

## Power Relations in the Stadium Stands: Challenging Gender Equality in Indonesian Football Club Supporters

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**Abstract:** Football competition in Indonesia is commonly perceived as male-dominated supporters. However, there is a growing trend of women supporters' groups. This study aims to analyze the hierarchical and power relations between women and men members of Brigata Curva Sud (BCS), a supporter base of PSS Sleman football club, which in 2017 was praised as the best ultra supporter in Asia. The study uses a descriptive-qualitative methodology to analyze the phenomenon. Using Michel Foucault's theory of power relations, the research findings demonstrate that BCS's manifesto is "no leader, just together," which suggests that the group does not recognize or accept the hierarchical organizational structure. Each member has equal rights and responsibilities in determining the organization's future and carrying out any decisions. Second, the power dynamic between men and women in BCS is equal. The only supreme power in the BCS that generates knowledge is an open-to-all-members deliberative forum, regardless of social class or gender.

**Keywords:** gender equality; hierarchy; power relation;  
women's football supporter

**Abstrak:** Kompetisi sepak bola di Indonesia sering dipandang sebagai olahraga maskulin yang hanya cocok untuk supporter laki-laki. Namun kini kelompok supporter perempuan semakin banyak bermunculan. Oleh karena itu, penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis bagaimana hierarki dan relasi kuasa antara anggota perempuan dan laki-laki di Brigata Curva Sud (BCS), basis pendukung PSS Sleman yang pada tahun 2017 dinobatkan sebagai ultras terbaik di Asia. Untuk menganalisis fenomena tersebut, penelitian ini menggunakan teori relasi kuasa dari Michel Foucault. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah kualitatif dengan pendekatan deskriptif. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa: Pertama, BCS memiliki manifesto "no leader just together" yang menyiratkan bahwa BCS tidak mengenal struktur organisasi yang hierarkis. Setiap anggota memiliki hak dan kewajiban yang sama dalam merumuskan masa depan organisasi dan melaksanakan setiap keputusan yang disepakati. Kedua, tidak ada relasi kuasa yang timpang antara anggota perempuan dan laki-laki di BCS. Satu-satunya kekuasaan tertinggi di internal BCS yang menghasilkan pengetahuan adalah forum deliberatif yang terbuka untuk semua anggota tanpa memandang latar belakang sosial atau gender.

**Kata Kunci:** kesetaraan gender; hierarki; relasi kuasa;  
perempuan supporter sepak bola

## A. Introduction

Indonesia is a country with a long tradition in the football world. It is noted that Indonesia - still under the colonial rule of the Dutch - was the first Asian nation to compete in the World Cup in 1938.<sup>1</sup> But behind this brilliant history, the achievements of Indonesian football continue to decline from year to year. But surprisingly, now football is still the most popular sport in Indonesia. According to Ariyanto, although Indonesian football is still lacking in achievements, its popularity can surpass Indonesian badminton, which has consistently produced many prestigious trophies at the international level.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, this popularity makes Indonesian football a promising money-making sport and entertainment industry.

In general, football clubs in Indonesia are closely affiliated with local entities' pride. As stated by Su'udi, every club from the lowest level must have fanatical fans because of regional ties.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, talking about Indonesian football is not only related to matches, the dynamics of the fans or supporters also colour the journey of Indonesian football competitions. Chaplin defines supporters in two senses.<sup>4</sup> *First*, it refers to providing something to understand the needs of others. *Second*, providing motivation or encouragement to others in making certain decisions. In the context of football supporters, it can be interpreted as the support given by an organised group to certain players or clubs to win matches.

From time to time, year to year, football supporters' groups in Indonesia continue to emerge. It indicates that every human being has an intersectional identity. This identity can include gender, race, nation, religion, ethnicity, social status, etc.<sup>5</sup> For this reason, humans always want to identify themselves with something, one of which is the football supporter base. Football has become a

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<sup>1</sup> Stefan Szymanski, "Professional Asian Football Leagues and the Global Market," *Asian Economic Policy Review* 11, no. 1 (2016): 16–38, <https://doi.org/10.1111/aepr.12112>.

<sup>2</sup> Khrisna Ariyanto, "Analyzing the Conflict between Football Organizations in Indonesia," *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 115 (2014): 430–35, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2014.02.450>.

<sup>3</sup> Achmad Su'udi, *Football Inspirations for Success* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2010), 94.

<sup>4</sup> J. P. Chaplin, *Kamus Lengkap Psikologi*, ed. Kartono Kartini (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2006), 495.

<sup>5</sup> Margarita Azmitia and Virginia Thomas, "Intersectionality and the Development of Self and Identity," in *Emerging Trends in the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, ed. Robert Scott and Stephan Kosslyn (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), 1.

new form of identity attached to fans or supporters. Sociologically, the formation of a supporter base can be understood with Max Weber's thinking which emphasises the active role of individuals in social processes that can change the work of social structures.<sup>6</sup>

In Indonesia, football is still often identified with masculinity.<sup>7</sup> Football as a sport incorporates displays of strength, power, and endurance, and usually involves physical violence between the participants,<sup>8</sup> thereby reinforcing notions of male physical aptitude.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, violence and clashes between supporters in Indonesia still often cause death. So, it is always considered unusual when women are involved in football. It is what makes Indonesian people think football is only suitable for men. But lately, there is a tendency for women to become interested in football with the emergence of a women's supporter base in the stadium stands, such as *Aremanita* who supports Arema FC, *Bonita* who supports Persebaya Surabaya, *The Jak Angel* who supports Persija Jakarta, *Ladies Curva Sud* who support PSS Sleman, and many more.

The presence of this women's supporter group on the one hand enlivens the stadium, which gives the impression that football is now a modern sport that all genders can enjoy. But on the other hand, there is a fact that the existence of this women's supporter group is still subordinate to the supporter organization, which men dominate. It seems to be a common condition in world football as suggested by Lenneis and Pfister, that women have to comply with specific rules of conduct in the stadium, where masculine behavior for both men and women supporters is regarded as ideal fan behavior.<sup>10</sup> It indicates that there is still a hierarchical relationship between male and female supporters, where male supporters still dominate power relations.

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<sup>6</sup> Ida B Wirawan, *Teori-teori Sosial dalam Tiga Paradigma: Fakta Sosial, Definisi Sosial, dan Perilaku Sosial* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2017), 79.

<sup>7</sup> Tisna Prabasmoro and Randy Ridwansyah, "Fan Culture and Masculinity: Identity Construction of Persib Supporters," *Gender Studies* 18, no. 1 (2019): 163–78, <https://doi.org/10.2478/genst-2020-0012>.

<sup>8</sup> Nathalie Koivula, "Perceived Characteristics of Sports Categorized as Gender-Neutral, Feminine, and Masculine," *Journal of Sport Behaviour* 24, no. 4 (2001): 377–393.

<sup>9</sup> Ian Burgess, Allan Edwards, and James Skinner, "Football Culture in an Australian School Setting: The Construction of Masculine Identity," *Sport, Education and Society* 8, no. 2 (2003): 199–212, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13573320309250>.

<sup>10</sup> Verena Lenneis and Gertrud Pfister, "Gender Constructions and Negotiations of Female Football Fans. A Case Study in Denmark," *European Journal for Sport and Society* 12, no. 2 (2015): 157–85, <https://doi.org/10.1080/16138171.2015.11687961>.

This research will examine the existence of *Ladies Curva Sud* (LCS), women supporters' group which is part of the *Brigata Curva Sud* (BCS), a loyal supporter of PSS Sleman. The author's reasons for choosing this group are: *First*, BCS is a pioneer of the Indonesian supporters' revolution. They are changing the impression of Indonesian supporters who are synonymous with violence into an entertaining action. *Second*, BCS is a group of supporters formed when the club they supported was relegated to a lower tier and slumped. Faithfully they could accompany PSS Sleman back to the highest tier of the Indonesian football league. *Third*, Copa90, a media that monitors football fans' development worldwide, awarded BCS as the 2017 best ultras in Asia.<sup>11</sup> BCS beat other nominees, namely: *Bangal Brigade* (East Bengal, India), *Boys of Straits* (Johor Darul Ta'zim, Malaysia), *Frente Tricolor* (Suwon Samsung Bluewings, South Korea), and *Urawa Boys* (Urawa Red Diamonds, Japan). Based on the explanation above, the research question in this study is: how are the hierarchical and power relations between women and men members in the BCS supporter organization.

This study applies Michel Foucault's power relation theory as an analytical framework to examine the hierarchical and power dynamics in the BCS. According to Foucault, power is a dimension of relations; where there is relation, there is power.<sup>12</sup> In this theory, the form of power in modern society is not sovereign power but disciplinary power. Disciplinary power is not based on authority for control but works to normalize behavior in social relations.<sup>13</sup> This normalization process is internalized through the habituation of attitudes and behaviour. Power cannot be separated from knowledge. Power produces knowledge and knowledge is shaped by power. Foucault calls knowledge an episteme, which is an authoritative form of knowledge that has been established as a meaning for certain situations. In this case, it is important to reveal how football knowledge affects the power relations between women's and men's support groups within the BCS.

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<sup>11</sup> Tribe Indonesia, "Brigata Curva Sud 1976: The Best Ultras in Asia Versi Copa90," *Football Tribe*, February 18, 2017, <https://football-tribe.com/indonesia/2017/02/18/bcs-1976-best-ultras-asia-versi-copa90/>.

<sup>12</sup> Wa Ode N Yani, "Relasi Pengetahuan dan Kekuasaan dalam Formasi Diskursif Bio-Politik Michel Foucault: Sebuah Kajian Kritis Komunikasi Kesehatan Masyarakat," *Dialektika: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi* 3, no. 1 (2016): 1–14.

<sup>13</sup> Mark Haugaard, "Rethinking the Four Dimensions of Power: Domination and Empowerment," *Journal of Political Power* 5, no. 1 (2012): 33–54, <https://doi.org/10.1080/2158379X.2012.660810>.

This research is necessary because, from a sociological perspective, this study discusses the problems of grassroots society that lead to social conflict and even death. Meanwhile, from a gender perspective, this study raises the issue that women or all genders have the same right to enjoy football in stadium stands as a sport or entertainment. In other words, this is part of campaigning for a female-friendly public space. In general, research about women supporters in Indonesia can be seen in the article entitled "The Miracle of Women Supporters: Fanaticism in Indonesian Football".<sup>14</sup> The results of this study suggest that women supporters are always present in every game conducted by the Indonesian football league club. They enjoy the work of the team they like is realized by collecting their favorite jersey and knick-knacks of their favorite team while helping with the team's finances and memorizing the greatness of the club's songs supported.

While the research that refers explicitly to specific women's supporter groups is as follows: *First*, research about the women leadership in the Bart-Girl supporters' group.<sup>15</sup> This study reveals that the leader in the Bart-Girl (women's football supporters of Barito Putera) has four roles: integrator, direction-setter, mediator to mediate problems among members, and as a group, a representative to be spokesperson and negotiator. The leadership style of the Bart-Girl chairman is charismatic and democratic. *Second*, research about the Babel United FC women's football supporter community.<sup>16</sup> This study suggests several motivations motivate women to join this community: the influence of those closest to them, regional spirit, entertainment facilities in their spare time, and idolizing certain players.

Last but not least, the previous research that specifically discussed the LCS was an article about the self-concept of PSS Sleman women's football supporters.<sup>17</sup> Based on the study results, the self-concept formed was related to

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<sup>14</sup> Rumi Iqbal Doewes et al., "The Miracle of Women Supporters' Fanaticism in Indonesian Football," *International Journal of Psychosocial Rehabilitation* 24, no. 02 (2020): 2352-58, <https://doi.org/10.37200/IJPR/V24I2/PR200531>.

<sup>15</sup> Muhammad Aarsal Syahlan Mattiro, Laila Azkia, "Kepemimpinan pada Kelompok Perempuan Supporter Sepak Bola (Studi Kasus Bart-Girl Banjarmasin)," *Padaringan (Jurnal Pendidikan Sosiologi Antropologi)* 3, no. 2 (2021): 425-36, <https://doi.org/10.20527/padaringan.v3i2.3424>.

<sup>16</sup> Afrihardina Muharani, Luna Febriani, and Putra Pratama Saputra, "Perempuan dalam Komunitas Supporter Sepak Bola the Babel Mania," *Jurnal Sosial Sains* 1, no. 2 (2021): 93-102, <https://doi.org/10.36418/sosains.v1i2.22>.

<sup>17</sup> Kevin Orkananda and Raden Muhammad Bathara Poerbaningrat, "Konsep Diri Supporter Sepak Bola Perempuan PSS Sleman," *Jurnal Audiens* 1, no. 1 (2020): 65-70, <https://doi.org/10.18196/ja.1108>.

their behaviour, attitudes, and identity. Four principles shape their identity: not related to politics, being independent, being limited to the stadium stands fence and togetherness.

Several studies on women supporter groups in Indonesia cannot be mentioned one by one here. Mapping from the authors shows that most of these articles discuss the process of organizational establishment, activities as proof of existence, reasons for liking football, leadership within female supporters, identity and self-image. This research will do something different; besides continuing to discuss the existence of women's supporter groups, this research will also analyze the hierarchy and power relations between women and men members in a supporter organization which by various media reports and public opinion are still often dominated by men.

## **B. Methods**

This study uses qualitative research with a descriptive approach to examine the hierarchical and power relations between women and men football supporter base in the BCS. The authors used descriptive qualitative research to describe the results in a systematic, factual, and accurate sentence regarding the facts and the relationship between phenomena. This study's data collection techniques are divided into two: Interviews. Interviews were conducted with five informants who are volunteers or members of LCS. It should be understood that BCS (and LCS) do not accommodate the existence of a formal structure in their organisations so that all members are positioned equally as volunteers. This is a special characteristic of ultras supporters. Interview was conducted online due to the uncertain situation of the COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia. It is to maintain the resource persons' health, safety, and comfort. The consequences of an interview study must be addressed concerning possible harm to the subject and the expected benefits of participating.<sup>18</sup>

*Second*, literature study. The authors are very aware of the limitations of this research, that the interview process cannot be carried out optimally. Therefore, the authors will enrich the data by studying related documents such as scientific journal articles, books, newspapers, magazines, and other sources. One of the most critical data sources in this literature study is *bcsxpss.com*, the

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<sup>18</sup> Steiner Kvale, *Doing Interviews* (London: SAGE Publications Inc., 2007), 28.

official website of BCS (and LCS). The author describes various information from the site as the initial basis for the analysis. The collected data is then analyzed using an interactive model from Miles and Huberman, which consists of data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion.<sup>19</sup>

## C. Results and Discussion

### The Manifesto for Equality and Togetherness

For football fans in Indonesia, being part of a supporter organization is not just euphoria but has become a pride and identity. According to Molina, identity in a supporter group is patterned by three things: the individual, the city, and the club.<sup>20</sup> Previously, everyone who supported PSS Sleman joined a structured supporter's organization called *Slemania*. But apparently, some individuals who are members of the ultras group in *Slemania* have different ways and expressions of showing their fanaticism. The centrality (which, according to ultras members, leads to inequality) in the *Slemania* organisation is considered to have failed to accommodate the growing diversity.

The ultras group decided to step aside and chose the other side of the tribune – the south tribune to be precise – to express their group. The small group of ultras in the south stand displayed an attractive identity so that they grew more prominent. As a result, in 2011, they officially formed *Brigata Curva Sud* or BCS. BCS is a name taken from the Italian language. It means that the south tribune brigade, where the supporters who are members of the BCS always crowd the south tribune of the Maguwoharjo Stadium when PSS Sleman is playing. This group was inspired by the 2009 film *L'ultimo Ultras*, which revolves around the life of Italian ultras.<sup>21</sup> This film is one of the entrances to ultras culture which BCS finally adopted through the “glocalization” process. BCS draw inspiration from ultra fan groups in their colors, songs, and

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<sup>19</sup> Matthew B. Miles and A. Michael Huberman, *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Source Book of New Methods* (London: SAGE Publications Inc, 1994).

<sup>20</sup> Fidel Molina, “Socialization, ‘Glocal’ Identity and Sport: Football between Local and Global,” *European Journal for Sport and Society* 4, no. 2 (2007): 169–76, <https://doi.org/10.1080/16138171.2007.11687802>.

<sup>21</sup> Vincentius Atmaja, “No Leader Just Together: Jejak Brigata Curva Sud, Ultras Nyawa PSS Sleman,” *Bola.Com*, June 7, 2020, <https://www.bola.com/indonesia/read/4272551/no-leader-just-together-jejak-brigata-curva-sud-ultras-nyawa-pss-sleman>.

merchandise. But they broke away from Italy's brutal zealots in one noteworthy way: the growing presence of women in the Maguwoharjo stadium stands.<sup>22</sup>

Along with the increasing number of female members in BCS, they then named themselves *Ladies Curva Sud* or LCS. The existence of LCS is interesting to be analysed further. It is because the presence of female supporters in most supporter groups in Indonesia is only like a compliment or subordinate to the male supporter group. They are often only used as bait in the stands to get more camera attention in live broadcasts and promotional apparel jersey models to make profits. They are often victims of sexual harassment in the stadium stands. To explore the existence of LCS in the BCS support group, the authors first did unbox [bcxps.com](http://bcxps.com), which is the official website of BCS.

Giulianotti and Robertson mention that the internet plays an important role in football's globalization and in forming a collective identity of supporters.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, it is very appropriate if a modern Indonesian supporter group like BCS has a neat and comprehensive website. Dominated by black which characterizes the ultras color and combined with a little green as the colour of PSS Sleman, the web page presents a lot of BCS information organised into seven rubrics including home, news, photos, chants, manifesto, and chapter communities. From the seven rubrics, the author's most attention is due to the use of a term that is very rarely found in the football world, namely manifesto. The manifesto consists of eight points, one of which is "no leader just together". Based on the explanation from interview sources, this manifesto means there is no hierarchical organizational structure, no definitive leader or chairperson, and no difference between men and women members, there is only togetherness. Although it has grown into a large organization, BCS refuses to become an organization with a hierarchical structure. It aims for all members to have the same rights and obligations in maintaining the organization's existence.

The authors must admit that the manifesto "no leader just together" on the one hand, is very interesting to investigate further. However, on the other hand,

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<sup>22</sup> Andhika Gilang, "Brigata Curva Sud: Wajah Suporter Progresif di Indonesia," *Football Fandom*, November 7, 2016, <https://fandom.id/brigata-curva-sud-wajah-suporter-progresif-di-indonesia/>.

<sup>23</sup> Richard Giulianotti and Roland Robertson, "The Globalization of Football: A Study in the Glocalization of the 'Serious Life,'" *The British Journal of Sociology* 55, no. 4 (2004): 545–68, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-4446.2004.00037.x>.

it was difficult for the authors to determine who the central figure should be interviewed. Most BCS or LCS members are reluctant to comment about their organizational structure. For information, the conditions described above are not the first time this has occurred. The investigative experience of *Tempo Magazine* also shows the same difficulty.<sup>24</sup> The point they always emphasize is that they are volunteers; they don't want to be called administrators or management. Therefore, no one name has the right to represent the group as a whole, and all members have the same rights and obligations in every decision-making.

Based on the statement of some informants, a question arises: if there is no hierarchical organisational structure, how can strategic decisions as a direction for members be produced? From an interview source, the answer was through a deliberative forum. In this case, every policy or decision concerning the group's interests is obtained through a forum open to members. In the forum, everyone present can express ideas or opinions by prioritising good ethics. For the forum to be effective, the participants who attend are usually representatives from each chapter community under the auspices of BCS. Delegates or representatives who come are also determined through deliberation forums at the respective chapter community level. Each chapter takes turns hosting and coordinating the forum. These ideas or opinions will then be discussed, filtered, sharpened to reach a mutual agreement and circulated to all members.

The things discussed in deliberative forums generally include the choreography and chants displayed in the next match, financial position, and the problems plaguing the PSS Sleman football club. BCS members considered that decision-making through this scheme was more effective and egalitarian than a single decision or a chairperson. The absence of a definitive hierarchical structure was also used as a fortress so that practical political elements could not infiltrate the BCS. The BCS strictly forbids practical politics from entering the south stadium tribune because it is considered to be divisive. However, BCS does not prohibit its members from practicing practical politics as a professional job if they do not use the BCS name or identity as a political campaign capital.

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<sup>24</sup> Anang Zakaria, "Brigata Curva Sud PSS, Kelompok Suporter tanpa Pemimpin," *bola.tempo.co*, February 24, 2017, <https://bola.tempo.co/read/850003/brigata-curva-sud-pss-kelompok-suporter-tanpa-pemimpin>.

Most BCS and LCS members are educated youth like university students. Therefore, they are very professional and have many references in coordinating large masses of people. The compliance of BCS members with applicable regulations, even though they do not have a definitive leader or leader, is exciting and rarely found in large-scale groups in Indonesian football. A system without a definitive leader with high solidarity like that is characteristic of traditional groups typical of Javanese people who live in a *gemeinschaft* manner. This principle of equality makes them even more cohesive and purposeful. The absence of an individual cult at the top of the group like other football supporter groups in Indonesia – for example, Yuli Sumpil in the *Aremania* supporter group and Andie Peci in the *Bonek* supporter group – makes men and women have equal positions in this group. This fact is in line with the statement by Kennedy that awareness of understanding individual equality affects the cohesiveness of BCS and LCS.<sup>25</sup> From the explanation above, it can be concluded that there is no hierarchical relationship between BCS and LCS because all members have the same rights and obligations in the name of togetherness.

### **Deliberative Forum as a Supreme Power**

Various studies have shown that gender domestication barriers are still an issue that needs to be developed in the world of sports and the world of supporters. Then what about the existence of LCS, which is an integral part of BCS? Since being established in 2012, LCS continues to maintain its existence above the stadium stands for PSS Sleman and fights the issue of discrimination through real actions, not just demands with words. From interview results explained that LCS sang loudly for 90 minutes in every match of PSS, escorting PSS Sleman to rival stadiums, over land and sea they did.<sup>26</sup> They are often crammed into the stadium and feel the scorching heat and heavy rain in the stadium stands. They are often hit by throwing and injured when there is a riot.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Eddward S. Kennedy, *Sepakbola Seribu Tafsir* (Yogyakarta: Indie Book Corner, 2014).

<sup>26</sup> Interview.

<sup>27</sup> BCSXPSS, "Kartini without a Face," BCSXPSS.com (Bcsxpss.com, 2016), <https://bcsxpss.com/post/news/2016-04-21/kartini-without-a-face>.

It is very easy to cause trauma for women who are often seen as weak. But they gave proof by standing proud. For them, this struggle is clear evidence that the LCS, which consists of women, is not a supporter group that is weak, spoiled, and wants to get more facilities. This independence is firmly entrenched because BCS is a group of supporters committed to realizing gender equality and fighting sexual violence in stadiums. In the beginning, LCS members were usually the girlfriends of the BCS members who accompanied them to the stadium, but now their fanaticism has grown. So, although several studies have shown a positive relationship between gender relations inequality and dating violence,<sup>28</sup> it does not apply in the stadium stands for BCS. When LCS takes part in the action in the stands, their security automatically becomes the shared responsibility of all BCS members.

According to one member of LCS, with the formation of the women's ultras group, she and other female members felt more enthusiastic when they supported PSS Sleman. If they want to hug and cuddle while celebrating a goal, then it's more comfortable and more bonding with each other.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, for LCS members who are Muslimah, where touching the opposite sex, such as hugging, is taboo, the situation in this LCS group is very comfortable. However, the existence of LCS encountered obstacles when they wanted to watch PSS Sleman play. The negative judgment from people about the fans who often fight had become an obstacle to getting permission to watch the match live in the stadium.

But now, BCS's actions which have always been entertaining, have changed the public's perception of supporters. BCS's manifesto strongly emphasizes creativity, loves peace, respects differences, and recognizes that everyone is equal. So, when asked how is the power relation between female and male members in the BCS, every LCS member interviewed said there is no unequal power relationship. Because until now, in BCS there are no factions or cult figures.<sup>30</sup> No one feels that they have a higher position, no one feels the

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<sup>28</sup> Trianah Sofiani, "Access to Justice for Victims of Dating Violence: Gender Perspective," *Sawwa: Jurnal Studi Gender* 16, no. 1 (2021): 59–84, <https://doi.org/10.21580/sav16i1.5143>.

<sup>29</sup> Prima Prima, "Semangat Kartini-kartini Muda di dalam Wadah Ultras PSS," ed. Tengku Sufiyanto, *Indosport.com*, April 20, 2017, <https://www.indosport.com/sepakbola/20170420/mengenal-ultras-wanita-pss-sleman-lcs>.

<sup>30</sup> Interview.

most powerful, no one feels they have higher knowledge about the organization; all blend into one. They felt that as long as the LCS was established, there was never any intervention or domineering attitude from male members. They truly feel equal both off and on the pitch.

If, according to Michel Foucault's theory, power is a dimension of the relationship, where there is a relation, there is power. The highest power in BCS is a deliberative forum. No one individual has more authority in controlling the organization. Thus, both male and female members have the same rights and obligations, so there is no domination. Everything related to the future of the organization, the future of the PSS Sleman club, is discussed in a deliberative forum which is open to every member without exception. Therefore, there is no reason to show the existence of unequal power relations between genders because each gender has the same rights and obligations.

Suppose Foucault's theory says that power produces knowledge, and knowledge is shaped by power. In that case, the deliberative forum as the highest power in the BCS will share knowledge equally with all members regardless of social status or gender. For example, each member has the same rights and obligations in proposing the form of choreography for the match that PSS Sleman will play. After the decision is made, each member has the right to know and is obliged to carry out the decision. All aspects of the organisation are opened as widely as possible so that all members have the same knowledge. Even the mass media line newspaper and online news are often invited to disseminate the forum results. It is a characteristic of BCS and cannot be done by other football supporter groups in Indonesia, which usually have the highest conductor. BCS and LCS have proven that in the world of football supporters, equal gender relations can be realised.

Equal gender relations also have an impact on the opening of the stadium stands for all gender backgrounds. When in many cases, female supporters are often the targets of sexual harassment, this can be prevented in the BCS and LCS communities that congregate at the stadium stands. The safety and dignity of each member are a shared responsibility to be maintained. In their mindset, they agreed that they were present at the stadium stand only to support PSS Sleman with creativity and choreography, not for any other purpose. Once again, it should be emphasized that in BCS and LCS, when referring to Foucault's theory, it states that the highest power is the deliberative forum,

meaning that if a member commits an ethical violation, they will be faced with the deliberative forum. Commitments like these make LCS and BCS worthy of being used as a reference in building gender equality for supporters in Indonesian football.

#### **D. Conclusion**

Based on the discussion above, it can be concluded that: *First*, in the existence of BCS, there is no hierarchical organizational structure. It also applies to the existence of LCS and its relationship with male supporters in BCS. Manifesto “no leader just together” can shape the character of each member who upholds individual equality, so that each member has the same rights and obligations in determining the organization’s future and carrying out every decision that has been agreed upon in the deliberative forum. Eliminating the cult figure and the principle of mutual feeling makes them even more cohesive and purposeful. *Second*, there is no unequal power relation between male and female members in BCS. The only supreme power in the BCS and LCS is a deliberative forum which is open to all members. Deliberative forum as the highest authority will share knowledge related to the direction and policies of the organization to all members fairly, regardless of social status or gender. Thus, BCS and LCS have succeeded in showing a different face in the world of Indonesian football supporters, not only fanatics but also codes of ethics.

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