

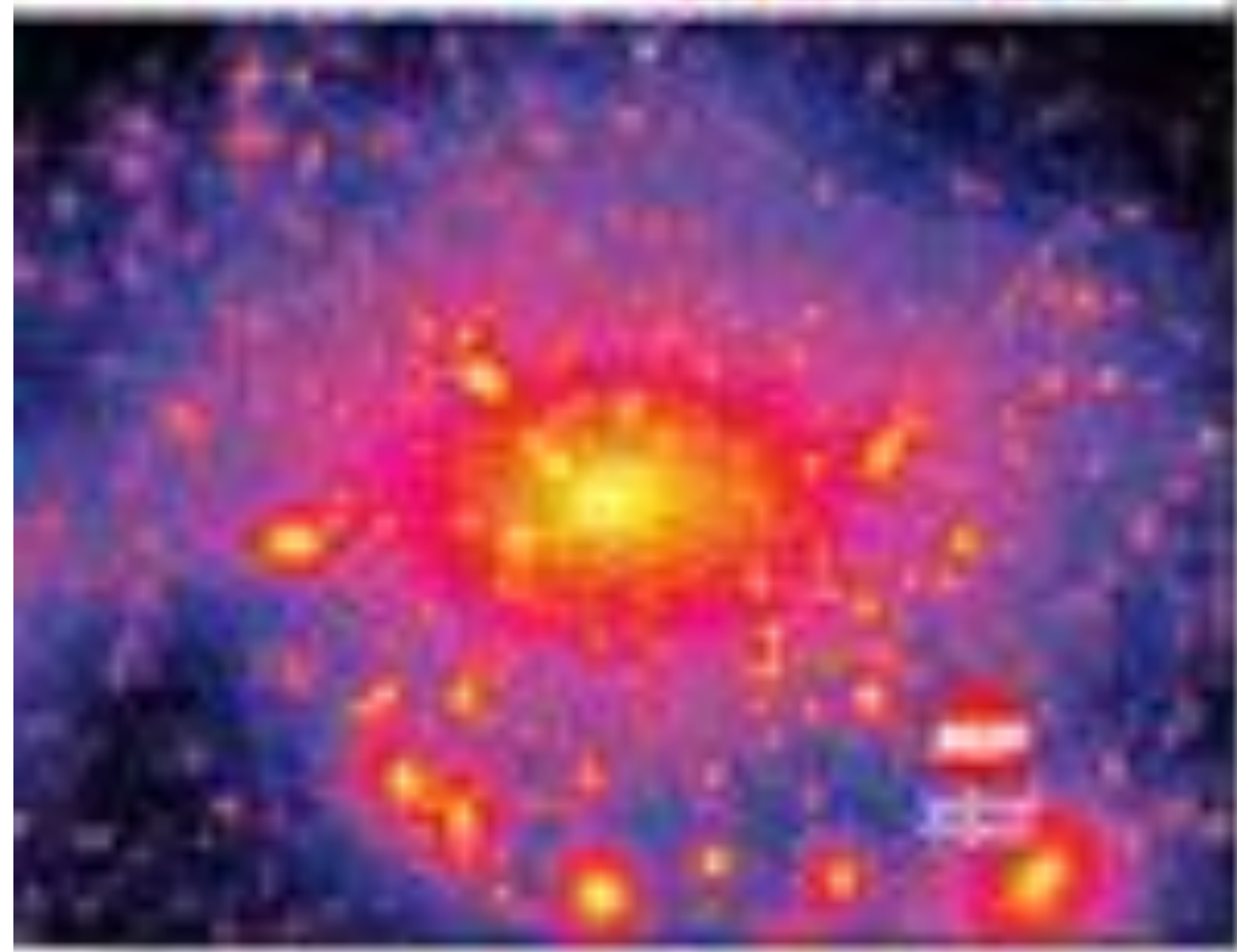
Volume 1, Number 1

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[Selected Peer-Reviewed Articles from the 2017 2nd International Conference on Social Sciences and Humanities \(SOSHUM 2017\), Jakarta, Indonesia, 12–14 December, 2017](#)

pp. 7019-7022(4)

Authors: *Saat, Mohd Shakir Bin MD; Misran, Mohamad Harris; Darsono, Abdul Majid Bin; Aminuddin, Mai Mariam Mohamed; Aziz, Mohamad Zoinol Abidin Abd; Othman, Mohd Azlishah; Sulaiman, Hamzah Asyrani*

[The Education Demand Characteristics of Non-Engineering Students Through a Telephone Survey on Industrial Engineering](#)

pp. 7023-7026(4)

Author: *Kim, Moon-Soo*

[Printmaking Artworks in Malaysia That Impacted After the National Cultural Congress in 1971](#)

pp. 7027-7029(3)

Authors: *Sharan, Nazzatul Izwana Mohammad; Legino, Rafeah*

[Level of Satisfaction and Preferences on Location and Design Elements of Houses Among the Disabled Community in Kuala Lumpur and Selangor](#)

pp. 7030-7033(4)

Authors: *Amir, Syakir; Osman, Mariana Mohamed; Samsudin, Nasriah; Bachok, Syahriah; Rabe, Noor Suzilawati*

[Factors Affecting Quality of Life on Communities in Selangor](#)

pp. 7034-7037(4)

Authors: *Osman, Mariana Mohamed; Rosli, Nur Farhanah; Rabe, Noor Suzilawati binti; Jaafar, Samsuddin bin*

[The Factors Contributing to the Housing Ownership Among Youth Household in Melaka](#)

pp. 7038-7041(4)

Authors: *Osman, Mariana Mohamed; Ramlee, Muhammad Adib; Rahman, Syakir Amir Ab; Ibrahim, Mansor*

[Data Privacy Act of 2012: A Case Study Approach to Philippine Government Agencies Compliance](#)

pp. 7042-7046(5)

Authors: *Ching, Michelle Renee D; Fabito, Bernie S; Celis, Nelson J*

[Ethnobotanical Study of Medicinal Plants Used by the Ayangan's of Ifugao, Philippines](#)

pp. 7047-7052(6)

Author: *Tamayo, Paul Angelo A*

Perception of Residents in the State of Selangor on Affordable Housing Price with the Expected Criteria

pp. 7053-7056(4)

Authors: *Osman, Mariana Mohamed; Zainudin, Farah Eleena; Rabe, Noor Suzilawati*

Culture Shock and the Concept of Gaman and Ganbaru Among Japanese Expatriate in Jakarta Indonesia

pp. 7057-7060(4)

Authors: *Bontan, Robert Junial; Marion, Elisa Carolina*

NPOs Reporting Growth: Are We Ready?

pp. 7061-7064(4)

Authors: *Roslan, Nurfarahin; Pauzi, Nur Farahah Mohd; Arshad, Roshayani; Ismail, Rina Fadhillah; Samad, Nur Hayati Ab*

The Use of the Suzuki Method to Enhance Singing Techniques for Students of Diploma in Theatre Studies (Without Music Knowledge) at Fakulti Muzik dan Seni Persembahan Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris

pp. 7065-7067(3)

Authors: *Batubara, Junita; Wong, Wong Huey Yi@Colleen*

Banat Al-Riyadh and the Lost Arabian Women

pp. 7068-7072(5)

Author: *Syahril*

A Narrative Review of Child Neglect and Child Maltreatment Informing Policy

pp. 7073-7076(4)

Authors: *Hashim, Rugayah; Zulkifli, Nursyahida; Muhamad, Wan Kamil Wan; Hassan, Hamzah Fansuri; Aminuddin, Zaidi Mohd*

The Roles of Teacher-Training Programs and Student Teachers' Self-Regulation in Developing Competence in Teaching Science

pp. 7077-7081(5)

Authors: *Sumantri, Mohamad Syarif; Prayuningtyas, A. W; Rachmadtullah, Reza; Magdalena, Ina*

The Local Wisdom and Purpose of *Tahlilan* Tradition

pp. 7082-7086(5)

Authors: *Warisno, Andi; Tabrani, Z. A*

Counting Methodology on Educational Return Investment

pp. 7087-7089(3)

Authors: *Patimah, Siti; Tabrani, Z. A*

Between Religion and Education in Freud Perspective

pp. 7090-7094(5)

Authors: *Budiman, M. Nasir; Idris, Saifullah; Masbur*

The Status of Wilayah Al-Hisbah Institution in the Constitutional Law Order

pp. 7095-7099(5)

Authors: *Muhibbuthabry; Amsori; Idris, Saifullah*

Bibliometric Analysis of Research Methods in Dengue Related Research

pp. 7100-7103(4)

Authors: *Basar, Shairah; Ismail, Zulhabri; Nasir, Nasyairi Mat*

Halal Food on Japanese Cuisine Through Omotenashi Culture

pp. 7104-7107(4)

Author: *Prabowo, Roberto Masami*

Documentary Evidence and Prevalence of Documents Usage in Fraud

Investigation: Enforcement Agencies Perspectives

pp. 7108-7112(5)

Authors: *Khairiyah, N. Siti; Ridhuan, M. D. Mohamad; Norziaton, I. K; Jafalizan, M. J; Nuur-Ila, M. K. Siti*

The Role of Instagram in Promoting the Shifting of Traditional Food into Five-Star Quality Fine-Dining

pp. 7113-7116(4)

Authors: *Chairiyani, Rina Patriana; Nursanti, Tinjung Desy; Sriyanto, Hari*

Creative Dance to Enhance Children's Kinesthetic Intelligences with Mild Intellectual Disability

pp. 7117-7119(3)

Authors: *Yeti, Elindra; Widianti, Rissa; Nurlita*

Teacher Speech Act in Learning Process at Special School in Pekanbaru

pp. 7120-7123(4)

Authors: *Charlina, Charlina; Sinaga, Mangatur; Septyanti, Elvrin; Kurniaman, Otang*

A Contemporary Discourse on Integrated Islamic Education

pp. 7124-7127(4)

Authors: *Ramly, Fuad; Walidin, Warul; Idris, Saifullah*

Malaysian Students Acceptance Towards Learning with Augmented Reality Technology

pp. 7128-7132(5)

Authors: *Yeen-Ju, Heidi Tan; Mai, Neo; Kian, Neo Tse; Hin, Hew Soon; Wafa, Syarifah Nurleyana Wafa Binti*

Syed Naguib; Zainuddin, Mohd Nazri bin; Aziz, Muhammad Syahmi bin Abd; Manap, Muhammad Amirul Asraf bin Abdul; Halim, Dalila Sha'irah Binti Abd

Social Capital and Community Intention for the Development of House as Homestay

pp. 7133-7136(4)

Authors: *Prayitno, Gunawan; Claudia, Virda; Subagiyo, Aris*

Radio Mobile Apps Review: User Measurement and Appreciation

pp. 7137-7140(4)

Author: *Irwansyah, Irwansyah*

Exchange of Public and Domestic Roles of Men and Women in Indonesian Television Soap Opera "Dunia Terbalik" (Analysis of Social Discourse M. K. Halliday)

pp. 7141-7146(6)

Authors: *Wahid, Umaimah; Lancia, Ferrari*

A Correlational Study of Religiosity, Guilt, and Compensatory Consumption in the Purchase of Halal Products and Services in Indonesia

pp. 7147-7151(5)

Authors: *Syahrivar, Jhanghiz; Pratiwi, Rima Sera*

Conflict Reconciliation and Restore the Image of Indonesian Football Association (PSSI) in Presidential Era President Joko Widodo

pp. 7152-7154(3)

Authors: *Akbar, Muhamad; Wahid, Umaimah*

Conflicting Anti-War Narratives in *Kamen Rider Amazons*

pp. 7155-7158(4)

Author: *Hermawan, Daniel*

The Implementation of 16-Bit Video Games Gameplay in Gamebook Fiction Writing

pp. 7159-7163(5)

Author: *Jhon, Alex*

A Comparison of Baby Boomers and Millennials Generation in Family Business Performance

pp. 7164-7167(4)

Author: *Genoveva*

Effectiveness Analysis of Sentences in Lecturer Scientific Articles of Inhouse Publications in Bina Nusantara University

pp. 7168-7171(4)

Authors: *Ningsih, Rahmi Yulia; Wiharja, Chandra Kurniawan; Ernawati, Endang*

Virtual Goods and Digital Goods: Indonesian Millennial Attitude Towards Online Shopping Intention (ATOSI)

pp. 7172-7174(3)

Author: *Manurung, Siska Purnama*

Spatial Transformation of Democratized into Liberalized Commercial Area in the Street Corridors of Yogyakarta, Indonesia

pp. 7175-7179(5)

Author: *Haryanto, Ragil*

Big-Five Personality of Tertiary Students and Entrepreneurial Intention

pp. 7180-7183(4)

Authors: *Purwana, Dedi; Suhud, Usep; Wibowo, Agus*

The Performance of the Healthy School Culture to Build the Collaborative Culture for Marginal Youth Society School: A Case Study at XYZ School

pp. 7184-7187(4)

Authors: *Pane, Murty Magda; Rumeser, Johannes A. A; Siallagan, Jamson; Tampubolon, Simon M*

The Politics of Silence: Battered Men in the Philippine Literary Selections

pp. 7188-7192(5)

Authors: *Gonzales, Jemma M; Wright, Christopher Y*

The Reflection of Motivational Learning in Japanese Language: A Case Study of ARCS Implementation in Higher Education

pp. 7193-7197(5)

Authors: *Manurung, Rudi Hartono; Oktriono, Kristianus; Sianipar, Desmond P*

Assistance for Street Children to Achieve a Better Future

pp. 7198-7200(3)

Author: *Gea, Antonius Atosokhi*

Conceptual Model of Confucianism Culture to Improve Employee Performance for SME

pp. 7201-7204(4)

Authors: *Sudirman, Iman; Sunaryo, Indryati; Prihartono, Budhi; Setiaboedi, Aditya Parama*

Selected Peer-Reviewed Articles from the 5th International Conference on Software Engineering and Computer Systems (ICSECS), Kedah, Malaysia, 22–24 November, 2017

pp. 7205-7209(5)

Authors: Kahar, Mohd Nizam Mohmad; Kadir, Tuty Asmawaty Abdul; Azmi, Zafri Rizal M; Chuin, Liew Siau; Shahabudin, Noor Azida Binti; Ong, Muhamad Idaham Bin Umar; Dzolkhifli, Zarina Binti; Fakhruddin, Abdul Sahli; Mustaffa, Zuriani; Ernawan, Ferda; Ahmad, Noraziah; Ismail, Mohd Arfian Bin; Kabir, Muhammad Nomani; Sidek, Roslina Binti Mohd; Din, Wan Isni Sofiah Wan

Code Clone Detection Model: A SWOT Analysis Perspective

pp. 7210-7213(4)

Authors: Mubarak-Ali, Al-Fahim; Romli, Rahiwan Nazar; Sjarif, Nilam Nur Amir

Evaluating Major Issues Regarding Reliability Management for Cloud-Based Application of Selected Mass Media Company for Understanding Industrial Liability

pp. 7214-7220(7)

Authors: Eboya, Osaretin; Rajadorai, Kesava Pillai

Particle Swarm Optimization for Test Case Prioritization Using String Distance

pp. 7221-7226(6)

Authors: Khatibsyarbini, Muhammad; Isa, Mohd Adham; Jawawi, Dayang Norhayati Abang

Investigation of Stakeholder Analysis in Requirement Prioritization Techniques

pp. 7227-7231(5)

Authors: Hujainah, Fadhl; Bakar, Rohani Binti Abu; Al-Haimi, Basheer; Abdulgaber, Mansoor Abdullateef

Evaluating the Quality of Datasets in Software Engineering

pp. 7232-7239(8)

Authors: Rosli, Marshima Mohd; Tempero, Ewan; Luxton-Reilly, Andrew

Towards Developing Security Requirements Modeling for Outsourcing Software Projects

pp. 7240-7244(5)

Authors: Hanan, Farahnatasyah Abdul; Azmi, Nurulhuda Firdaus Mohd; Zainuddin, Norziha Megat; Maarop, Nurazeen; Ali, Rosmah; Yaacob, Suraya

A Bat-Inspired Testing Strategy for Generating Constraints Pairwise Test Suite

pp. 7245-7250(6)

Authors: Alsariera, Yazan A; Ahmed, Hussam Alddin S; Alamri, Hammoudeh S; Majid, Mazlina A; Zamli, Kamal Z

Enhanced Educational Robotics Feature Model in Software Product Line

pp. 7251-7256(6)

Authors: Siti, N. M; Halim, Shahliza Abd; Jawawi, Dayang N. A; Mamat, Rosbi

An Empirical Evaluation of Behavioral UML Diagrams Based on the Comprehension of Test Case Generation

pp. 7257-7262(6)

Authors: Hashim, Nor Laily; Ibrahim, Haitham Raed; Rejab, Mawarny Md; Romli, Rohaida; Mohd, Haslina

Experimental Evaluation of Functional Size Measurement Method for UML Point

pp. 7263-7268(6)

Authors: Rusli, Nur Ida Aniza; Abdullah, Nur Atiqah Sia

Development of GPU-Based Visual Environment for Metamaterials Design

pp. 7269-7272(4)

Authors: Mezhuyev, Vitaliy; Mohammed, Muamer N; Ismail, Mohd Arfian Bin; Zolkipli, Mohamad Fadli; Lytvyn, Oleg M; Lytvyn, Oleg O; Nechuiviter, Olesia; Pershyna, Yulia

One-Parameter-at-a-Time Combinatorial Testing Strategy Based on Harmony Search Algorithm OPAT-HS

pp. 7273-7277(5)

Authors: Alsewari, AbdulRahman A; Mu'aza, Aminu Aminu; Rassem, Taha H; Tairan, Nasser M; Shah, Habib; Zamli, Kamal Z

Systematic Literature Review: 5 Years Trend in the Field of Software Engineering

pp. 7278-7283(6)

Authors: Ong, Muhamad Idaham Umar; Ameen, Mohamed Ariff; Azmi, Zafril Rizal; Kamarudin, Imran Edzereiq

A Kidney Algorithm for Pairwise Test Suite Generation

pp. 7284-7289(6)

Authors: Homaid, Ameen A. Ba; Alsewari, AbdulRahman A; Alazzawi, Ammar K; Zamli, Kamal Z

A Review on Human Pedestrian Movement System Using Agent-Based Simulation and Discrete Event Simulation

pp. 7290-7294(5)

Authors: Fauzan, Anis Izzati Binti Ab; Majid, Mazlina Bt Abdul; Allegra, Mario

A Code Profiling Using Statistical Testing in StART

pp. 7295-7299(5)

Authors: Sidek, Roslina Mohd; Ghani, Abdul Azim Abdul; Zulzalil, Hazura; Baharom, Salmi; Noraziah, A

Adoption of Software Development Life Cycle (SDLC) Model in Games Development Framework for Serious Games Applications

pp. 7300-7304(5)

Authors: Ihsan, Siti Normaziah; Kadir, Tuty Asmawaty Abdul

Comparative Study of Mobile Applications Testing Techniques for Context Events
pp. 7305-7310(6)

Authors: *Usman, Asmau; Ibrahim, Noraini; Salihu, Ibrahim Anka*

A Tool for Capturing Safety Properties from Critical System Specifications Written in SOFL

pp. 7311-7316(6)

Authors: *Abdullah, Azma; Khatan, Hasan; Abdulleteef, Mansoor; Bakar, Rohani Abu; Hamid, Roslina Abdul*

Application of Fuzzy Logic Controller for Safe Braking System: An Anti-Theft Tracking

pp. 7317-7321(5)

Authors: *Kahtan, Hasan; Fatthi, Wan Nor Ashikin Wan Ahmad; Abdullah, Azma; Abdulleteef, Mansoor; Rosli, Noor Aishah*

Reviewing the Challenge and Practices of Human Factor Involvement in Requirement Specification Validation

pp. 7322-7327(6)

Authors: *Zainuddin, Fauziah Binti; Arshah, Ruzaini Bin Abdullah; Mohamad, Rozlina Binti; Mokhtar, Rahmah Binti; Hamid, Roslina Binti Abd; Ahmad, Nor Azhar Bin*

Attributes Contributing to Algorithmic Problem Solving Competencies

pp. 7328-7332(5)

Authors: *Shamsudin, Noratikah; Abdullah, Mohd Hafiz Bin; Aziz, Zalilah Abd; Mohammad, Norasiah*

Hyper-Heuristic Based Strategy for Pairwise Test Case Generation

pp. 7333-7338(6)

Authors: *Din, Fakhrud; Zamli, Kamal Z*

MTTDFR-SJFR: A Combinatorial Rule Approach to Balance Tradeoff Between Flowtime, Makespan, Delayed Jobs, Total Tardiness and Utilization

pp. 7339-7347(9)

Authors: *Azmi, Zafri Rizal M; Kamarudin, Imran Edzereiq; Ghani, Ngahzaifa Ab*

Back Propagation Algorithm-Based Intelligent Model for Botnet Detection

pp. 7348-7354(7)

Authors: *Sunaidi, Nik Quosthoni; Ahmed, Abdulghani Ali*

Evaluating the Feature-Based Technique of Text Steganography Based on Capacity and Time Processing Parameters

pp. 7355-7359(5)

Authors: *Din, Roshidi; Utama, S; Hanizan, S. H; Hilal, M. Mohd; Hanif, M. A. Mohd; Zulhazlin, A; Fazali, G. Mohamad*

Intrusion-Detection System Based on Fast Learning Network in Cloud Computing

pp. 7360-7363(4)

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Drivers of Internet of Things Adoption in Oil and Gas Industry

pp. 7364-7370(7)

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Lightweight Anomaly Detection for Wireless Sensor Networks Based on CCIPCA and One-Class SVM

pp. 7371-7376(6)

Authors: *Zamry, Nurfaizrina Mohd; Zainal, Anazida; Rassam, Murad A*

The Simplified Two Generals Problem for Communication Immutability and Security Over Multiple Heterogeneous Channels

pp. 7377-7382(6)

Authors: *Pshehotskaya, Ekaterina; Mikhalsky, Oleg; Vinnikov, Vladimir*

Pseudo Random Bits' Generator Based on Tent Chaotic Map and Linear Feedback Shift Register

pp. 7383-7387(5)

Authors: *Ahmed, Hussam Alddin S; Zolkipli, Mohamad F; Ismail, Saba M; Alsariera, Yazan A*

RED-Based Technique for Detecting and Avoiding Anomaly Network Congestion

pp. 7388-7394(7)

Authors: *Montaser, Mohamed Mostafa; Ahmed, Abdulghani Ali*

Enhancing the Awareness Level on Phishing Attacks Among Malaysians: Analysis and Recommendations

pp. 7395-7400(6)

Authors: *Othman@Mustafa, Mohd Sarifuddin Bin; Rahman, Md Arafatur; Kabir, Muhammad Nomani; Zamli, Kamal Z*

A New Trend of Pseudorandom Number Generator Using Multiple Chaotic Systems

pp. 7401-7406(6)

Authors: *Ismail, Saba M; Mohammed, Muamer N; Ameen, Mohammed A; Ahmed, Hussam Alddin S*

Scalable MAC Strategy for Emergency Communication Networks

pp. 7407-7417(11)

Authors: *Abbas, Ali. M. H; Rahman, Md Arafatur; Kabir, Muhammad Nomani; Zamli, Kamal Zuhairi Bin*

An Analysis on Vulnerabilities of Password Retrying

pp. 7418-7422(5)

Authors: *Ranak, M. S. A. Noman; Azad, Saiful; Mohammad, Safwan Fathi Bin; Zamli, Kamal Z; Rahman, Mohammed Mostafizur*

The VANET-Solution Approach for Data Packet Forwarding Improvement

pp. 7423-7427(5)

Authors: *Hammood, Omar A; Kahar, Mohd Nizam Mohmad; Mohammed, Muamer N; Hammood, Waleed A; Sulaiman, Junaida*

Identification of Factors Influencing Customer Acceptance and Use of IoT Services

pp. 7428-7432(5)

Authors: *Al-Momani, Adai Mohammad; Mahmoud, Moamin A; Ahmad, Mohd Sharifuddin*

A Survey on Internet Security Threat in Malaysia's Internet Banking System and Suggestion Solutions

pp. 7433-7441(9)

Authors: *Ibrahim, Mohd Hariz; Othman@Mustafa, Mohd Sarifuddin; Mufadal, Mokhtar Esmail; Moorthy, Kohbalan*

Android: S-Based Technique in Mobile Malware Detection

pp. 7442-7445(4)

Authors: *Romli, Rahiwan Nazar; Zolkipli, Mohamad Fadli; Ali, Al_Fahim Mubarak; Ramli, Muhammad Ramiza*

An Intelligence Technique for Denial of Service (DoS) Attack Detection

pp. 7446-7450(5)

Authors: *Manan, Wan Nurulsafawati Wan; Safiuddin, Tuan Muhammad; Dzolkhifli, Zarina; Hassin, Mohd Hafiz Mohd*

Firewall Redundancy Rules Filtering Using Integrity Rules Checking

pp. 7451-7454(4)

Authors: *Dzolkhifli, Zarina; Manan, Wan Nurul Safawati Wan; Hassin, Mohd Hafiz Mohd; Jaafar, Dhia Syafiq Mohd*

Short Term Forecasting Based on Hybrid Least Squares Support Vector Machines

pp. 7455-7460(6)

Authors: *Mustaffa, Zuriani; Sulaiman, Mohd Herwan; Ernawan, Ferda; Noor, Noorhuzaimi@Karimah Mohd*

Opposition-Based Whale Optimization Algorithm

pp. 7461-7464(4)

Authors: *Alamri, Hammoudeh S; Alsariera, Yazan A; Zamli, Kamal Z*

Comparative Study Between Flower Pollination Algorithm and Cuckoo Search Algorithm for t -Way Test Data Generation

pp. 7465-7469(5)

Authors: *Nasser, Abdullah B; Zamli, Kamal Z*

Comparative Study of Adaptive Elitism and Mutation Operators in Flower Pollination Algorithm for Combinatorial Testing Problem

pp. 7470-7475(6)

Authors: *Nasser, Abdullah B; Zamli, Kamal Z*

An Integrated Trust Model Enhancing Generic Nodal Abstraction for Modeling Human-Agent Collaboration

pp. 7476-7480(5)

Authors: *Mohammed, Khudhair Abbas; Mohammed, Muamer N; Majidmohd, Mazlina Abdul; Ahmad, Mohd Sharifuddin*

Newton Competitive Genetic Algorithm Method for Optimization the Production of Biochemical Systems

pp. 7481-7485(5)

Authors: *Ismail, Mohd Arfian; Razak, Kirahman Ab; Moorthy, Kohbalan; Mezhuyev, Vitaliy; Kasim, Shahreen; Ibrahim, Ashraf Osman*

Solving 0/1 Knapsack Problem Using Hybrid HS and Jaya Algorithms

pp. 7486-7489(4)

Authors: *Alomoush, Alaa; Alsewari, AbdulRahman A; Alamri, Hammoudeh S; Zamli, Kamal Z*

Query Expansion Using Conceptual Knowledge in Computer Science

pp. 7490-7493(4)

Authors: *Raza, Muhammad Ahsan; Mokhtar, Rahmah; Noraziah, A; Hamid, Roslina Abd; Zainuddin, Fauziah; Ahmad, Nor Azhar*

Convolution Neural Network for Detecting Histopathological Cancer Detection

pp. 7494-7500(7)

Authors: *Zainudin, Zanariah; Shamsuddin, Siti Mariyam; Hasan, Shafaatunnur; Ali, Aida*

Parallel Particle Swarm Optimization for Determining Pressure on Water Distribution Systems in R

pp. 7501-7506(6)

Authors: *Riza, Lala Septem; Asyari, Ali Hasan; Prabawa, Harsa Wara; Kusnendar, Jajang; Rahman, Eka Fitrajaya*

Multi-Parameters Optimization from Agricultural Waste Using Genetic Algorithm

pp. 7507-7511(5)

Authors: *Suhaimi, Siti Nurulasilah; Shamsuddin, Siti Mariyam; Hasan, Shafaatunnur; Ahmad, Wan Azlina*

A Review of Large-Scale Kinetic Parameters in Metabolic Network Model of *Escherichia coli*

pp. 7512-7518(7)

Authors: *Azrag, Mohammed Adam Kunna; Kadir, Tuty Asmawaty Abdul; Ismail, Mohd Arfian*

Method for the Forecasting Solar Radiation in the Systems of Technical Vision

pp. 7519-7523(5)

Authors: *Mezhuyev, Vitaliy; Shvorov, Sergey; Dudnik, Alla; Chyrchenko, Dmitry; Gunchenko, Yurii*

Business Level Objectives of Customer for Autonomous Cloud Service Negotiation

pp. 7524-7528(5)

Authors: *Adnan, Muhamad Hariz; Hassan, Mohd Fadzil; Aziz, Izzatdin Abd*

Preliminary Analysis to Investigate Accuracy of Data Mining for Childhood Obesity and Overweight Predictions

pp. 7529-7533(5)

Authors: *Adnan, Muhamad Hariz; Husain, Wahidah; Rashid, Nur'Aini Abdul; Hassan, Mohd Fadzil*

An Application of Radial Basis Function Neural Network for Short Term Load Forecasting Solution

pp. 7534-7538(5)

Authors: *Othman, Nurul Faezah; Sulaiman, Mohd Herwan; Mustaffa, Zuriani*

New Proposed Methodology for Decision Making Purpose in Design for Remanufacturing

pp. 7539-7544(6)

Authors: *Noor, Ahamad Zaki Mohamed; Fauadi, Muhammad Hafidz Fazli Md; Jafar, Fairul Azni; Mohamad, Nor Rashidah*

The Comparison of Three Selection Techniques for Numerical Attribute Reduction

pp. 7545-7548(4)

Authors: *Mohamed, Rozlini; Yusof, Munirah Mohd; Wahid, Noorhaniza*

Time Series Forecasting Based on Wavelet Decomposition and Correlation Feature Subset Selection

pp. 7549-7553(5)

Authors: *Ahmed, Ehab Ali; Kamarulzaman, Syafiq Fauzi Bin; Gisen, Jacqueline Isabella; Mustaffa, Zuriani*

Time-Change-Fuzzy-Based Intelligent Vehicle Control System for Safe Emergency Lane Transition During Driver Lethargic State

pp. 7554-7558(5)

Authors: *Kamarulzaman, Syafiq Fauzi; Alsibai, Mohammed Hayyan*

Age Estimation of Asian Using Soft Computing Model Based on Bone Length of Left Hand

pp. 7559-7565(7)

Authors: *Darmawan, Mohd Faaizie; Osman, Mohd Zamri; Moorthy, Kohbalan*

An Improved Integrative Random Forest for Gene Regulatory Network Inference for Breast Cancer

pp. 7566-7571(6)

Authors: *Chandran, Suntharamurthi; Moorthy, Kohbalan; Ismail, Mohd Arfian; Osman, Mohd Zamri; Hamza, Mohd Azwan Mohamad; Ernawan, Ferda*

Anomaly Detection in Time Series Data Using Spiking Neural Network

pp. 7572-7576(5)

Authors: *Yusob, Bariah; Mustaffa, Zuriani; Sulaiman, Junaida*

Solving Kolej Poly-Tech Mara Examination Timetabling Problem

pp. 7577-7581(5)

Authors: *Kahar, M. N. M; Bakar, Sarina Abu; Shing, L. C; Mandal, Ashis Kumar*

Artificial Neural Network Modelling of Biogas Production Processes

pp. 7582-7587(6)

Authors: *Fakharudin, Abdul Sahli; Sulaiman, Md Nasir; Mustapha, Norwati*

Evaluating UMP Examination Timetable

pp. 7588-7592(5)

Authors: *Kahar, M. N. M; Shing, L. C*

Global Best Local Neighborhood in Particle Swarm Optimization in Dynamic Environment

pp. 7593-7597(5)

Authors: *Musa, Zalili; Fauzi, Nurul Izzatie Husna; Hassin, Mohd Hafiz Bin Mohd; Kahar, Mohd Nizam Mohd; Watada, Junzo*

Indoor Positioning Using Artificial Neural Network with Field Programmable Gate Array Implementation

pp. 7598-7601(4)

Authors: *Ngah, Syahrulanuar; Bakar, Rohani Abu; Awang, Suryanti*

Comparison Performance of Qualitative Bankruptcy Classification Based on Data Mining Algorithms

pp. 7602-7606(5)

Authors: *Sjarif, Nilam Nur Amir; Lim, Yee Fang; Azmi, NurulHuda Firdaus Mohd; Kamardin, Kamalia; Ten, Doris Wong Hooi; Abas, Hafiza; Ali, Al Fahim Mubarak*

A Hybrid ACO-Graph Entropy for Functional Modules Detection from Protein-Protein Interaction Network

pp. 7607-7610(4)

Authors: *Sallim, Jamaludin; Mohamed, Rozlina; Yahaya, Che; Hamid, Roslina Abdul*

Social Force as a Microscopic Simulation Model for Pedestrian Behavior in Crowd Evacuation

pp. 7611-7616(6)

Authors: *Bakar, Noor Akma Abu; Majid, Mazlina Abdul; Adam, Khalid; Allegra, Mario*

Visual Analysis to Investigate the Capability of ANFIS in Modelling Hydrological Relationship Using Synthetic Dataset

pp. 7617-7622(6)

Authors: *Ghani, Nгахzaifa Ab; Mustaffa, Zuriani; Azmi, Zafri Rizal M*

Camera-Based Vehicle Recognition Methods and Techniques: Systematic Literature Review

pp. 7623-7629(7)

Authors: *Misman, Nor'aqilah; Awang, Suryanti*

Review on Deep Learning-Based Face Analysis

pp. 7630-7635(6)

Authors: *Talab, Mohammed Ahmed; Tao, Hai; Al-Saffar, Ahmed Ali Mohammed*

Security Enhancement of Dynamic Signature by Utilizing Local Features with Individual Threshold

pp. 7636-7642(7)

Authors: *Awang, Suryanti; Idris, Nor Faradilla Mohamed; Sulaiman, Junaida*

Biometric Template Protection Based on Hill Cipher Algorithm with Two Invertible Keys

pp. 7643-7649(7)

Authors: *Khalaf, Emad Taha; Mohammad, Muamer N; Moorthy, Kohbalan; Hasan, Raed A*

Speech Separation and Recognition Using CASA Segmentation and Language-Based Grouping

pp. 7650-7654(5)

Authors: *Karpukhin, Ivan; Konushin, Anton*

Pattern-Matching Based for Arabic Question Answering: A Challenge Perspective

pp. 7655-7661(7)

Authors: *Hasan, Ali Muttaleb; Rassem, Taha H; Karimah, M. N. Noorhuzaimi*

Multi-Scale Skin Sample Approach for Dynamic Skin Color Detection: An Analysis

pp. 7662-7667(6)

Authors: *Osman, Mohd Zamri; Maarof, Mohd Aizaini; Rohani, Mohd Foad; Moorthy, Kohbalan; Awang, Suryanti*

Motion Analysis-Based Application for Enhancing Physical Education

pp. 7668-7674(7)

Authors: *Kahtan, Hasan; Awang, Suryanti Binti; Kadir, Tuty Asmawaty Binti Abdul; Abdulghafoor, Maath S; Shamsuri, Tuan Siti Shahirah Binti Tuan*

Wavelet Completed Local Ternary Pattern (WCLTP) for Texture Image Classification

pp. 7675-7681(7)

Authors: *Shamaileh, Abeer; Rassem, Taha H; Ahmed, Ibrahim Abdulrab; Alalayah, Khaled M*

A New Approach of Optimal Search Solution in Particle Swarm Optimization Algorithm for Object Detection Method

pp. 7682-7685(4)

Authors: *Musa, Zalili; Hassin, Mohd Hafiz Bin Mohd; Fauzi, Nurul Izzatie Husna; Bakar, Rohani Abu; Watada, Junzo*

MindFit© Brain Training Computer Game for Schizophrenia Patients

pp. 7686-7689(4)

Authors: *Ariffin, Mazeyanti M; Aziz, Nor Shakirah; Arshad, Noreen Izza; Mehat, Mazlina; Ruslee, Nurul Nadiah*

The Formulation of Comprehensive Information Security Culture Dimensions for Information Security Policy Compliance Study

pp. 7690-7695(6)

Authors: *Nasir, Akhyari; Arshah, Ruzaini Abdullah; Hamid, Mohd Rashid Ab*

Application of NLP on Big Data Using Hadoop: Case Study Using Trouble Tickets

pp. 7696-7702(7)

Authors: *Yayah, Fauzy Che; Ghauth, Khairil Imran; Ting, Choo-Yee*

Eco-Design Based on Collaborative Filtering Recommender System

pp. 7703-7706(4)

Authors: *Al-Bashiri, Hael; Romli, Awanis; Abdulgabber, Mansoor Abdullateef; Fakhreldin, Mohammad Adam Ibrahim; Majid, Mazlina Abdul*

Exploring Green Information Technology Implementation in Collaborative Enterprise

pp. 7707-7715(9)

Authors: *Anthony, Bokolo; Majid, Mazlina Abdul; Romli, Awanis*

Challenges and Issues in Unstructured Big Data: A Systematic Literature Review

pp. 7716-7722(7)

Authors: *Nafis, Nur Syafiqah Mohd; Awang, Suryanti*

Antecedences of Information System Use Continuance in the Context of e-Waqf System

pp. 7723-7726(4)

Authors: *Zain, Mohd Zuhan Mohd; Hussin, Ab Razak Che; Yusof, Ahmad Fadhil*

Measuring Website Usability Construct as Second Order Construct in Website Usability Model

pp. 7727-7731(5)

Authors: *Aziz, Nur Sukinah; Kamaludin, Adzhar*

Extending Factor of Knowledge Contributor in Sharing Knowledge

pp. 7732-7736(5)

Authors: *Ahmad, Muhammad Aliif; Hussin, Ab Razak Che; Dahlan, Halina Mohamed; Mahmood, Jamilah*

Investigation of Balanced Scorecard Measurement Method for Academicians Knowledge in Universities

pp. 7737-7742(6)

Authors: *Amin, Zainab; Romli, Awanis*

Towards a Nuanced Explanation of Technology Adoption Determinants

pp. 7743-7746(4)

Authors: *Salim, Siti Aisyah; Rasli, Roznim Mohamad; Aziz, Nor Azah Abdul; Razali, Fadhina Mohd; Mohammed, Siti Asma*

Conceptualizing a Model for Adoption of Online Social Networks as a Learning Tool

pp. 7747-7750(4)

Authors: *Mufadhal, Mokhtar Esmail; Sahabudin, Noor Azida; Al-Sharafi, Mohammed A*

Technology Enhancement Learning Reflection on Improving Students' Satisfaction in Omani Universities

pp. 7751-7757(7)

Authors: *Tawafak, Ragad M; Mohammed, Muamer N; Arshah, Ruzaini Bin Abdullah; Shakir, Mohanaad; Mezhuyev, Vitaliy*

Distributed Join Query Processing for Big RDF Data

pp. 7758-7761(4)

Authors: *Elzein, Nahla Mohammed; Majid, Mazlina Abdul; Fakherldin, Mohammed; Hashem, Ibrahim Abaker Targio*

Measuring the Role of Satisfaction in Website Usability Model

pp. 7762-7768(7)

Authors: Aziz, Nur Sukinah; Kamaludin, Adzhar; Sulaiman, Noor Suhana; Yacob, Azliza

Ontology Development Guide Using Protégé: BCS3263SQA at FSKKP

pp. 7769-7776(8)

Authors: Ooi, Jessie; Abdulgaber, Mansoor Abdullateef; Abdullah, Azma; Chun, Yee Seng

Dynamic Load Balancing Model Based on Server Status (DLBS) for Green Computing

pp. 7777-7782(6)

Authors: Hasan, Raed A; Mohammed, Muamer N; Ameen, Mohammed Ariff Bin; Khalaf, Emad Taha

Big Data Analytics for Healthcare Organizations a Case Study of the Iraqi Healthcare Sector

pp. 7783-7789(7)

Authors: Alani, Ali A; Ahmed, Firas D; Majid, Mazlina Abdul; Ahmad, Mohd Sharifuddin

Impact of Extraneous Cognitive Load on Multimedia-Based Grammar Learning

pp. 7790-7794(5)

Authors: Refat, Nadia; Kassim, Hafizoah

The User Requirements of Game-Based Learning in Fire Safety for Preschool Children

pp. 7795-7799(5)

Authors: Zaini, Nur Atiqah; Noor, Siti Fadzilah Mat; Wook, Tengku Siti Meriam Tengku

The Impact of Information Quality and Usability on Intention to Use Student Information System

pp. 7800-7805(6)

Authors: Atta, Mohammed Thamir; Romli, Awanis

The Mediation Effect of Intention to Use Information System on the Association Between Usability and User's Satisfaction in UMP

pp. 7806-7809(4)

Authors: Atta, Mohammed Thamir; Romli, Awanis

Comparative Study to Measure the Quality of Big Scholarly Data and Its Hypothetical Mapping Towards Granular Computing

pp. 7810-7814(5)

Authors: Ahmed, Md. Manjur; Kader, Md. Abdul; Zamli, Kamal Z

[i-Herbs: An Expert System for Malaysian Herbs Identification Using Production Rules Approach](#)

pp. 7815-7818(4)

Authors: *Hamid, Roslina Abd; Mokhtar, Rahmah; Ahmad, Nor Azhar; Zainuddin, Fauziah; Abdullah, Azma*

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pp. 7819-7823(5)

Authors: *Arshah, Ruzaini Abdullah; Hammood, Waleed A; Kamaludin, Adzhar*

[A Review of Data Quality Assessment: Data Quality Dimensions from User's Perspective](#)

pp. 7824-7829(6)

Authors: *Abdullah, Mohd Zafrol; Arshah, Ruzaini Abdullah*

[Development of Skin Care Routine Support System](#)

pp. 7830-7833(4)

Authors: *Noor, Noorhuzaimi Mohd; Muhamad, Nur Jannah; Sahabudin, Noor Azida; Mustafa, Zuriani*

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pp. 7834-7837(4)

Authors: *Noraziah, A; Fauzi, Ainul Azila Che; Ubaidillah, Sharifah Hafizah Sy Ahmad; Abdullah, Zailani; Sidek, Roslina Mohd; Fakhreldin, Mohammed Adam Ibrahim*

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pp. 7838-7843(6)

Authors: *Adam, Khalid; Bakar, Noor Akma Abu; Fakhreldin, Mohammed Adam Ibrahim; Majid, Mazlina Abdul*

[A Highly Accurate PDF-To-Text Conversion System for Academic Papers Using Natural Language Processing Approach](#)

pp. 7844-7849(6)

Authors: *Yong, Tien Fui; Azad, Saiful; Rahman, Mohammed Mostafizur; Zamli, Kamal Z; Rabby, Gollam*

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Conflict Reconciliation And Restore the Image of Indonesian Football Association (PSSI) in Presidential Era President Joko Widodo

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Abstract

This research was aimed to explain and interpret the process and the dynamic of reconciliation by PSSI in recovering the image of Indonesian football in the reign of Joko Widodo. The focus of the research was to know the process and the dynamic of reconciliation PSSI in recovering the image of Indonesian football. The theory used in this research was the reconciliation theory by David Bloomfield and the theory of image by Frank Jefkins. The research paradigm was constructivism with qualitative approach and the case study method. The research data was obtained by doing interviews and observations. The result revealed that the conflict between Ministry of Youth and Sports (Kemenpora) and PSSI (Indonesia Football Association) was an effort to succeed the leadership in PSSI. One of the reconciliation steps was building the coexistence without violence and building the beliefs and trusts. Generally, this reconciliation gave a positive image to PSSI which particularly regarding to the relations between PSSI and government, the formation of the national team by bringing in the excellent foreign coaches, and the revival of the football competition that had been halted for a year. In the process of reconciliation, embracing 'old people' into the management of PSSI gave more negative image because those people still had problems.

Keywords: public relations, conflict reconciliation, image restoration, PSSI-football, Joko Widodo

INTRODUCTION

The conflict of Indonesian football during the reign of Joko Widodo (Jokowi) resulted in a number of major changes. The conflict was between the governments and Indonesia Football Association (PSSI). In this conflict, the government was represented by the policy issued by Ministry of Youth and Sports. This football conflict occurred as the desire of President Joko Widodo who wanted to do the revamp of Indonesian football management. The revamp was needed since PSSI as the Indonesian football authority failed the citizen in presenting a proud achievement. Thus, Kemenpora was asked by President Jokowi to find out the way in increasing the achievement of Indonesian football, particularly regarding to domestic competition and national team. (*Beritasatu.com*, May, 25 2015)

The president's request was responded by Kemenpora by issuing some policy which led to the conflict. One of the government policies was the Decree of the Minister of Youth and Sport No. 01307 Year 2015 on Imposition of Administrative Sanction in the form of the Unrecognized Sports Activities of PSSI signed by Imam Nahrawi on April 17, 2015. Meanwhile, the executive committee of PSSI responded the policy by stopping all Indonesian football competition and stating that the 2015 LSI competition was in force majeure. (*Kompas.com*, May 2, 2015).

The consequences of PSSI freeze was responded by *Fédération Internationale de Football Association* (FIFA) as the holding of world football association. FIFA believed that the government had intervened. Under articles number 13 and 17 of FIFA Statute, each association member of FIFA, including PSSI, must solve the problem independently without the influence of a third party such as government. The implications of FIFA penalty made Indonesian football unable to follow the entire agenda of official international football activities managed by FIFA (Pandjaitan, 2011: 16). The

FIFA sanctions were recorded to be the first experience for PSSI since officially joined in 1952.

The peak of the conflict had succeeded the leadership of PSSI. The former PSSI chairperson La Nyalla Mattalitti for period 2015-2019 elected on Extraordinary Congress (KLB) at Hotel JW Marriott, Surabaya on April 18, 2015 eventually replaced by (Lieutenant General) Edy Rahmayadi. He was elected after the held of PSSI Congress at Mercure Hotel, Ancol, Jakarta, on November 10, 2016.

The election of Edy was fully supported by the government. The support was as a way for PSSI in improving its relation with the government through reconciliation mechanism. This reconciliation process was expected to recover the image of Indonesian football that was damaged by the conflict. To explain the process, the researcher used reconciliation theory developed by David Bloomfield as well as the theory of image building by Frank Jefkins.

The focus of this problem was to know the process and movement of the reconciliation conducted by PSSI in recovering the image of Indonesian football. Meanwhile, the purpose of this research was to explain and interpret the process and movements of reconciliation conducted by PSSI in recovering the image of Indonesian football during the reign of Joko Widodo.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Conflict Behavior Theory of John Bartos and Paul Wehr

As stated by Otomar John Bartos and Paul Wehr (2002: 1) that knowledge of social conflict has grown rapidly. Entering the millennium era, the actors that are involved in such conflict not only learn how destructive conflict happens but they also learn about how to take advantage of constructive conflict. In this case, knowledge of the conflict is more directed about how to clarify their own goals, how to find rational strategies and tactics

of conflict and how to apply them to achieve goals by minimizing conflicts. In an essay titled *Managing Conflict for a Peaceful Society* (2012) published by the University of Colorado, Paul Wehr separately explained that conflict behavior is actually based on the fact that human beings are emotional and rational. These two attitudes sometimes create hostilities without apparent reason and describe them as conflict behavior.

Bartos dan Wehr (2002: 9-10) explained that there are six main reasons to understand conflict behavior. *First*, the parties that involved into the conflict may have or believe that they have incompatible objectives. *Second*, each of them has increased solidarity. *Third*, they may have been organized or managed to have conflict. *Fourth*, they can mobilize a number of resources to have conflict. *Fifth*, they may be hostile to their opponents, and *sixth*, they have sufficient material resources to engage in conflict.

Novri Susan (2012: 23) explained that based on the theory of conflict action by John Bartos and Paul Wehr, conflict is separated into two models of action in order to be able to examine the relationship of conflict that occurred. Both are coercive action models and noncoercive action. Bartos and Wehr describe this coercive action as a social action that forces the opposite to do something and there are two dimensions of coercive action, namely actual coercion (real coercion) and threat coercion (coercion of threat). In Susan's explanation, Bartos and Wehr said that this real coercion as a form of action to harm or destroy the opponent. The representation of this real coercion is reflected in the form of psychological violence. The result of this violence resulted in the form of symbolic injury. The main purpose of real coercion is to eliminate the opponent's capacity to continue the conflict.

Theory of Citra Frank Jefkins

One of the parts of *Public Relation areas* image. Philip Henslowe (2003: 6) defined image as an impression derived based on the level of knowledge and understanding of the facts. The facts may be about people, products or situations. Image is a set of ideas and impressions of a person against a particular object. Attitude and actions of a person to an object will be determined by the image of the object that displays the best conditions. But image does not always reflect the real reality of a thing because it is merely formed based on available information. Thus, true, accurate, impartial, complete and adequate information is absolutely essential to emerge the right image (Jefkins, 2003: 19). In a book entitled "Public Relations" (2003: 20-23), Jefkins classifies images into five types: mirror image, current image, wish image, corporate image, and multiple images. In this study, it reflects a shadow image that is an inherent image of an insider or member of the organization. Generally this image is attached to the leader. This shadow image is an image held by an insider about the outward view of its organization. (Jefkins, 2003: 22)

Reconciliation

David Bloomfield (2003: 12) divided reconciliation as a goal and process. In the frame of purpose, reconciliation becomes something that need to be achieved, whereas as a process then reconciliation becomes a meaning to achieve that goal. The goal of reconciliation is a future aspiration, something important to achieve, perhaps even a desirable ideal state. Bloomfield continued, this reconciliation is in fact a process that surrounds, in

which there is a search for truth, justice, forgiveness, healing and so forth. Simply put, the reconciliation means a search for a way to co-exist with the former enemy. But reconciliation in this context is how to build the level of cooperation needed to share in a life together so as to make life better than living separately. Politics becomes a process of dealing with issues that have been solved in the past. (Bloomfield, 2003: 13)

Herbert C Kelman in the journal *Landscapes of Violence* (2010: 3-4) explained that menjelaskan this reconciliation is part of the peace process with its primary focus on the level of identity. It is stated that the agreement that arises from the conflict resolution process in the interaction of the problem-solving framework and the formation of new relationship should be able to condone the achievement of a steady peace, the birth of mutual cooperation, and ultimately create reconciliation. Thus, reconciliation is a consequence of successful conflict resolution. Ultimately, the process by testing of a good deal and from an already existing process, then it becomes the ultimate reconciliation of conductivity.

RESEARCH METHOD

One of the paradigms commonly used in social research is the paradigm of constructivism. Richard West and Lynn H Turner (2008: 55) stated that the social constructivism paradigm of individuals periodically creates social structures through action and interaction. For that reason, in this paradigm there is no abstract truth or reality because that reality exists only when the person who created it together. Constructivism actually considers the subject as a central factor in communication activities and social relationships. Subjects have the ability to control certain purposes in each discourse. This research uses qualitative approach and case study method. Jozef Raco (2010: 49-50) explained that case study is part of a qualitative method that intends to deepen a particular case in more depth by involving the collection of various sources of information. Raco explains the definition of case studies according to John W Creswell as follow: "*Case study as an exploration of related systems or cases. An interesting case to examine because the typical feature of the case that has meaning in others, at least for researchers.*"

Through the idea of Patton, Raco (2010: 49) explained that case study is the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case and seek to understand the case in particular contexts, situations and times. By this method, researchers are expected to capture the complexity of the case. The case must be singular and special. By understanding the case in depth then the researcher will be able to capture the importance for the interest of a particular society, organization or community. Understanding the unique case will provide useful input for groups and other organizations to overcome the problems that are faced.

The sources of this research are :

- (1) Hanif Thamrin, informant served as director of International Relations and Media at PSSI. This informant was chosen because the directorate he led is case study of this study.
- (2) Gatot S Dewa Broto, informant is a spokesperson of the Ministry of Youth and Sports (Kemenpora) during the time of the soccer conflict between PSSI and the government. Gatot became an important figure in presenting the conflict dynamics and reconciliation process conducted by PSSI to

the government. Currently Gatot is trusted as Assistant Minister of Youth and Sports (Sesmenpora).

(3) Heru Nugroho, informant served as Secretary General of Professional Sport Agency Indonesia (BOPI).

(4) Akmal Marhali, informant became a representation of the football public who encourages changes. At the beginning of the football conflict, this informant became one of the important actors who gave input to the government to encourage changes in PSSI.

(5) Decky Jasri, the informant was chosen for his role as chairman of the PSSI Press Coordinator for the period 2016-2018, PSSI Pers is an official container of journalists covering Indonesian football.

This research was conducted in Jakarta, focusing in the office of PSSI in Grand Rubina Business Park, H. R. Rasuna Said street, Karet Kuningan, Setiabudi, South Jakarta, and in the office of Ministry of Youth and Sports (Kemenpora), Gerbang Pemuda Street No. 3 Senayan, Tanah Abang subdistrict, Central Jakarta. This research was conducted for six months starting from February 2017. The validity of the research data is source triangulation. Triangulation Sources test the credibility of data that is done by checking the data obtained through multiple sources

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As stated by Otomar John Bartos and Paul Wehr (2002: 1) that knowledge of social conflict has grown rapidly. Entering the millennium era, the actors that are involved in such conflict not only learn how destructive conflict happens but they also learn about how to take advantage of constructive conflict. In this case, knowledge of the conflict is more directed about how to clarify their own goals, how to find rational strategies and tactics of conflict and how to apply them to achieve goals by minimizing conflicts. In an essay titled *Managing Conflict for a Peaceful Society* (2012) published by the University of Colorado, Paul Wehr separately explained that conflict behavior is actually based on the fact that human beings are emotional and rational. These two attitudes sometimes create hostilities without apparent reason and describe them as conflict behavior.

Bartos dan Wehr (2002: 9-10) explained that there are six main reasons to understand conflict behavior. *First*, the parties that involved into the conflict may have or believe that they have incompatible objectives. *Second*, each of them has increased solidarity. *Third*, they may have been organized or managed to have conflict. *Fourth*, they can mobilize a number of resources to have conflict. *Fifth*, they may be hostile to their opponents, and *sixth*, they have sufficient material resources to engage in conflict.

Novri Susan (2012: 23) explained that based on the theory of conflict action by John Bartos and Paul Wehr, conflict is separated into two models of action in order to be able to examine the relationship of conflict that occurred. Both are coercive action models and noncoercive action. Bartos and Wehr describe this coercive action as a social action that forces the opposite to do something and there are two dimensions of coercive action, namely actual coercion (real coercion) and threat coercion (coercion of threat). In Susan's explanation, Bartos and Wehr said that this real coercion as a form of action to harm or destroy the opponent. The representation of this real coercion is reflected in the form of psychological violence. The result of this violence

resulted in the form of symbolic injury. The main purpose of real coercion is to eliminate the opponent's capacity to continue the conflict.

Theory of Citra Frank Jefkins

One of the parts of *Public Relation area* is image. Philip Henslowe (2003: 6) defined image as an impression derived based on the level of knowledge and understanding of the facts. The facts may be about people, products or situations. Image is a set of ideas and impressions of a person against a particular object. Attitude and actions of a person to an object will be determined by the image of the object that displays the best conditions. But image does not always reflect the real reality of a thing because it is merely formed based on available information. Thus, true, accurate, impartial, complete and adequate information is absolutely essential to emerge the right image (Jefkins, 2003: 19). Jefkins *Public Relations*" (2003: 20-23), classifies images into five types: mirror image, current image, wish image, corporate image, and multiple images. In this study, it reflects a shadow image that is an inherent image of an insider or member of the organization. Generally this image is attached to the leader. This shadow image is an image held by an insider about the outward view of its organization. (Jefkins, 2003: 22)

Reconciliation

David Bloomfield (2003: 12) divided reconciliation as a goal and process. In the frame of purpose, reconciliation becomes something that need to be achieved, whereas as a process then reconciliation becomes a meaning to achieve that goal. The goal of reconciliation is a future aspiration, something important to achieve, perhaps even a desirable ideal state. Bloomfield continued, this reconciliation is in fact a process that surrounds, in which there is a search for truth, justice, forgiveness, healing and so forth. Simply put, the reconciliation means a search for a way to co-exist with the former enemy. But reconciliation in this context is how to build the level of cooperation needed to share in a life together so as to make life better than living separately. Politics becomes a process of dealing with issues that have been solved in the past. (Bloomfield, 2003: 13).

Herbert C Kelman in the journal *Landscapes of Violence* (2010: 3-4) explained that menjelaskan this reconciliation is part of the peace process with its primary focus on the level of identity. It is stated that the agreement that arises from the conflict resolution process in the interaction of the problem-solving framework and the formation of new relationship should be able to condone the achievement of a steady peace, the birth of mutual cooperation, and ultimately create reconciliation. Thus, reconciliation is a consequence of successful conflict resolution. Ultimately, the process by testing of a good deal and from an already existing process, then it becomes the ultimate reconciliation of conductivity.

ANALYSIS

The conflict that occurred in the reign of Joko Widodo was started from the two clubs participant of Indonesia Super League competition (LSI) 2015 which did not pass the verification by Indonesia Professional Sport Boards (BOPI). BOPI is an institution established by Law No. 3 2005 on National Sport System (SKN) and is responsible to Ministry of Youth and Sports.

The two clubs that were disqualified by BOPI were Arema Cronus and Persebaya Surabaya. In an interview conducted in Jakarta on May 5, 2017 at around 15:00 WIB, BOPI Secretary General, Heru Nugroho, admitted that his management applied strict rules to Indonesian League for all club participants in LSI 2015 competition to complete all the verification requirements as a professional club. The goal was to encourage the changes of industry-oriented Indonesian football. He declared that the verification used by BOPI, entirely referred to the rules contained in AFC Club Licensing Regulation and FIFA Club Licensing Regulation.

Although BOPI had been acted assertively, Indonesia League Company (PT. Liga Indonesia) which was a representation of PSSI ignored it. This attitude made the government issued the Decree of the Minister of Justice No. 01307 Year 2015 on Imposition of Administrative Sanction in the form of the Unrecognized Sports Activities of PSSI signed by Imam Nahrawi on April 17, 2015. The letter was issued at the time of PSSI leader, La Nyalla Mattalitti, held Extraordinary Congress (KLB) at Hotel JW Marriott, Surabaya on April 18, 2015. PSSI responded by issuing a decision to stop all the entire competition. The decision was made based on PSSI Executive Committee meeting held at PSSI office, Senayan, May 2, 2015 stating that the 2015 LSI competition was in force majeure. (Kompas.com, May 2, 2015).

This conflict further attracted FIFA's attention. On May 30, 2015, FIFA imposed penalties on Indonesian football by banning the national team and all Indonesian clubs to participate in sport events on the international stage hosted by FIFA and AFC. (Bola.net, 2015). FIFA's penalties made the involved parties of the conflict begin to rethink about the conflict. At this time, it began the phase of resolutions that resulted in the policy of revoking the Decree issued by Menpora Number 01307 Year 2015 and also involved the third parties Erick Thohir and Agum Gumelar to do negotiation with FIFA. Erick is a chairman of the Indonesian Olympic Committee (KOI) and Agum Gumelar is a committee chairman—a committee created by FIFA to resolve the football conflicts in Indonesia. After FIFA's punishment to PSSI was revoked through FIFA Extraordinary Congress (FBB) held in Mexico, May 12, 2016, the process of the succession of PSSI chairman also occurred in Indonesia. In this case, La Nyalla Mattalitti was forced to resign due to legal issues beyond his capacity as a PSSI chairman. By constitutional means, was elected through Extraordinary Congress (KLB) held on November 10, 2016 at Mercure Hotel, Ancol, Jakarta. Edy is a Commander of the Army Strategic Command (Pangkostrad) who has the rank as Lieutenant General of the Indonesian Army (TNI AD). In this step, the relation between PSSI and government was improved. In an effort to build this reconciliation, PSSI granted apologize to people, either clubs or individual who ever got punished during the management of the previous PSSI at PSSI Annual Congress held at Hotel Aryaduta, Bandung, on January 8, 2017. This Congress became special since it was the first time during the reign of Jokowi that Minister of Youth and Sport Imam Nahrawi willing to attend the event organized by PSSI. The presence of Minister of Youth and Sport marked an improvement relationship between PSSI and the government.

The presence of Minister of Youth and Sport in the annual congress of PSSI, according to Bloomfield, was a stage in building the coexistence without violence. Regarding the forgiveness given

by PSSI in the annual congress, it was a stage of recreating trust and belief to the involved parties in the past conflict of Indonesian football.

However, regarding to the forgive mechanism, Coordinator of Save Our soccer (SOS), Akmal Marhali, gave a different opinion. Akmal said the decision to grant the forgiveness to troubled clubs at the congress in Bandung was not part of the process of reconciliation. He instead questioned the decisions that were made regarding the dualism and legality of troubled clubs.

"If Persebaya returns to the Main Division, why should there be Bhayangkara FC. Suddenly there is a club that directly entered the top level of national football competition, which is Bhayangkara FC. Other than Persebaya, the dualism problem of Arema club was the same. There is also Arema Cronus that will play at elite level, while Arema Indonesia who holds the original license but also in the League of Nusantara. I think this is dangerous. Because one day, there can be a time bomb ready to explode. The name changes must be through transparent procedures and rules so as not to cause the same problems in the future." (Interviewed with Akmal Marhali in Jakarta on July 5, 2017 at around 14.00 WIB)

Meanwhile, for other stages of reconciliation built by PSSI, it can be seen also through an interview conducted on April 21, 2017 at 17.00 WIB at PSSI office in Jakarta, with Director of International Relations and Media, Hanif Thamrin. He explained another form of reconciliation that built by PSSI was embracing the 'old people' into PSSI management period 2016-2020. In the structure, there were old people of PSSI Joko Driyono and Iwan Budianto who joint into the core board. Akmal Marhali from Save Our Soccer argued the troubled old people gave more trouble and kept away the PSSI intention in building a professional and dignified organization. He highlighted the things related to the PSSI officials who had multiple positions. He mentioned that there are 9 of the 15 executive committees of PSSI who had multiple positions as club officials, companies, and province associations of PSSI.

"This dual position will create a conflict of interest on the importance of decision-making in national football." (Interviewed with Akmal Marhali in Jakarta on July 5, 2017 at around 14.00 WIB).

Akmal added his views on the inclusion of names within the board of Edy Rahmayadi management. In his opinion, the figure of Joko Driyono and Iwan Budianto was part of the PSSI past problem. The inclusion of these names showed a form of compromise and did not undertake the reforms as President Jokowi desires.

"We were hoping that Mr. Edy should not be surrounded by existed problems. Unfortunately things that happened is compromises, (he) did not dare to do things that people wanted so the time bomb (now it is) started to burn and slowly begins to explode. This can be seen from the emergence of various cases such as the matter of KITAS (Temporary Stay Permit Card) for foreign players at the beginning of League 1 competition. Then the latest case, the cases of buying and selling licenses of the club Sragen United. In this case it involves many elements such as PSSI and BOPI. So we can say that this is not a reform but kongkalikong, just to share a piece of cake, it's just asplay. This is a big problem that happened in the management of Edy Rahmayadi. And this is not a failure. Because if it's a failure, it has its size and has been running but this is more accurately to be called as mistaken and it is very unfortunate because there is no significant effort from Mr. Edy to make improvements. Everyone is silent to the

existed problems." (Interviewed with Akmal Marhali in Jakarta on July 5, 2017 at around 14:00 pm)

Despite the criticism, the reconciliation process that has been done by PSSI provided a new image to the public football. In the process of image formation, the figure of Chairman Edy Rahmayadi became very dominant. This was acknowledged by all informants, they were Gatot S Dewa Broto as Secretary of Minister of Youth and Sports (Sesmenpora), Secretary General of BOPI, Heru Nugroho, Coordinator of Save Our Soccer (SOS), Akmal Marhali, and Decky Jasri the media.

"The figure of Mr. Edy (now) is indeed very contributive in displaying the image of PSSI. But I believe, his figure has made changes to PSSI. At least it is seen from the developed relations between PSSI and the government. I think the influence of Mr. Edy or chairman is very big in this case and in the future communication team of PSSI should do more active role." (Interviewed with Decky Jasri conducted in Jakarta on June 17, 2017 at around 14:00 pm)

The same thing was also delivered by Gatot. He says:

"I see him (Edy Rahmayadi) that he has the potential to bring changes. But it is a problem that he is sometimes framed everything in a one man showpackage so that if there is something less pleased, he became so reactive. But I believe that this is a process and I am pretty sure Pak Edi able to do it." (Interviewed with Gatot S. Dewa Broto in his office at Kemenpora office on 8th floor, Central Jakarta, on May 9, 2017 at around 14.30 WIB)

Regarding to this, Frank Jefkins incorporated the formed image of PSSI into the category of the mirror image. This image was attached to an insider people whom in this case Edy Rahmayadi as the chairman of PSSI. According to Jefkins, this kind of image generally tended to be positive. Meanwhile, in measuring the extent to which the image of PSSI in the public eye, it can be seen on four things, namely the formation of national teams (timnas), reconciliation with the government conflict, the rolling competitions, and PSSI board.

The informant saw the improvements in PSSI image was related to the formation of national team that used the services of foreign coach Luis Milla, the improvement relations between PSSI and government through conflict reconciliation, and the re-launch of competition that had been halted for a year. However, the list of old people in the PSSI management period 2016-2020 could not improve the image of PSSI. Akmal argued that old people like Iwan Budianto who once admitted to had been involved in bribery in the match fixing and the figure of Joko Driyono who had been involved in the past conflict became obstacles to make more improvements in Indonesian football management as desired by President Jokowi.

CONCLUSION

Based on this research, it is needed to have public relations or corporate communications in PSSI organization in order to encourage the development of PSSI image from the mirror image into the wish image as professional and dignified organization. Moreover, it is needed to keep and develop the reconciliation processes that had been created between PSSI and government in order to realizing the better management of Indonesian football in the future.

The process of conflict reconciliation conducted by PSSI had opened new relations with the government. This relationship encouraged to realizing the synergy in improving the management of Indonesian football. In the movements, the influence of General Chairman of PSSI period 2016-2020, Edy Rahmayadi, had very important role in the reconciliation process. The dominant role of Edy Rahmayadi also influenced the image formation of PSSI organization. Meanwhile, the process of reconciliation that had been running and led to the synergy with the government provided the improvements to the image of PSSI. That good improvement of the image also encouraged to form the national team and the re-rolling of the competition in Indonesia after being halted for over a year. Nevertheless, this ongoing reconciliation saved a number of problems with the dependence of Edy Rahmayadi on the old people who had problems in the past such as the presence of an officer who had been involved in the issue of bribery (match fixing).

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