CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The topic of identity is one of the most popular yet challenging in the social sciences. Its success is much linked to sociological "style" because, in the era of 'liquid modernity,' identity has become an essential issue for society (Kossakowski, 2013). Football has a crucial role in creating identity at different scales discussed by multidisciplinary academics such as social science and political science; it could mobilize the reproduction of dominant identities. Football is also one of the various cultural institutions inseparably linked to the economic and political processes of shaping locales and societies worldwide. Then actively occupied in the social building of national identities or fan identities (Shobe, 2008). On the one side, Football has become an essential part of popular culture to build social groups or individuals' identities. Then Football has long been a highly respect to social-cultural status throughout the world; a field to fight for social groups and related to identity on both sides of the divisor of domination (Giulianotti, 2007). Humanities, i.e., "top" or "high" society culture, are essentially a community consisting of the dominant class's beliefs, values, and ideas or the faiths, values, and ideas beneficial for the dominant class. On the other hand, popular culture should view as a specific culture (or, more possibly, as culture) deriving from the lower class that is in profound

contrast to the higher class and that of the dominant class. (G. L. Jones & Jones, 1993).

Shobe (2008) mentioned the power structure of relationships linked to Football, which means football mobilizes to create social identities. Generally, Football is well known to society because of the role of Football in facilitating collective identification; on the other side, society could identify themselves as ordinary people even though most members would never meet or interact. Furthermore, Football could also gather an entirely imagined society, making it easier to imagine their identity. Some football clubs offer a place to express identity, such as connecting with different places fully. Associated with the idea that fans identify with a club or team collectively is an idea that seems to represent their fans and places.

Football and political research consistently determine the diverse ways football creates and challenges collective identity, culture, and globalization (Ramón Spaaij et al., 2018). Football has functioned as a cultural space that dramatizes and classifies political and ideological conflicts fully under the football subculture's view. In the context of football fans, the negotiation of identity, activism, and ideology developed and remaking by the football community like hooligans in other positive and negative self-presentation strategies. When Football begins to move in new directions close to political and social affairs widely, it finds a new political movement that creates a space

where the idea in a political context, participatory democracy, and a place against power relations could build well. (Zaimakis, 2018)

Currently, modern Football has become a reflection of society's cultural values and structures at large, but it has also integrated into the political, economic, and social circles of this age. That shows that Football could be considered a constitutive element of social identity and late capitalism's structural column (Piskurek, 2018). Also, modern football strengthens cultural connections without a doubt (Vreeswijk, 2016). So identity is crucial to the concept of a subculture, to the next level that changing the perceived connection of such a group reliant on mainly the individual creating social identity as a subculture. In short terms, football fans may create a perceived sense of fan subculture affiliation without interacting with other fans socially. It establishes identity as a part of fans' subculture, which is vital to the individual's view as a fan rather than close social interaction with other fans (I. Jones, 1998). On the one side, according to Božilović (2010), the reason for creating a subculture is the standard way of life of a social group, not in isolation but in cultural diversity. Then, a particular way of life based on a specific cultural pattern.

Subculture reflects a well-rounded, distinct identity whole; it includes principles, rules, and norms followed, observed and practiced, and retained by individual group members for a long time. Subculture does not distinguish by the energy of counter-culture. That reflects a particular style, indicating that a person belongs to the symbolic and sensitive practices. In short, a subculture

contains every individual who has a particular belief and behavior. Indeed, it is different from the others in the community or culture, and it could be that a subculture is a cultural group in a large and dominant culture. As Football has become increasingly focused on the subculture scene and its activity, behavior patterns on the terraces have been reflected in many ways (Carnibella et al., 1996). Subcultures viewed by scholars may just as symbolic actors committed to meaningful behaviors to temporarily remove themselves from the dominant culture and as agents of political change – the political force that must count long after the particular scene's ecstatic experiences have passed. For young people, subcultures were initially expressed and used as a political socialization source with the ever-growing neo-liberal institutions and free-market structures shaping today's world. Subcultures will remain the traditional factory's most critical political criticism and alternative political vision (Paris & Ault, 2004). So Hebdige, in his book entitled "Subculture: The meaning of the style," mentioned that subcultures represent, at least in part, such representations; the "scene" of working-class life (and, more generally, the social whole) must find some echo within the meaningful practices of the various sub-cultures, and then the subcultures have been dealing with share a standard feature, besides being mainly working class. The cultured consumption, certain types of consumption is rejected visibly as with skinhead and punk – the subculture reveals its "secret" identities and communicates forbidden meanings through distinctive consumer

rituals through style or fashion. Essentially, it is the way commodities in subculture are used that distinguish subculture from orthodox cultural groups

The media and politicians constructed the label 'football hooliganism' rather than a social scientific concept. It is common in an unequal sense where various forms of minor and more dangerous "violence" are grouped in the scope of "football hooliganism" to refer to football fans who damage society (Ramón Spaaij, 2007). Though less frequently, crime in other sports suggests that 'spectator violence' might have a more accurate name. It means something done during a case.

Nevertheless, much violence happened outside of the sports arena; that is why problems describe 'football hooliganism,' and its broader social background is hard to separate (Frosdick & Newton, 2006). Based on Ian Taylor, written by Carnibella (1996), mentioned from the Marxist perspective, the rise of football hooliganism reproduced the transforming nature of the sport itself. It transformed the role of the local club as the working class, neighborhood institution. Then, he added subcultures, such as the mod, and casual embraced massive dissimilar styles to resolve their collective identity – the deliberate shape and articulate presence of upward mobility and the liberation from the ideals of the working class.

Football hooliganism is a diverse, heterogeneous and phenomenon to examine in those variables in the context of social and historical. Football hooliganism began in England in the 1960s as a predominantly working-class

youth subculture. However, the trend has attracted a more comprehensive range of male teenagers who follow a similar aggressive male style. The collective cultural tradition of self-styled hardcore football hooligans involves fluctuating in violent confrontations with opposing hooligans. A crucial objective of all hooligans is to challenge their rivals effectively by pressure and violence as a way to secure or improve their reputation as an active "firm" in the hooligan opposition order (Ramon Spaaij, 2008). For some hooligans, Football has been seen in many ways as a suitable venue for these kinds of aggressive rivalries, partly due to the game's working-class roots and traditions and culturally prescribed 'territorial' (Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research, 2001).

England hooligans influenced the emergence of hooliganism in Surakarta in the mid of 2000s and adopted the casual way of dressing. And then, Surakarta 1923 as a hooligan group, evolved to celebrate and articulate the social status, identity group, and individuality, which all became one in a collective identity and transformed into a kind of behavior. On the other side, every individual involved in hooliganism is based on enthusiasm, maintaining reputation, and passion against rival supporters. In the beginning, their emergence was blamed and discriminated against by the majority.

Two main causes were forming hooliganism in Surakarta football: Firstly, media consumption (Film, Music, and Fanzine), and secondly, personal relations. When they emerged in Surakarta football, they have unprinted

decrees in their activities based on English hooligan behavior such as a prohibition on using weapon such as stone and knife during fighting. They never reveal any information about an accident to the authority or media, and never accept kind of cooperation with any journalist, from that perspective. Instead of official merchandise club, they would prefer to wear expensive brands or clothing reflecting their group's identity on the terrace.

Another behavior influenced by hooligans' actions in England, such as making the essential decision, bringing together, and the value of approaches such as efforts to avoid authorities' control and intimidate their rivals.

Surakartans 1923 became more coordinated and made the decisions to have clear goals. They would coordinate and discuss with each representative called "firm or subgroup" to take definite steps in their activities on and off the stadium as a rule when they are on the terrace, only one purpose other than celebrating their club's excitement. When confronted with the rival and police, they organize and defend themselves from police and other supporters' attacks. On the other side, the way and method they support PERSIS Solo are very different from other supporter groups in Surakarta football.

1.2 Research Problem

The practice of political and non-political protest shown by the Surakartans in 1923 can be understood as a sign of resistance to discrimination against the dominance of power in Surakarta football, offering collective action and opposing hyper-commodification.

1.3 Research Questions

Based on the background above, this study will formulate the problem:

a. How do these respondents construct their rationality about identity politics and commodification in Surakarta Football?

b. How is political resistance built by individuals' decisions in Surakartans 1923?

1.4 Research Objectives

Generally the objectives of this study are to explore and investigate the identity politics and the emergence of the commodification of football in Surakarta Football that affect fans in Surakartans 1923 and their decisions:

- To investigate those factors that influence individuals' decisions in political and non-political protest and commodification in Surakarta Football.

- To explore the understanding between political protest, hooliganism behavior, and consumerism in Surakarta football.

1.5 The benefit of the study

1.5.1 Theoretically

Scientific studies on social science and politics, especially cultural studies, and anthropology are still extensive to analyze. It was expected to bring up the same study with football and identity politics. It is still very broad to be discussed further with social science and politics, particularly cultural studies and anthropology, with a focus on Football and a compelling identity to be discussed from the relationship of supporters with politics itself, and culture of supporters with fashion and consumerism.

1.5.2 Practically

Practically this thesis is expected to be an additional reference and open up new perspectives on football supporters' identity and politics and add new sources for the community, football clubs, and supporters. It hoped to be a source of additional information for football fans in Indonesia and other countries. It also hoped that it could be the source of inspiration for football fans to support their club with their identity in the stadium.

1.6 Literature Review

Previously, authors sought or reviewed many literary works. They shared a common focus and theme concerning hooliganism, football commodification, and identity politics. Some research journals and books that used as the author as the reference in this study are as follows:

The Journal is written by Mart Vreeswijk, entitled *"Identity Politics of Football Supporters in the era of Globalization and Commodification (a Dutch case study at FC Twente),"* uses the Anthropology discipline approach. Vresswijk, in his Journal, tried to find answers about the perceptions of FC Twente supporters about their identities in the era of globalization and commodification, then how do they get their identities through Football. Also, Vresswijk included symbols and rituals as part of identity politics that FC Twente supporters always used. He wrote it focused on the identity politics of the local supporters of FC Twente in Holland. Vresswijk said that the FC Twente club had a strong influence in their area so that the symbol of FC Twente became the identity of the supporters, then the club also represented the local culture. In the era of globalization and commodification, professional football teams have a strong influence on forming a new identity; FC Twente is running like a company that follows the trends in Football.

Then, the Journal was written by Christos Kassimeris and Charis Xinari published by Soccer & Society with the title *"Searching for Identity through Football: The Nicosia Derby."* by supporters in Cyprus. The Journal also discusses collective identity formation through actions, specifically at the Nicosia derby between Omonoia FC and APOEL FC. They argued that Football in Cyprus had been politicized, and the relationship between Football and politics in Cyprus intertwined through the history of the political situation and the birth of football clubs in a region influenced by politics. Cyprus's political

influence will help football supporters identify there, primarily Omonoia FC and APOEL FC.

Journal written by Philipp Budka and Domenico Jacono was published by kick It! The Anthropology of European Football with the title *"Football fan communities and identity construction: Past and present of the Ultras Rapid as a sociocultural phenomenon."* The theory used by the Journal's authors uses Anthropology theory to explain sociocultural phenomena. Budka and Jacono explain that social aspects and a different culture from Ultras Rapid have developed, and the commodification of football supporters and Ultra culture. Also, the fashion style of football supporters connected to the casual trend of the 1990s. Fashion has an essential role in the development of Ultras Rapid, with the fashion they wear, which has strengthened their individual and collective identities.

Related to identity politics, this Journal was written by Jonathan Hill and Thomas Wilson and published by Routledge with the title *"Identity Politics and Politics of Identities."* They explained that identity politics could understand cultural and identity perspectives, such as modern, traditional, local, radical, regional, gender, social class, and religion. It creates and commodifies to achieve political goals. For such a purpose, identity politics have been seen as discourse and action in civil and political space. Then culture can protect and attack other identities that cannot be understood. Furthermore, they argue that identity politics is regarded as a personal and group power that could find all

political institutions; sometimes, people have been forced to interact based on their different ideas.

Casual subculture explained in this Journal, written by Dinu Gutu, published by Soccer & Society with the title *"Casual culture. Bricolage and consumerism in football supporter culture. Case study - Dinamo Bucharest Ultras."* This Journal explains how identity comes from a subculture (casual), then casual style matches with Football, and also, the presence of subculture is called present during a political protest. Also, Gutu explained the effects of hyperconsumerism on Football, then the consumption of supporters in the casual style; of course, the casual style of Football must use exclusive brands such as Stone Island or CP Company.

Mick Totten has written a journal published by Soccer & Society titled *"Football and Community Empowerment: How FC Sankt Pauli Fans Organize to Influence."* That journal explains how FC Sankt Pauli fans have challenged the hegemony of passive consumption against commercialization and created a radical culture. They are consciously involved in a political and cultural war, and they have worked long and hard to establish and maintain their individuality. FC Sankt Pauli fans demonstrated the power of sport to empower communities and provide insights into the transformative possibilities of community activities beyond sport.

Related to the commodification of Football, Adrian Walsh and Richard Giulianott have written the journal with the title *"This Sporting Mammon: A*

Normative Critique of The Commodification of Sport." They pointed out that sport has become commercialized, and as a result, it exhibits many of the same characteristics as other types of economic activity. Also, they conducted a normative examination of the link between sport and social commodification processes, identifying situations in which sport commercialization is pathological.

Ian Fillis and Craig Mackay wrote the journal "Moving Beyond Fan Typologies: The Impact of Social Integration on Team Loyalty in Football," which describes loyalty in football among Hibernian FC fans and investigates football fans' consumption behavior, distinctions between fan group and loyalty, and consumerism in football.

The Journal with the title *"Sports consumers motivation for live attendance and mediated sports consumption: a qualitative analysis"* written by Min Jung Kim, and Luke Lunhua Mao, published by sport in society; that study explores the consumption motivation of sports spectators and live attendance. It also describes the understanding of sports spectators, how those spectators may prefer to stay at home because they want to watch multiple games or record the games, or because they are afraid of emotional loss, or because it is a solitary activity

The journal with the title *"Against Modern Football: Mobilising Protest Movements in Social Media."* Written by Tim Hill, Robin Canniford, and Peter Millward, published by sage pub in 2016. They identify the persistent

connection with established social movements, political parties, the media, and the corporate targets of protests as they examine the grassroots organization, communication, and protest actions that span online and urban sites.

The ten previous studies above become the reference for this study and have the same similarities. The previous study's difference is that this study will specifically discuss adopting the casual subculture style and identity politics of Surakartans 1923 as the largest Hooligans gang in Indonesia. Previous studies discussing this have not explicitly explained this phenomenon about hooliganism as part of the casual subculture and identity politics in Surakarta football, which is the identity politics of B6 Surakartans. However, previous studies discuss Indonesia's casual subculture with its study object ultras, not a hooligan. Therefore the author is interested in examining this title. Examine how casual subculture develops as part of the identity politics of B6 Surakartans in Surakarta football.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework is based on which all knowledge is constructed (metaphorically and literally) for science. It serves as the basis for the analysis, explaining the issue, the intent, significance, and questions related to this study. A deep and thoughtful understanding of the study issue, intent, importance of the study, and questions is required to choose the theoretical framework (Grant & Osanloo, 2014).

1.7.1 Identity Politics

a. Definition

The phrase "identity politics" is more relevant for comprehending a strand of activism that has inspired a wide range of protests, as well as the tensions that have risen surrounding identity practices (Whittier, 2017). Heyes and Cressida mentioned that identity politics has come to represent a broad spectrum of political activity and thinking predicated on the shared experiences of injustice of members of particular social groups. Identity politics refers to a political perspective based on a (pre-existing) social identity. That appears to imply that identity comes before politics (Ford, 2005).

Identity is crucial for the understanding of identity politics. In other words, individuals and groups have multiple identities, and personal self-identification is not the same as physical features. Some scientists emphasized the material causes, and others advocated social, cultural, linguistic, religious, and technological considerations. It is relevant in culture, the discussion on identity politics. Identity politics is a political space to create an agent of change against hegemonic domination (Yunespour, 2011).

Identity politics is the politics that people engage in when mobilizing based on their backgrounds, political troubles, and aspirations regarding identity groups' great. They are practiced as the root cause of traits, behaviors, and arrangements rather than a set of rules and values and depoliticizes personality essentialization. (Watson & Hayward, 2010).

b. Theory

In the political field, identity politics is the symptom rather than the source of some of the faintness of modern political theory; mainly, it is ontological bulldozing subjects into total binary chasms. Since identity politics questions the inevitable exclusion in any partial context (Dalgliesh, 2013).

As for individual behavior in the sociology field, the individual group's role is primarily focused on intra-group structure and compartmental outcomes (Besley & Torsten, 2019). In cultural studies, identity politics is significant in this field, i.e., the social determinants of its construction, the adjustment or contrast with established standards, and the choice of new construction (Leete, 2012). Then, identity politics explains how individuals from different minority groups may feel trapped within an identity created by others and then demand a certain number of values, desires, and actions to be true to be genuine (Merry, 2010).

Identity politics has become a method of thinking, a symbol of belonging, and a claim to the insurgency in sport. It works across governments and on the individual level, in the sense that appeals for identification have come from a variety of marginalized groups. In this particular context, identity politics appears to be a quest for obscurity. The search for community, belonging, and acknowledgment is central to identity politics (Jarvie, 2011).

c. Subculture positions in Identity Politics

The subculture position in identity politics as the social class and expression of the status like punk culture originated in the mid-1970s as freedom of expression movement and revolt. That subcultures are based on punk rock, which contradicts the minimalist scheme of music. The punk movement, which came out in England in 1976 and spread across Europe in the next ten years, is an example of a union of clothing and symbol (AKDEMİR, 2018). Also, in Football, the notion of collective identity is the main factor in the hooligan subculture.

Identity politics could also manifest in violent ways. Extremist individuals, such as fundamentalists living by specific neo-Luddites, political-punk / straight-edgers, the militia movement, see their self-constructed standards as above man and market laws. Then, identity politics divide, obscure, or reframe class, making economic and social justice questions insignificant and demonized. (Wrenn, 2014).

The triad created by subculture, style, and identity in Football has no unidirectional path but a circular one. That means the identity is conveyed as a sense of style by subculture, and then fashion is an internal expression of identity in Football. Casuals have been an intense emphasis on detail (Božilović, 2010)

d. New Social Movement

New social movement academics have perceived other politics, ideology, and culture approaches as the root of collective action and observed at other identity sources as a model for the collective identity, such as social class, race, gender, and sexuality. In a post-industrial society, the major social classes are individual consumers in the popular class position in the dominant class' role. Based on Melucci's theory, who interested in the role of identity in modern collective action, he pointed out that a significant prerequisite and significant achievement of new social movements is the institutional creation of collective identity. By pointing out that much collective action has interwoven by links of fragmented communities that sometimes merge into self-defining ways of fighting but temporarily shift the focus from a centralized organization (Buechler, 1995). Also, He pointed out that collective action requirements must be several people that regularly combine with similar goals and renew their belief/identification with a movement; this applies to the football environment in which fans come together for the common objective of supporting a club (Millward & Poulton, 2014).

Based on Klaus Eder's theory, as mentioned in Fuchs journal argued that new social movements would be struggles to control the means of creating identities and the means of cultural expression, protest against exclusion from identity-building, and the battle for identity power as a symbolic and invisible good, as well as for alternative values (good life, community). Also, he argued

that the Marxist conceptual idea of bifurcated class structure, defined by objective material interests as an alternative to social order, is no longer an essential tool to clarify or strategize movements for social change. Therefore, it can expand the social movement's new theory by rejecting Marxist class conceptions identified by outside material interests while preserving the class's definition that pays more attention to subjective interests. The class is a social structure that forms collective action's cultural practice (Philion, 1998). Although the new social movements reflect a vital response to classical Marxism, several new social movements academics are trying to update and examine Marxist theories, while others are trying to replace them (Buechler, 1995).

On the other hand, Social movements have usually been differentiated from others because they exist outside the institutional framework already in use and gear towards a degree of social change in the same way (Hannigan, 1985). Also, he added that social movement is usually amorphous, unorganized, and unformed, characterized by primitive collective behavior and elementary and spontaneous interaction mechanisms. It is then crucial to know that collective behavior has a role in social movement; collective behavior is the somewhat random and unstructured action of many people who respond to a standard stimulus. In the short term, that is essential to note that collective behavior is a spontaneous, organization-free, categorized collective action and can even restrict the ludicrous (Imhonopi et al., 2013).

Besides, hooligans with destructive behavior tend to have no intent or concerted goal than other social movements with a clear mission or aim to improve their social or political environment, so hooliganism cannot perceive a sight social movement (Anonymous, 2009). On the other side, football fanzines appearing in the UK — supporters' amateur publications as "new social movements" in reaction to football fans portraying as social villains in the 1980's (Millward & Poulton, 2014).

e. The Working Class' Game

The main football hooligans originate mainly from the rougher working-class areas (James, 2018). According to Tayor, the football subculture's extreme reaction to the bourgeoisization of their game should have been viewed as a kind of working-class resistance movement. Also, he argued that petit-bourgeois control had intensified during that time. The mass media turned from working-class fans to the consumer (the middle-class). More importantly, the working class was traditionally regarded as carrying the ancient football subculture (Moorhouse, 1984). Then, Clarke emphasized that particular subcultural styles allow young working-class men in their lives to overcome critical conflicts. Football hooliganism in the 1960s and 1970s was closely linked to the skinhead subculture (Ramón Spaaij, 2007). Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, most of the crowd consisted of working-class men who used hooliganism to alleviate their tension. Ticket prices have increased in recent years, and thus the spectators who are less likely to take part in football

violence from the working class to the middle class have moved (Deriemaeker, 2016).

1.7.2 Political Economy

a. Definition

The term "political economy" is a moderately new term used in the 18th century. There are different definitions and uses throughout political economy theory discussions, making it challenging to define a precise definition (Accomazzo, 2012). As a concept and theoretical construct, the political economy is not a recent development. It has become a lasting characteristic that is part and parcel of human socio-political and economic experiences spanning a wide range of social sciences and humanities. From the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, political economies deal with social relations between people during production and the analysis at different stages of their creation of economic laws regulating the production and distribution of material advantages to human society (Waziri & Peter, 2014).

b. Theory

In general, political economy refers to an interdisciplinary approach that applies empirical methods for examining how political outcomes and structures impact economic policy and human well-being (Essia & Okoi Eugene, 2013). This political economy was influenced primarily by Marxist thinking on economics, which examines how the economic base of society defines the system and, therefore, the social spaces, labor, and labor union, ownership,

mode of production, and the value of class structure and struggle (Arianto, 2011).

The connection between economic forces and politics is a dynamic vision of Karl Marx. In the critical process of economic system growth, political regulation favors economic regulation at stages of degeneration, economic and political power clashes, and ultimately results in political system instability and then the economic system's collapse. The functional relationship between economic and political power also depends on the stage of human development (Handoko, 2013). On the one side, Marx concluded that each stage of human development created its unique motion laws. The inconsistencies of each mode of production, such as slavery, feudalism, and capitalism, paved the way for its successor to emerge (Foley, 1999).

The liberal political economy emphasized the essential importance of the free market. From the viewpoint of Smith's famous creation, the conditions for social equilibrium are only created by unencumbered movements of an "invisible hand." The ultimate reality was the realm of development as a Marxist political economy. History was conceived to have a framework that contoured the complex and conflicting contradictions between forces and production relations (Daly, 2004). Production relations are not economic relations, formed spontaneously by individuals based on their rational self-interest. They are the social relationships between economic activity and the historical assumptions of personal and social life. Economic growth

mechanisms are not merely purely economic mechanisms that rely on mobilizing self-interest to ensure society's economic growth (Clarke, 1990).

From the legal perspective, rational choice defines as deciding what options are available and choosing the best choice based on some exact criteria. This rational choice model is, in a certain way, already an optimization-based approach (Levin & Milgrom, 1969). The rational choice theory assumes that each action is motivated by self-interest, the maximization of utility, or, more precisely, the achievement of the goals (Petracea, 1991). Another context in which the theory of rational choice is atomic is its very minimal position concerning the impact on actors of the social structure or social relations. Action is a feature of individual human decisions that satisfy their needs. Then Przeworski mentioned that social relations are treated not as a source of norms to be internalized or implemented as systems of choice open to actors. Social relations are systems where participants, individuals, and communities focus on goals, interpret and analyze alternatives, and choose action courses (Hindess, 1984). Then, in the rational theory, one crucial aspect is the evident assumptions on two topics. The first topic concerns the interpretation of social processes and addresses the so-micro-problem. The second topic involves a broad spectrum of concepts of rationality (Wittek, 2015). In addition to making these claims rationality, proponents of rational choices presume their equally important adjunct, human preferences. Certain individual benefits, tastes, or desires are entered as facts in the theoretical model of choice. Few or no time spend on

describing preferential creation processes (Luke, 1985). On the one side, rationality theorists in rational choice usually concentrate on the internal coherence of beliefs, values, and behaviour. However, perhaps such coherence is of significant importance to cognitive function (Vlaev, 2018). Calvert argued that a significant body of subsequent rational choice research had addressed identity-oriented topics like participation, partisanship and ideology, ethnic politics, and violence. One segment treats identity and expressive motivations as features of individual preferences, examined in terms of rational choice (Driscoll & Krook, 2012).

For Football, there is no surplus value or, thus, no benefit in production, that is to say, a mixture of debts and profits, symphonized with other outlying industries that support Football in various ways, funds the promotion and interest paid for money capital. Indeed, in a capitalistic enterprise, not all labor-power generates surplus value. Nevertheless, Football is still in debt for all the money that comes in. In reality, it is fair to say that Football's political economy is the political economy of speculation and debt. (P. Kennedy, 2012).

c. Classical Political Economy

Classical economics is the image of industrial capitalism in its rise and fight for power; its theoretical and practical thrust is no longer directed at the oppressed proletariat but the old society, at the feudal and obsolete usurers. The classical political economy's emphasis was on the rise of the working class that was supposed to face the feudal class. There have been several academic efforts

to explain how classes are constituted. A clear proposition was to conclude that the beginning of classes occurs in two subsequent stages: first, the primary process of social reproduction experiences a split. Second, the newly emerging classes become conscious of their function and strategically facilitate their rise to political and economic power (Hanappi, 2014). A prioritization of understanding the social transition and historical transformation is historically the political economy for classical theorists, such as Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and John Stuart Mill. Industrial society developed into a massive capitalist revolution. On the other side, for Karl Marx, this meant investigating the dynamic forces of capitalism responsible for its growth and change. The goal was to define cyclic patterns of short-term expansion and contraction and long-term transformative patterns representing a fundamental structure (Mosco, 2014). Marx adopts the approach of classical economics as a theoretical precondition for formulating the class theory, but He is not limited to that position. The "relationist element," which constitutes the classical economists' position, identified, isolated, and formed and formulated a new theory of social relations and class as the key elements in those relations (Milios, 2000). From the Marx viewpoint, the political economy had to include class antagonism analysis inherent in production social relations. It meant that only discrete and intermittent manifestations were presented when the actual class struggle was possible. The political economy should remain a science because its essential characteristics of examining class antagonism, exposing the essential

characteristics of the wage system, and the existence of surplus value were not too damaging as a potential weapon of attack on the capitalist economy (Groenewegen, 1987)

The viewpoint of the classical economy distinguished between social classes–landlords, workers, and capitalists. It is crucial because, based on Smith's theory, they were not categorized exclusively as a single dimension: whether and what form of property–land and natural resources, labor, manufacturing, commercial and financial capital (Cardinale, 2018).

Arestis and Sawyer, in their book entitled "The Elgar Companion to Radical Political Economy," argued that the classical political economy view emphasizes very little about the behavior of consumers. Standard treatments view consumption as a class-based approach where capitalists and landlords are assumed to involve in luxury consumption, and workers consume a permanent bundle of survival goods. The consumption bundle earned by workers is therefore seen merely as an expense in the production process. The classical approach's rationale reverses and views consumption as an end of economic activity instead of accumulation in a neoclassical viewpoint. Neoclassical economists have tried to minimize the number of assumptions that the utility maximization method should use effectively.

d.   Marxist perspective on Football

Marxism played an essential role in sport, especially Football widely; it sought to view these industries mainly as part of capital engaged in making the

product for profit (if not directly, then indirectly as a resource to be exploited for benefit by media and advertising), and also as a way of political influence over the working class (by inculcating bourgeois ideals of consumerism, competition, and advertising) (D. Kennedy & Kennedy, 2010)

Marxist studies have observed football differently: either integrating the working class politically into capitalism or as a potentially powerful tool for collective action with considerable independence from capitalist economic production dealings. Other Marxist perspectives on Football suggest that Football provides a potentially powerful potency for collective action. (P. Kennedy, 2013). In his review about the political economy of Football, Peter Kennedy points out that Football has a dysfunctional market system and disruptive cultural practices that allow fans to assert control over the sector.

The Marxist perspective would depict hooliganism as just another method of resistance of the working class. The Marxist stance might interpret hooliganism as a direct rebellion of the working class in a very positive light. The Marxist approach points out that the firm's affiliates enjoy it when the police, as representatives of the state and the ruling class, spend time and resources on hooligans. Fans also like satire when sometimes the police have to defend one group of fans against another (James, 2018).

Football is a crucial element of civil society in almost all contexts. Football fans should realize that they are a vital political force and engaged with the state and the economy. Football, a significant place of social organizing,

coherence, and practice, can and should be regarded as a site of civil society activism (MacLean, 2016).

When evaluating the football industry's transformation and policing technology and services to a higher level of capitalism, Marxist approaches work best, resulting in an increase in alienation from a political change in the position of hooligans as a "consumer." The Marxist perspective allows us to understand the thrill of creating chaos and mishap even in the early casual time of the '80s when the mob's power offered a fair chance of Victory (James, 2018).

1.8 Conceptual Definition

1.8.1   Identity politics describes the political and non-political protest as a discriminated group based on their social position. Identity politics is also a resistance movement rooted behind the fog of irregularity and homogenization behind constructions of power, thus becoming dominant. That begins to develop alternate identity politics and political economy relationships.

1.8.2   Political economy studies social relations, particularly power relations, which jointly constitute resource output, distribution, and consumption. So this is taken a step further by political economy, emphasizing a particular set of social ties structured around power or the capacity to influence others, structures, and stuff, even against resistance.

1.9 Operational Definition

In this study, the operational definition is used as follows:

a. Identity Politics

1. Analyzing commodification of Football in Surakartans 1923

2. Analyzing political protest and non-political protest by Surakartans 1923

3. Identification of new social movement in Surakartans 1923

b. Political economy

1. Analyzing Individual's decisions in Surakartans 1923

2. Political resistance by Surakartans 1923

3. Relationship political power and economics in Surakartans 1923

1.10 Research Methodology

a. Type of research

This study uses a qualitative emancipatory case-study design with ethnography. McMillan and Schumacher's qualitative analysis is primarily an inductive method in which data are grouped into categories and patterns (relations) between the categories defined. Qualitative research is a paragon of various approaches and methods that vary significantly in focus, assumptions on the nature of knowledge, and the author (Kumar Astalin, 2013). The author's qualitative approach to achieving this study's objectives related to identity politics in Surakarta football. Emancipatory research is an approach to research analysis that minimizes opportunities for minorities and investigates to remain

opinionated or marginalized. This investigation process often requires transparency, not often required or evident in other forms of investigation.

Nevertheless, what forms the foundation of information covering the inquiry's subject area (Behar-Horenstein & Feng, 2015). Emancipatory research is often evolutionary; in other words, in collaboration with all participants, the intervention's characteristics, in particular, are created. In other terms, realistic awareness created through conversation and practice, emancipatory researchers know that their expectations are closely involved in the process and will likely change as a consequence (Buskens & Earl, 2008). Case studies analyze and investigate current real-life phenomena utilizing a detailed theoretical study of a small number of events or situations and their relationships. McDonough (1997) states that case studies can be concise (Zainal, 2007).

b. Research Locations

The location of this study is Surakarta city, Central Java province. This location was chosen because Surakartans 1923 came from Surakarta city. Besides, their pride club (Persis Solo) was born in this city in 1923. Manahan Stadium became the home to Persis Solo and the sacred place for Surakartans 1923 located in the central of Surakarta.

c. Data Analysis Unit

Following the problems in the main discussion of this study's problem, the unit analysis focuses on identity politics in Surakarta football by discussing

the hooligans in Surakarta, Surakartans 1923. It will then be analyzed from the perspective of political economy.

d. Type of the Data

1. Primary Data

The primary data source is data from a unit study used as research subjects gathered through interviews and observations about the research concept. Therefore, this study uses primary data through interviews and observations home and away matched by Persis Solo, followed by Surakartans 1923 to collect data according to the problems discussed in this study. The survey participants' collection would regularly include interviews and face-to-face interviews to visit the research places (Barakso, 2013), so this study will use a convenience sample to select readily available participants.

Table 1.1. List of Participants

No	Partisipants	Group
1	TM	Surakartans 1923
2	RK	Surakartans 1923
3	KP	Surakartans 1923
4	BS	Surakartans 1923
5	TY	Surakartans 1923
6	AK	Surakartans 1923
7	NA	Surakartans 1923

2. Secondary data

In simple terms, secondary data is data obtained from another source that still exists, meaning that it could search for existing data such as journals, books, archives, or websites. In short, researchers need to collect data from intermediary media published in a place such as a library or an office (Library Research). If the data source has expired or is not relevant anymore, then the data cannot be the source of secondary data. So data that has been collected is then analyzed to satisfy the research purposes.

3. Data Classification

In this research, the author uses primary data and secondary data classification. The primary data is the data that is obtained from leading sources, such as interviews and observations. The secondary data is then collected from various sources such as books, journals, literature, documents, and football's identity politics and political economy.

4. Data Analysis Technique

Qualitative analysis data have four stages. Firstly, the collection of data involves collecting or not adequately successful data obtained. Selection and planning are, therefore, required. Secondly, data classification is an attempt to classify the data according to generated categories. Thirdly, data processing means the data is collected and sorted into qualitative data. Data processing Interpretation and inference means that the researcher makes the data between a variable and another a good research after the third step

(Bogdan &Taylor, 2007). The conclusion from each variable's whole data could be found in the analysis results by comparing the data obtained from the different sources to see potential variations.

Table 1.2 Data Sources

No	Data	Primary data	Secondary data	Sources
1	Identity Politics in B6 Surakartans	√		Interviews and Observations
2	Political economy perspective		√	Books, journal articles, and media