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THE TRANSFORMATION OF IBN KHALDUN'S ASABIYYAH IN TRANSNATIONAL SOLIDARITY: A STUDY OF PRO-PALESTINIAN FOOTBALL SUPPORTER COMMUNITIES

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Abstract

Expressions of pro-Palestinian solidarity among football supporter communities provide a context for examining how group solidarity can extend beyond internal attachments and geographical boundaries. This study aims to analyze contemporary manifestations of solidarity through Ibn Khaldun's concept of *'asabiyyah*, particularly in relation to the transnational orientation of pro-Palestinian football supporter communities. Unlike previous studies that predominantly examine football supporters through the perspectives of supporter identity, social movements, and hooliganism, this research adopts an Islamic social-philosophical perspective by employing *'asabiyyah* as a conceptual framework for understanding social cohesion in contemporary society. Using a qualitative descriptive-analytical approach, this study examines three cases the supporter culture surrounding FC St. Pauli, Ultras Ahlawy, and Aremania. Textual and visual documentation is analyzed through hermeneutic interpretation and semiotic analysis to explore the relationships between group identity, collective symbols, and value orientation. The findings identify different foundations of solidarity across the three cases: socio-ideological values within the supporter culture of FC St. Pauli, collective historical memory among Ultras Ahlawy, and local identity accompanied by expressions of humanitarian empathy among Aremania. These patterns suggest that existing forms of group attachment can provide a basis for expressions of solidarity directed toward humanitarian concerns beyond the immediate community. This study contributes to contemporary interpretations of Ibn Khaldun's social thought by demonstrating the analytical relevance of *'asabiyyah* for understanding the broader manifestations and orientations of solidarity in modern football supporter communities, rather than suggesting a transformation of the historical concept itself.

Keywords: *'Asabiyyah; Ibn Khaldun; Transnational Solidarity; Football Supporter Communities; Palestine.*

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Introduction

Football supporter communities are not limited to expressions of loyalty to clubs they can also become arenas for engagement with wider social and politi-

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cal issues (Giulianotti, 2018; Numerato, 2018). Fan activism demonstrates how supporter commitments may be articulated beyond sporting activities (Fitzpatrick & Hoey, 2022). Research on European football fandom also indicates that feelings of belonging may extend beyond individual clubs and national contexts (Biel, 2026). Studies of ultras culture highlight how stadium rituals, visual symbols, and shared experiences can strengthen collective identity and social bonds among supporters (Spaaij, 2006; Testa & Armstrong, 2010; Turner & Ludvigsen, 2024). These practices provide a useful perspective for understanding football supporter communities, although their characteristics and forms of organization may differ. In the cases of FC St. Pauli, Ultras Ahlawy, and Aremania, supporter identities and collective expressions are shaped by different social and historical contexts. Symbols such as banners and slogans may also provide opportunities for supporters to communicate concerns beyond football, including solidarity with Palestine. However, such expressions should not automatically be regarded as evidence of organized political mobilization or established transnational networks. This distinction is important for understanding how locally rooted supporter communities may express solidarity with international humanitarian issues without assuming that they share the same identities, experiences, or forms of collective action

An example of football supporters expressing solidarity with an international humanitarian issue can be found in the Aremania community in Malang, Indonesia. On 12 July 2014, Aremania supporters displayed a banner bearing the message "God Save Gaza" at Kanjuruhan Stadium in Malang, expressing their concern for the situation in Palestine (*"GOD SAVE GAZA" By Aremania | Qta AREMANIA*, n.d.). This expression illustrates how a locally rooted football supporter community can use stadium symbols to communicate its concern for issues beyond the immediate context of football. However, such expressions do not necessarily indicate that solidarity develops independently of existing social, cultural, or religious ties. Rather, they raise questions about how established group attachments and shared values shape expressions of solidarity with communities beyond geographical boundaries. Examining this relationship provides a basis for understanding how football supporter communities engage with international issues while maintaining their existing collective identities.

Keck and Sikkink (1998) explain how advocacy around international issues can draw on shared values and symbolic practices to communicate political and humanitarian concerns across national boundaries. Meanwhile, Della Porta and Tarrow (2005) distinguish locally situated responses to international conflicts

from coordinated transnational collective action. These perspectives provide a basis for examining pro-Palestinian solidarity among football supporter communities without assuming that such expressions necessarily constitute an organized cross-border movement. Accordingly, this study focuses on how the supporter culture surrounding FC St. Pauli, Ultras Ahlawy, and Aremania articulates solidarity with Palestine through documented statements, banners, slogans, and other collective symbols. The analysis examines how these expressions connect established supporter identities with political and humanitarian concerns beyond their immediate communities. Rather than tracing organizational networks across countries, the diffusion of symbols between groups, or digital communication, this research examines the symbolic expression of solidarity with an international issue within distinct local contexts. Transnational solidarity is therefore understood in terms of the international orientation of these expressions, rather than as evidence of coordinated transnational mobilization.

This issue can be examined through Ibn Khaldūn's concept of *'asabiyyah*, as developed in *al-Muqaddimah*. In its original context, *'asabiyyah* refers to the bonds of mutual attachment and support that enable a group to maintain internal cohesion, defend its members, and pursue collective interests (Ibn Khaldūn, 2020). Although kinship (*nasab*) constitutes an important basis of these bonds, Ibn Khaldūn also recognizes forms of close social association that generate similar attachments. His discussion of *'asabiyyah* is closely connected to the formation of political authority and the sustainability of dynasties. The concept, therefore, should not be understood simply as a general expression of sympathy or humanitarian concern. Contemporary interpretations nevertheless suggest that Ibn Khaldūn's account of group solidarity remains relevant to the study of social cohesion beyond its original historical setting (Alatas, 2006; Malešević, 2015). Building on this perspective, the present study uses *'asabiyyah* as an analytical framework to examine how existing attachments within football supporter communities relate to their expressions of solidarity with Palestine. This application does not imply that Ibn Khaldūn's historical concept has changed, but rather explores its explanatory relevance to a different social context.

Nevertheless, studies on *'asabiyyah* and studies of the ultras community are still developing in a relatively separate space. Research on Ibn Khaldūn generally focuses on social, political, and civilization-building thought, while studies on ultras use the perspective of supporter identity, hooliganism, and social movements (Armstrong, 1998; Spaaij, 2006; Testa & Armstrong, 2010; Turner & Ludvigsen, 2024). Studies on the supporter culture that developed

around FC St. Pauli show that supporter communities can build an identity through certain social and political values that are part of their community culture (Daniel & Kassimeris, 2013; Perdana, 2016; Symons & McGowan, 2025). Meanwhile, studies on Ultras Ahlawy and Aremania also show that supporter communities can build solidarity through historical experiences, local identity, and collective memory of the group (Ennarah, 2017; Hakim, 2017; Hasso, 2018; Tamami et al., 2021). However, these studies have not examined much how the solidarity of modern supporter communities can be understood through the perspective of Islamic social philosophy, especially through conceptual transformation *'asabiyyah* Ibn Khaldūn.

This study addresses this gap by examining how Ibn Khaldūn's concept of *'asabiyyah* can help explain expressions of pro-Palestinian solidarity among football supporter communities. It focuses on one central question: How do the supporter communities associated with FC St. Pauli, Ultras Ahlawy, and Aremania express solidarity with Palestine, and how are these expressions connected to their group identities, collective symbols, and shared values? The study begins with the proposition that solidarity developed within supporter communities may also shape their responses to political and humanitarian concerns beyond their immediate social environments. Rather than assuming that such an extension of solidarity has already taken place, the research examines documentary evidence from the three cases to explore how these relationships are expressed. In doing so, the study considers the relevance of *'asabiyyah* for understanding solidarity beyond local group boundaries without suggesting that Ibn Khaldūn's original concept has itself changed.

This study aims to examine how Ibn Khaldūn's concept of *'asabiyyah* can be used to understand group attachments and expressions of solidarity with Palestine among football supporter communities, focusing on FC St. Pauli, Ultras Ahlawy, and Aremania. From the perspective of contemporary Islamic philosophy, the study explores the relevance of Ibn Khaldūn's thought to modern forms of social solidarity while distinguishing his historical understanding of *'asabiyyah* from its contemporary application. It also contributes to the study of football supporter communities by examining how collective identities, shared experiences, and cultural symbols may provide a basis for expressing social and humanitarian concerns beyond football, while recognizing differences in the available evidence across the three communities.

Literature Review

In this study, the concept *'asabiyyah* Ibn Khaldūn is used not simply as a supporting theory, but as the main conceptual framework for understanding how group solidarity is formed and undergoes changes in modern society. Elections *'asabiyyah* As a framework of analysis it is based on Ibn Khaldūn's idea that the sustainability of a group is greatly influenced by the ability of its members to build social attachment, a sense of belonging, and collective purpose. Through work *al-Muqaddimah*, Ibn Khaldūn explained that *'asabiyyah* is a social force that allows a group to maintain existence, build internal cohesion, and take joint action (Ibn Khaldūn, 2020). This concept is one of Ibn Khaldūn's important contributions in explaining how group solidarity functions as the basis for the formation of social organizations.

In Ibn Khaldūn's classical understanding, *'asabiyyah* It is often associated with genealogical relationships or kinship ties that are the main source of solidarity in traditional societies. These bonds create a strong sense of community because individuals have a common historical and identity relationship within a group. However, understanding *'asabiyyah* Simply as a biological bond would limit the relevance of the concept in explaining modern society. Alatas (2006) explains that Ibn Khaldūn's thought has relevance to contemporary social science because its main focus is not only on blood relations, but on the social mechanisms that allow groups to build solidarity and maintain collective identity. In line with this, Malešević (2015) suggests that Ibn Khaldūn's thought is related to modern studies of the origins of group solidarity because it discusses how humans create social attachment through shared experiences and goals.

Based on this perspective, this study understands *'asabiyyah* as a dynamic concept of solidarity. This means that the form of solidarity described by Ibn Khaldūn does not stop at primordial bonds, but can undergo transformation according to changes in social structure. In the context of modern supporter communities, group solidarity is not only formed through primordial relationships, but also through the process of forming a common identity. Studies on ultra groups show that support communities can create new forms of social identity through collective experiences, group symbols, and emotional attachment between members (Knijnik & Newson, 2021). Such transformation can occur when groups build attachments based on values, symbols, collective experiences, and shared identities. Durkheim's (1997) distinction between mechanical and organic solidarity offers a useful comparison with Ibn Khaldūn's

concept of *'asabiyyah*. While Ibn Khaldūn focuses on the role of group attachment in maintaining social cohesion and encouraging collective action, Durkheim highlights how solidarity develops through shared beliefs and mutual dependence as societies become more complex.

The transformation of solidarity can also be understood through the perspective of the construction of cultural identity. Geertz (1973) explained that symbols have an important role in building common understanding in a group because symbols are a medium for the formation of social meaning. Meanwhile, Hall (1997) affirms that identity is not something fixed, but is continuously shaped through representation, cultural practices, and social processes. Both perspectives provide a basis for understanding that modern groups can build solidarity through collectively constructed symbols and identities.

The transformation of solidarity is related to the concept of chosen kinship that was developed Weston (1997). Through this concept, Weston explains that human social relationships are not always formed through biological or hereditary relationships, but can also be built through social choices, shared experiences, and a commitment to certain values. Although the concept develops in different contexts, the idea of the formation of social relationships that have characteristics such as kinship provides an important perspective for understanding how modern communities build a sense of closeness in the absence of genealogical relationships. In the context of this research, the process forms the basis for an analysis of how ultra communities build solidarity that is not only oriented to internal groups, but also develops into solidarity with broader humanitarian issues.

Studies on supporter communities show that football identity can develop into a form of social mobilization when supporter groups have a common goal and build a collective organizational structure (Glaurdić, 2020). The community of ultras in football is one of the social phenomena that shows how identity and collective solidarity are built through shared experiences. Giulianotti (2018) explained that football supporters have various forms of attachment to the club and its community, where the relationship is not only emotional but also related to social identity. In the ultras community, this attachment is strengthened through stadium rituals, group symbols, loyalty, and shared narratives that build the boundaries of community identity (Spaaij, 2006; Testa & Armstrong, 2010; Turner & Ludvigsen, 2024). Therefore, the ultras community can be understood as a social space where the mechanism of group solidarity is formed and maintained.

Studies of ultras show that the community of supporters is not always limited to sports activities, but can also be a space for social and political expression. Armstrong (1998) shows that supporter culture has the ability to form a collective identity through symbols and internal group solidarity. Meanwhile, Numerato (2018) Explains that the supporter community can develop into social actors who play a role in various societal issues. This phenomenon can be seen in several cases that are the focus of this research. The supporter culture that develops around FC St. Pauli shows how supporter identity can be built through certain social and political values that are part of the community culture (Daniel & Kassimeris, 2013; Perdana, 2016; Symons & McGowan, 2025). Meanwhile, Ultras Ahlawy and Aremania showed how historical experiences, local identities, and collective memory can be the basis for the formation of group solidarity (Ennarah, 2017; Hakim, 2017; Hasso, 2018; Tamami et al., 2021).

Based on these studies, this study places *'asabiyyah* as a framework to analyze the transformation of the solidarity of pro-Palestinian ultras communities. This framework looks at solidarity through three main dimensions, namely group identity, collective symbols, and value orientation. Group identity explains how communities build a sense of belonging and social boundaries between members. Collective symbols explain how visual representations, narratives, and cultural practices create shared meaning. Meanwhile, value orientation explains how group internal solidarity can develop into support for humanitarian issues that transcend geographical boundaries.

Thus, this study does not use *'asabiyyah* only to explain the existence of group solidarity, but to analyze the process of transformation of solidarity. Through this perspective, *'asabiyyah* is understood as a mechanism of social cohesion that can move from solidarity based on group attachment to transnational solidarity based on universal human values. This framework is the basis for an analysis of the supporter culture that develops around FC St. Pauli, Ultras Ahlawy, and Aremania in understanding how local communities can build connectedness to global issues.

Research Methods

This study uses a qualitative descriptive-analytical approach, drawing on document-based case studies to explore expressions of pro-Palestinian solidarity among football supporter communities through Ibn Khaldūn's concept of *'asabiyyah*. Rather than focusing on measurable relationships between varia-

bles, the research examines how group solidarity is reflected in shared meanings, narratives, and symbolic practices. The study focuses on three purposively selected cases: the supporter culture surrounding FC St. Pauli, Ultras Ahlawy, and Aremania. These communities were chosen because they provide different social contexts for examining the relationship between collective identity, shared experiences, and expressions of solidarity with Palestine. The research relies on primary documentary materials, such as community statements, official publications, records of supporter activities, banners, and other visual materials associated with stadium culture. Secondary data are drawn from existing academic literature on Ibn Khaldūn's thought, *'asabiyyah*, social solidarity, cultural identity, football supporter communities, and transnational social movements.

The three cases were purposively selected based on three considerations: the traceability of documented pro-Palestinian expressions, the availability of relevant sources, and differences in their social and political contexts. These considerations guided the selection of the supporter culture surrounding FC St. Pauli, Ultras Ahlawy, and Aremania. FC St. Pauli was selected for its supporter culture, which is closely associated with social and political values (Daniel & Kassimeris, 2013; Perdana, 2016; Symons & McGowan, 2025). Ultras Ahlawy represents a community whose collective identity has been shaped by shared historical experiences (Ennarah, 2017; Hasso, 2018), while Aremania provides a case in which local identity and community attachment play an important role in supporter solidarity (Hakim, 2017; Tamami et al., 2021). To avoid interpreting these cases solely in support of the initial proposition, the analysis also considers whether the available documents reveal limited, ambiguous, or contrasting expressions of solidarity with Palestine.

The research instrument in this qualitative research is in the form of document analysis guidelines developed based on the framework of *'asabiyyah* Ibn Khaldūn. The framework is used to identify three main dimensions in the formation of solidarity, namely group identity, collective symbols, and value orientation. The group identity dimension is used to analyze how communities build a sense of belonging and social boundaries between members. The analysis focuses on three dimensions. Group identity is examined through belonging, loyalty, and shared experiences reflected in community statements and supporter activities, using Gadamer's hermeneutics. Collective symbols are explored through banners, slogans, and stadium visuals using Barthes' semiotics. Meanwhile, value orientation is examined through expressions of

humanitarian concern and solidarity with Palestine in textual and visual documentation, drawing on both interpretive approaches.

Data collection techniques were carried out through documentation studies and literature studies. Documentation studies were used to collect various sources in the form of texts, images, videos, community publications, and documentation of supporter activities related to the expression of pro-Palestinian solidarity. Literature studies were conducted to gain a theoretical understanding of *Ibn Khaldūn's 'asabiyyah*, social solidarity, cultural identity, and transnational social movements. The data obtained were then classified based on their relevance to the purpose of the research.

Data analysis was conducted using Gadamer's hermeneutics and Barthes' semiotics to interpret the textual and visual materials examined in this study. Gadamer's hermeneutic approach was used to understand supporter narratives by considering their historical contexts and the social experiences that shaped them (Gadamer et al., 2011). Meanwhile, Barthes' semiotics was applied to examine the meanings conveyed through visual symbols, including flags, banners, slogans, and stadium choreography (Barthes, 1977). Both approaches were guided by Ibn Khaldūn's concept of *'asabiyyah* as the main analytical framework for understanding group cohesion and how existing community attachments relate to expressions of solidarity with Palestine. To strengthen the credibility of the findings, source triangulation was carried out by comparing academic literature, community publications, and visual documentation. Theoretical triangulation was also conducted by examining the findings in relation to perspectives on social solidarity, cultural identity, and transnational social movements. Through these processes, the study sought to develop interpretations that remained consistent with the available evidence while accounting for the different social contexts of the three supporter communities.

Results and Discussion

Football Supporter Communities, Collective Identity, and Transnational Solidarity

1. Foundations of Solidarity in Football Supporter Communities

The documents examined across the three cases reveal different foundations of solidarity among football supporter communities. Studies of the supporter culture surrounding FC St. Pauli highlight its connection to social values, particularly anti-discrimination, inclusivity, and community engagement (Daniel & Kassimeris, 2013; Symons & McGowan, 2025). In the case of Ultras

Ahlawy, existing research emphasizes the role of shared historical experiences and collective memory in strengthening group identity (Ennarah, 2017; Hasso, 2018). Meanwhile, Aremania provides a documented example of solidarity with Palestine through banners bearing the messages "God Save Gaza" and "Free Palestine", displayed at Kanjuruhan Stadium in Malang on 12 July 2014 (*"GOD SAVE GAZA" By Aremania | Qta AREMANIA*, n.d.). These sources illustrate how supporter communities develop distinct forms of group attachment, although direct documentation of pro-Palestinian expressions is more explicit in the Aremania case.

Studies of football supporter communities show that group solidarity is strengthened through shared experiences, loyalty, and a sense of belonging (Su et al., 2025). Although these attachments are not necessarily based on genealogical ties, they share certain characteristics with the group cohesion and collective awareness emphasized in Ibn Khaldūn's concept of *'asabiyyah*. In this sense, the concept provides a relevant analytical perspective for understanding how solidarity develops within modern supporter communities. The following sections examine the foundations and expressions of solidarity in each of the three cases.

2. FC St. Pauli: Ideological Values and Humanitarian Solidarity

In the case of FC St. Pauli, existing research highlights how supporter identity is shaped not only by attachment to the club but also by social values such as anti-discrimination, inclusivity, and engagement with wider social issues (Daniel & Kassimeris, 2013; Symons & McGowan, 2025). These values contribute to a supporter culture in which collective identity extends beyond sporting activities and becomes associated with broader social concerns (Numerato, 2018; Symons & McGowan, 2025). This suggests that shared experiences and social values play an important role in maintaining group solidarity, while also providing a basis for examining how supporters relate to humanitarian issues beyond their immediate community.

Research data show that the relationship between FC St. Pauli and its supporter community is not built solely through match-related activities but also through social practices that reflect shared values (Symons & McGowan, 2025). FC St. Pauli's supporter culture develops through various forms of collective expression, including the use of symbols, social messages, and involvement in humanitarian issues. In the context of solidarity with Palestine, expressions of support can be understood as part of the social identity of

supporters, which has previously been shaped by a commitment to certain values. Expressions of support, such as banners bearing the messages "Stop Genocide in Gaza" and "Netanyahu Fascist! Stop Killing Civilians in Palestine!", demonstrate that supporters' identities are not only used to express loyalty to the club but also serve as a means of expressing concern for the suffering of groups outside their community (FC St. Pauli, 2025; Haagen, 2025). Thus, support for the Palestinian cause does not emerge as an act separate from the community's identity but rather as a continuation of the social values already embedded in FC St. Pauli's supporter culture.

Collective symbols also play an important role in maintaining the identity of the FC St. Pauli community (Symons & McGowan, 2025). Club symbols, supporter attributes, and various forms of visual expression serve not only as signs of loyalty to the club but also as media through which the community communicates the values it seeks to represent (Gang et al., 2023). Perdana (2016) explains that FC St. Pauli is often understood as an example of a football club with a strong connection between supporter identity and political and social communication. Through these collective symbols and practices, supporters construct a narrative about their community as a group that not only supports the club but also demonstrates concern for broader social issues.

Based on these findings, FC St. Pauli demonstrates a form of *'asabiyyah* grounded in ideological and human values, particularly anti-discrimination and human rights. This form of solidarity develops from a supporter identity into a broader identity based on shared social values (Daniel & Kassimeris, 2013; Gang et al., 2023; Symons & McGowan, 2025). Solidarity within this community derives not only from an emotional connection to the club but also from a shared understanding of the values that the group considers important. These findings suggest that supporter communities can become spaces for the formation of solidarity that transcends the boundaries of sport when group identity is constructed through symbols, shared experiences, and a commitment to certain values (Biel, 2026; Llopis-Goig et al., 2026; Numerato, 2018).

3. Ultras Ahlawy: Collective Experience and Social Memory

A similar phenomenon can be observed in the case of Ultras Ahlawy, where the solidarity of the supporter community is formed through collective experiences, group history, and shared involvement in various social dynamics (Robbert Woltering, 2013). Ultras Ahlawy is one of Egypt's football supporter communities that has developed not merely as a group supporting a football

club but also as a community with a strong social identity. The formation of this identity is influenced by shared experiences among members, supporter cultural practices, and various social events that strengthen the community's sense of togetherness (Ennarah, 2017).

Research data show that collective experiences are among the main factors contributing to the internal cohesion of Ultras Ahlawy. Experiences shared by members create a social memory that subsequently becomes part of the community's identity. In this context, solidarity is not formed solely through match-supporting activities but also through a long process of interaction among members that generates trust, loyalty, and an awareness of belonging to the same group. Dorsey (2016) explains that football in the Middle East is often a social space in which community identity, public expression, and social engagement develop simultaneously.

Group symbols and narratives also play an important role in maintaining the identity of Ultras Ahlawy. Various forms of supporter expression, such as group chants, attributes, and community symbols, serve as a medium connecting past experiences with the group's present identity. In the context of solidarity with Palestine, expressions displayed by supporter communities not only represent attitudes toward specific issues but also relate to broader narratives of solidarity, shared experiences, and social connectedness within the community. Expressions of support, such as the display of Palestinian flags and the use of the song "Ya Falastini", demonstrate that supporters' identities are not only used to express loyalty to the club but also serve as a means of expressing concern for the suffering of groups outside their community (Bonifacio, 2025; Ultras Ahlawy - UA07 Music, 2025). Hasso (2018) shows that ultras culture in Egypt has a strong affective dimension, in which emotional relationships and shared experiences constitute important elements in the formation of supporter identity.

Based on these findings, Ultras Ahlawy demonstrates a form of *'asabiyyah* grounded in collective experiences and the community's social memory (Augusto Alexandre, 2025; Turner & Ludvigsen, 2024). The solidarity that emerges depends not only on the relationship between supporters and the club but also on the historical processes that establish a sense of belonging among members. This phenomenon illustrates how supporter communities can become spaces for the formation of collective identity through shared experiences, group symbols, and values maintained by the community (Augusto Alexandre, 2025; Biel, 2026).

4. Aremania: Local Identity and Global Humanitarian Solidarity

Meanwhile, the analysis of Aremania shows that supporter solidarity can develop through the relationship between local identity, a sense of community belonging, and expressions of concern for broader humanitarian issues (Hakim, 2017). Aremania is a supporter community with a strong attachment to the social identity of Malang City and the Arema football club. This identity is formed not only through support for the football club but also through shared experiences, community symbols, and emotional relationships among supporter members (Hakim, 2017). In this context, Aremania demonstrates how local supporter communities can become spaces for the formation of collective identities whose influence extends beyond sporting activities.

The identity of Aremania is constructed through various supporter cultural practices that strengthen a sense of togetherness, including the use of group symbols, activities in the stands, and various forms of collective expression. These symbols function as markers of community identity as well as media for communicating the values that the group seeks to convey. This is supported by Tamami et al. (2021), who show that emotional relationships and group identity are important factors in the formation of supporter solidarity. Their study of rivalry and fanaticism among Bonek and Aremania demonstrates that these phenomena are not only related to conflicts between groups but also reflect how supporter identities are formed through the history, experiences, and social relationships that develop within the community.

In the context of solidarity with Palestine, the findings show that Aremania has experienced an expansion of identity orientation from local community concerns toward global humanitarian issues. On 12 July 2014, Aremania supporters displayed two banners reading "God Save Gaza" and "Free Palestine" at Kanjuruhan Stadium in Malang, expressing solidarity with Palestinians without necessarily representing the official position of the wider supporter community (*"GOD SAVE GAZA" By Aremania | Qta AREMANIA*, n.d.). This expression illustrates how supporter symbols can connect local identities with broader values of humanitarian solidarity.

The Aremania case demonstrates that supporter solidarity is not necessarily limited to internal group relationships but can develop through a process of identification with particular values. In this case, Aremania illustrates a form of *'asabiyyah* grounded in a strong local identity that provides a basis for expressions of solidarity with global issues when the community attaches

shared meaning to a humanitarian concern (Oreg & Frankenburg, 2026; Petersen-Wagner, 2017). Thus, Aremania represents a form of solidarity that begins with local community attachment and subsequently develops into an expression of solidarity that transcends geographical boundaries and the group's initial identity (Fitzpatrick & Hoey, 2022; Kasımoğlu, 2026).

5. Collective Symbols and the Construction of Supporter Identity

Beyond the specific characteristics of each supporter community, collective symbols play an important role in maintaining and expanding the solidarity of ultras communities (Biel, 2026; Melucci, 1996). In modern society, solidarity is not built solely through direct relationships between individuals but also through symbols that generate shared meanings. Geertz (1973) explains that symbols constitute an important part of cultural formation because people understand social reality through systems of meaning that they collectively construct. Similarly, Hall (1997) explains that social identity is formed through a process of representation that continues to develop within cultural practices.

Across the three cases, supporter symbols function as expressions of collective identity, although their forms, social contexts, and intended audiences differ. Among FC St. Pauli supporters, visual expressions are closely associated with the community's social and political values, particularly inclusivity and anti-discrimination, conveying messages that extend beyond loyalty to the club (Daniel & Kassimeris, 2013; Symons & McGowan, 2025). In contrast, Ultras Ahlawy draws on chants, group symbols, and shared historical experiences to preserve collective memory and strengthen solidarity among its members, while also expressing its identity in public supporter settings (Hasso, 2018). Aremania presents a more specific example of solidarity with an international issue through the banners "God Save Gaza" and "Free Palestine", displayed at Kanjuruhan Stadium in Malang on 12 July 2014 (*"GOD SAVE GAZA" By Aremania | Qta AREMANIA*, n.d.).

Unlike symbols primarily associated with internal identity and shared experiences, these banners brought a humanitarian concern beyond the local community into the stadium. Although the three cases illustrate different ways in which supporter symbols communicate collective values, the available documentation does not establish whether these expressions reached audiences across national borders or involved coordinated transnational action.

6. From Collective Identity to Transnational Solidarity: An Interpretation through 'Asabiyyah

The findings across the three cases indicate that solidarity within ultras communities can develop from internal group attachment toward a broader value orientation. Expressions of pro-Palestinian solidarity show that supporter communities not only maintain their own group identities but also establish symbolic connections with humanitarian issues beyond their geographical boundaries. This phenomenon indicates a development in the sources and orientation of solidarity, whereby attachment is no longer based exclusively on primordial relationships but also on shared values and moral perceptions concerning global issues.

These developments can be understood through the concept of transnational solidarity, which explains how social groups build cross-border support through shared identities, social networks, and particular values (Della Porta & Tarrow, 2005; Keck & Sikkink, 1998). In the context of this study, the pro-Palestinian solidarity expressed by football supporter communities suggests that *'asabiyyah* continues to operate through the formation of a sense of connectedness and common purpose, while the object of solidarity expands. If, in traditional societies, solidarity is more directly oriented toward defending one's own group, in the modern context it can also develop into support for other groups on the basis of universal human values.

Taken together, the three cases reveal different ways in which football supporter communities construct and express solidarity, although the available evidence varies in its directness. Among FC St. Pauli supporters, collective identity is closely associated with social values such as inclusivity, anti-discrimination, and engagement with wider social issues (Daniel & Kassimeris, 2013; Symons & McGowan, 2025). In Ultras Ahlawy, solidarity is more strongly rooted in shared historical experiences and collective memory, which help maintain group cohesion (Ennarah, 2017; Hasso, 2018). Meanwhile, Aremania provides a more direct example of pro-Palestinian expression through the banners "God Save Gaza" and "Free Palestine", displayed at Kanjuruhan Stadium in Malang on 12 July 2014 (*"GOD SAVE GAZA" By Aremania | Qta AREMANIA*, n.d.).

While the documented action in the Aremania case demonstrates a visible expression of solidarity with Palestine, the sources examined for FC St. Pauli and Ultras Ahlawy primarily establish the social and historical foundations of their collective identities rather than the extent of their support for Palestine. These

differences highlight the need to distinguish between the forms of solidarity expressed by each community and the strength of the available evidence.

Overall, the findings suggest that group identity, collective symbols, and shared values may provide a basis for expressing solidarity beyond immediate community interests. Through the perspective of *'asabiyyah*, this development can be understood as an expansion of the object and orientation of group solidarity, from attachment to one's own community toward identification with broader humanitarian values. Nevertheless, the relationship between these expressions and transnational solidarity requires further theoretical interpretation, particularly because the available documentation does not establish the existence of coordinated cross-border action among the three supporter communities.

The Contemporary Relevance of Ibn Khaldūn's Concept of 'Asabiyyah

A closer reading of Ibn Khaldūn's *al-Muqaddimah* helps clarify both the relevance and the limits of *'asabiyyah* in understanding solidarity among contemporary football supporters. Ibn Khaldūn explains that group solidarity develops through kinship and relationships resembling it, in which close social ties encourage mutual affection, support, and protection (Ibn Khaldūn, 2020, pp. 173–174). He also recognizes that alliances and other forms of social attachment can connect individuals to groups beyond their original lineage (Ibn Khaldūn, 2020, p. 176). However, his discussion of *'asabiyyah* is rooted in a historical setting in which group cohesion played an important role in establishing leadership and political authority (Ibn Khaldūn, 2020, pp. 177, 209). This suggests that *'asabiyyah* cannot simply be equated with sympathy for others, as it also involves relationships that sustain collective strength and mutual obligations. As Alatas (2006) explains, Ibn Khaldūn's thought offers a broader sociological perspective on how social groups are formed and maintained.

Malešević (2015) offers a useful perspective for understanding the relevance of Ibn Khaldūn's thought to contemporary studies of group solidarity. His discussion provides a basis for examining solidarity in modern football supporter communities without assuming that their social conditions are identical to those of the historical context in which Ibn Khaldūn developed his concept. Durkheim's (1997) distinction between mechanical and organic solidarity also offers a complementary perspective by explaining how social cohesion may develop through shared beliefs or interdependence within society. Although these perspectives differ in their historical and theoretical

foundations, both help explain the importance of social relationships in sustaining collective life. Drawing on these perspectives, the present study uses *'asabiyyah* to examine how established group attachments relate to expressions of solidarity among modern football supporter communities. The social and political values associated with FC St. Pauli, the shared historical experiences of Ultras Ahlawy, and Aremania supporters' documented expressions of solidarity with Palestine provide different contexts for this interpretation.

Symbols and shared meanings are important for understanding how football supporter communities express their collective identities and values. Although Ibn Khaldūn's discussion does not directly address symbolic practices in modern communities, his explanation of *'asabiyyah* provides a basis for examining the social bonds underlying collective expressions. Geertz (1973) emphasizes the role of symbols in conveying cultural meanings, while Hall (1997) explains how identities are constructed and communicated through representation. These perspectives help explain how flags, banners, slogans, and stadium choreography can express shared values while communicating messages beyond the supporter community.

In the context of solidarity with Palestine, Aremania's use of the banners "God Save Gaza" and "Free Palestine" at Kanjuruhan Stadium illustrates how local supporter symbols can be directed toward an international humanitarian issue. Such expressions demonstrate how established community identities can provide a context for communicating concerns beyond immediate group interests. However, expressing solidarity with an international cause does not necessarily indicate participation in an organized transnational movement. Keck and Sikkink (1998) highlight the importance of shared values and communication in transnational advocacy, while Della Porta and Tarrow (2005) help distinguish local responses to international issues from coordinated cross-border collective action. In this study, the available documentation primarily supports an understanding of transnational solidarity as an international orientation expressed within local supporter contexts, rather than evidence of established cross-border networks.

Rather than suggesting that Ibn Khaldūn's concept of *'asabiyyah* has undergone a transformation, this study examines how its underlying principles can be applied to understand solidarity in contemporary football supporter communities. In *al-Muqaddimah*, Ibn Khaldūn explains that group solidarity develops through kinship and other close social relationships that encourage mutual support and protection (Ibn Khaldūn, 2020, pp. 173–174). He also

recognizes that alliances and social attachments can create bonds beyond common descent (Ibn Khaldūn, 2020, p. 176), although his discussion remains closely connected to leadership and political authority within its historical setting (Ibn Khaldūn, 2020, p. 209).

These ideas provide a starting point for examining how shared identities, experiences, and values contribute to solidarity among modern football supporters. In the cases of FC St. Pauli, Ultras Ahlawy, and Aremania, such attachments take different forms and may also relate to expressions of concern for issues beyond the immediate community, including Palestine. Nevertheless, the available evidence does not establish the same degree of pro-Palestinian engagement across the three cases. Nor does it demonstrate that existing group attachments have been replaced by a different form of solidarity. The argument developed here therefore represents a contemporary application of selected principles of *'asabiyyah*, rather than a claim that Ibn Khaldūn's original concept has undergone a transformation.

The main contribution of this study lies in applying Ibn Khaldūn's concept of *'asabiyyah* to understand solidarity in contemporary football supporter communities, rather than suggesting that the concept itself has changed. Building on its historical foundations, this study examines how collective identities, shared experiences, and symbolic practices may relate to expressions of solidarity with Palestine. Although the available evidence varies across the three communities, it suggests that established group attachments can provide a context for expressing concern beyond local interests.

From the perspective of contemporary Islamic philosophy, this study contributes by bringing Ibn Khaldūn's understanding of group cohesion into dialogue with modern social experiences. Its contribution therefore lies not in redefining *'asabiyyah* itself, but in exploring its analytical relevance while preserving the historical and philosophical context in which the concept was originally developed. This interpretation offers a contemporary reading of *'asabiyyah* while recognizing the distinction between Ibn Khaldūn's historical thought and its application to modern social phenomena.

Conclusions

This study highlights the relevance of Ibn Khaldūn's concept of *'asabiyyah* as a framework for understanding how football supporter communities develop group attachments and express solidarity beyond their immediate social environments. The analysis of FC St. Pauli, Ultras Ahlawy, and Aremania reveals

different foundations of solidarity shaped by collective identity, shared experiences, and community values. FC St. Pauli's supporter culture reflects a strong connection to social and political values, while Ultras Ahlawy demonstrates the importance of collective historical experiences in maintaining group cohesion. Aremania provides a more direct example of pro-Palestinian solidarity through the display of banners expressing support for Palestine. Although the available evidence differs across the three cases, these findings suggest that established group identities and collective symbols can provide a context for expressing concern about issues beyond local communities. Rather than demonstrating a fundamental transformation in the structure of group cohesion, the study points to the possibility of broader expressions and orientations of solidarity toward international humanitarian concerns.

From the perspective of contemporary Islamic philosophy, this study contributes to understanding how Ibn Khaldūn's concept of *'asabiyyah* can be applied to examine solidarity in modern social contexts without suggesting that its original historical meaning has changed. It also offers a perspective on football supporter communities as social spaces where shared identities and values may become connected to wider social and humanitarian concerns. However, the study is limited by its reliance on documentary sources, which do not fully capture supporters' personal experiences, motivations, or the internal processes through which solidarity develops. Its focus on three cases also limits the extent to which the findings can be generalized to other supporter communities. Future research could address these limitations through ethnographic observation, in-depth interviews, and comparisons across a wider range of communities to better understand how internal group attachments relate to expressions of solidarity beyond local and national boundaries.

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