by Elias Canetti (1973), who sees crowds as transformation of power. This shows that crowds have the ability to influence and be influenced in positions as objects or subjects (Canetti, 1973). In this context, the football audiences can be said to be crowds which in popular terms the football audiences are referred as the twelfth player (Canetti, 1973; Le Bon, 2002; Kari, 2009; and Wibowo, 2017).

On the other hand, the phenomenon of conflict within the crowds also still uses the concept of prejudice (Brown, 2011; and Wibowo, 2017). It can be described in the form of a Viking who always feels that Jakmania will be a means of vengeance. This evident can be seen from the statements of the perpetrators, who explain the motive is hatred against Jakmania. If match's management can do well-organized mechanism, the riots should be avoided by using the crowd control concept that focuses on crowds organizing crowd's action process (Berlonghi, 1994; Tamara & Knutsson, 2011; Rahayu, 2016; Fuller, 2017; Ismunanto, 2017; and Wibowo, 2017).

The interesting thing about the characteristics of *Viking* is the variety of processes used in the assembling process; see, for example, the presence of supporters coming from different directions (*cf* John *et al.*, 2001; Redhead, 2009; and Hadi, 2017). *Vikings*, who go to the venue of the game, are coordinated by their respective districts. the assembling process is accompanied by a gathering process (gathering at one point) that is associated with crowd's management

at the venue of stadium (Abbot & Geddie, 2001; and Wibowo, 2017). *Vikings* that are present dominated by young males and are rarely seen by many children and women, in addition to their difficult access to reach, a great risk is also a consideration of the infrequent presence of children and women in every game (Ryza, 2011; Hadi, 2017; and Kaka, 2017).

Solo case in Central Java, in 2017, indicated that the match between PERSIJA versus PERSIB should be held in Bekasi, West Java, but they do not get permission and must be transferred to Solo by PERSIJA's management. The reasons are based on security aspect; and because of the fact that on the same day, there will be a massive demonstration in Jakarta. The security forces use risky action by presenting two large masses at a point that are at risk of direct clashes. The transfer of the venue became controversial, because it happened in a fast tempo where within three days the decision of the match in Bekasi, West Java was canceled and had to move to Solo in Central Java. Officials did sudden preparations for the match between PERSIJA dan PERSIB. The selection of Solo as the venue is based on the cooperation between officials of PERSIJA with local officials from PERSIS (Persatuan Sepakbola Indonesia Solo or Solo Indonesian Football Association) in Solo, Central Java (Rahayu, 2016; Saudale & Ganesha, 2016; Hadi, 2017; Wibowo, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018).

Police in the Solo case, in 2017, used *silahturahmi* (good relationship) approach before the game. The direction of this gathering is done by KABAG OPS POLRESTA (*Kepala Bagian Operasi Kepolisian Resort Kota* or Head of City Police Operation Division) Surakarta in Central Java to minimize friction and asking for cooperation between *Pasoepati* (PERSIS supporters) with *Jakmania* (PERSIJA supporters) in securing the match. Police always maintaining security by calling for a ban on the consumption of local liquor, which is quite famous in Solo to the fans. It aims to strengthen the coordination and security preparations that need to be done (*cf* Parks, 1981; Braiden, 1992; Oliver ed., 2000; Chrysnanda, 2011; Hadi, 2017; Wibowo, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018).

Due to the displacement venue of this match, the assembling process did not run with massive force. Tickets sold for 17,250 tickets, which is the result of ticket sales for 4 days. *Jakmania*, in this context, succeeded in mobilizing mass in large numbers in preparation for a short time. This assembling process (*cf* Berlonghi, 1994; John *et al.*, 2001; and Prpic *et al.*, 2017) was escorted by police to *Jakmania*'s entourage (Hadi, 2017; Wibowo, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018).

This process is done with a form of cooperation between the POLDA METRO JAYA (Kepolisian Daerah Metropolititan Jakarta Raya or the Great Jakarta Metropolitan Regional Police); POLDA JABAR (Kepolisian Daerah Jawa Barat or West Java Regional Police); and POLDA JATENG (Kepolisian Daerah Jawa Tengah or Central Java Regional Police) who escort a relay. To secure this process, Polices also carried out the communication process between the police and the community. Communications formed between the police and the community are effective enough to build mutual trust (Parks, 1981; Braiden, 1992; Goldstein, 1993; and Prpic et al., 2017). A similar process is done when traveling back from Solo to Jakarta or dispersal process (Oliver ed., 2000; John et al., 2001; Chrysnanda, 2011; Hadi, 2017; Wibowo, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018).

Jakmania entourage first arrived in Solo at 02.00 AM (*Ante Meridiem*). They were dominated by a group of 17-25 year-old boys, who will be channeled in the velodrome area at Manahan Stadium in Solo, Central Java, Indonesia. This canalization aims to anticipate the irregularities that will occur in Solo. The small Solo area will have 17,250 people coming from Jakarta; and if not done a good crowds management process will be a big potential riot (Berlonghi, 1994; Hadi, 2017; Wibowo, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018). It should also be strengthened by crowds control conducted by Surakarta Police by inspecting *Jakmania* entourage, who arrived in Solo. This inspection resulted in a group of supporters who were caught possessing or consuming liquor. The perpetrator was held in Surakarta Police until the match was over (Hadi, 2017; Wibowo, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018).

A similar phenomenon that occurs in Bandung, West Java, and also occurs in Solo, Central Java, is the action of raiding the opposing supporters who are identified as people who are not part of the supporters. Counted 6 times assault by Jakmania to groups identified as *Viking*. This action is not only triggered by prejudice as happened in Bandung (Brown, 2011; Hadi, 2017; Wibowo, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018). However, it was also triggered by conditions in the field of a match considered to be detrimental to PERSIB, ranging from injury to Kim Kurniawan, disallowed goal, until a penalty decision to nourish the anger and disappointment of the supporters (cf Berlonghi, 1994; Brown, 2011; Hadi, 2017; Wibowo, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018).

Chaos Tradition in Supporters as Football Culture and Character in Indonesia. Against the law and acting aggressively to the Police becomes a distinct culture in the lives of the hooligans (Pearson, 1983; Poulton, 2008; and Wibowo, 2017). The culture of the crowd of football supporters becomes a new culture that is formed and produced in certain forms. Resistance to the Police, which seeks to maintain security and order, is the hallmark of the culture. The local ethnic and cultural character is also a matter of encouraging Viking and Jakmania groups to do things that are contrary to the law, such as throwing bottles and taking action against security in certain ways (David *et al.*, 2008; Hadi, 2017; Wibowo, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018).

Culture supporters like this also happen in other countries, like England for example. Eric Dunning (2006) shows how the football industry has also spawned a violent industry. National characters within the context of the nationalist issues of Wales, Ireland, and Scotland are symbolized and applied in support actions to their respective football clubs. The character of violence arises, when these values are contained by football matches that cause a pattern of masculine aggressiveness to emerge as the root of violence in football hooliganism (Dunning, 2006; Stott & Pearson, 2007; Rookwood & Pearson, 2010; Lo, 2011; dos Reis, Lopes & Martins, 2015; and Rogers, Woodhouse & Politowski, 2016).

Violence became a concept that has a relationship with the identity of football supporters and became part of a popular culture among certain fans in the national football industry. This is as shown in the Richard Guilianotti, Norman Bonney & Mike Hepworth (1994)'s study which stated that violence is capitalized with certain interests such as political interests and economic interests. Their research shows that political interests in violence supporters in Italy are used to distort aggression based on reality, such as poverty and social welfare that occurs in most supporter populations. Economic interests also affect chaos culture reproduction in rioting crowds of football supporters, where such influence could be the destruction of trademark image and capitalization of certain products that become the main attribute in the identity symbol of football supporters (Williams & Dunning, 1990; Guilianotti, Bonney & Hepworth, 1994; Dunning, 2006; dos Reis, Lopes & Martins, 2015; and Wann et al., 2015).

The mass culture element contained in the phenomenon of football fanatical riots in

Indonesia, in addition to being shown in the form of cultural identity and local identity, is also indicated by the meaning of the value of each victory achieved by each football club in every game involving both clubs. The club's victory becomes an important marker of the level of dominance possessed by each of the crowd's identities. This makes it very important to look at such aspects as the influence of the referee's decision as that is considered to affect the win or the defeat of a club. The implication is that masculine aggressiveness can be triggered by referee decisions in the game. This is shown by the many riot football supporters triggered by goal scorer, yellow/red card given by referee, and so forth (Williams & Dunning, 1990; Stone, 2007; Dick & Kernick, 2016; Duerden, 2017; and Fuller, 2017).

Conflict in Matches as Cultural Identity and Conflicts between Viking and Jakmania. To understand the Vikings and Jakmanias' conflict, as a rivalry of PERSIB (Persatuan Sepakbola Indonesia Bandung or Bandung Indonesian Football Association) and PERSIJA (Persatuan Sepakbola Indonesia Jakarta or Jakarta Indonesian Football Association), must begin with the understanding that football is a tool of Indonesian nation's identity struggle against the Dutch colonial. From that history, football in Indonesia is a legacy sport of colonial culture (transnational sport) introduced by the Dutch. And, not yet known the term football supporters. There are clubs and players. Football also became a portrait of social class (indigenous, nonindigenous, and Dutch). It shows that since the birth of football in Indonesia, the values of social segregation, based on ethnicity (Dutch, Chinese, and Native) have grown as differentiators between clubs (Colombijn, 2000; Ayati, 2010; Kristanto, 2016; Rahayu, 2016; Sufiyanto, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018).

The Natives (Indonesia) raised their identity through football clubs, such as the BIVB (*Bandoeng Inlandsche Voetbal* *Bond*) during the Dutch colonial period as well as through the formation of other club clubs based on regional names. It is a manifestation of the Indonesian nationalist attitude, to show a sense of coincidence with the clubs in created by the colonialist. It shows the character of the egalitarian concept, which is shown by Indonesians or indigenous (Colombijn, 2000; Hanifan & Herfiyana, 2014; Kristanto, 2016; and Hadi, 2017).

The Japanese occupation government (1942-1945) saw the important position of football club formed by Indonesians (indigenous) as a medium in showing identity as Indonesian as well as a symbol of resistance. Consequently, in the concept of occupation (relations of domination), colonial nation and colonized nation make indigenous football club is considered very dangerous for the Japanese nation. This has implications for the banning policy of Indonesian football club by the Japanese government (Colombijn, 2000; Beck, 2015; and Colombijn & Cote, 2015).

From the historical description, PERSIB as pride of Bandung's citizens, especially among Sundanese in the era of independence is also a symbol of continuity or symbolic metamorphosis of the Padjadjaran kingdom in West Java. This spurred the formation of a new sub-culture of identity of delays or identities into Padjadjaran. PERSIB is a symbol of a new identity formed in Sundanese society that is identical with Sundanese culture (Hanifan & Herfiyana, 2014; Kristanto, 2016; and Hadi, 2017).

Bobotoh does not operate as limited in Bandung or West Java. Although PERSIB is headquartered in Bandung, but *Bobotoh* supporters are widespread from Banjar, Ciamis, Tasikmalaya, Bogor, Cirebon, Kuningan, Karawang, and Bekasi in West Java. *Bobotoh* also located outside the Province of West Java, such as Jakarta, Tangerang, and Serang in Banten Province. Widespread membership of *Bobotoh* in accordance with the characteristic identity of Sundanese moving widely (Utami, 2011; Hanifan & Herfiyana, 2014; Kristanto, 2016; Hadi, 2017; and Wibowo, 2017). In cyberspace, *Bobotoh* fans are also monitored, there are settlers abroad such as Malaysia, Singapore, Saudi Arabia, Britain, USA (United States of America), and others (Kristanto, 2016; Bahri, 2017; and Putri, 2018).

The role of media, as identity formers, also encourages in "how identity is formed" (Croteau & Hoyness, 2003; and Effendy, 2003). As Manuel Castells (2000) states that humans are passing through the industrial age to the information age. With the era of globalization and communication and information technology, Manuel Castells also stated that the information age will give birth to a new social, industry, and cultural network (Castells, 2000).

This also happened to Jakmania and Viking football supporter groups. Cyberspace becomes the arena of communication, contestation (rivalitas), as well as hostility supporters. This is exacerbated by the capitalization of Jakmania and Viking conflicts through online and social media. From social media network, the researchers can know that most of Bobotoh or Viking comes from Cianjur with 637,263 people; Garut with 627,240 people; Bandung in third place with 506,774 people; fourth is Jakarta with 260,056 people; and Bobotoh in Surabaya, East Java is in fifth position with 93,965 people (Hanifan & Herfiyana, 2014; Kristanto, 2016; Rahayu, 2016; Sufiyanto, 2017; Wirayudha, 2018).

Based on the data of 5.3 million *Bobotoh* in West Java, 26 percent are women. Approximately 1,378,000 this female *Bobotoh* has demographic status with age ranging from 21-40 years old, married, and tend to like PERSIB due to influence of husband, and child (cited in Hanifan & Herfiyana, 2014; Kristanto, 2016; and Hadi, 2017).

In the match, *Bobotoh* will always meet the stadium, either if PERSIB compete

in Bandung or Jakarta, with always bring attributes. Bobotoh also performs watching together in front of the television for those who cannot go to another city if PERSIB perform away games as a form of their commitment to the club (Utami, 2011; Hanifan & Herfiyana, 2014; Kristanto, 2016; and Hadi, 2017). The Bobotoh generally have two major groups, namely: Viking PERSIB Fans Club and Bobotoh Maung Bandung Bersatu or the BOMBER. There are also *Bobotoh* type based on the characteristics consist of: Bandung Ultras, Flower City Casuals, Oriental Bobotoh, and Singapore Bobotoh (Hanifan & Herfiyana, 2014; Kristanto, 2016; Hadi, 2017; and interview with Respondent A, 3/7/2017).

The emergence of fanatic football supporters, in line with the era of national football competition, is considered as part of national development in the field of sports during the New Order era (1966-1998). *Bobotoh* grows in various regions in West Java. In fact, its development grew in other areas, inside and outside the country. The number was from dozens transformed into hundreds of thousands and even millions. *Bobotoh* is an imagine community (Anderson, 1983), which is based on value of *ke-Sunda-an* (Sundanese) in line with PERSIB (Hanifan & Herfiyana, 2014; Kristanto, 2016; Hadi, 2017).

According to John Voris (2015), *Bobotoh* can be categorized as a synthetic identity from *ke-Sunda-an* (Sundanese mattres). As part of *Bobotoh*, there is a group of supporters called *Viking* PERSIB Fans Club. *Viking* can be identified as a synthetic identity of *Bobotoh* that indicates the strength of transcultural or mix culture as affecting the authentic culture of the Sundanese. It also co-stars with football as an imitation culture from European football's origin culture (*cf* Voris, 2015; and Hadi, 2017).

From the naming of the *Viking* and *Bobotoh*, it is true to show the

multiculturalism of football supporters. This is shown by several things: firstly, that *Bobotoh* as the parent of the synthetic culture of delays has metamorphosed naturally into several other support groups. The group's naming is imaginary from portraits of European supporters, such as the Italian Ultras, the FCC (Football Club Cincinnati) of Ohio, Vikings like Scandinavia, and Orientalism that show Asian identity. Secondly, social and class segregation does not only happen to football clubs in the Dutch colonial, but also happens to football fans in the era of development. This means that social segregation is the background of SARA (Suku, Agama, Ras, dan Antargolongan or Ethnic, Religion, Race, and Inter-Groups) that gave birth to synthetic identity naturally or through fabrication, which always grows in society (cf Canetti, 1973; Voris, 2015; Kristanto, 2016; Hadi, 2017; Sufiyanto, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018).

Vikings are symbols of conquering values that are the product of Ayi Beutik Suparman's imagination of the legendary name of the Scandinavian nation. Viking identic with the values as a strong nation, savage, brave, never give up, and like to attack. Nonetheless, Viking is a metamorphosis of *Bobotoh*, because of its natural nature, the Vikings do not recognize the semi-bureaucratic organizing system (Haryadi, 2014; and interview with Respondent A, 3/7/2017). Like the crowds, Viking also develops naturally, through the hereditary mechanisms of the family. Viking also develops to other regions and is no longer confined to the Cibangkong and Pasirluyu regions in West Java as the Viking homebirth (cf Canetti, 1973; Hanifan & Herfiyana, 2014; Kristanto, 2016; Hadi, 2017; and interview with Respondent A, 3/7/2017).

Vikings also remain familiar with group values as the requirement of an identity, and called *Vikingnisme* as a naturally formed

society. The acculturation of values between the *Vikings* as the imagine norm and the delay as part of *Bobotoh* of PERSIB is seen from value, loyalty (to the group), solidarity (loyal friends), and values in urban society (style) symbols, authentic identity brought from the birth of each individual and social environment, in which he lived to the *Viking* group (Hanifan & Herfiyana, 2014; Kristanto, 2016; and Hadi, 2017).

The growing number of Viking members also boosts business growth related to accessories and attributes of football supporters. That supporters also have an important role in an economic activity, especially the football industry. In the *Viking* group, there are symbolic figures that influence the Viking development up to now. The figure is Ayi Beutik Suparman, who can be regarded as the central figure in the Indonesian archipelago, like General Soedirman for the military, Sukarno for Marhaen nationalist, or R.A. (Raden Ajeng) Kartini for women's emancipation in Indonesia (cf Stone, 2007; Fathurrohman, 2014; Hanifan & Herfiyana, 2014; Kennedy, 2014; Kristanto, 2016; Hadi, 2017; Kaka, 2017; and Eyong, 2018).

Ayi Beutik Suparman is the founder and patron of the entire sub-culture of the *Viking* members. He was a charismatic figure, who provided the first normative fundamentals of the *Vikings*. His boldness became the most basic reference value of *Viking* members. As a leader, from a group of natural and cultural, willing to sacrifice for other members has become the value that makes him very much in love with the *Viking* groups (Fathurrohman, 2014; and Haryadi, 2014).

As a group that goes on naturally and culturally, Ayi Beutik Suparman's leadership character becomes the main magnet affecting the rapid growth of *Viking* members, not only in Bandung but also in other regions. If the analogy, with the process of formation of butterflies, it can be said that Ayi Beutik Suparman is a determinant factor of the *Viking* metamorphosis process. Even, if we imagine the *Vikings* are a group of beliefs, then, in the *Vikings* are also born rituals that distinguish between members of *Viking* with other *Bobotoh*. Ayi Beutik Suparman becomes the object of a ritual for *Viking* members, who are believed to be able to give "strength" in the form of courage (*cf* Canetti, 1973; Fathurrohman, 2014; Haryadi, 2014; and interview with Respondent A, 3/7/2017).

Meanwhile, PERSIJA in Jakarta as a club, that was born since the Dutch colonial era, has a historical similarity with PERSIB in Bandung. PERSIJA, previously named VIJ (*Voetbal Indonesische Jacatra*), is a symbol of the existence of indigenous people of Betawi. PERSIJA as a symbol of the spirit of equality and resistance to colonial symbols and class distinctions or VBO (*Voetbalbond Batavia Omstaken*) as the Dutch formation. The difference with PERSIB is PERSIJA originally named VIJ has had a group of fans or fans known as *VIJers* (Sufiyanto, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018).

In post-independence era, PERSIJA and PERSIB are the founding initiators of PSSI (*Persatuan Sepakbola Seluruh Indonesia* or All Indonesian Football Association). PERSIJA later named itself as "Kemayoran's Tiger", which has the meaning of a beast that in imagination as the King of Forest, which has the characteristics of ferocious, brave, in respect, and the ruler. This is reinforced by the use of red on club uniforms (Kristanto, 2016; Sufiyanto, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018).

The existence of PERSIJA until 1994, or the Indonesian league, is identified with a club that does not have many supporters; and this is indicated by the minimal number of spectators. This affects the club's internal conditions. This situation prompted the role of DKI (*Daerah Khusus Ibukota* or Special Capital Region) Jakarta local government to intervene to help PERSIJA as the club pride of the capital. From it can be interpreted that PERSIJA is a club that has a historical value, in the dynamics of Indonesia, the symbol of the pride of the capital, both people and government (*cf* Berlonghi, 1995; Colombijn, 2000; Sufiyanto, 2017; Wibowo, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018).

Jakmania is a group of supporters, whose development is heavily influenced by bureaucratic policies. This is in line with the common concern among Jakarta youngsters, who love to watch PERSIJA with the management and the Provincial Government of DKI Jakarta under the leadership of Governor Sutiyoso for the lack of audience when the club Persija Jakarta compete. This feeling of alienation and marginalization is a major consideration of Jakmania's establishment as a new synthetic identity (cf Colombijn, 2000; Voris, 2015; Sufiyanto, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018).

The pattern of Jakmania formation differs from the pattern of formation that occurs in Viking. If Viking is based on natural, bottom-up, fluid, cultural values, although familiar with simple organizational systems, then Viking is a continuation of the greatness of the Padjadjaran kingdom or PERSIB. Jakmania is a tool or instrument fabricated through the collaboration of the provincial government and the will of the Jakarta children, so that the underlying spirit of Jakmania's presence is the resurrection values of the Jakarta community to host its own region. Jakmania was formed based on the norms of the formation of a social organization, one of which is by arranging AD/ART (Anggaran Dasar/ Anggaran Rumah Tangga or Organizational Constitution). Recruitment involves the village, to socialize as well as encourage the local people to watch the game conducted by PERSIJA (Hanifan & Herfiyana, 2014; Kristanto, 2016; Sufiyanto, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018).

Crystal crowds *Jakmania*, totaling 40 people into a community group that

moves to invite the people of Jakarta to join Jakmania as part of the exploration process (Utami, 2011; Sufiyanto, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018). In addition, Gugun Gondrong as icon Jakmania is an artist who uses his popularity as a magnet to attract new members (Hamley, 2001; Sufiyanto, 2017; Wirayudha, 2018; and interview with Respondent C, 17/7/2017). As a synthetic identity of a new group, Jakmania members are bound by the rules, which are mentioned by AD/ART. From the beginning Jakmania in form, in support of the development of PERSIJA club from the social and economic, such as ticket entry, merchandise, etc. (Sufiyanto, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018).

As the early history of football in Indonesia as a means of identity struggle against the Dutch colonial, Viking and Jakmania relations as part of PERSIB and PERSIJA competitiveness cannot be separated from the form of harmony metamorphosis relation to a relationship that is conflict. In the history of relations, they can be described as the crowd at the Siliwangi Stadium was influenced by the situation of the matches that took place in the field, the emotions of the audience were strongly influenced by the field conditions, such as the outcome of the match (cf Berlonghi, 1994; Colombijn, 2000; Abbot & Geddie, 2001; Hanifan & Herfiyana, 2014; Conigliaro et al., 2015; Kristanto, 2016; Sufiyanto, 2017; Wibowo, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018).

Crowds management failed to build in Jakmania's body, since the 2000s in the process come to Bandung. The crowds control operated by the POLDA METRO JAYA (Kepolisian Daerah Metropolititan Jakarta Raya or the Great Jakarta Metropolitan Regional Police) on the road trip agenda to the Siliwangi Stadium shows a failure that can be identified through the crowd's stage based on Kenny M. John et al. (2001)'s research. At the stage of assembling Jakmania, miscalculation occurred which of the quota of 400 people to 1,000 people (John, 2001; Wibowo, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018).

This condition affects the next process of gathering at the Siliwangi Stadium in Bandung, the capacity of the stadium is not large with the match allocation of the tickets with the number of spectators in attendance resulting in mass accumulation outside the stadium. In this mass build up, there was a clash between the Vikings and Jakmanias. In the process of dispersal shown by a group of Jakmania, who will return to Jakarta, involving clash activity with Vikings. From the description, it can be interpreted that the Police and match management is not ready in the face of overcrowding situation, which is always identic with Jakmania (Abbot & Geddie, 2001; Kristanto, 2016; Fuller, 2017; Wibowo, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018).

The prejudices held by Jakmania on Viking came after the events that took place at the Siliwangi Stadium since the 2000s. Jakmania feels like a loser, because they are on the agenda to attend their away match, which is not in line with expectations. This action was responded by beatings to a group of Vikings who attended a quiz show at one of the TV stations in Jakarta. This conflict is repeated and reproduced by the Vikings as well as Jakmania as the basis for efforts of conflict reproduction. This then produces a prejudice that gave birth to a stereotype of the Viking group's rogue by the Jakmania (cf Sears, Freedman & Peplau, 1994; Kristanto, 2016; Fuller, 2017; Wibowo, 2017; Wirayudha, 2018; and interview with Respondent B, 10/7/2017).

This illustrates the metamorphosis of conflict between *Jakmania* and *Viking*. Conflict continues to occur involving *Vikings* and *Jakmanias*, during matches and beyond football matches. This illustrates the metamorphosis of conflict with the encouragement of precipitant factors, such as bad crowd management to conflicts related to group identity, which can happen anytime and anywhere (Williams & Dunning, 1990; Berlonghi, 1994; Hanifan & Herfiyana, 2014; Kristanto, 2016; Fuller, 2017; Sufiyanto, 2017; Wibowo, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018).

Conflicts are also exacerbated by the interpretation of cases occurring, perpetrated by both parties, both through interaction with the direct victims/perpetrators as well as the modified interpretations made by Jakmania and Viking members. This extends with the increasing number of Jakmania and Viking members; and the use of social media. The protracted conflict as well as the modified interpretation of each of the sides that resulted in the acute prejudice, not only to individuals involved in the conflict but extended to group members are generative or hereditary (Blumer, 1968; Castells, 2000; Sunarto, 2000; Brown, 2011; Hanifan & Herfiyana, 2014; Kristanto, 2016; Fuller, 2017; Sufiyanto, 2017; Wibowo, 2017; and Wirayudha, 2018).

CONCLUSION

The characteristic of crowds in the football industry in Indonesia is strongly influenced by issues of cultural and local identity. In addition, the character of football supporters in Indonesia is strongly influenced by social identity, such as socioeconomic level. This causes the level of aggression in the football industry in Indonesia seen in the form of riots and competition of identity symbols, such as jersey, colors, flags, and so forth. Then also if drawn further, the formation of identity is correlated with the phenomenon of football as a pop culture, that is that football into a culture that can be enjoyed universally, so it can involve anyone and anywhere.

The implications of looking at the phenomenon of football in Indonesia as a pop culture phenomenon also provide help to illustrate that the level of masculine aggression in riots between *Viking* in West Java and *Jakmania* in Jakarta cannot be released as a culture of its own produced continuously to achieve certain interests. The phenomenon of behavior and attitude of hooliganism in the body of *Viking* and *Jakmania* as well as in the phenomenon of hooliganism in England.

The phenomenon of conflict involving the two supporter groups has crystallized into an identity conflict based on prejudice between the two groups. Subsequent forms of prejudice that also grew out of the state and the public have given birth to stereotypes that see *Jakmania* and *Viking* as monstrous that have the potential to pose a threat to security and order disorders, especially if the group is present in the arena of matches.

In accordance with the historical, philosophical, cultural, and socio-economic background, that inspired the formation and founding of Jakmania in Jakarta and Viking in Bandung, it can also be concluded that initially both organizations were born to provide support and love for PERSIJA (Persatuan Sepakbola Indonesia Jakarta or Jakarta Indonesian Football Association) and PERSIB (Persatuan Sepakbola Indonesia Bandung or Bandung Indonesian Football Association)'s football clubs. But in its journey, organization and management, especially Jakmania, is more formal with hierarchical organizational structure and division of organizational tasks more structured. Such forms and organizational and management characteristics of course have an influence on the behavior and attitudes of members of Jakmania. The youth empowerment of marginal and highly heterogeneous community groups in Jakarta has aroused the spirit of militant Jakmania's members coincidentally inspired by community leaders, who are considered to have high fighting spirit.

Viking organization and management is more informal and family spirit that is driven by a figure who puts forward the cultural and natural values based on the homogeneity of Sundanese culture. The spirit of cultural homogeneity has been acculturated with values and passion drawn from the imagination of the "Vikings" characterized by brave values, conquerors, and loyalty; thus encouraging *Bobotoh* to join the growing, growing, and growing *Viking* supporters from the grassroots.

The root cause of the riots can be summed up because the internalized "prejudices" in both members of both supporters' camps are continuously produced into a popular culture in the *Viking* and *Jakmania*'s areas. The effort to build trust in the level of awareness, peace, and mutual respect is not easy, so it requires a sustainable effort to build a culture of sportsmanship in the football competition. However, cultural cultivation is not easy to implement, because the riot culture is more popular than the sprotif culture, peace, and so forth.

Jakmania and Viking if they want to clean up must carry out the members' mental reform that involves the reconstruction of values. This is done considering the unrest between the two members of the organization, not only occurred in the arena of matches between PERSIJA and PERSIB, but also elsewhere such as Europe. The acts of rioting between members of the Jakmania and Viking support groups have evolved into an identity crisis, requiring the organization's serious, and fundamental guidance on mental, behavior, attitudes, and action in accordance with the sportsmanship values of football matches. The pattern of guidance to members of Jakmania and Viking should be done periodically, structured, and professional so as to build a sense of "trust" of both Jakmania and Viking's members.

Chaotic atmosphere contained in football matches in Indonesia are described through the phenomenon of *Viking* and *Jakmania* into an additional identity in the pop culture in Indonesia. Chaotic event not

only can be considered as an effect, but as part of the process of football culture and football industry in Indonesia. A fairly tidy organizational level in organizing *Vikings* and *Jakmanias* cannot actively prevent riots in football matches that have been going on for the last 5 years in Indonesia. This is due to the factors driving the masculine aggressiveness that demand unrest as a production of popularity in the football supporter group, and the pressure of political and economic interests in the football industry in Indonesia.¹

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