



## Green Nord 27's Instagram Post Criticizing the High Cost of Match Tickets: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Political Communication and Digital Activism Among Indonesian Football Supporter Groups

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### ARTICLE INFO

### ABSTRACT

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**Research Aims:** In contemporary Indonesia, football supporters have transcended their traditional role of merely providing support to football clubs during matches. They also resist being solely perceived as consumers of various sports industry products, such as tickets, which have become integral to the modern football industry system. The modernization of this industry has raised concerns regarding the high cost of tickets, which are perceived as misaligned with the economic conditions of football supporters. This situation has led Green Nord 27, a faction of Bonek who support the Persebaya Surabaya club, to initiate a protest through their group's social media, addressing the club management.

**Methodology:** This study employs the Critical Discourse Analysis method as developed by Teun van Dijk, concentrating on the examination of various discourse elements in posts from the Instagram account @greennord.27. The aim is to elucidate the meanings and interests underlying the protest actions undertaken by Green Nord 27.

**Research Findings:** The findings indicate that social media provides a platform for activism among football supporter groups, enabling them to assert their roles and power dynamics with club management. This form of activism is manifested through the use of provocative language styles that construct a critical discourse to articulate their political interests.

**Theoretical Contribution:** This research offers significant implications for the advancement of communication studies, particularly in the realm of political communication as a form of activism in the digital era, by leveraging the presence of social media among football supporter groups. This may, in turn, contribute to the emergence of a new social movement.

**Keywords:** Political Communication, Digital Activism, Social Media, Football Supporters, Critical Discourse Analysis, Protest Action.

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## Introduction

In today's digital era, social media has profoundly transformed the ways of interaction and patterns of communication among football supporter groups in Indonesia (Harianto, 2013). Previously, football supporters acted as passive consumers within the football sports industry. However, they have now transformed into active entities that play a more significant role in expressing enthusiasm, identity, dedication, and loyalty towards the teams they support (Bauers et al., 2023; J. A. Cleland, 2010). This transformation demonstrates that football supporters have transcended the power relations that previously existed between them and team management (Nurgiansah et al., 2024; Perdana, 2016).

Social media functions as a platform that expands the space for interaction for supporter groups, allowing them to voice ideas and opinions regarding various issues and challenges faced by their teams. In addition, social media also facilitates the formation of collective movements initiated by supporters. (J. Cleland et al., 2018; Olesen, 2018). These supporter groups use social media as a communication tool to convey their various interests, by creating posts containing critical images and narratives aimed at portraying their views and positions regarding issues or challenges faced by their football team (Perdana & Utama, 2024).

Recently, an interesting phenomenon has been experienced by Bonek (the supporter group of Persebaya Surabaya) regarding the price of Persebaya match tickets, which they consider too expensive. Green Nord 27, a subgroup within Bonek, created content uploaded to their Instagram account to protest the high price of Persebaya match tickets. The content posted by the account @greenord.27 on July 16, 2025, received a massive response with thousands of likes, hundreds of comments, and was



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shared hundreds of times by Instagram users. There are two important aspects that can be clearly observed.

*Figure 1 Protest Content on Green Nord 27's Instagram Account*



The first part of the content upload consists of a narrative in English *“HIGH PRICES Without ACCOMPLISHMENT STOP EXPLOITING OUR LOYALTY!”* This narrative uses contrasting background colors for the text, set against the backdrop of the Green Nord 27 group and a small logo at the top of the content.

*Figure 2 Narrative in the Green Nord 27 Protest Content*



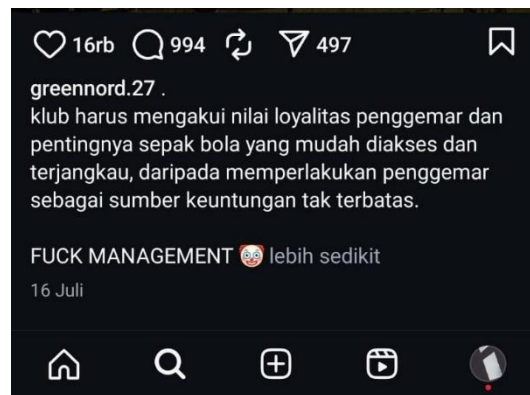
Meanwhile, in the second part of the content upload, this is reinforced with a brief explanatory text at the bottom that *“klub harus mengakui nilai loyalitas penggemar dan pentingnya sepakbola yang mudah diakses dan terjangkau, daripada memperlakukan penggemar sebagai sumber keuntungan tak terbatas. FUCK MANAGEMENT 😡 (emotikon badut)”* or in English *“the club must recognize the value of fan loyalty and the importance of*



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*football that is accessible and affordable, rather than treating fans as an unlimited source of profit. FUCK MANAGEMENT (clown emoji)”*

**Figure 3 The Caption of the Protest Content**



The content posted on the @greennord.27 account is interesting to analyze in depth, considering that there is critical discourse used by Green Nord 27 in protesting the issue of Persebaya match ticket prices to the team management. Therefore, this research seeks to reveal the important meanings behind the discourse in the protest content uploaded on the Green Nord 27 Instagram account. Teun van Dijk's critical discourse analysis method is used to uncover the deeper meaning of these protest posts, so that Green Nord 27's protest content is not merely seen as a simple protest against the high price of Persebaya match tickets.

### **Literature Review**

Football supporters are one form of fan group, as they are a group of individuals who share the same interests and passions toward a social and cultural phenomenon (Kossakowski & Besta, 2018). As a fan group, football supporters hold certain identities, norms, and values that distinguish their group from others (Abiyyu, 2025). The participatory culture owned by a fan group is highly relevant in its relation to football supporters, where they do not merely like a player or a football team, but also play an active role in organizing various activities related to their interests and passions.

The active role and participation of football supporters in the teams they support and favor have gradually shifted their position from mere consumers to influential stakeholders within the social and cultural structures of football. Football supporters are now able to exert pressure on team management when issues arise, while also building public opinion among fellow supporters and other parties as part of broader social movements leveraging the presence of social media (Djuyandi et al., 2021; Nurdiantara et al., 2024).



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Social movements utilizing social media, which are also a part of football supporters' digital activism, present various forms of critical discourse as narratives expressing their disagreement with issues and problems faced by their beloved football teams (Arianto, 2022; Bhirawan, 2023). The use of critical discourse by football supporters seeks to influence ongoing social dynamics, bringing about social change, and signaling that through critical discourse, football supporters are communicating their interests to other parties (Perdana, 2021; Purwaningtyas et al., 2023).

## Methods

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), developed by Teun van Dijk, is a qualitative approach to studying the relationship between language, power, and society. Critical Discourse Analysis has become an important method capable of analyzing discourse by focusing on various aspects, such as text, cognition, and social context. The text is observed as a structural layer consisting of three dimensions: macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure. Macrostructure relates to the general meaning contained within the text/discourse. Superstructure encompasses the linguistic elements used in the text, such as semantics, syntax, lexis, and rhetoric (Bazzi, 2022; Van Dijk, 2002). This method also examines the beliefs held by the creator of the discourse, which shape the text and language that form the discourse itself. Cognition or beliefs are also reinforced by the social context, since discourse cannot be separated from the social environment in which the text and language are produced (Sengul, 2019).

Protest content posts on the Instagram account @greennord.27 were selected, considering the narrative content resulting from the production of critical discourse by a group of football supporters in response to the issues and problems currently occurring between them and the team management. This discourse is categorized into the macrostructure to understand the general meaning and purpose of the post, then the superstructure, focusing on the choice and use of language by Green Nord 27 in protesting against the high price of football match tickets, and finally the microstructure as well as social cognition, which analyze in depth the social dynamics posed by certain issues and problems, leading to the creation of the narrative. All of these aspects aim to ensure that, in the process of analysis, various meanings can be



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found that further elaborate on the intentions, goals, and interests of Green Nord 27 through the post.

### **Findings and Discussions**

Based on an in-depth analysis using Teun van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis model, there are several key findings that can serve as focal points in the results of this study.

First, the post not only demonstrates the effectiveness of social media in football supporter activism, but also reveals the complex dynamics between the team, its supporters, and the modern football economy. The high level of engagement with the content – 16,000 likes, 994 comments, and 497 shares – indicates that the issue of ticket prices has struck at the core concerns of Persebaya supporters. This reflects a broader tension between the commercialization of sports and accessibility for loyal fans, a phenomenon increasingly common in the global football world. Furthermore, the viral nature of this post highlights the vital role played by organized supporter groups such as Green Nord 27 in shaping public discourse around their team. By leveraging Instagram's vast reach, they have successfully elevated a local issue to a larger stage, potentially attracting the attention of team management, media, and even football authorities. This phenomenon illustrates a shift in the power dynamics of modern football, where the collective voice of fans, amplified by digital platforms, can become a significant force in influencing team policy and the overall football viewing experience.

Second, the post reflects growing tension between supporters and football team management. The disappointment expressed is not only related to ticket prices, which are considered too high, but also touches on deeper issues concerning the relationship between the team and its fan base. Supporters feel that their loyalty is being exploited for financial gain alone, without any reciprocal return in the form of team achievements or an improved spectator experience. The use of provocative phrases and clown emojis exposes a high level of frustration, as well as a strategy to attract attention and spark further discussion on the issue. The communication strategy used in the post is also noteworthy. The use of bilingual language reflects an awareness of the importance of reaching a broader audience, not only locally but also internationally. This can be interpreted as an effort to mobilize greater support and perhaps to attract the attention of the international media or football organizations. By emphasizing the importance of accessibility and affordability in football, this post also raises larger issues surrounding the commercialization of sports and its impact on loyal fans. It shows that the protest is not just about ticket prices, but also about fundamental values in the relationship between a football team and its community.



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Finally, this post illustrates the evolution of football supporter activism into a significant form of political communication. Green Nord 27 uses the issue of ticket prices as a starting point to discuss broader themes such as supporter loyalty, team accountability, and social responsibility. By doing so, they engage in grassroots political discourse that challenges existing power structures within the world of football. The group's use of social media amplifies their message and allows them to reach a wider audience. The transformation of supporter groups like Green Nord 27 from passive spectators into influential actors reflects a shift in the balance of power within the sport. Supporters are no longer content to just cheer for their team from the stands; they now demand a voice in the decision-making processes that affect their club. This activism demonstrates how supporters can play a vital role in shaping their team's future, pushing for transparency, and promoting the values they deem important. This phenomenon also illustrates how sports, especially football, can become an arena for broader social and political change.

Based on the findings obtained, a more in-depth discussion was conducted in line with various aspects of the Critical Discourse Analysis method as modeled by Teun van Dijk. This discussion aims to elaborate and explain the main findings derived from Teun van Dijk's three-dimensional analytical framework, which includes text, social cognition, and social context (2002).

This framework encompasses macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure, as well as the cognitive foundation and sociological context underlying discourse production. This study reveals that what appears to be a simple and spontaneous social media post is, in reality, a structured, complex, and strategic act of political communication.

Such posts are carefully designed to highlight unequal power relations, gain both emotional and rational support from the audience, and ultimately shape and drive digital social movements capable of influencing authoritative decisions. Through the application of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), it becomes clear that language not only represents social reality but also actively shapes and challenges it, making discourse an arena for ideological contestation.

In analyzing the macrostructure level, attention is focused on the overall meaning and global themes articulated in the Green Nord 27 post. The central theme goes beyond merely protesting ticket price increases, encompassing a comprehensive challenge to legitimacy, fairness, and the reciprocal relationship between the team and its supporters. The core statement, "HIGH PRICES Without ACCOMPLICES STOP EXPLOITING OUR LOYALTY!" summarizes their entire argument, illustrating three fundamentally interconnected elements.



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Material and conditional elements, as indicated in the phrase "HIGH PRICE," highlight concrete actions by management that have sparked protests. Secondly, the element of rational justification found in the phrase "Without ACCOMPLISHMENT" serves to refute the economic rationality that management might present, asserting that there is no achievement that can justify a price increase. Thirdly, and most importantly, is the element of emotional morality in the phrase "STOP EXPLOITING OUR LOYALTY," which elevates the conflict from a purely economic issue to one of ethics and betrayal. The term "exploit" becomes key, shifting the narrative from consumer grievances to a moral accusation against a system perceived as oppressive.

The meaning on this macro level clearly illustrates the shift in attitudes among supporters from passive subjects expected only to provide financial and emotional support without the right to protest, to active and critical subjects demanding recognition of their rights and questioning the unwritten social contract between the team and its fans. The demand for transparency and fairness in ticket pricing reflects the desire to have a voice and a role in team governance. From this perspective, supporters no longer see themselves merely as consumers purchasing a sports entertainment product, but as key stakeholders and even as guardians of the team's cultural heritage and identity. The unwavering loyalty they demonstrate is seen as conferring a moral right to participate, to be heard, and to be valued – not merely to be financially exploited.

At the suprastructural level, analysis of linguistic elements, text schemes, and communication style reveals the use of highly sophisticated rhetorical strategies, deliberately chosen and adapted to the algorithmic logic of social media. The decision to use English as the medium of protest, rather than Indonesian or Javanese – the local identities and languages of Surabaya – is a strategic choice rich in meaning. First, this decision aims to broaden the audience beyond the geographical and linguistic boundaries of Persebaya supporters or even Indonesian social media users.

English, as the global lingua franca, is purposefully used to attract solidarity and attention from the international football community – supporters, activists, and journalists – who may be facing similar issues with their own teams, thus giving a universal dimension to what is essentially a local protest. Second, the use of English imparts a modern, global, and serious nuance to the protest. It elevates the issue from what might be seen as merely a local problem to a structured political statement that can be understood (and respected) on the international stage. It serves to create the image of Indonesian supporters as savvy, intelligent digital users who are capable of campaigning in a global language.



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The communication strategy employed is intentionally provocative and assertive, serving as a necessary approach to cut through the noise and information overload characteristic of social media platforms. The use of the imperative term "STOP," delivered as a command alongside a short, rhythmic, and memorable slogan structure reminiscent of a chant, signals a direct and forceful call to action – not merely a passive complaint.

The most rhetorically impactful and symbolically powerful element is the use of metaphor and visual-textual symbols. The mocking phrase "FUCK MANAGEMENT," accompanied by a clown emoji, serves as an extremely effective symbolic instrument for delegitimization. The clown emoji does more than just express anger or disappointment; it embodies mockery, belittlement, and disparagement. By equating management with clowns, Green Nord 27 openly undermines the image of authority, competence, and respect usually associated with management.

They portray management as unserious, incompetent, ridiculous, and deserving of ridicule. This act constitutes a reversal of the symbolic power dynamic: entities that usually hold control and enforce discipline now become targets of humor and mockery. Such metaphorical and symbolic communication styles are highly effective in the social media ecosystem because they are easily shareable, straightforward to understand, and have substantial viral potential. This style can quickly evolve into memes, amplifying and spreading the protest narrative among followers while simultaneously undermining the public image of management.

At the microstructural level, the analysis of lexical choices, syntactic structures, and semantic interpretation enhances our understanding of the nuanced deconstruction and reconstruction of power dynamics and social representation. The term "LOYALTY" emerges as a key lexical element in this discourse. In the context of football, the term goes beyond mere support or allegiance; rather, it embodies a profound commitment marked by enduring emotional loyalty, financial and time sacrifices, unwavering dedication in both good and bad times, and an identity that becomes an integral part of one's self-concept.

By stating that their loyalty is being exploited (EXPLOITING), Green Nord 27 characterizes management's actions not just as policy errors or pricing strategy missteps, but as violations of a sacred, reciprocal, trust-based relationship. The term "exploiting" itself carries strong negative connotations, equating management with extortion, economic oppression, and unethical exploitation. This lexical choice effectively politicizes a relationship that initially appears economic in nature, transforming it into a power dynamic that is oppressive and unjust, positioning the supporters as victims whose legitimate rights must be defended and fought for.



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The deliberate juxtaposition of "ACHIEVEMENT" and "HIGH PRICES" constructs a narrative defined by imbalance and a perception of irrationality. The term "HIGH PRICES" implies a logic of fair economic exchange, in which high prices can only be justified and accepted if accompanied by corresponding sporting achievements, such as winning trophies or securing advantageous league positions. By highlighting the lack of such achievements, the supporters position themselves as rational and critical evaluators, not just emotional respondents. They are depicted as savvy consumers, assessing their financial decisions based on real performance and perceived value, not emotional impulse. This approach further reinforces the credibility of their argument in the eyes of the broader public.

The use of the harsh word "FUCK" serves as a primary symbol of linguistic defiance and rejection of established ethical norms in communication. This term reflects a widespread refusal to adhere to the polite, formal, and hierarchical standards of communication that are usually expected or even enforced in interactions between consumers and companies. By deliberately and openly violating these norms of politeness, Green Nord 27 expresses their unwillingness to submit to discourse rules set and controlled by those in power (management).

This action represents a form of linguistic emancipation that simultaneously asserts their autonomy, anger, and accumulated frustration. Conversely, for their internal community (fellow Persebaya supporters), the use of such taboo language can actually strengthen internal solidarity and foster a sense of togetherness within the group (in-group solidarity), as it evokes a shared sense of oppression and collective anger. Each lexical choice and sentence structure in the posts is not selected randomly or merely based on fleeting emotions, but rather forms part of a systematic framing strategy to construct a particular social representation: management is depicted as oppressive, incompetent, greedy, and ungrateful, while the supporters are portrayed as loyal, rational, exploited, yet courageous enough to resist.

Finally, the analysis of social cognition and social context enriches discourse studies by connecting texts with beliefs, ideologies, goals, as well as the broader social, political, and technological environments in which these texts are created and disseminated. Social cognition relates to the collective mental beliefs held by members of Green Nord 27. These shared beliefs include: (1) The belief that their loyalty deserves fair treatment, respect, and recognition of their voice, rather than exploitation; (2) The belief in their collective capacity to create change and influence policy through organized efforts, especially via social media; (3) The perception that they are the guardians of the team's authenticity and values, often claiming to have a deeper



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understanding of the team compared to management, who are seen as outsiders primarily interested in profit.

These beliefs stem from a strong collective identity as Persebaya supporters, where the team goes beyond being a mere commercial entity and becomes an inseparable part of self-identity, self-esteem, social networks, and the cultural heritage of their community. Any threat to the team is viewed as a threat to their own identity.

The broader social context is characterized by a wave of digitalization that fundamentally transforms the landscape of social interaction, communication, and activism. Social media has emerged as a new arena for political struggle, the articulation of identity, and discursive contestation. Platforms such as Instagram offer grassroots groups, including supporters, a platform and reach equal to or even sometimes exceeding more established entities with greater resources, such as team management.

This context facilitates the democratization of tools for expression and mobilization. Furthermore, in the Indonesian context, where football has a long and complex history closely intertwined with politics, such protests must also be understood as part of a broader tradition and context. Football in Indonesia often serves as a medium and metaphor for voicing dissatisfaction with authorities, social injustice, and other political issues. The stadium stands and supporters' social media accounts become alternative public spaces where critical voices can be expressed, often more openly and assertively than through traditional channels.

In addition, the purpose of the post, as analyzed through cognitive dimensions and contextual understanding, is varied and complex. Primarily, its instrumental aim is to influence public opinion and undermine the management's reputation. By garnering more than 16,000 likes and nearly 1,000 comments, this post has effectively created a digital public forum where narratives of discontent are not only expressed but also supported, amplified, and disseminated by Instagram users. Every like, share, and affirmative comment signifies collective support for the message of protest. In the attention economy of social media, these metrics transform dissatisfaction into tangible social and political capital, thereby exerting significant social and reputational pressure on team management.

The aim of this study is to establish and describe the new role of Indonesian football supporters as legitimate and influential political actors and as a pressure group. This study exemplifies their power by showing that, through coordination and strategic communication on social media, supporters can effectively organize, voice criticism,



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mobilize public opinion, and ultimately influence—or at least disrupt—the team management's decision-making processes.

The post seeks to initiate and sustain an ongoing digital social movement. This initiative goes beyond a single form of protest, serving as a first step in building a collective narrative, mobilizing resources (such as media attention, online support, and solidarity), and developing ongoing strategies of collective resistance. The movement strategically leverages digital platforms to spread propaganda and agitation through effective narrative framing strategies, the use of powerful symbols, and hashtag campaigns that can become trending topics, as identified in the characteristics of digital social movements.

In this movement, the audience plays a crucial role, not as passive recipients, but as guardians of the narrative and amplifiers whose interactions (likes, comments, shares) directly impact content visibility, platform algorithm behavior, and ultimately enhance the movement's impact and reach. Digital social movements like this reflect a new form of social movement that is flexible, networked, and identity-based, with digital technology as the foundation for the movement's mobilization and articulation.

## Conclusions

This study reveals the significant role of social media in football fan activism, particularly in the context of political communication carried out by the Green Nord 27 supporter group towards Persebaya's management. Through a critical discourse analysis of Instagram posts by @greennord.27, this research demonstrates how digital platforms have altered the power dynamics between teams and their supporters. The main findings illustrate the evolution of football fans from passive spectators to active and influential political actors. The analyzed posts not only voice dissatisfaction with ticket prices but also challenge the existing power structures in modern football. The use of provocative language and well-planned communication strategies reflects a level of sophistication in digital fan activism. The analysis of macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure reveals how Green Nord 27 constructs a powerful narrative around the exploitation of fan loyalty and demands for accountability from team management.

The choice of language, visual symbols, and rhetorical strategies used reflects a conscious effort to mobilize support and influence public opinion. The social context and cognition underlying these posts emphasize a shift in fans' understanding of their role within the football ecosystem. They no longer see themselves as passive consumers, but as key stakeholders with the right to have a voice in the team's decision-making. This research highlights how social media has become a new arena



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for negotiating power and identity in the context of football. Platforms like Instagram enable fan groups to build effective digital social movements, challenge dominant narratives, and potentially influence team policies. In conclusion, this study shows a significant transformation in the dynamics of the relationship between football teams and their supporters in the digital era. Fan activism through social media has emerged as a powerful form of political communication, opening up new possibilities for participation and influence in football governance.

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