In Football Supporter Activism

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ABSTRACT

In the contemporary era, football has become increasingly intertwined with commercial interests due to the modernization of the sport. Football supporters represent one of the primary stakeholders who perceive their interests as being marginalized by this modernization. This condition has driven the emergence of resistance manifested through the "Against Modern Football" movement. This study aims to understand the counter-hegemony efforts initiated by the Bandung Supporter Alliance through discourse. The findings of this study indicate that the activism carried out by the Bandung Supporter Alliance constitutes a form of counter-hegemony closely linked to the construction of counter-discourses disseminated via social media. The organization of discourse is capable of forming a new common sense, which serves as a central nodal point in the counter-hegemonic process. This discursive organization involves two key components: the war of position, and normative and spontaneous grammar. The war of position pertains to discursive critique aimed at destabilizing the discourse of football modernization while promoting counter-discourses. Meanwhile, normative and spontaneous grammar relates to grammatical truth and appropriate communication modalities. This involves political language choices that align with the strategic interests of the Bandung Supporter Alliance. The findings of this research highlight the critical role of communication and discourse in counter-hegemonic endeavors within football fan activism.

Keywords: football modernization, fan activism, against modern football, counter-hegemony, counter-discourse

INTRODUCTION

The discourse of football modernization has transformed contemporary football into an industry that is increasingly intertwined with commercial interests. Football modernization is a transformative project of football governance systems that heavily emphasizes infrastructure development and business imperatives. Paradoxically, the discourse of change within football modernization is predominantly linked to the practices to the practicesof hyper-commercialization. This phenomenon has generated significant grievances for fans, such as exorbitant ticket prices, costly club merchandise, matches rescheduled to accommodate broadcasting ratings, and various restrictive regulations that

stifle fans' freedom to enjoy the sport.

Ironically, the various predicaments brought about by football modernization are still perceived as normal by football fans, rationalized through their love for the club under the guise of fanatical devotion. One factor contributing to this perception is the presence of a hegemonic discourse that dictates viewpoints and normalizes the position of fans as mere consumers and objects of exploitation. However, this dynamic is rarely recognized and is largely taken for granted because the discourse of football modernization has become a form of common sense that controls fans' perspectives, leading them to accept these conditions as natural. Common sense can be understood as the internalization and normalization of a specific worldview, which adopts a subjective stance and renders it harmless, thereby making it unquestionable (Donoghue, 2018). This underscores how profoundly discourse influences supporters' mindsets.

The grievances surrounding football modernization have ignited resistance and supporter activism through the "Against Modern Football" (AMF) movement, which serves as a form of fan protest against hyper-commercialization practices in the sport. Afrianto (2022) notes that the expression of supporter dissatisfaction is a response to the escalating commercialization and the involvement of the bourgeoisie in football. This dissatisfaction is articulated through discourses disseminated via social media. Discourse, in this context, refers to narratives containing the ideas and notions used by supporters to conceptualize football.

This study aims to understand how supporters construct counter-discourses against the dominant discourse of football modernization through social media. The specific aspects examined are how the counter-discourse is articulated and what kind of common sense is constructed to challenge the dominant narrative. To investigate this, this study adapts Antonio Gramsci’s (2013) concept of hegemony and Henry Jenkins’ (2012) framework of fan activism. Counter-hegemony serves as the foundational framework to understand how supporter activism constructs counter-discourses to challenge the hegemonic narrative of football modernization and build a new common sense among supporters.

In Indonesia, one of the supporter groups that consistently resists football modernization is the Bandung Supporter Alliance (BSA), a fan collective of the Persib Bandung football club. Ideologically, BSA has never explicitly declared its political stance;

however, the ideas they voice lean toward left-wing ideologies, such as anti-fascism, anti-racism, anti-sexism, and solidarity with marginalized groups. The critical mindset and stance possessed by the Bandung Supporter Alliance distinguish it from other football supporter communities in Indonesia, particularly its consistent rejection of football modernization.

The resistance of the Bandung Supporter Alliance, which largely embodies dissatisfaction and rejection toward football modernization, is expressed through discourses disseminated via social media. In this context, discourse refers to public narratives containing ideas and notions regarding the supporters' perspectives on football. These narratives attempt to construct a counter-discourse on football that diverges from that of the elites. Within this research framework, the Bandung Supporter Alliance utilizes discourse as a medium for fan activism to oppose football modernization.

Fan activism can be defined as fan-driven efforts to address civic or political issues through the strategic engagement and dissemination of popular culture content (Brough & Shrestova, 2012). The AMF movement represents a form of collective fan activism aimed at achieving social change. Football supporter activism has experienced a similar phenomenon. Fitzpatrick and Hoey (2022) argue that football supporter activism has undergone a shift from a traditionally passive and apolitical fan base into a more active and politicized football fandom.

This study also utilizes Gramsci's (2013) concept of hegemony to examine the resistance activism organized by the Bandung Supporter Alliance (BSA). Hegemony is employed as a conceptual framework because BSA's resistance activism is primarily intertwined with the dimensions of consciousness and cognitive comprehension. The resistance enacted by the Bandung Supporter Alliance constitutes a form of counter-hegemony executed through a war of position (*position war*), which serves as a protracted strategy to challenge the dominant locus of power. The ultimate objective of this counter-hegemony is to forge a new, alternative hegemony that diverges from the dominant narrative of the ruling elites. This is achieved by systematically altering public consciousness, mindsets, understandings, and worldviews, as well as transforming the norms governing moral conduct (Gramsci, 2013). This counter-hegemonic endeavor is operationalized through the construction of a distinct supporter counter-discourse. This modality is deployed to deconstruct the hegemonic discourse surrounding football modernization,

given that the primary function of hegemonic discourse is to manufacture consensus, compliance, and the legitimation of dominance (van Dijk, 1993).

This Gramscian approach demonstrates that discourse plays a vital role in the development and maintenance of hegemony. Discourse contributes to the construction ofa hegemonic project, which requires a social unity that aligns with the interests of the dominant class. This cohesion is partially constructed through the organization of common sense, which facilitates the formation of a historic block (*historic block*) by exercising moral and intellectual leadership (Ives, 2005). Consequently, the constructed counter-discourse is expected to catalyze supporters' consciousness, comprehension, and discursive reflection, thereby generating a new common sense regarding football that operates outside the hegemonic domain of football modernization.

METHODOLOGY

The novelty of this study lies in the fact that research correlating the concepts of fan activism, discourse, and counter-hegemony within communication studies remains relatively scarce. A review of the literature indicates that prior research on fan activism has predominantly focused on several distinct areas. First, analyzing how football fan activism has shifted from football-centric issues to broader political agendas (Fitzpatrick & Hoey, 2022). Second, examining how fan activism promotes the structural interests of football fans (David, Kirton, & Millward, 2017). Third, discussing supporter activism with a focus on actor capacity and network relations (Turner, 2022). Fourth, examining the role of discourse within the concept of hegemony (Donoghue, 2018).

A study by Fitzpatrick and Hoey (2022) entitled *"From fanzines to foodbanks: Football fan activism in the age of anti-politics"* posits that fan activism is not merely a counter-reaction to the neoliberal political economy of football, but also a reflection of broader anti-political sentiments. This strand of fan activism fosters club-based movements to forge coalitions with fellow supporters and public sector organizations, thereby challenging both local and central governments. A prominent manifestation of this activism is the establishment of Fans Supporting Foodbanks (FSF), an initiative aimed at gathering essential supplies for urban food banks.

Concurrently, research conducted by David, Kirton, and Millward (2017), titled

"Castells, Murdochization, economic counterpower and livestreaming," elucidates supporter resistance against the commercial monopoly of pay-per-view digital broadcasts of football matches a phenomenon conceptualized as "Murdochization." This resistance is operationalized through the illegal dissemination of free live-streaming links. Such counter-conduct is deeply intertwined with the ubiquity of the internet and advancements in digital technology, allowing fan activism to transcend physical boundaries into digital spaces. This study demonstrates that contemporary fan activism maintains a structural nexus with digital activism, as supporters increasingly adopt digital repertoires of contention.

Furthermore, Turner (2022), in a study titled *"The Safe Standing movement in English football: Mobilizing across the political and discursive fields of contention,"* examines the "safe standing" movement championed by football supporters. This movement was initiated to campaign for the reinstatement of standing terraces within stadiums, which had been legally prohibited and dismantled due to safety concerns. Turner's findings indicate that operational tactics, movement strategies, and network structures serve as critical variables in mobilizing collective action. This research highlights the capacity of supporter networks to construct and sustain protest interactions. The role of these networks in amplifying solidarity, complemented by their political capital, ultimately enables renegotiations with institutional decision-makers in football governance.

Crucially, football supporter activism within this thematic framework is inextricably linked to discourse and hegemony. Donoghue's (2018) study, *"Beyond Hegemony: Elaborating on the Use of Gramscian Concepts in Critical Discourse Analysis for Political Studies,"* deliberates on the pivotal role of discourse within the conceptual mechanics of hegemony. Donoghue argues that discourse occupies a central position in hegemonic structures, functioning as an instrument of social and political domination by manufacturing a common sense designed to secure popular consent. Discourse operates to reproduce and maintain asymmetric power relations between social classes. Consequently, supporter activism attempts to execute a counter-hegemony through discursive strategies to deconstruct these pervasive, asymmetrical power dynamics.

Consequently, through this study, the researcher attempts to address the gaps in the literature regarding fan activism, particularly concerning the role of discourse in football supporter activism movements. This study conceptualizes supporter resistance as an effort

to construct counter-hegemony through discourse. Furthermore, this research offers a unique background and context of activism by focusing on football supporter activism in Indonesia, which distinguishes it from existing Western-centric prior studies.

This study employs a critical paradigm to explain the resistance efforts initiated by the Bandung Supporter Alliance (BSA) against football modernization. This study is qualitative in nature, aiming to uncover latent phenomena, and thereby places significant emphasis on anomalies and controversies (Pawito, 2007). The object of this research is the counter-discourse on football modernization constructed by BSA on social media platforms. Primary data for this study were obtained from BSA's official social media accounts: Instagram (@bdgsupporteralliance) and X (@BSA_1933). The selected data consist of uploaded content containing BSA's ideas, notions, critiques, and rejections of football modernization. Secondary data were gathered from literature resources, including news media, official reports, video conferences, infographics, and other archival documents relevant to the various forms of activism conducted by BSA.

The collected data were analyzed using critical discourse analysis, adapting the methods formulated by Jorgensen and Phillips (2017) as well as Walton and Boon (2014). Accordingly, this study proposes a six-step analytical framework: (1) data collection, (2) descriptive outlining of events, (3) thematic analysis, (4) identification of key concepts, (5) analysis of hegemony, and (6) analysis of the types of activism.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A. Football Modernization and Supporters

Football modernization represents the structural transformation of the modern football governance system, driven primarily by two intersecting factors: the neoliberal policies implemented under the Margaret Thatcher administration and the catastrophic stadium crises that plagued British football during the 1980s. This modernization process introduced hyper-commercialization practices, such as exorbitant hikes in ticket and merchandise prices, the monetization of broadcasting rights, and the influx of multinational corporations acting as corporate sponsors or majority shareholders (Webber, 2017). Consequently, these policies have radically altered the landscape of the sport, giving rise to"modern football"—an apparatus deeply tethered to market interests.

In the Indonesian context, the inception of football modernization can be traced back to two pivotal milestones: the inauguration of the Indonesia Super League in 2008, and the enactment of the Regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs (*Permendagri*) No. 22of 2011, which strictly prohibited the allocation of regional government budgets (*APBD*) forprofessional football clubs. This regulatory mandate compelled professional clubs to restructure into corporate legal entities (*Perseroan Terbatas* / PT), effectively transforming them into commercial enterprises. From this juncture, Indonesian football emerged as a market-driven industry, utilizing diverse hyper-commercialization practices to maximize profit as the primary source of club financing.

Supporters constitute a distinct manifestation of football fandom. The term "fan" istraditionally conceptualized within the realms of celebrity and popular culture. Fans represent some of the most active, creative, critical, and socially interconnected consumers of popular culture (Jenkins, 1992). They are individuals who demonstrate pronounced interest, affection, and emotional attachment toward a chosen figure or entity, either individually or collectively, such as a musical artist or a football club (Jenkins, 2006). Correspondingly, a fandom serves as a collective locus where individuals with shared interests consume specific texts or cultural objects while maintaining interpersonal communication (Gray, Harrington, & Sandvoss, 2007).

The Bandung Supporter Alliance (BSA) is a supporter collective that subscribes to the principles of the "Against Modern Football" movement. This stance is rooted in BSA's critique of contemporary modern football, which they perceive as increasingly capitalistic and structurally exclusionary toward the general public. A salient manifestation of this condition is the inflation of match ticket prices, which progressively alienates the working-class community from the sport. A fundamental crisis in modern football is the diminishing agency and democratic control of supporters over their respective clubs, leaving them powerless against the systemic reproduction and commercialization of their cultural needs.



Figure 1. Movement against modern football

To confront this contemporary corporate football paradigm, BSA posits three strategic modalities for supporters: survival, resistance, and transcendence. However, to ensure the sustainability of such counter-movements, critical consciousness must be fostered at the individual level. Consequently, BSA deploys various forms of grassroots activism, serving both as structural resistance against modern football and as an ideological effort to cultivate critical consciousness among the broader supporter base.

B. Football Supporter Activism and Discourse: Hegemony and Counter-Hegemony

Football supporter resistance falls within the domain of fan activism, utilizing discourse as a mode of expression to reject football modernization. Contextually, discourse in this study refers to public narratives containing ideas and notions regarding the supporters' perspectives on football.

1. Hegemony

The concept of hegemony is a seminal contribution of Antonio Gramsci. The foundational premise of hegemony dictates that a dominant social class exercises power over subordinate classes through a combination of coercion and persuasion. Crucially, hegemony does not merely denote a relationship of dominance enforced by brute power; rather, it constitutes a relationship of consent secured through political and ideological leadership. It operates as a consensus wherein subjection is achieved through the ideological mastery of the hegemonic class (Gramsci, 2009). In other words, hegemony

represents the triumph of the ruling class orchestrated through consensus-building mechanisms among diverse sociopolitical forces. Gramsci (2013) posits that hegemony engenders compliance—a submissive stance that accepts the status quo without critical interrogation, precisely because the ideology disseminated by the hegemonic class is internalized uncritically. The ultimate objective of manufacturing hegemony is to constructthe consciousness, mindsets, understandings, and worldviews of society in strict alignmentwith the ideology of the ruling class.

2. Counter-Hegemony

Gramsci asserts that within any hegemonic structure, fissures exist that allow for resistance through counter-hegemony. A prerequisite for the emergence of counter-hegemony is a crisis of hegemony. This crisis typically precipitates either from unpopular actions taken by the ruling class or from the escalation of political activism among a previously passive populace (Patria & Arief, 2015). To operationalize counter-hegemony, Gramsci (2013) developed an alternative strategy conceptualized as the "war of position" (*war position*). In a war of position, the proletarian class must systematically dismantle the defensive apparatuses that safeguard bourgeois hegemony by forging solidarity across civil society and social movements.

Patria and Arief (2015) identify two vital elements within the war of position. First, it requires conducting rigorous assessments to formulate a precise counter-hegemonic strategy. Second, the war of position must generate an alternative culture by institutionalizing and elevating subaltern practices into the foundation of a new cultural matrix embedded with alternative norms and values. Thus, in principle, the war of position functions as a sustained assault against the cultural superstructure. Gramsci (2013) analyzes the war of position as an active counterweight to passive revolution a protracted strategy employed by the proletariat to achieve hegemony by continuously reinforcing democratic and grassroots class struggles. The ultimate aim of executing counter-hegemony is to transform public consciousness, mindsets, comprehension, and worldviews, as well as to alter the norms governing moral conduct. This study demonstrates that the counter-hegemony enacted by the collective aims to generate a new discourse that serves as an alternative common sense for supporters in conceptualizing football.

C. BSA's Counter-Discourse Against Football Modernization

There are three primary themes of the counter-discourse constructed by BSA, namely: (1) the impact of football modernization, (2) rethinking the concept of football, and (3) the supporter resistance movement. Within this stage, two key components of the counter-discourse will be identified: 1) the war of position, and 2) normative and spontaneous grammar. For this analysis, the researcher purposively selected 12 out of 33 social media posts to be examined.

Table 1. The Analytical Findings of BSA's Social Media Content

No	Theme	Sub Theme	Topic	Source
1.	The impact of football modernization	The impact of football modernization onsupporters	Football modernization transforms supporters intoconsumers	Instagram
			Match ticket price increasing	X
		Critique of the federation (PSSI)	The capitalist worldview of the federation	Instagram
			Changes in match scheduling	Instagram
		Critique of supporter behavior	Blind fanaticism and supporter violence	Instagram
			Ticket scalping practices	Instagram
2	Rethinking the concept of football	Philosophy offootball	The simplicity of childhood football	Instagram
			Football as a theatrical stage	Instagram
		Alternative football	Alternative clubs and "punk football"	X
3	Supporter resistance	Football as an instrument of resistance	The formation of supporter alliances	Instagram
			Public screening (nobar) as a form of protest and resistance	Instagram
		Supporter solidarityactions and policy statements	Solidarity actions and policy statements regarding the Kanjuruhan tragedy	Instagram

D. Key Components of BSA's Counter-Discourse

1. The War of Position

The identification of BSA's social media posts demonstrates that "football modernization" constitutes the central locus of discursive conflict involving the dominant group (football elites) and the subordinate group (supporters). Fundamentally, the discourse of football modernization is narrated by the football elites as a progressive trajectory toward professionalism, driven by diverse developmental initiatives and supporting infrastructure. This narrative subsequently crystallizes into a dominant common sense embraced by the majority of supporters. Conversely, the Bandung Supporter Alliance (BSA) conceptualizes the discourse of football modernization through a contrasting lens. The analysis of BSA's social media posts indicates that the collective critiques the discourse of football modernization due to its detrimental impacts and the structural marginalization it inflicts upon supporters. In constructing this narrative, the alliance delineates various adverse consequences experienced by fans and the systemic predicaments precipitated by football modernization. This discursive framework stands in stark contrast to the conceptual understanding propagated by football elites regarding modernization.

The Bandung Supporter Alliance (BSA) deploys counter-discourse within its war of position strategy, utilizing discursive critique to destabilize the dominant narrative of football modernization while simultaneously promoting an alternative vision of the sport. This discursive critique serves to sever the conventional meanings of football modernization from the public consciousness, subsequently reconstructing them within an alternative discursive logic. Consequently, the war of position strategy serves as the structural foundation for manufacturing a new common sense regarding football. The discursive war of position waged by BSA operates as a mechanism of counter-hegemony aimed at cultivating an alternative supporter culture. This is operationalized by embedding the foundations of a new cultural matrix characterized by alternative supporter norms and values, constructed through systematic critiques against football modernization. Thus, in principle, the war of position functions as a sustained assault against the ideological and cultural superstructure, executed primarily through the vehicle of counter-discourse.

2. Spontaneous and Normative Grammar

The identification of BSA's social media content indicates that the alliance utilizes specific grammatical structures embedded with strategic words or phrases to assert their discourse. Through normative and spontaneous grammar, BSA transmits, internalizes, and reproduces its discourse among the non-elite masses. This linguistic choice is inherently political, aligning closely with specific strategic interests (Ives, 2004: 95–96). Consequently, it provides a more robust problematization and critique against the discourse of football modernization. The analysis of BSA's social media uploads reveals three distinct themes

within their spontaneous and normative grammar used to construct the counter-discourse: the commercialization of football, alternative football, and supporter resistance.

a. The Commercialization of Football

The counter-discourse against football modernization focuses heavily on the structural commercialization of the sport. To address this, the Bandung Supporter Alliance (BSA) strategically employs specific words and phrases to reinforce their critiques of corporate football. First, the term **"commodity"** is utilized to critique how football modernization reduces the sport into a mere market commodity traded solely to generate financial revenue. Second, the term **"profit"** serves to underscore BSA's argument that under the contemporary modernization paradigm, football is exploited as a profit-maximizing instrument rather than a sport intended for public leisure. Consequently, football has become inextricably tethered to money and capital accumulation.

Third, the term **"customer"** is applied to highlight how football modernization strains the relationship between clubs and fans, thereby weakening supporter agency and oversight. This aligns with the corporate worldview of modern football, which redefines supporters as passive consumers whose role is restricted to matchday consumption, rather than active stakeholders woven into the fabric of the club's institutional identity. Fourth, the term **"expensive"** underscores BSA's critique of the socio-economic exclusion brought by modernization. Football has grown increasingly elitist and inaccessible to the traditional working-class fan base due to the prohibitive inflation of matchday attendance costs.



Figure 2. Bandung Supporter Alliance's Narrative of Resistance Against Football Modernization

b. Alternative Football

The counter-discourse also explores the emancipatory potential of "alternative football," conceptualized as the antithesis of the contemporary modern football complex. BSA deploys specific vocabulary to articulate this alternative vision. First, the word **"different"** is used to assert that supporters can actively construct an alternative football paradigm. This terminology refers to a model of football that is self-organized and democratically managed by the supporters, ensuring that fans' interests remain paramount.



Figure 3. Articulating the Discourse of Alternative Football

Second, the term **"simple"** is employed to reaffirm that football is fundamentally an

uncomplicated sport that can be played anytime and anywhere. This narrative of simplicity functions as an explicit critique against modern football, which has become overly bureaucratic, regulated, and restrictive. Third, the word **"entertainment"** is utilized to reclaim the ontological essence of football as a form of community leisure. This serves to counter the hegemonic modernization process that reduces football into a commodified asset for corporate enrichment.

Figure 3 narrates that supporters can explore alternative avenues to celebrate and experience football, notably through collective clubs established and managed directly by the fan base. These clubs are strongly aligned with the concept of **"Punk Football"** a movement advocating for supporter-owned and fan-governed football clubs. This represents a concrete manifestation of fan activism aimed at reclaiming football as a community asset belonging to its supporters.

The utilization of the word **"another"** in the hashtag **"#AnotherFootballIsPossible"** carries the foundational meaning of "a different alternative." Within this context, the term "another" is strategically deployed to assert the viability of an alternative football paradigm one that stands in stark contrast to mainstream, hyper-commercialized football by being entirely owned, governed, and sustained by the supporters themselves.

c. Supporter Resistance

Furthermore, the counter-discourse extensively deliberates on supporter activism and repertoires of resistance. BSA frequently generates social media content containing narratives of resistance by leveraging particular concepts. First, the term **"resistance"** explicitly establishes BSA's rejection of football modernization. This resistance is manifested across multiple levels, ranging from discursive disruption on digital platforms to tactical physical practices, such as match boycotts and street demonstrations. Second, the concept of **"solidarity"** is emphasized to reflect the necessity of inter-supporter coalitions in contesting modernization. Narratives of solidarity serve as a reflexive tool for fans to build collective power and mass mobilization.

Third, the word **"protest"** is leveraged to reaffirm the supporters' defiant stance against the corporate apparatus of modern football, which systematically disenfranchises fan interests. Thus, active resistance must be sustained through various confrontational

protests. Fourth, the phrase **"working class"** is strategically utilized to restore the historical memory of football as a sport born of and belonging to the subaltern and working-class communities. Under the current modernization paradigm, the true nature of the sport has been distorted through hyper-commercialization orchestrated by ruling elites. Therefore, the "working class" narrative functions to reconstruct a collective memory regarding the populist roots of the sport.



Figure 4. Demonstration Action at the Persib Management Office

The counter-discourse constructed by BSA systematically operationalizes a specific grammar of resistance to assert their ideological stance against football modernization. This linguistic strategy serves to normalize a vocabulary of defiance within the supporter community, which is expected to catalyze fan consciousness and foster new socio-cultural norms. Ultimately, the deployment of both normative and spontaneous grammar exposes how BSA's linguistic choices are inherently political, reflecting their strategic interests in manufacturing an alternative common sense to counter the capitalistic logic of modern football.

The various dimensions of activism undertaken by the Bandung Supporter Alliance (BSA) consistently articulate narratives of resistance. This strategy is employed to foster critical sensitivity and consciousness among supporters regarding the multifaceted socio-political issues in their surrounding environment. Notably, the resistance waged by the BSA refrains from physical violence or direct violent confrontation. Instead, the alliance's resistive apparatus primarily focuses on engaging and mobilizing the broader supporter community to develop heightened critical awareness toward social issues, particularly those intrinsically linked to the sport, such as the structural modernization of football.

E. BSA's Endeavors in Constructing Counter-Discourse

The counter-discourse constructed by the Bandung Supporter Alliance (BSA) fundamentally focuses on cultivating critical consciousness among supporters and contesting the hegemonic narrative of football modernization. Within this framework, the mechanisms of information and communication are vital to institutionalizing a counter-discourse. BSA's activism utilizes diverse communicative modalities, which are categorized into two primary models: direct communication and mass media communication.

Direct communication is operationalized through two distinct pathways: verbal practices and visual practices. Verbal communication is executed through open public discussions, matchday stadium chants, and the production of musical works that articulate the ideas, critiques, and grievances of supporters against modern football. Concurrently, visual communication is materialized by deploying banners and posters throughout urban spaces, placing stickers on public facilities, and projecting artistic expressions through political murals or graffiti. Both verbal and visual communicative repertoires are strategically utilized by BSA to voice their ideologies, opinions, and stances against systemic issues within football.

In addition to direct communication, BSA leverages mass media platforms specifically social media and fanzines to secure a broader public reach. Various posts containing BSA's core tenets are systematically produced and disseminated across social media networks, while collections of articles and critical essays examining the structural problematics of modern football are published through fanzines. Furthermore, BSA actively constructs strategic networks with journalists, particularly those from alternative media outlets, to publicize their collective actions and initiatives. BSA posits that their ideological framework must be widely disseminated to maximize public reach. Consequently, fostering a larger base of critically conscious supporters is deemed paramount to strengthening collective resistance against football modernization.

F. Types of Bandung Supporter Alliance Activism

1. Activism Promoting the Interests of the Fan Community

This dimension of activism encompasses supporter practices or behaviors aimed at promoting the structural interests of football fans. Examples include protesting against

ticket price inflation which is perceived as unreasonable and demonstrating against ticket sales mechanisms, particularly when the sales systems implemented by the club management structurally disenfranchise supporters.

2. Activism Defending Participatory Practices

This type of activism comprises supporter practices or behaviors designed to safeguard the participatory rights of fans. This includes protesting against stadium bans imposed on supporters, as well as critiquing arbitrary match scheduling modifications that prioritize broadcasting ratings over matchday fan attendance.

3. Activism Contesting Representation

This form of activism involves supporter practices or behaviors that contest representation within the football apparatus. Examples include critiquing racist chants aimed at disparaging rival clubs, even during matches where the rival club is not competing. Furthermore, this includes systemic critiques against sexism and sexual harassment within the football environment.

4. Activism as a Critique of Public Policy

This dimension of activism encompasses supporter practices or behaviors aimed at interrogating public policies deemed unjust. Several initiatives undertaken by BSA to critique public policy include staging solidarity actions for citizens affected by forced land evictions around the Bandung area, such as the *Tamansari Melawan* (Tamansari Resists) and *Dago Melawan* (Dago Resists) movements. Additionally, BSA actively engages in charitable work and donation drives, such as the *"Nabung Oksigen"* (Oxygen Saving) mutual aid initiative.

G. BSA'S Counter-Hegemony Through Counter-Discourse

The resistance activism organized by BSA represents a strategic response to the structural problematics emerging within modern football. The ultimate objective of executing counter-hegemony is to transform the consciousness, mindsets, comprehension, and worldviews of supporters regarding football modernization. However, prior to the crystallization of a counter-discourse, several progressive stages of counter-hegemony must be actualized. The stages of counter-hegemony deployed by BSA are structured as follows: first, the presence of organic intellectuals acting as the vanguard; second, the precipitation of a crisis of hegemony; third, the execution of a war

of position; and fourth, the institutionalization of an alternative culture for supporters.

Within hegemonic mechanisms, the primary function of the dominant discourse is to manufacture consensus, compliance, and the legitimation of dominance. This underscoresthat discourse plays a vital role in the development and maintenance of hegemonic structures. Contextually, within this study, the diverse dimensions of activism undertaken by BSA are intrinsically intertwined with the counter-discourses produced through their social media uploads. The organization of discourse is capable of forming a common sense, which serves as a central nodal point in the hegemonic process. This ideological struggle is waged through language, which functions as a framework wherein ideologies, worldviews, and class interests are represented, enforced, and reproduced (Ives, 2005). This aligns precisely with BSA's praxis, where discourse occupies a critical position in promotingcounter-discourses designed to dismantle the entrenched common sense within supporters' minds, thereby effectively destabilizing the discourse of football modernization.

H. BSA's Strategic Utilization of Social Media in Constructing Counter-Discourse

This study conceptualizes the structural relationship between supporter activism and the counter-discourses constructed via social media platforms. Social media serves as a vital communicative apparatus for disseminating the counter-discourse engineered by the Bandung Supporter Alliance (BSA). The empirical findings indicate that within contemporary supporter activism, the actors' capacity to leverage social media platforms is paramount to constructing narratives that sustain and expand collective mobilization. Existing literature corroborates that social media plays a transformative role in reshaping modern supporter activism (David, Kirton, & Millward, 2017). The strategic dissemination of this counter- discourse explicitly aims to destabilize the dominant narrative of football modernization while simultaneously cultivating critical consciousness among the broader fan base.

In this context, digital activism occupies a central position. Through the appropriation of digital technologies, the fan community (*fandom*) has demonstrated its latent capacity to transcend passive consumption and emerge as organic intellectuals and critics intellectual subjectivities that were historically monopolized exclusively by the dominant ruling class (Giles, 2013). Ultimately, this digital strategy is engineered to catalyze public

alignment, encouraging the masses to adopt and legitimize BSA's ideological standpoint regarding the structural crises of modern football.

BSA operationalizes two interconnected conceptual matrices to propagate its counter-discourse via digital platforms: the war of position, and the deployment of normative and spontaneous grammar. The execution of a war of position through rigorous discursive critique, coupled with the strategic utilization of distinct grammatical repertoires, is essential to deconstructing the normalized meanings of football modernization within the supporters' consciousness. This mechanism effectively replaces hegemonic assumptions with alternative socio-political logics embedded within the constructed counter-discourse.

The analysis of BSA's social media content further reveals that the war of position waged through discursive critique systematically delineates the systemic predicaments precipitated by football modernization. This narrative framework is intentionally designed to erode and degrade the manufactured consent (*manufactured consent*) that supporters traditionally grant to the commercialized sports apparatus. Beyond merely disrupting the dominant discourse, the war of position strategy serves as the structural foundation for manufacturing a new common sense regarding football. Consequently, the discursive war of position orchestrated by BSA operates as a mechanism of counter-hegemony aimed at cultivating an alternative, subversive supporter culture. Within this overarching counter-hegemonic framework, the role of social media in amplifying counter-discourses remains absolute and central to BSA's political praxis.

CONCLUSION

The empirical findings of this study demonstrate that the counter-hegemony enacted by the Bandung Supporter Alliance (BSA) is intricately intertwined with the strategic construction of counter-discourses against football modernization via social media. The counter-discourse constructed by BSA is structured around three primary themes: (1) the impact of football modernization, which unpacks the structural shifts occurring within football due to modernization forces; (2) rethinking the concept of football, which offers alternative conceptual lenses to understand the sport; and (3) the supporter resistance movement, which delineates the collective actions and solidarity networks mobilized by

the alliance. These counter-discourses function as critical catalysts to provoke fan consciousness and stimulate discursive reflection regarding the contemporary modernization paradigm.

Furthermore, the results indicate that BSA's counter-hegemonic endeavors are operationalized through several progressive stages. First, the presence of organic intellectuals acting as the vanguard. In this stage, specific individuals or clusters execute the role of organic intellectuals within the supporter base, aiming to cultivate critical consciousness and dismantle the structural problematics of football modernization. These intellectuals subsequently establish collective communities to organize the masses for resistance. Second, the precipitation of a crisis of hegemony. The erosion of hegemonic consent toward football modernization is driven by two intersecting factors: the disenfranchisement of supporter interests due to corporate modernization policies, and the growth of a robust literacy culture that enhances fan activism. This crisis of hegemony directly stimulates the emergence of supporter resistance movements. Third, executing a war of position. BSA deploys a war of position strategy to destabilize the hegemony of football elites by constructing and disseminating counter-discourses throughout the public sphere. Fourth, manufacturing an alternative culture embedded with new norms and values. At this stage, BSA actualizes its discursive resistance at the praxis level through concrete repertoires of action, such as match boycotts, street demonstrations, and the institutionalization of alternative football clubs.

Concurrently, the counter-hegemony orchestrated by BSA can be classified into four distinct types of fan activism: (1) activism promoting the structural interests of the fan community; (2) activism defending participatory rights; (3) activism contesting representation; and (4) activism as a systemic critique of public policy. These dimensions of activism emerge as defiant reactions against the trajectory of football modernization, which is perceived as highly detrimental to the foundational interests of supporters.

The apparatuses of information and communication occupy a critical position within this counter-hegemonic framework. BSA's discursive strategies fundamentally focus on fostering critical consciousness among fans and challenging the hegemonic narrative of football modernization. This constructive effort leverages two distinct communicative modalities: direct communication and mass media communication. Within this matrix, social media platforms serve as the primary vehicle to amplify the counter-discourse and

secure a broader public reach, thereby mobilizing public legitimacy for BSA's ideological standpoint against the structural crises of modern football.

The systemic organization of discourse possesses the capacity to shape the dominant common sense, which serves as the central nodal point in the hegemonic process. Within BSA's mobilization, discourse plays a vital role in promoting alternative narratives designed to untether the entrenched common sense within supporters' minds, thereby effectively destabilizing the discourse of football modernization. Through strategic digital posts containing these counter-discourses, BSA actively disrupts the dominant paradigm while simultaneously elevating fan consciousness. Within this dynamic, the war of position strategy and the deployment of both normative and spontaneous grammar remain paramount.

The war of position centers on utilizing discursive critique to destabilize modernization narratives and advance an alternative vision of the sport. Discursive critique serves to sever the conventional meanings of football modernization from the public consciousness, subsequently reconstructing them within an alternative discursive logic. Meanwhile, the operationalization of normative and spontaneous grammar relates to grammatical truth values and appropriate modes of speech. This reflects an inherently political linguistic choice that aligns with specific strategic interests. Ultimately, the counter-discourse constructed by the Bandung Supporter Alliance is strategically engineered to erode the manufactured consent that supporters grant to football modernization, thereby establishing a new, alternative common sense regarding the sport. Consequently, discourse occupies an absolute and central locus within the counter-hegemonic trajectory of the Bandung Supporter Alliance.

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