

The Culture of Swearing 'Anjing': An Ethnography Study of Indonesia Football Supporters

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Abstract

In the realm of sports, dogs have transitioned from being symbols and mascots to becoming objects of swearing by humans, reflecting spontaneous emotional expressions. Indonesian football supporters use the word 'Anjing' (meaning 'dog') to convey their emotions while watching live matches. This study aims to analyze the meaning and messages conveyed using 'Anjing' as a swearing object. Employing the theory of Ethnography of Communications, specifically Dell Hymes' 'speaking' analysis, this qualitative research observes supporter behavior during fifteen national and international football matches from June 2022 to June 2023. The findings suggest that swearing can become a cultural phenomenon as a degrading tool for others, characterized by human behavior and mindsets that are passed down to future generations. As a target of swearing, 'Anjing' holds a universal meaning, with both positive and negative connotations. The term "Anjing" used pejoratively, emerges from the knowledge and experiential background of the individual uttering it. This context arises from long-standing social perceptions within their milieu, wherein dogs are perceived as thieving creatures and possess undesirable qualities. Additionally, these perceptions are also notably influenced by religious considerations, particularly within the dominant Islamic framework in Indonesia, where there exists a prevailing belief that dogs are impure animals. Consequently, the recipient of the derogatory term is subjected to a degrading state, resulting in their perceived lack of worthiness to attain an equal standing among their fellow human beings

Keywords: *Anjing, Culture, Football, Supporters, and Swearing.*

Introduction

Football supporters who are the subject of this study tend to express their emotions and feelings in a specific language known as emotive language (Seifried, 2008). The emphasis is on the selection of words that may not necessarily align with the sports context but are intentionally chosen to evoke emotions within themselves and their interlocutors. The choice of words used by supporters can sometimes lead to issues as they often disregard social context and fail to consider long-term implications. This can result in negative perceptions and intersect with dangerous narratives closely related to criminal elements, leading to issues of violence (Leonard, 2012) and potentially escalating into legal disputes.

The issue of swearing conducted by supporters is not merely seen as a form of emotional release or expression but is considered to have transformed into a term known as Football Talk, which functions as a Lingua Franca or everyday language (Penn, 2016) that unites subjects who voice their support. The language used can be inclusive, inviting others to join in, as well as exclusive, inviting others to express their 'voice' regarding the emotions and feelings associated with the atmosphere and conditions of the adored team. As part of the language that unifies supporter discourse, the swearing expressed during matches

demonstrates verbal loyalty to fellow supporters and the beloved team (Kiernan, 2017), emphasizing the distinction between loyalty and support that leads to allegiance in any situation.

Swearing, as one of the means to convey messages of support, disappointment, intimidation, or dominance towards opponents or the team playing, reveals various underlying significances that can serve as motivation for the use of curses by football supporters (Feezell, 2008). However, the emphasis proposed by Randolph Feezel revolves around classifying curses that closely align with the selection of words containing elements of vulgarity. In general, the formed taxonomy explains that the reasons and foundations behind each subject swearing revolve around catharsis as a means of emotional release and self-affirmation. The classification clarifies that curses can contain elements closely related to the emotions of supporters as human beings, and the messages can have positive or negative implications for themselves and society.

Understanding the context of swearing as a variety of means related to the emotions expressed internally and externally towards others shows that swearing can be a form of expression without considering other material elements as production assets, such as posters, banners, or displays usually seen in stadiums. Swearing only relies on language and the natural vocal abilities possessed by every individual (Ben Shalom et al., 2019). In addition to being free from production assets, swearing in football is often influenced by age and gender factors. Teenagers between the ages of 15 and 29 are the most frequent users of swearing as a means of self-affirmation and rebellion, and males are more dominant in swearing as they have roles and means to demonstrate self-assertion and prowess (Parks & Roberton, 1998).

The selection of words, language, and metaphors by football supporters to express their emotions during matches is closely tied to the culture they come from (Rossing & Skrubbeltrang, 2017). The use of metaphors and swearing may not always convey the intended emotions to the opponent, leading to missed communication due to different language understandings. Referring to the context of '*Anjing*' would be appropriate when addressing Indonesian supporters or those with a cultural proximity to Indonesia, such as Malaysia (both Melayu). This is because they understand the socio-cultural and religious connotations of '*Anjing*' which can quickly be perceived as degrading. However, the connotation of '*Anjing*' would differ when applied to Filipino supporters who consider it as their team's mascot and nickname (The Azkals).

Swearing or curse words fall into the category of lexicon that is emotionally charged, containing words that implicitly evoke emotions (Pavlenko, 2008). This understanding is further enhanced by the recognition of individuals as emotional beings, emphasizing the affective aspect. The primary focus of the affective perspective is everything related to attitudes, personality, behaviour, interests, emotions, and values within individuals. Therefore, when curses are uttered, they carry the appropriate emotions when accompanied by facial expressions, bodily gestures, and tendencies to act (Pavlenko, 2014).

Swearing can also serve as both a medium and a message for football supporters. As a medium and message, swearing can transform the behaviour of users from a state of silence or calmness to passion and emotional intensity (Y. Kang & Cappella, 2008), (H. Kang & Sundar, 2016) by using various metaphors, such as employing the metaphorical usage of animal objects like '*Anjing*'. As a medium, swearing can also convey messages with different

meanings, ranging from intimidation to dominance. The oral tradition, as a cornerstone of the relationship between language and medium, creates the possibility of messages being conveyed by the sender through each mention of the word '*Anjing*' or other metaphors.

There are various supporting elements that can explore and convey a message effectively, making it meaningful as a component of communication used in various activities (Saville-Troike, 2003). The communication components outlined by Dell Hymes (2004) and (Saville-Troike, 2003) underpin the role of messages in social contexts and human interaction. These components include an understanding of (1) genre, which refers to the type of activity that serves as a means of expressing messages. Next is the aspect of (2) topic, which is the focus of the message, ensuring that the content remains concise and aligned with the initial intention. Another important component is (3) the purpose of the message, which denotes the direction of the message, whether it is intended for a general audience or individuals. The context (4) refers to the setting, including the location and time, which relates to the age and duration of the message to avoid wasting or outdated information due to situational influences. The setting is closely related to the next component, (5) key, which emphasizes the tone and tempo, indicating the communicator's emotions to ensure the desired message reception.

The key component that determines the success or failure of a message can be viewed from (6) participants, which involves understanding and paying attention to the recipient's description, such as age, gender, ethnicity, social status, and relationship involvement. This helps to sharpen the contextual relevance of the message and ensure it reaches the intended target. Another consideration is the (7) form of the message, whether it is verbal or non-verbal, using appropriate language according to the target audience. The core message content is also emphasized in (8) message content, which should be denotative or convey the actual meaning rather than connotative or implied meanings. The delivery, or (9) art of sequence, is also a component that facilitates effective message transmission. Avoiding overlapping messages and considering the number of messages being conveyed are important considerations.

Observation activities serve as a basis for the next component, (10) interaction process, which involves observing and paying attention to the details surrounding the object or subject when delivering a message. This strengthens the message by making it contextually relevant to the recipient. Finally, (11) the role of interpretation means that the understanding of the message received is influenced by various factors such as the recipient's basic knowledge and underlying culture, leading to conclusions regarding message interpretation.

The primary reference for the analytical framework is the understanding of communication ethnography, which focuses on humans as subjects engaging in verbal and non-verbal interactions and conveying messages with diverse purposes (Hymes, 2004). This study adopts the concept acronym 'Speaking,' derived from observing human behaviour in communication. It includes the setting, which indicates the arrangement of words and messages to be conveyed, as well as participants as the recipients of the message. Ends, referring to the message's purpose, is also an important element, along with acts supported by key activities. The instrument represents the channel supporting the message delivery process, reinforced by norms and genres as forms of interaction and interpretation by the subjects.

The message is constructed using language, considering the setting, time, place, and context of the event, while incorporating animal metaphors such as '*Anjing*' as specific representations. Furthermore, the message is intended to demean other human subjects. The primary goal of delivering the message is for it to be consumed by the intended subjects, meaning that if opposing supporters understand the derogatory meaning of being referred to as '*Anjing*' and are provoked to retaliate emotionally, then the message is considered successful and hits the target.

This combination of perspectives gives rise to the belief and perception that dogs are lowly and repulsive animals, unworthy of being compared to other animals, especially humans. The creation of this perception to belittle opponents or other subjects using the term '*Anjing*' is a form of degrading fellow human. Supporters who use the term '*Anjing*' in their swearing intend to shape the perception that their opponents are thieves, disgusting, and unworthy of standing on an equal footing. As a result, the use of '*Anjing*' as a metaphorical curse word uttered by football supporters in Indonesia has become a distinct tradition, unique and different from the forms of supportive swearing in other countries.

Therefore, this study aims to analyse the meanings generated by football supporters regarding the metaphorical use of '*Anjing*' in swearing from social, cultural, religious, and sporting perspectives, leading to changes in supporter behaviour during football matches. The findings of the study suggest that the swearing uttered by football supporters can be categorized as a form of verbal violence act with the intention of degrading fellow human beings.

Methods

A research study requires a method to find answers that support the proposed arguments. This method, often referred to as a research methodology, consists of steps that facilitate the process of obtaining the desired data. In this study, human behaviour, specifically the act of swearing, is observed in depth. The focus is on the use of the word '*Anjing*' as an expression of emotion by football supporters in Indonesia. To find answers that support the research arguments, a qualitative approach is chosen. This approach emphasizes a deep understanding of phenomena through subjective analysis by the researcher, rather than relying on numerical data (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The data collection process involves participant observation, also known as ethnography, as the primary technique. Additionally, secondary data is gathered through in-depth interviews and documentation studies using existing documents.

Ethnography is the main technique used to gather data and find answers in this research study (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). It focuses on observing changes in behaviour exhibited by football supporters during live football matches in stadiums. The ethnographic research was conducted in stadiums located in the DKI Jakarta area, such as Gelora Bung Karno Stadium, Madya Stadium, Pakansari Stadium, Indomilk Arena, and Wibawa Mukti Stadium. The data collection period spanned twelve months or one year, from June 2022 to June 2023, and included fifteen national-level football matches, including domestic league matches and international competitions such as the AFF Cup and FIFA's Friendly Matches. Each researched match was divided into three observation periods (Szogs, 2017): before the

match, during the match (marked by the referee's whistle), and post-match moments capturing the subjects' emotions related to the match outcome.

Football supporters who engage in swearing during live matches in the stadium were selected as subjects for the ethnographic research. The observed swearing behaviour must include the use of the word '*Anjing*,' which is the focus of this study. Subjects were not limited by age, origin, gender, educational background, or economic status. The selection criteria focused on observing swearing behaviour using the word '*Anjing*' as a means of expressing emotions related to the witnessed matches. In-depth interviews were conducted with four selected subjects who met the research criteria and came from different regions to capture diverse cultural backgrounds. The interviews took place separately with each participant from January 2023 to May 2023 in the Jakarta area. Academic documents, including journals and popular texts related to swearing, dogs as animals, and the behaviour of football supporters in Indonesia, were used to support the research arguments. The primary data, consisting of observed supporter behaviour using the "Speaking" ethnographic approach in communication, was combined with data obtained from interviews with selected participants and presented alongside data from relevant documents that supported the proposed arguments.

Results and Discussion

The context of football in Indonesian society presents a contrasting image when it comes to achievements. The commonly held belief that massive support leads to success and prestigious accomplishments for the supported team is contradicted in the Indonesian football context. Despite being the most popular sport in the country, surpassing badminton, and boxing (Novia & Anshari, 2020), football has a limited number of titles and trophies to boast of. Nevertheless, the passionate support from Indonesian society has created an identity as a football-loving nation in the Asian region, primarily based on the scale of supporter enthusiasm rather than on actual achievements.

Being a football supporter in Indonesia creates a distinct identity and personal image within the community. It is seen as being part of a larger family, a community that supports a football club or team with the aspiration of high achievements to be proud of (Giulianotti & Armstrong, 2002). However, being a supporter and having that identity is not something every individual possesses (Knapton et al., 2018). The identity as a supporter is intertwined with emotions and a desire for the supported club or team to always excel. This emotional connection can create inner turmoil when the supported club, representing a specific region in Indonesia (such as Persib Bandung), experiences defeat. In such instances, Persib's supporters, known as Bobotoh, feel personal shame and tarnish their own reputation as both supporters and residents of Bandung (Anshari et al., 2018). The sense of belonging, a key element in supporting activities, becomes deeply rooted in the thoughts and behaviour of supporters in Indonesia.

The support given by individuals and organized groups known as football supporters is an activity that becomes ingrained in their daily lives, affecting their bodies, behaviour, and overall culture as supporters (Besnier et al., 2018). The culture that emerges from being a football supporter also involves various rituals that solidify their identity, including physically attending matches in stadiums and engaging in intense interactions with opposing supporters

(Adams et al., 2021). These rituals, which are part of the football supporter culture, can also involve indirect forms of support that may not be visible but can be felt by the supported team. Indirect support can take the form of verbal communication in various languages, including swearing (Shalom et al., 2017).

Swearing is a form of language that carries implicit emotions and feelings expressed by the speaker. The content of such messages can range from support, insults, affirmations, to intimidation, resulting in various meanings and perceptions for the target of the swearing (Pavlenko, 2008). In the context of football supporters, swearing serves as a bridge or means of communication between supporters and players or opposing supporters (Rowe et al., 2010). It is a way for supporters to express their pent-up or intense emotions during matches and connects to past experiences that continue to shape their emotions (Young, 2013). The process of swearing is often accompanied using metaphors, which in Indonesian culture tend to involve animal names, one of which is the word '*Anjing*,' which is the focus of this research.

'*Anjing*' has become a popular object of swearing in everyday language in Indonesia. Its use as a target of swearing is related to the social, cultural, and religious context prevalent in the country. Socially and culturally, some groups in Indonesia view dogs as thieves that will take anything to fulfil their desires. From a religious perspective, as Indonesia is predominantly Muslim, dogs are considered impure due to their saliva and are therefore to be avoided. The combination of these perspectives leads to the perception that dogs are lowly and repulsive animals, not worthy of being compared to other animals, let alone humans. This perception shapes the derogatory usage of '*Anjing*' as a target of swearing, aiming to belittle the recipient.

Degrading others by the word '*Anjing*' is a form of perception distortion. By labelling others as thieves, incompetent, disgusting, and unworthy, individuals who use this insult aim to create a perception that positions themselves higher than their targets. This type of degrading act is often expressed verbally, specifically through the swearing of the word '*Anjing*' by football supporters in Indonesia. This usage has become a distinct tradition, setting it apart from the insults used by supporters in other countries. The metaphorical use of '*Anjing*' highlights the difference in perceptions of dogs as thieves and undesirable animals in the Indonesian context compared to other regions. Swearing using the word '*Anjing*' can be categorized as a form of verbal degrading act, with the speaker asserting a superior position over their target by reducing them to the status of a dog, hierarchically below humans.

The "Speaking" analysis framework will guide the ethnographic process of observing the behaviour of football supporters in stadiums, particularly during swearing incidents that may escalate to violence before, during, or after matches. The ethnographic process will also focus on swearing using the word '*Anjing*' or other animal metaphors, following the guidelines of the "Speaking" framework that consider the setting, which includes the spatial and temporal contexts of swearing. The role of participants will act as a bridge influencing other supporters to engage in swearing behaviour. The tendency for swearing to spread among a community due to shared emotions emphasizes the importance of participants who are easily provoked into acts of anarchy.

The gradual and continuous observation process will focus on understanding the supporters' objectives in conveying messages and emotions through swearing. Verbal language containing various emotions can be observed explicitly or implicitly. Swearing can

convey support, insults, praise, dominance, or intimidation. Additionally, the ethnographic process will examine the movements of supporters in delivering messages within the stadium, considering the specified timeframes. Observations will include the channels through which messages are conveyed, including verbal and non-verbal forms such as photos, videos, texts, and images.

Regarding the arrangement of words and messages (setting) spoken by the research subjects, it can be observed that in the process of uttering the swear word '*Anjing*', there is no prior preparation as it is spontaneously expressed. This sudden nature represents the emotions felt by the subjects upon witnessing a particular situation or moment. However, sometimes the act of swearing is accompanied by various body gestures to support the intended message. The form of swear messages can be verbal (audio) and can be reinforced through insults, whistles, cheers, or chants, which are distinctive songs of support voiced by football supporters. Messages can also be conveyed non-verbally, with the help of various supporting means such as texts and visuals displayed on banners, posters, and signs.

The results of the research can also be examined from the perspective of the participants focusing on the reactions of message recipients. The recipients of the messages are the actors involved in the match, including opposing supporters, football players from both the supported and opposing teams, coaches, officials, the referee who is the controller of the game, and the federation and organizing committee, which usually includes the police and military. The reaction from opposing supporters is often to respond to the swear words by swearing back at the subject. However, sometimes remaining silent becomes an option when the number of supporters is significantly outnumbered. In addition to verbal responses, physical gestures are also used to retaliate, such as raising the middle finger or making punching gestures with clenched fists. Opposing supporters can also react through other means such as singing chants or creating noisy disturbances from the stands.

On the other hand, the reactions from opposing players appear to differ, with some seeming indifferent and attempting not to respond to the swearing. However, some players react by glancing angrily at the supporters in the stands. This sometimes triggers excessive reactions, such as kicking the ball towards the stands, although players are aware that such actions will result in punishment from the referee. Players themselves may respond to the swearing by swearing back, but not loudly (fearing excessive reaction will lead to punishment), challenging the supporters through stern gazes towards the stands, or trying to remain calm and focused on the game.

As other actors who play a role in determining the course of a match, the reactions of coaches and officials when faced with swearing from supporters vary. Some choose not to react or directly respond to the swearing, while others may use body gestures like placing a finger in front of their lips to signal the supporters to be quiet. Referees, who are central figures on the field, are observed to not react to the swearing from supporters as their full attention and focus are on the game. If a referee were to react, it could result in stopping or delaying the match. Observing the actions of other actors, officials from the federation do not respond due to their limited capacity to retaliate given the context of time and space. Organizing committees, often associated with security personnel such as the police, are seen not to respond to the swearing. However, if they feel cornered, security personnel may act such as confiscating items or removing banners displayed in the stands.

The word '*Anjing*' used as a form of swearing serves various purposes for supporters. One of the aims is to show support for the team, expressing the desire for good performance or victory (only for the supported team). Swearing can also convey feelings of pride and joy, disappointment towards the supported players, coach, or officials, as well as anger towards the referee for perceived wrong decisions. Swearing can also be a means of expressing anger towards players for missed opportunities or being in a losing position, and towards the coach for making substitutions deemed inappropriate. Additionally, swearing can be directed at opposing supporters if they are seen as intimidating through swearing or actions towards the supported players. Another purpose is to intimidate opposing supporters as a form of retaliation or to provoke support for the team being cheered on. Through the use of the swear word '*Anjing*', there is an emphasis or assertion that the opposing supporters are inferior compared to the subject who is not an animal.

Unseen objectives can be supported through visible activities that engage the sense of sight when conveying messages. Body language gestures, accompanied by supportive tools, serve to communicate messages. These activities include waving flags that symbolize supporter groups or the favoured team, showcasing pride. Other actions involve displaying banners, signs, or posters with intimidating visuals or implicit messages relevant to the ongoing situation. Making sounds through clap balloons or igniting flares that produce smoke can evoke various emotions and reactions from all involved parties (supporters, players, referees, event organizers). As catalysts for moments, loudly playing drums by fanatic supporter groups can facilitate the achievement of goals through the assistance of other means.

Body language or gestures play a key role in supporting message delivery. Raising a middle finger signifies disappointment or anger, while raising a thumb indicates pride or happiness. Clapping hands demonstrates joy. Scratching the head expresses frustration, annoyance, or disappointment, often accompanied by head shaking to denote disbelief. Placing the palm on the forehead or head signifies disappointment. Raising hands upward, resembling a praying gesture, represents hope for a miraculous outcome without disappointment. Gestures that create sound, such as stomping feet (to assert dominance or emphasize a point), are often accompanied by cheers or whistles.

Instruments, as technological tools or means of support, play a role in message delivery. Drums or musical instruments, as inanimate objects, along with clap balloons, generate sound that contributes to support. Chants or songs sung by supporters serve as conveyors of messages. Cheers or mocking whistles also carry their own meanings. Visual elements such as banners and posters create their own messages. However, fireworks and flares, although prohibited instruments, are often relied upon to create smoke as a sign of intimidation.

Despite being supported by instruments and various underlying objectives, message delivery must also be guided by written and unwritten norms and boundaries that have been collectively agreed upon. In general, there are no limitations when it comes to hurling insults at all actors. Insults are spontaneously uttered to assert one's power and break free from the constraints of social norms that prohibit the use of offensive language. The subject of the insult is not specified by name or accompanied by identifying details, rendering them

anonymous. Insults serve as a means of channelling emotions and allow individuals to fully immerse themselves in the ongoing spectacle of the match.

Another contextual observation regarding supporter behaviour during matches pertains to the interpretation of messages by the subjects. Uttering the word '*Anjing*' is considered offensive due to its negative connotations and its atypical usage in formal settings within society. The utterance of '*Anjing*' goes against prevailing social norms in Indonesia. When using the word '*Anjing*,' the association with dogs as animals is lost. Subjects do not attach much significance to the historical understanding and cultural perception that dogs are seen as thieves. When hurling insults, subjects also do not always consider that dogs are considered forbidden animals according to religious beliefs. Uttering or hurling the word '*Anjing*' is not merely an expression of disappointment or negativity, but it can also transform into a form of support. The spontaneity in uttering '*Anjing*' serves as an outlet for the immediate emotions experienced at that moment. The word '*Anjing*' is also employed to belittle the subject, as it fails to meet the expectations of the person hurling the insult. Belittling the target by likening them to an animal position the insulter as a human, implying a hierarchical distinction. The word '*Anjing*' directed solely at opposing supporters aims to undermine their spirit. It is also intended to generate hatred and elicit a retaliatory response from the targeted subject.

The utterance of the word '*Anjing*' can have multifaceted implications depending on the moment and the recipient of the insult. Universality, in this context, means that anyone can utter the word regardless of age, gender, income level, ethnic origin, or social status. Universality also implies that the word '*Anjing*' can evoke various emotions, not only support but also disdain and other emotional responses. Universality also means that the word '*Anjing*' can be uttered in any situation, whether the supported team is winning or losing. The utterance of '*Anjing*' is expected to elicit a response from the target, whether in the form of a retaliatory insult or other actions. Insulting with the word '*Anjing*' is considered flexible, leading to diverse interpretations by both the speaker and the recipient of the insult. The utterance of '*Anjing*' can give rise to two contrasting emotional responses, with nuances of both positivity and negativity.

The positive nuances of using the term '*Anjing*' are evident when it is vocalized to support the favoured team, to emphasize desired expectations, and to express pride and joy in achieved outcomes. On the other hand, the negative undertones are present when it is used to demean other subjects as targets of insults, expressing frustration towards unmet expectations, and intimidating the intended recipients. As subjects of this study, football supporters in Indonesia often utilize various objects as means of verbal abuse. However, in the context of a physical human-centred sport like football, the use of animal objects for insults is considered more suitable for conveying the emotions experienced while watching matches. The choice of animals is also influenced by the broader societal meanings attached to them. Social connotations are often supported by historical significance found in folklore or popular stories circulating within the community. Furthermore, religious beliefs contribute to how animals are perceived, with followers associating them with worship or avoidance. Social perspectives are closely intertwined with patterns of thought, habits, and behaviours passed down to future generations. The cultural context influences diverse interpretations.

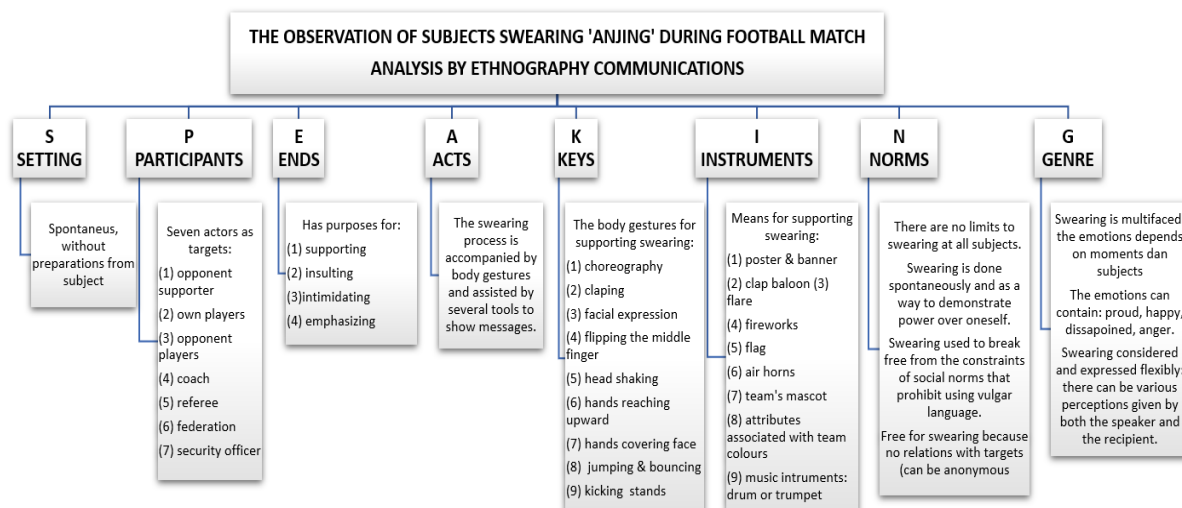


Figure 1. The result of observation using 'Speaking' Approach.
Source: Documents of research, 2023.

The selection of the '*Anjing*' as the object of insults, which also serves as the underlying subject of this research, is based on its frequent usage by supporters during football matches. The choice of the term '*Anjing*' is believed to represent the fluctuating emotions and feelings experienced by supporters, which are often dependent on the situations and conditions on the field. The element of spontaneity inherent in the act of insulting contributes to the perception that the term '*Anjing*' is suitable for utterance in various moments that occur during matches. The preference for the object '*Anjing*' over other familiar animals such as pigs or monkeys is influenced by the societal perceptions associated with the chosen animal.

"...Babi, it's not as appealing to use as an insult because not everyone has touched or seen a pig. Mostly, people associate pigs with Christians. So, when you say 'Babi', people of other religions won't feel it!" (Interviewee 1, supporter from Jakarta, February 19, 2023).

"...As for Monyet, it's also rarely used as an insult in football matches because monkeys are associated with mocking black players. It's usually linked to racist actions. We don't want to be racist; our intention is simply to express our emotions..." (Interviewee 2, supporter from Bandung, January 6, 2023).

According to interviews with two supporters, it is explained why animals like 'Babi' (pig) and 'Monyet' (monkey) are less commonly used as objects of verbal abuse in football matches. The first interviewee stated that 'Babi' is not as suitable for insults because not everyone has had direct contact or familiarity with pigs. Moreover, there is a perception that the term 'Babi' is predominantly associated with Christians, limiting its impact on individuals of other religions. Similarly, the second interviewee mentioned that 'Monyet' is infrequently used as an insult in football matches due to its association with mocking players with dark skin, which is deemed as racially motivated. The supporters expressed their intent to vent

emotions rather than engage in racist behaviour, thus avoiding the use of racially sensitive insults.

These insights shed light on the social and cultural factors that influence the selection of animals as objects of insults. The perceived familiarity and shared understanding of the chosen animal, such as '*Anjing*,' contribute to its prevalence in football supporter culture in Indonesia. Meanwhile, animals like 'Babi' and 'Monyet' carry additional connotations and associations that may limit their usage as insults in the context of football matches.

Based on the findings of the research observation, supported by in-depth interviews with various interviewees who are supporters and individuals who use the term '*Anjing*' as an insult, the choice of the dog as the object of the insult is influenced by the frequent use of the word '*Anjing*' and its evolution in the social environment since early stages of life. In comparison to other animals such as pigs and monkeys, it is considered less appropriate to use them as objects of insults in the context of football due to their associations with sensitive issues. The selection of the dog as the object of the insult is believed to represent various emotions due to its universal nature, and dogs are known to exist by all parties involved.

Social perspectives, shaped by religious and cultural factors, also contribute to the choice of the dog as the object of the insult. From a religious perspective, in Indonesia where the majority of the population is Muslim, dogs are considered haram (forbidden) to touch. This understanding is reinforced by references from Islamic sources such as the Quran and supporting studies like Hadith. Although some studies mention the issues related to the dog's saliva and its potential to nullify a person's ablution before prayer, dogs are generally only problematic in terms of their saliva as it can compromise a person's purity for prayer.

In addition to religious views, the perception of the dog as an object of insult among supporters is also influenced by the social understanding of dogs as animals in the social environment. In Western countries, dogs are seen as loyal animals due to their widespread presence as pets. In Indonesia, dogs are more commonly portrayed as wild animals and not considered suitable for domestication. This understanding stems from the fact that pet dogs are predominantly found in upper-class communities, indicating a difference in economic status between most football supporters who choose to use the term '*Anjing*' as an insult. Socially constructed views perceive dogs as stray animals without owners when they are found in lower-middle-class environments.

The dog is often perceived as a dirty or filthy animal due to its existence without an owner and its feral nature. This perception is also influenced by religious beliefs regarding the impurity associated with dog saliva, particularly in the context of Islam. The dog's scavenging behaviour, feeding on leftover food and stealing from various sources such as markets and individuals, further reinforces the notion that dogs are thieving animals to be avoided. These perceptions are shaped by cultural norms, which encompass inherited patterns of thinking and behaviour, leading to the perception and understanding that dogs are unclean creatures that should be avoided and deemed unworthy of being near humans.

"Fundamentally, the reason why I use the term 'Anjing' as an insult is because, in my view, dogs are considered forbidden (haram) in Islam, and I adhere to the Islamic faith. So, it's fitting for me to refer to someone as a dog, implying that they should be avoided." (Interviewee 3, supporter from Padang, April 27, 2023).

"The reason is simple: dogs are associated with dirty, feral animals that scavenge for food. In my area, stray dogs often steal food from people's homes, which makes them seen as mischievous creatures. So, when I use the word 'Anjing', it implies that the person I'm referring to is dirty and should be expelled from society, just like a stray dog that causes disruptions." (Interviewee 4, supporter from Bali, March 12, 2023).

In essence, the utilization of the term '*Anjing*' as an insult is rooted in religious considerations, particularly within the context of Islam. Interviewee 5, who adheres to the Islamic faith, explains that the association of dogs with prohibition in Islam prompts the use of '*Anjing*' as a derogatory term. This serves to imply that the targeted individual should be avoided or distanced. Such usage reflects a religious and moral framework that deems dogs as impure. On the other hand, Interviewee 3 highlights the perception of dogs as untamed and unclean creatures, primarily due to their scavenging behaviour and tendency to steal food, particularly in their local community. The connotation of '*Anjing*' implies the individual being referred to is viewed as dirty and disruptive, mirroring the negative attributes associated with stray dogs.

These perspectives highlight the complex interplay of religious beliefs, cultural norms, and societal perceptions surrounding dogs. The religious significance attached to dogs in Islam, combined with local cultural understandings of dogs as unclean or mischievous animals, contribute to the choice of '*Anjing*' as an insult within the context of these interviews.

The interpretation provided by football supporter subjects revolves around the perception that dogs are animals associated with the concept of 'haram' or prohibition due to certain elements within them. The notion that dogs should be avoided also reflects the belief that dogs are not creatures that can stand on equal footing with humans. Religious prohibitions create a distinction between humans and dogs, implying a hierarchical relationship.

Furthermore, the comprehensive social and cultural view portrays dogs as untamed and unclean animals, rendering them unfit for companionship and equality with humans. The social context suggests that dogs as pets are predominantly observed within middle to upper-class communities, which differs from the socio-economic background of Indonesian football supporters, who mainly come from lower to middle-class backgrounds.

The position of dogs as animals beneath humans creates the perception that they are unworthy of coexistence with humans, thereby promoting the idea that their presence should be eliminated. This concept aligns closely with the notion of degrading, which initially deems certain individuals or groups as unworthy of equal standing and therefore justifies their eradication. In this context, dogs, regarded as beings deemed unworthy of existence, can serve as a target of degrading directed towards other individuals or groups.

Conclusion

As subjects who utter the word '*Anjing*' during their conversations while watching football matches in the stadium, football supporters' resort to insults with the aim of releasing their emotions towards specific moments or the presence of individuals they perceive as disrupting the flow of the game. Reflecting on the research arguments explaining the purpose of using the word '*Anjing*' as an object of insult, it is worth delving deeper into the targets of

these insults. The targets are individuals involved in football matches, including players from both supported and opposing teams. Additionally, the targets can also be rival supporters, often seen as worthy adversaries in the process of exchanging insults. Furthermore, the referee, coaches from both teams, and other actors such as the federation, organizing committee, and security personnel, whose physical presence on the field is temporal and dependent on the situation and conditions, can also become targets of insults voiced by supporters.

Interestingly, based on observations, the objective of insults aimed at the degrading of individuals does not apply to all actors involved in the match. Insults are often directed only towards opposing supporters who are on an equal level. The position of the subjects as fellow supporters, both as the ones hurling insults and the targets of insults, makes the use of the '*Anjing*' insult considered appropriate, considering the significantly larger number of opposing supporters, often numbering in the hundreds or thousands, compared to other actors who may only number in the tens.

Upon further examination, the act of hurling the insult '*Anjing*' football supporters, with the specific goal of degrading the opposing subject as an animal and not considering them equal to humans, is deemed appropriate only when directed towards one actor, namely the opposing supporters. The emphasis on the insult '*Anjing*' given to other actors such as players, referees, or coaches is more related to expressing emotions of disappointment, satisfaction, or anger in response to specific situations.

The differing emphasis on the goals attributed to the insult '*Anjing*' directed at specific target actors highlights the multifaceted nature of the act as voiced by football supporters. This multifaceted context refers to the varied meanings and intentions behind the insult '*Anjing*', which are complex and result in different perspectives regarding the choice of target. This complexity is also influenced by various factors, such as the assumption that opposing supporters are fellow supporters, reinforced by the role of supporters as loyal backers ready to confront those hindering their team's victory. Another factor may involve the number of supporters present, which is considered proportionate to the capacity of the subject. Thus, when uncontrollable reactions occur, the quantity of subjects engaging in actions will be equivalent.

The selection of the target for the verbal abuse, namely opposing supporters considered equivalent in status, can create reactions that trigger different situations and circumstances. Philosophically, the act of hurling insults serves two purposes, namely internal and external. The internal purpose is directed towards oneself or the subject in order to release emotions related to sensory experiences, such as what is seen or heard. On the other hand, the external purpose of hurling insults, aimed at individuals or other groups, is intended to convey a message of emphasis that reinforces the position of the subject among other actors.

Therefore, the act of using the term '*Anjing*' as the object of insults towards opposing supporters is intended to convey a message that reinforces the position of the hurling supporters as superior to the targeted subjects. The belief is that by using the word '*Anjing*', the hurling supporters assert their higher position over the opposing supporters. The message conveyed emphasizes intimidation, reflecting the group's inherited culture and the prowess of the supported team. Moreover, the use of the derogatory term '*Anjing*' is intended to portray the opposing supporters as contemptible, unclean, and unworthy.

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