

MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF NATIONALISM IN GIANT TIFO ACTIONS BY INDONESIAN FOOTBALL SUPPORTERS

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Abstrak

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Online News,
Media Framing

This study aims to analyze the representation of nationalism in giant tifo actions displayed by supporter groups Ultras Garuda and La Grande Indonesia through online media coverage. Giant tifo actions laden with national symbols such as Garuda Pancasila, the Red and White flag, and nationalist messages have become an interesting phenomenon in the context of Indonesian football supporter culture. This study employs a qualitative approach with content analysis methods on 24 online news articles from Kompas.com, CNNIndonesia.com, and Bola.net published during the 2023-2025 period. The results show that online media construct representations of nationalism through three dominant frames: positive nationalism frame (66.7%), creativity and supporter culture frame (50%), and critical frame (20.8%). The most dominant national symbols are Garuda Pancasila (75%), the Red and White flag (91.7%), and nationalist slogans (83.3%). Media frame tifo actions as manifestations of contemporary nationalism expressed through popular culture, as well as arenas for negotiating the nation's collective identity. This research enriches understanding of how nationalism is articulated in non-formal public spaces and the role of media in constructing national meanings.

INTRODUCTION

Football holds a privileged place in Indonesian social and cultural life, serving as a vehicle for mass emotional participation and nationalist expression. When the national team plays, organized supporter groups transform the stadium into a theatre of national belonging, most vividly through the giant tifo staged by Ultras Garuda and La Grande Indonesia. Derived from the Italian tifare (to cheer), tifo denotes large-scale visual performances in which thousands of supporters deploy colored cloths and choreography to compose stadium-wide imagery, employing symbols such as the Garuda Pancasila, the Red and White flag, maps of the archipelago, and slogans like Indonesia Jaya and Merah Putih Takkan Pernah Padam (Aulia, 2024; Gitiyarko, 2025).

This phenomenon is anchored in scholarship on nationalism and collective identity. Anderson's (2006) "imagined community" is apt: supporters who have never met

coordinate to unfurl a giant Garuda, enacting the affective solidarity that defines nationhood. Wijaya, Santoso, and Prasetyo (2023) show this nationalist expression carries measurable implications for national resilience, while Jibar (2024) argues that such fanaticism, particularly within La Grande Indonesia, awakens nationalist consciousness among younger generations together establishing the stadium tribune as a vivid arena where Indonesian nationalism is performed and renewed.

Yet stadium nationalism does not stay contained; it is mediated outward and reconstructed by mass media, which actively constitute the social reality audiences understand (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Entman's (1993) framing theory clarifies this: news texts promote particular problem definitions, causal interpretations, and moral evaluations, so a tifo may be framed as patriotic expression, creative achievement, or reckless fanaticism, each with different implications for how nationalism is understood. This power is especially consequential online, where Kompas.com, CNNIndonesia.com, and Bola.net serve as primary sources with distinct editorial orientations (McCombs & Shaw, 1972; White, 1950).

Despite the rich literature on football and nationalism in Indonesia, an empirical gap persists. Existing studies examine nationalist expression among Indonesian supporters generally (Wijaya et al., 2023; Aulia, 2024) and apply semiotic and framing methods to nationalism in advertising and protest contexts (Muhammad, 2017; Sakhiyya, Yannuar, & Anjaniputra, 2024), yet none systematically examines how mainstream online news constructs nationalist representations through coverage of giant tifo, a distinct, symbolically dense form of expression whose media portrayal shapes how both supporter culture and nationalism itself are understood.

This study addresses that gap with three objectives: to analyze representations of nationalism in online coverage of giant tifo by Ultras Garuda and La Grande Indonesia; to identify the most prominent national symbols and interpret their semiotic functions; and to examine how framing varies across outlets with different editorial profiles. It draws on qualitative content analysis of 24 news articles from Kompas.com, CNNIndonesia.com, and Bola.net (2023–2025), situated within the frameworks of social construction of reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), media framing (Entman, 1993), and imagined community (Anderson, 2006), contributing to understanding how nationhood is articulated in non-formal public spaces and sustained or contested by digital media.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This study's theoretical foundation rests on five interconnected bodies of scholarship representation, nationalism, football supporter sociology, media framing, and semiotics that together provide the analytical architecture for examining how giant tifo actions mediate the construction of nationalism.

Hall's (1997) concept of representation serves as the study's primary lens: representation is not a passive mirror of reality but an active practice of meaning production through language, signs, and images, with meaning generated by a culture's systems of representation rather than inherent in objects themselves. When online media cover tifo, their choices of angle, symbols, testimonies, and language all constitute meaning construction. Hall's encoding/decoding model (1980) further clarifies how producers encode texts with preferred meanings that audiences decode in conforming, negotiated, or oppositional ways, underscoring that representation is never fully closed. This study centers on the encoding end the representational choices Indonesian online

media make in covering giant tifo and what these reveal about dominant constructions of nationalism.

Anderson's (2006) "imagined community" remains the most influential framework for understanding nationalism as a modern, mediated phenomenon: nations are cultural artefacts whose members, despite never knowing most fellow nationals, imagine themselves bound together through systems of communication historically print capitalism, today digital media. This maps directly onto tifo: when thousands unfurl a giant Garuda across Gelora Bung Karno's tribunes and millions witness it online, they enact the imaginative process that constitutes the nation. Hobsbawm and Ranger's (1983) "invented traditions" adds that symbols feeling ancient are often recent constructions fabricated for nationalist purpose, the Garuda, the Merah Putih, and nationalist slogans in tifo are themselves invented traditions sustained through repeated collective investment. Smith's (1991) emphasis on the ethnic and cultural foundations of national identity complements Anderson's constructivist view, explaining the Garuda Pancasila's visceral resonance in the tifo context.

Within Indonesian scholarship, the link between supporter culture and nationalist expression has drawn growing attention. Wijaya, Santoso, and Prasetyo (2023) show that Indonesian football supporters' nationalist orientation measurably influences national resilience, positioning supporter communities as genuine contributors to national solidarity. Aulia (2024) argues supporter fervor is a concrete manifestation of nationalism in global football, while Jibar (2024), focusing on La Grande Indonesia, shows organized fanaticism awakens nationalist consciousness, particularly among younger generations. Gitiyarko (2025) extends this by examining the stadium tribune as a non-formal space where national identity is actively constructed and reinforced together grounding giant tifo as a legitimate object of inquiry into nationalism's contemporary expressions.

Yet tifo is not reducible to its nationalist dimension alone. Sakhiyya, Yannuar, and Anjaniputra (2024), analyzing the linguistic landscape of supporter protests following the Kanjuruhan tragedy, show that football fandom also constitutes a space for social solidarity, accountability demands, and resistance to injustice. Tenriliweng and Fridayanti (2024) caution that media coverage and social media dynamics can catalyze supporter conflict and disorder, underscoring the need for critical analysis of how media frames supporter actions. Together these studies establish that the representational field surrounding Indonesian football supporters is contested terrain where nationalist pride, creative expression, and critical commentary coexist.

The media–nationalism link is articulated through framing theory. Entman's (1993) formulation defines framing as selecting and emphasizing aspects of reality to promote particular problem definitions, causal interpretations, moral evaluations, and treatment recommendations an exercise of epistemic power over audience understanding. Applied to tifo, outlets with different mandates construct different representations of the same event. McCombs and Shaw's (1972) agenda-setting theory reinforces this: sustained attention to tifo's nationalist dimensions shapes public perceptions of its importance, normalizing the link between supporter culture and nationalism even without audiences' explicit awareness. Berger and Luckmann's (1966) social construction of reality supplies the metatheoretical scaffolding, explaining how media participate in objectification, the process through which social actions become legible as shared, institutionalized meanings, so that tifo is not merely reported but objectified as a symbol of the nation.

Semiotic analysis draws on Peirce's (1958) triadic typology of icon, index, and symbol, with Muhammad's (2017) application of Peircean semiotics to nationalist advertising demonstrating this framework's value for tracing how symbols accrue meaning through cultural convention. The Garuda Pancasila functions as both icon, resembling the mythical bird, and symbol, its meanings of sovereignty and national aspiration produced through civic socialization, while the Red and White flag operates as a symbol in Peirce's strict sense courage and purity as conventional meanings so thoroughly internalized that the flag functions as an immediate signifier of national identity. Barthes's (1972) concept of "anchorage," whereby verbal text constrains the polysemy of visual signs, illuminates the slogans accompanying tifo imagery, such as Indonesia Jaya or Dobrak Tembok China, which ensure images are decoded toward nationalist rather than aesthetic meaning. Eco's (1976) sign systems and Fiske's (1990) communication studies further enrich this grounding, while Bhabha's (1994) theorization of ambivalence in national narratives offers a critical counterpoint to triumphalist readings, reminding us the nation is always also a site of internal tension.

Taken together, this literature converges on a central proposition: the representation of nationalism in Indonesian football supporter culture is not self-evident but actively constructed through the mediating practices of online news outlets that select, frame, and semiotically anchor tifo's meanings for mass publics. While existing research addresses nationalism among Indonesian supporters and media framing in other contexts, the specific intersection, how mainstream digital media construct and frame nationalism through coverage of giant tifo remains empirically unaddressed, a gap this study is designed to fill.

RESEARCH METHODS

Research Design

This study employs a qualitative research design anchored in the constructivist paradigm, with qualitative content analysis as its principal method. This paradigm is appropriate because the central interest lies not in counting observable frequencies for their own sake but in systematically tracing how meanings of nationalism are produced, organized, and propagated through the textual and discursive choices of online news media. Qualitative content analysis proceeds through an iterative process of reading, coding, categorization, and interpretive synthesis that foregrounds context, nuance, and the latent dimensions of meaning alongside their manifest textual indicators.

Data Sources and Sampling

The empirical corpus consists of 24 online news articles drawn from three Indonesian mainstream digital news portals Kompas.com, CNNIndonesia.com, and Bola.net with eight articles selected from each outlet (33.3% per source), a distribution deliberately maintained to enable rigorous comparative analysis across outlets with distinct editorial orientations. Kompas.com represents a premium national outlet with a long-standing commitment to balanced, professionally rigorous journalism; CNNIndonesia.com is a modern, digitally native outlet with an internationally oriented editorial perspective; and Bola.net is a sport-specialist portal whose coverage of supporter activity is deep and technically detailed. Together, the three outlets provide a cross-section of the mainstream Indonesian digital public sphere through which tifo-related nationalist representations are disseminated to mass audiences.

Articles were selected via purposive sampling using these criteria: published 2023–2025 inclusive; specifically address giant tifo actions by Ultras Garuda and/or La Grande Indonesia in national team matches; contain sufficient substance for systematic analysis (brief updates and formulaic match reports were excluded); and originate from the portal's own editorial body rather than a syndicated agency. The 2023–2025 timeframe corresponds to heightened international competition, generating consistent, high-volume attention to supporter culture and tifo. Data saturation, the point where additional articles ceased yielding analytically novel frames, symbols, or patterns was reached at 24 articles, confirming corpus adequacy.

Data Collection

Data collection was conducted through systematic digital documentation. Each portal's search interface and archived content were accessed using the keyword strings "tifo Ultras Garuda," "tifo La Grande Indonesia," "koreografi supporter timnas," and variations thereof. Articles meeting the selection criteria were archived in full digital format including URL, publication date, headline, complete body, and associated visual captions to preserve data integrity and enable re-examination during analysis, with metadata systematically recorded for cross-referential verification. Where an article's online version had been edited after initial publication, the earliest retrievable version was used. Visual elements accompanying the articles were noted as contextual data but not subjected to separate visual analysis, given the study's primary focus on textual representation.

Validity

Validity was secured through source triangulation: comparing representational patterns, frames, and symbol frequencies across three editorially independent outlets covering the same phenomenon distinguishes findings reflecting general properties of tifo representation from those that are outlet-specific. Where all three portals converge as with the near-universal Red and White flag (91.7%) that convergence carries cross-source validity; where divergence occurs as in CNNIndonesia.com's and Bola.net's contrasting frame profiles it becomes an analytically significant finding about representational heterogeneity. Interpretive validity was further strengthened through member-checking with supervising academics, ensuring the coding framework and conclusions were grounded in and defensible against the relevant theory.

Data Analysis

The analysis proceeded through six iteratively revisited stages. First, all 24 articles were read fully to establish initial orientation before formal coding. Second, a coding scheme was developed inductively and deductively, encompassing: (a) the presence and type of national symbols; (b) the evaluative framing of tifo (positive nationalism, creative/cultural, critical/cautionary); (c) discursive resources (lexical choices, quoted voices, contextual framings); and (d) contextual variables (match occasion, supporter group, invocation of international recognition). Third, each article was coded independently. Fourth, coded units were aggregated to identify dominant frame distributions and symbol frequencies within and across outlets. Fifth, patterns were interpreted through Hall (1997), Entman (1993), Anderson (2006), Berger and Luckmann

(1966), and Peirce (1958), connecting empirical patterns to broader theory. Sixth, a comparative synthesis explained inter-outlet differences via editorial orientation, audience segmentation, and institutional positioning. Because articles could sustain more than one dominant frame, frame frequencies are reported as proportions of the 24-article total rather than mutually exclusive categories.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Distribution of News Articles Across Media Outlets

The empirical corpus analyzed comprised 24 online news articles collected from three major Indonesian digital news portals over the 2023–2025 period, distributed equally across outlets, with Kompas.com, CNNIndonesia.com, and Bola.net each contributing eight articles (33.3% of the total corpus per source). This deliberate balance, achieved through purposive sampling, ensured that the comparative framing analysis was not skewed by disproportionate representation from any single outlet.

Table 1. Distribution of News Articles by Media Outlet (N = 24)

No.	Media Outlet	Number of Articles	Percentage	Period
1	Kompas.com	8	33.3%	2023–2025
2	CNNIndonesia.com	8	33.3%	2023–2025
3	Bola.net	8	33.3%	2023–2025
	Total	24	100%	

The even distribution across outlets with distinctly different editorial identities—a premium national broadsheet, an internationally oriented digital brand, and a sport-specialist portal—provides an analytically productive cross-section of the mainstream Indonesian online public sphere. Because these outlets operate with different journalistic mandates and reader constituencies, their convergences and divergences in framing tifo-related nationalism carry interpretive weight: patterns emerging uniformly across all three may reflect something about how Indonesian media culture at large constructs the nationalist dimensions of giant tifo, while divergences illuminate the role of institutional and editorial identity in shaping representational choices.

Dominant Frames in Online News Coverage of Giant Tifo

The qualitative content analysis identified three dominant frames through which the 24 articles collectively constructed the meaning of giant tifo actions: a positive nationalism frame, a creativity and supporter culture frame, and a critical frame. Because individual articles frequently sustained more than one dominant frame simultaneously, frame frequencies are reported as proportions of the full 24-article corpus rather than as mutually exclusive categories.

Table 2. Distribution of Dominant Frames in Online News Coverage (N = 24)

No.	Dominant Frame	Frequency	Percentage	Description
1	Positive Nationalism	16	66.7%	Foregrounds nationalism and national pride
2	Creativity & Supporter Culture	12	50.0%	Foregrounds artistic and creative dimensions
3	Critical	5	20.8%	Evaluates safety, regulatory, or social concerns

Note: One article may carry more than one dominant frame.

The positive nationalism frame is the most prevalent mode, appearing in 16 of 24 articles (66.7%), characterized by lexis invoking collective national emotion “membakar nasionalisme” (igniting nationalism), “kebanggaan bangsa” (pride of the nation), “duta bangsa di stadion” (ambassadors of the nation in the stadium), “persatuan dalam perbedaan” (unity in diversity) alongside player testimonies citing tifo as motivation and editorial framing within narratives of Indonesia’s international ascent. This is explicable through Entman’s (1993) framing theory: by emphasizing tifo’s nationalist dimensions over safety or logistics, outlets promote a “problem definition” of tifo as, above all, national will, paired with a “moral evaluation” of praiseworthiness. This framing is not neutral; it invites readers to identify with the tifo’s nationalist sentiment, extending Anderson’s (2006) imagined community into the digital public sphere. Every reader encountering an article celebrating the Garuda Pancasila tifo as national pride participates, in that moment, in the same imaginative solidarity supporters performed physically.

The creativity and supporter culture frame, present in 12 of 24 articles (50.0%), foregrounds the processes, scale, and aesthetic achievements of tifo production: hundreds of volunteers preparing over weeks, thousands of square meters of fabric, the technical coordination for visual precision, and international recognition from bodies like Ultras World and FIFA. This frame supplements rather than negates tifo’s nationalist dimensions, situating it as collective creative achievement. In Berger and Luckmann’s (1966) terms, this framing “objectifies” tifo as a legitimate cultural institution through which supporters reproduce collective identity, while positioning Indonesian supporter culture as internationally competitive a national pride that, though distinct from formal political nationalism, feeds back into it.

The critical frame, least frequent at 20.8% (five articles), is still indispensable for understanding how media construct tifo. Articles carrying this frame raise concerns about pyrotechnic useflares in enclosed stadiums about compliance with FIFA and PSSI spectator regulations, and about organizers’ responsibility for spectator safety. Its presence confirms the corpus is not solely an apparatus of nationalist glorification, performing journalism’s watchdog role by subjecting even patriotically charged practices to scrutiny. This aligns with Tenriliweng and Fridayanti’s (2024) caution that supporter-culture coverage can catalyze disorder if inattentive to social responsibility. Its minority status relative to the positive nationalism frame (20.8% versus 66.7%) suggests a dominant tendency toward celebration rather than measured evaluation.

National Symbols in Media Coverage of Giant Tifo

The semiotic analysis of the 24 articles identified five categories of national symbol appearing with varying frequency across the corpus. These symbols constitute the visual and verbal vocabulary through which the nationalist content of giant tifo is recognized, labeled, and amplified by media coverage.

Table 3. Distribution of National Symbols in Online News Coverage (N = 24)

No.	National Symbol	Frequency	Percentage	Semiotic Category (Peirce)
1	Red and White Flag (Merah Putih)	22	91.7%	Symbol
2	Nationalist Slogans / Messages	20	83.3%	Symbol
3	Garuda Pancasila	18	75.0%	Icon + Symbol
4	Map / Territory of Indonesia	6	25.0%	Icon

5	National Historical Figures / Heroes	4	16.7%	Icon
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The near-universal Red and White flag (91.7%, 22 of 24 articles) is the most striking finding of the symbol analysis. In Peirce's (1958) schema, the Merah Putih is a symbol in the strictest sense: the link between red-and-white and meanings of courage, purity, and national identity is entirely conventional, established through decades of civic socialization and ceremonial ritual. Because this relationship has been so thoroughly internalized since 1945, the flag functions in tifo coverage as what Barthes (1972) calls a "myth" a second-order system where the nationalist meaning of red and white appears self-evident. When a Bola.net caption notes "ribuan kain merah putih memenuhi tribun" (thousands of red-and-white cloths fill the tribune), the nationalist frame is activated instantly, the flag-nation compact already deeply sedimented in readers' consciousness.

Nationalist slogans, the second most frequent symbol (83.3%), function as what Barthes (1972) calls "anchorage": verbal text constrains the polysemy of visual imagery, directing interpretation toward a specific meaning. A monumental tifo of a golden bird against red could be read aesthetically as craftsmanship or politically as aspiration; incorporating the slogan Indonesia Jaya anchors the nationalist reading and subordinates aesthetic ones. The prevalence of slogan-focused coverage reveals how online media actively perform this anchorage function by consistently selecting and quoting nationalist verbal messages.

The Garuda Pancasila (75.0%) occupies a complex semiotic position under Peirce's typology: as an icon it visually resembles the mythological eagle rooted in Nusantara tradition; as a symbol it carries meanings of sovereignty, ideological unity under Pancasila, and national aspiration. This dual status gives it unusual density legible even to those unfamiliar with Indonesian civic culture, while resonating fully for domestic audiences. When a tifo spanning a tribune depicts a Garuda with wings spread, later reproduced in high-resolution photography on a national portal's front page, the semiotic work of constructing national identity occurs on both levels at once an effect Muhammad's (2017) Peircean analysis of nationalist advertising already anticipated in a different context.

The comparatively low frequencies of the map/territory symbol (25.0%) and historical figures (16.7%) are interpretively significant. These more cognitively demanding symbols appear in tifo tied to high-stakes or historically resonant matches for example, a tifo depicting President Soekarno in Kompas.com's coverage of the Indonesia–Bahrain qualifier. Their rarity reflects not an absence of symbolic sophistication but the practical constraints of producing legible imagery at stadium scale under time pressure. The map of Indonesia, when it appears, is powerful: as a Peircean icon of national territory, it makes spatial unity from Sabang to Merauke visible, its presence in a quarter of the corpus suggesting reservation for special occasions.

Comparative Framing Across Media Outlets

The analysis of frame distribution at the individual outlet level reveals meaningful divergences that illuminate how institutional context and editorial identity shape the construction of nationalist meaning in online news.

Table 4. Comparative Frame Distribution Across Media Outlets (N = 8 per outlet)

Frame	Kompas.com	CNNIndonesia.com	Bola.net	Total
Positive Nationalism	5 (62.5%)	6 (75.0%)	5 (62.5%)	16 (66.7%)
Creativity & Supporter Culture	3 (37.5%)	3 (37.5%)	6 (75.0%)	12 (50.0%)
Critical	2 (25.0%)	2 (25.0%)	1 (12.5%)	5 (20.8%)

Note: Percentages reflect the proportion of each outlet's eight articles carrying each frame. One article may carry more than one frame.

CNNIndonesia.com's leadership in the positive nationalism frame (75.0% versus 62.5% for Kompas.com and Bola.net) fits its editorial identity: as a digitally native brand affiliated with international journalism networks, it consistently positions Indonesian events within global contexts, most strikingly its report on the Dutch portal Voetbal Primeur's astonishment at the Garuda tifo during the March 2025 Indonesia–Bahrain qualifier, embedding nationalist expression within a discourse of international recognition. By reporting international observers' admiration, it reinforces nationalist affect by showing Indonesia's imagined community is seen from outside consistent with Bhabha's (1994) ambivalent desire at the core of national cultural expression: asserting self-sufficiency while longing for external recognition.

Bola.net's profile dominant in creativity/supporter culture (75.0%) but low in critical framing (12.5%) reflects sport-specialist media's structural imperatives. With a mandate centered on celebrating Indonesian football culture, Bola.net has capacity for in-depth coverage of tifo's creative dimensions: months-long preparation, hundreds of volunteers, thousands of square meters of fabric, and stadium-scale technical challenges. In Berger and Luckmann's (1966) terms, this institutionalizes tifo as a recognized, codified practice deserving documentation. The low critical frame reflects a structural disincentive: a readership of football enthusiasts discourages coverage that might alienate the core audience.

Kompas.com's frame distribution is the most balanced 62.5% positive nationalism, 37.5% creativity/culture, 25.0% critical consistent with its reputation for rigorous, multidimensional journalism. It is the only outlet publishing articles that explicitly interrogate tifo's social responsibilities, including "Aksi Tifo Suporter Timnas: Antara Kreativitas dan Tanggung Jawab Sosial" (Tifo Actions of the National Team's Supporters: Between Creativity and Social Responsibility) and a critical report on flare-use dangers critical willingness absent from Bola.net and only partly matched by CNNIndonesia.com, reflecting White's (1950) journalistic gatekeeping function of admitting critical voices even when they complicate celebratory narratives. This confirms Entman's (1993) insight that framing is shaped by each outlet's institutional context and audience relationship: nationalism in giant tifo is not a single construction but a polyphonic one, harmonious in celebration yet divergent in emphasis.

Media as an Active Agent of Nationalist Meaning Construction

The cumulative findings of the frame analysis, symbol analysis, and inter-outlet comparison converge on this study's central contribution: Indonesian online media do not merely report on the giant tifo phenomenon but actively construct its nationalist meaning, through at least three interconnected mechanisms grounded in the theoretical frameworks reviewed above.

The first mechanism is lexical: emotionally charged nationalist vocabulary terms evoking sacrifice, unity, pride, collective destiny across all outlets performs what Hall (1997) calls representational practice, using language to produce meanings constitutive of the affective community tifo enacts. The second is symbolic: by naming, photographing, and elaborating on the Garuda Pancasila, the Red and White flag, and nationalist slogans, outlets anchor tifo to the nation's symbolic register, ensuring it is decoded as national rather than merely aesthetic. The third is contextual: placing tifo within narratives of international footballing advancement and national greatness lends events significance beyond a single match.

These mechanisms operationalize the social construction of reality in nationalist culture. Berger and Luckmann's (1966) institutionalization is realized not through legal structures but through the accumulated weight of repeated media narration each report framing the Garuda as national aspiration, or volunteer preparation as patriotic devotion, deposits another layer of cultural memory consolidating tifo as a recognized institution. Anderson's (2006) imagined community is extended in every instance: millions of readers encountering tifo coverage are, through reading, incorporated within the national solidarity tifo physically performs. The critical frame in 20.8% of articles ensures this incorporation is not entirely uncritical, but the overall balance is weighted toward celebration confirming that stadium and news feed together constitute a potent apparatus for reproducing Indonesian national identity.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that Indonesian online media act as active agents in constructing nationalist meaning through coverage of giant tifo by Ultras Garuda and La Grande Indonesia. The dominant positive nationalism frame (66.7%) shows digital media systematically encode tifo as a participatory manifestation of the imagined national community, reinforced by prominent national symbols the Red and White flag (91.7%), nationalist slogans (83.3%), and the Garuda Pancasila (75.0%) operating as a coherent signifying system anchoring patriotic sentiment. Comparative analysis reveals framing is shaped by institutional identity: CNNIndonesia.com emphasizes international validation, Bola.net highlights creative practices, and Kompas.com offers a critically balanced perspective. Practically, supporter groups should recognize their tifo actions as nationally broadcast platforms for collective identity, balancing visual coherence with regulatory compliance; media practitioners can enrich public understanding by integrating cultural, historical, and critical reporting; and policymakers should leverage organized supporter culture as a vehicle for national character education. This research is limited by its focus on textual analysis from three portals, excluding visual semiotics, audience reception, and social media's dynamic role. Future research should employ audience reception studies, multimodal discourse analysis of visual data, and an expanded corpus including social media and comparative international cases.

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