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RESEARCH ARTICLE

"Londo ireng" metaphor in the TikTok ecosystem: Digital critical discourse analysis and netizens' multimodal reception

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ABSTRACT

The shift of state political discourse to short-video social media ecosystems risks reducing rational democratic debate into emotional polarization and algorithmic entertainment, making the study of digital rhetoric construction and decoding imperative. This study aims to analyze the discourse shift and TikTok netizens' reception of President Prabowo Subianto's speech at the 28th Anniversary of PKB, which employed the pejorative metaphor "Londo Ireng" to label critical groups. The study rigorously applies a digital qualitative approach integrating Netnography and Digital Critical Discourse Analysis (DCDA). Data were collected through digital archiving and netnographic observation using purposive sampling techniques based on inclusion criteria, reaching data saturation at 57 user-generated content (UGC) units. The data analysis procedure followed a two-stage framework: encoding analysis of the primary speech using van Dijk's Ideological Square and multimodal decoding analysis of netizens' reception. Results indicate that TikTok's platform affordances facilitate the re-encoding of state discourse into five content forms (soundbites, stitches, duets, visual parodies, and comment narratives). Netizens' decoding revealed three reception typologies: dominant-hegemonic (affirming "Us" vs. "Them" polarization), oppositional-subversive (deploying parody for meaning hijacking), and negotiated (pragmatically trend-riding for engagement metrics). In conclusion, political discourse is no longer dictated solely by authorities but is renegotiated through multimodal interactions, ultimately

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leading to the depoliticization of public discourse into digital entertainment (infotainment politics).

Keywords: *Londo Ireng; TikTok; Digital Critical Discourse Analysis; Multimodal Reception; Political Discourse.*

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INTRODUCTION

The transformation of public and state communication from conventional channels to short-video social media ecosystems such as TikTok has triggered a critical problem in democratic discourse: the fragmentation and shallowing of state discourse driven by the imperatives of algorithmic culture (Bermejo-Berros, 2021; Gillespie, 2018; Zeng & Schäfer, 2021) This shift does not merely alter message distribution patterns; rather, it fundamentally restructures how political rhetoric is deconstructed into emotive commodities engineered to trigger high engagement metrics rather than rational debate (Vizcaíno-Laorga et al., 2023). Within the realm of digital pragmatics and cyber pragmatics, this condition poses a serious issue when official statements by state leaders containing highly charged political metaphors are isolated from their full context, subsequently becoming an arena for ideological contestation and depoliticization by netizens through user-generated content (UGC) reproduction (Wardani et al., 2025).

Within this new order, political language and rhetoric function as adaptive performative instruments. Lengthy and substantive state messages are systematically deconstructed into emotionally charged short video snippets (soundbites) to capture the recommendation algorithms of the For You Page (FYP) (Zulli & Zulli, 2022). In line with contemporary digital communication phenomena, language represents a dynamic entity wherein social media interactions frequently give rise to the extension or shift of speech meanings due to the lack of direct face-to-face context (Fitriani et al., 2024). Cognizant of these algorithmic realities, political actors are increasingly driven to construct narratives by adopting vernacular diction and socio-historical metaphors to evoke mass sentiment and trigger platform algorithm engagement (Riyadi & Wahyuni, 2023; Vizcaíno-Laorga et al., 2023).

This practice of rhetorical shift prominently manifested in President Prabowo Subianto's hybrid-populist political communication style during the 28th anniversary of the National Awakening Party (PKB) at the Jakarta Convention Center (JCC), when he uttered the controversial diction "Londo Ireng". The historical metaphorical term "Londo Ireng" (Black Dutch) refers to a colonial-era designation for indigenous locals or KNIL recruit soldiers who sided with the Dutch against their own nation. In the context of the speech, this pejorative metaphor served as an othering strategy to label critical groups, such as journalists, reporters, observers, and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), who were accused of spreading negative narratives about Indonesia and serving foreign interests (Van Dijk, 2003; Wodak, 2010). The selection of this sharply toned diction represents not only a binary polarization between "us" (the government/patriots) and "them" (critical groups), but also a form of algorithm-baiting, a technological consciousness aimed at producing provocative expressions that can easily be extracted into viral, high-reach content within the digital space (Vizcaíno-Laorga et al., 2023).

When the speech entered and circulated within the TikTok ecosystem, this state political discourse was not passively consumed by the audience; instead, it triggered a massive and dynamic wave of multimodal responses. This phenomenon aligns with previous studies indicating that short-video platforms function as active arenas for bottom-up political participation rather than simple channels for top-down communication (Literat & Kligler-Vilenchik, 2021; Zeng & Schäfer, 2021). TikTok's distinct new media characteristics empower netizens to articulate their reactions through diverse user-generated content (UGC) formats, supported by platform affordances (Literat, 2021; Su et al., 2022). These content formats materialize through soundbite extraction and reproduction, responsive videos using stitch and duet features, visual parodies, background audio manipulation (audio memes), and opinionated comment threads (Cervi, 2021; Hidayat & Setyawan, 2024; Zulli & Zulli, 2022). Through these varied multimodal practices, netizens actively re-encode political discourse across a broad spectrum of meanings, ranging from dominant-hegemonic support (cultural acclamation) and pragmatic negotiation to cultural resistance achieved through satire, memetic play, and meaning hijacking (Bouvier & Machin, 2018; Papacharissi, 2021; Shifman, 2014). Building upon these complex techno-linguistic interactions, this study specifically addresses three key analytical dimensions: (1) the specific UGC content forms utilized by netizens to re-encode the "Londo Ireng" rhetoric through platform affordances; (2) the pragmatic, ideological, and symbolic meanings constructed across netizens'

reception typologies; and (3) the broader structural implications of platform-mediated interactions for the depoliticization of public discourse into digital entertainment.

Drawing from the complexity of these technological interactions and cyber language, this study focuses on thoroughly examining TikTok netizens' responses to President Prabowo Subianto's speech containing the "Londo Ireng" diction. The primary focus of this study is to dissect content forms (such as stitches, duets, soundbites, visual parodies, and comment narratives) as well as content meanings (encompassing pragmatic, ideological, and symbolic dimensions) constructed by netizens in responding to this rhetoric (KhosraviNik, 2018; Kozinets, 2020). By integrating the frameworks of Digital Critical Discourse Analysis (DCDA) and Multimodal Reception Theory, this study aims to uncover how local political tropes are deconstructed by platform algorithms and reconstructed by the cyber community, thereby contributing to the understanding of shifts in linguistic meaning and the dynamics of political participation within Indonesia's digital public sphere (Nugroho & Syarief, 2020; Sulaiman et al., 2024).

METHOD

This study employs a digital qualitative approach, integrating the Netnography framework (Kozinets, 2020) and Digital Critical Discourse Analysis (DCDA) developed by Majid KhosraviNik (2018). This approach was selected to thoroughly explore how language artifacts and political rhetoric are deconstructed by platform architecture and reconstructed by audiences through multimodal cultural practices in the cyber ecosystem (Bouvier & Machin, 2018; Pink et al., 2016).

The corpus and data sources in this study are divided into two main categories: primary data and secondary data. The primary data consists of the main video recording of President Prabowo Subianto's speech at the 28th Anniversary of PKB at the Jakarta Convention Center (JCC), with a total duration of 47.07 minutes, focusing on a 1-minute 30-second speech segment (minutes 33:51 to 35:21) containing the articulation of the "Londo Ireng" diction. The secondary data comprises user-generated content (UGC) on the TikTok platform responding to the speech.

Secondary data collection was conducted using a netnographic search technique on the TikTok platform, employing the search keywords "londo ireng" + "prabowo" within the observation period from July to September 2026. The selection of UGC samples was executed

through purposive sampling and intensity sampling techniques based on the following inclusion criteria: (1) content explicitly responding to the audio or theme of the "Londo Ireng" speech using platform affordances (such as soundbite extraction, stitch, duet, visual parody/photo slide carousel, and comment/explainer narratives); (2) content distributed via the For You Page (FYP) algorithm and possessing public engagement; and (3) content representing a varied spectrum of audience responses (Bermejo-Berros, 2021).

Based on these inclusion criteria and the principle of data saturation (Braun & Clarke, 2019), a corpus of 57 UGC content units was obtained from netizens' personal accounts. This reception data corpus was distributed across five content form categories: comment/explainer narratives (20 content units, 35.09%), soundbite extraction (15 content units, 26.32%), visual parody & photo slides (12 content units, 21.05%), stitch category (6 content units, 10.53%), and duet category (4 content units, 7.02%).

The data analysis procedure was conducted through two qualitative-multimodal stages. First, the primary speech encoding analysis utilized Teun A. van Dijk's Ideological Square framework (van Dijk, 2006) to dissect the dichotomization between the In-Group ("Us") and the Out-Group ("Them"). Second, the decoding analysis of 57 netizen UGC content units dissected the three dimensions of reception meaning (pragmatic, ideological, and symbolic) and classified them according to Stuart Hall's reception typology (Dominant-Hegemonic, Oppositional-Subversive, and Negotiated) (Hall, 1980).

Data collection procedures were executed through two primary techniques: Digital Archiving (Rogers, 2019) and Netnographic Observation (Kozinets, 2020). Digital archiving was conducted by documenting and extracting audiovisual artifacts from the main speech alongside the UGC video samples to preserve raw data integrity. Netnographic observation was carried out passively (non-participant observation) to observe the dynamics of soundbite circulation, hashtag trends, and interaction patterns within comment threads (Wardani et al., 2025).

The data analysis technique adopts the three levels of DCDA analysis established by (KhosraviNik, 2018), integrated with multimodal analysis (Bouvier & Machin, 2018):

RESEARCH DATA CORPUS

Primary and secondary data sources

Primary Speech Data: Full video recording of President Prabowo Subianto's speech at PKB's 28th Anniversary (47.07 mins, target segment: 33:51–35:21).

Netizens' Reception Data: 57 User-Generated Content (UGC) units from personal TikTok accounts selected via inclusion criteria & data saturation.

▼

1. MICRO-LEVEL ANALYSIS (Textual & Multimodal)

Ref: Hidayat & Setyawan (2024)

Primary Speech (Encoding): Analyzing diction choices ('Londo Ireng' metaphor), binary polarization structure, and paralinguistic intonation.

Netizens' UGC (Decoding): Analyzing visual expressions, gestures, text overlays, background audio manipulation (audio memes), and verbal reactions.

▼

2. MESO-LEVEL ANALYSIS (Techno-Cultural & Platform Mediation)

Ref: Gillespie (2018); Zulli & Zulli (2022)

Algorithmic Architecture: Analyzing platform affordances (soundbite, stitch, duet, photo slides) and FYP recommendation algorithms.

Digital Mediation Process: Examining soundbite extraction, decontextualization of state discourse, and memetic content commodification.

▼

3. MACRO-LEVEL ANALYSIS (Socio-Historical & Political Practices)

Ref: Nugroho & Syarief (2021); Wodak (2021)

Ideological Construction: Connecting micro and meso findings to broader socio-political contexts such as othering strategies and digital populism.

Democratic Implications: Evaluating the depoliticization of Indonesia's digital public sphere into infotainment politics.

▼

FINAL RESEARCH FINDINGS (Synthesis & Reception Typologies)

Classification of TikTok Netizens' Decoding Positions

Dominant-Hegemonic (Cultural Acclamation): Affirming 'Us vs. Them' binary polarization and celebrating populist political firmness.

Oppositional-Subversif (Satirical Resistance): Executing meaning hijacking through comedy/parody to dismantle political intimidation.

Negotiated (Algorithmic Pragmatism): Pragmatically trend-riding solely to capture FYP algorithmic engagement metrics.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Textual and Ideological Analysis of the "Londo Ireng" Metaphor (President Prabowo Subianto's Encoding)



Figur 1: President Prabowo Subianto's speech referring to reporters, journalists, observers, and NGOs as "Londo Ireng" for serving foreign interests against the Indonesian nation.

Source: Youtube METROTV, 23 Juli 2026 which is entitled PIDATO PRABOWO DI HARLAH KE-28 PKB, SINGGUNG KEBOCORAN NEGARA 30 PERSEN HINGGA 'LONDO IRENG'

"The specific statement by President Prabowo Subianto (PPS) regarding the 'Londo Ireng' diction, lasting 1 minute and 30 seconds (from minute 33:51 to 35:21) out of a total speech duration of 47.07 minutes, is as follows:"

> “Kita negara demokrasi, kita tidak antikritik tapi kita bukan anak kecil. Kita tahu ada orang-orang Indonesia yang seneng mengabdi dan berbakti kepada bangsa lain. Itu yang dulu kita sebut ‘londo ireng’, ya, yang ikut Belanda perang lawan kita, ‘londo-londo ireng’ ini. Sampai sekarang masih ada, hanya dia sekarang pakai baju lain kan. Wartawan, jurnalis, apa itu, ee pengamat, e LSM, LSM harus kita tanya, yang gaji Loe siapa? Yang bayar listrik Loe siapa? Yang bayar *handphone*-mu siapa? Cari pekerjaan susah, kita tahu kan?”

The use of the term "Londo Ireng" literally translates to "Black Dutch". This historical Javanese term refers to indigenous locals who sided with, worked for, or acted on behalf of colonial oppressors. Delivered spontaneously without a manuscript, PPS's statement aimed to emphasize that criticism is a natural aspect of a democratic nation; however, PPS also cautioned that "Londo Ireng" still exist—namely, Indonesians who serve and devote themselves to foreign nations and fight against "us". The diction "us" emerges to establish a binary opposition with "them," whom PPS designates as "Londo Ireng". Thus, the message (encoding) conveyed by PPS focuses on three primary dictions: "us," "them," and "Londo Ireng".

Historically and sociologically, the rhetoric delivered by President Prabowo Subianto can be dissected using the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework, specifically Teun A. van Dijk's Ideological Square theory, which focuses on the polarization between a positive "Us" (*In-Group*) and a negative "Them" (*Out-Group*).

The "Londo Ireng" Diction: Historical Stigmatization for Delegitimization

The term "Londo Ireng" (Black Dutch) has deep historical roots in the colonial era, referring to native soldiers recruited into the KNIL (*Koninklijk Nederlandsch-Indisch Leger*) or local citizens who served as colonial accomplices to oppress their own nation. Deploying this diction in political speech constitutes an extreme pejorative labeling. By attaching this colonial traitor label to reporters, observers, and NGOs, their public policy critiques are automatically stripped of substance (such as facts regarding dilapidated school infrastructure). In political communication literature, this represents an *ad hominem* tactic that diverts the debate from "public policy facts" to "attacks on the critics' loyalty."

Construction of "Us" (In-Group): Monopoly on Nationalism and Patriotism

In his rhetoric, "Us" refers to the government and its supporting coalition, framed as working tirelessly to build the nation, such as narratives highlighting the successful renovation of 67,000 schools and safeguarding the economy from bankruptcy. Van Dijk conceptualizes this pattern as *"emphasizing our good things."* This strategy monopolizes the patriotism narrative: anyone aligned with "Us" is positioned as a hero of national development. By establishing a single standard that loving the country equates to endorsing the government's success narrative, state authorities place themselves above all forms of critical evaluation.

Construction of "Them" (Out-Group): Threat Externalization

The "Them" group (reporters, journalists, observers, and NGOs) is constructed as agents spreading pessimism while subordinating themselves to foreign interests. This is reinforced through Prabowo's rhetorical questions regarding NGO funding ("Who pays your salary? Who pays your electricity?"). In populism literature, this technique is known as the tactic of *threat externalization*, where state authorities frame domestic civil society watchdog elements as subversive or extensions of foreign agendas.

The impact of such rhetoric carries the potential to undermine the democratic climate. The watchdog function of the press and civil society represents an essential component of popular sovereignty. According to civil society organizations such as YLBHI and AJI, labeling critical groups as enemies of the state or traitors normalizes repression, silencing, and the criminalization of civil society under the guise of national stability.

The deployment of the "Londo Ireng" metaphor by President Prabowo Subianto in his public speech functions as a highly structured ideological instrument (KhosraviNik, 2018; Wodak, 2021). Semantically and historiographically, the term "Londo Ireng" (Black Dutch) represents a Javanese historical-cultural trope referring to native mercenaries or West African personnel (*Afrikanen*) recruited into the colonial *Koninklijk Nederlandsch-Indisch Leger* (KNIL) military during the Dutch East Indies era. In Indonesian collective memory, this metaphor carries intense pejorative weight: a symbol of national betrayal, servitude to imperial interests, and a crisis of nationalist morality.

When this trope is re-articulated on the modern political stage, historical framing is leveraged to label critical groups, NGOs, and news media (Riyadi & Wahyuni, 2023). Textual analysis reveals three primary ideological functions embedded within this discourse encoding:

Othering Strategy and Binary Polarization (Us vs. Them)

Through the "Londo Ireng" diction, the speaker constructs a sharp demarcation line between the "us" group (the government and patriotic citizens safeguarding sovereignty) and "them" (critics and NGOs accused of being tools or extensions of foreign interests) (Wodak, 2021). This binary construction aims to dismantle the moral legitimacy of the opposition; the substance of public policy critique is no longer met with rational arguments, but is instead repelled through identity disqualification (Moffitt, 2020; Sulaiman et al., 2024).

Modality Shift and Decentralization of State Etiquette

The use of confrontational and informal vernacular language breaches the official politeness norms of state speeches (Wardani et al., 2025). The exploitation of emotional diction serves as a signifier of masculine authenticity characteristic of populist leaders, which is perceived by supporters as a form of "no-nonsense" firmness (Moffitt, 2020).

Textual Engineering as Algorithm-Baiting

From a digital pragmatics perspective, the selection of the highly provocative, concise, and phonetically catchy phrase "Londo Ireng" constitutes a deliberate form of textual engineering designed to trigger mass emotional responses (Vizcaíno-Laorga et al., 2023). This diction possesses high appeal for algorithms (*algorithm-baiting*), as it is engineered to be easily extracted from the broader speech context into short audio clips (*soundbites*) under 15 seconds, making it ideal for viral dissemination on TikTok (Bermejo-Berros, 2021; Zulli & Zulli, 2022).

Through this encoding, political actors leverage platform architecture to depoliticize public issues: debates surrounding policy accountability are diverted into identity polarization grounded in emotion and narrow nationalism within the cyber sphere (Nugroho & Syarief, 2020; Wijayanto et al., 2022).

Forms of User-Generated Content (UGC) in TikTok Netizens' Reception Responding to the "Londo Ireng" Diction (TikTok Netizens' Decoding)

Content retrieval on TikTok was conducted using a purposive sampling method with a keyword combination of londo ireng + prabowo + personal account -online media -official media account -news. The retrieved data spanned the period from July to September 2026. This keyword combination was designed to filter content containing the term "Londo Ireng" (in both spoken and written forms) originating from personal accounts or user-generated content (UGC), while deliberately excluding news coverage and online media posts from official news media accounts. Personal UGC accounts were selected over official news media channels because this study focuses on analyzing netizens' reception, specifically their emotional expressions, ideological positioning, and political stances embedded within the content, rather than mere news reporting of President Prabowo Subianto's speech.

Data extraction using the Instant Data Scraper tool (a web scraping utility) yielded 57 TikTok accounts (Video IDs/URLs), complete with metadata displaying view counts and account creation dates, as presented below:

No	Video ID / URL	Viewers	date
1	https://www.tiktok.com/@londo_ireng_/video/7671480721537600775	27	8-8
2	https://www.tiktok.com/@tersiar.com/video/7667771095990160647	23	7-29
3	https://www.tiktok.com/@nusantara.93/video/7667427922113809682	136	7-28

4	https://www.tiktok.com/@kulionlen/video/7666787651156069650	62	7-26
5	https://www.tiktok.com/@mamaktaknormal/video/7667177673734753557	119.9K	7-27
6	https://www.tiktok.com/@poxyroxycoffee/video/7688160836942089493	1513	1w ago
7	https://www.tiktok.com/@presidengaruda.id/video/7666314792050707720	61	7-25
8	https://www.tiktok.com/@taurus.anak.jendr/video/7690217087142464789	145	1d ago
9	https://www.tiktok.com/@taurus.anak.jendr/video/7690198038010170630	647	1d ago
10	https://www.tiktok.com/@slametsepdianto7/video/7668590598089231637	297	7-31
11	https://www.tiktok.com/@kabarparepare/video/7667822825624898836	61	7-29
12	https://www.tiktok.com/@mulam564/video/7667332130871004437	1229	7-28
13	https://www.tiktok.com/@sakumenit/video/7676471449149787410	3173	8-21
14	https://www.tiktok.com/@poris.media/video/7667503959904455957	158	7-28
15	https://www.tiktok.com/@eva.dwitama/video/7668160970971270420	18	7-30
16	https://www.tiktok.com/@peong916/video/7667015411027774738	24	7-27
17	https://www.tiktok.com/@mumbluk6/video/7667420335821655316	59	7-28
18	https://www.tiktok.com/@araablokal/video/7666468911537278228	9159	7-25
19	https://www.tiktok.com/@kawan_berita/video/7666743494488149269	167	7-26
20	https://www.tiktok.com/@trunojoyodotcom/video/7669000492319509781	18	8-1
21	https://www.tiktok.com/@radar.91/video/7666943811553135890	29	7-27
22	https://www.tiktok.com/@nazjudge/video/7671169061908253959	391	8-7
23	https://www.tiktok.com/@rvs2791/video/7665942453484031250	14	7-24
24	https://www.tiktok.com/@redaksipoinfomedia.com/video/7667229024887852296	6	7-27
25	https://www.tiktok.com/@gian.putra65/video/7667944509300296967	3	7-29
26	https://www.tiktok.com/@faktamorgana66/video/7666435784282606869	50	7-25
27	https://www.tiktok.com/@vlogger.amatir1/video/7680116251166821640	29	8-31
28	https://www.tiktok.com/@yantohermanto30/video/7666970759201377556	16	7-27
29	https://www.tiktok.com/@lukarmadja1965/video/7665945361327869204	47	7-24
30	https://www.tiktok.com/@grafika6026/video/7666757091813494024	190	7-26
31	https://www.tiktok.com/@indrakoil/video/7668954292283280647	36	8-1
32	https://www.tiktok.com/@mulyono_336/video/7687101754516753671	285	9-19
33	https://www.tiktok.com/@portaljtvcom/video/7667089487020821780	1178	7-27
34	https://www.tiktok.com/@ciblekburung2/video/7666097122592263431	92	7-24
35	https://www.tiktok.com/@anugerah1984/video/7667623995516243218	586	7-28
36	https://www.tiktok.com/@rahwana55095/video/7667924123758185735	18	7-29
37	https://www.tiktok.com/@agaaaaa2701/video/7668548234582707474	5	7-31
38	https://www.tiktok.com/@a.haryanto04/video/7666356697891409159	331	7-25
39	https://www.tiktok.com/@hendryginting68/video/7674567509898464530	84	8-16
40	https://www.tiktok.com/@teje900/video/7673144531465833748	12	8-12
41	https://www.tiktok.com/@saikun847/video/7667117786302147860	34	7-27
42	https://www.tiktok.com/@heloooooo744/photo/7683963517942156562	49	9-11
43	https://www.tiktok.com/@tommy.harahap2/photo/7667476747029318933	0	7-28
44	https://www.tiktok.com/@silalahipangaribuan/photo/7688122426047106312	3	1w ago

45	https://www.tiktok.com/@shortmed/photo/7667052192968363272	2979	7-27
46	https://www.tiktok.com/@kulionlen/video/7667151790797933842	13	7-27
47	https://www.tiktok.com/@rajainfo10/photo/7666740392561216776	16	7-26
48	https://www.tiktok.com/@guspaerdierdi/video/7667170545997188359	66	7-27
49	https://www.tiktok.com/@bratanewstv.com/photo/7666890370936048903	163	7-27
50	https://www.tiktok.com/@penculikwowo/photo/7688122572747181320	1	1w ago
51	https://www.tiktok.com/@lengaru_/photo/7666645240014507282	100	7-26
52	https://www.tiktok.com/@suara.rakyattt/video/7670104962126400786	29	8-4
53	https://www.tiktok.com/@msri.media/photo/7666715180763598098	13	7-26
54	https://www.tiktok.com/@trendaimedia/video/7666600083974065428	49	7-26
55	https://www.tiktok.com/@eselon1.id/photo/7670849266868391175	58	8-6
56	https://www.tiktok.com/@muchnidesfi87/video/7666863639797828871	294	7-26
57	https://www.tiktok.com/@bangsainspire/photo/7667954516079267093	0	7-29

Table 1. TikTok data extraction related to "Londo Ireng + Prabowo" using Instant Data Scraper yielding 57 TikTok accounts.

The analysis results demonstrate that TikTok netizens' reception expressions regarding President Prabowo Subianto's speech do not converge into a single media format, but rather manifest across diverse forms of user-generated content (UGC). This structural diversity is facilitated by TikTok's platform affordances, which enable netizens to engage in multimodal interactions and recodify state discourse into pop-cultural artifacts (Zulli & Zulli, 2022). Based on netnographic observation, the retrieved UGC content is categorized into five primary formats:

Soundbite Extraction and Audio Memes — 15 data units

The first and most foundational form in this discursive circulation is the isolation of the original speech's sound track (sound extraction). Netizens trimmed the lengthy state speech into concise 7- to 12-second audio clips containing the most provocative segment, specifically, the utterance: *"That is what we used to call 'londo ireng'..."* This audio snippet was then re-uploaded as a reusable public sound template for mass adoption by other content creators. Through this mechanism, the speech's audio underwent radical decontextualization, shifting its function from formal political discourse into an audio meme ready to be superimposed onto various new visual landscapes by other users (Fitriani et al., 2024; Zulli & Zulli, 2022). Such repeated usage generates echo chambers around specific narratives.

The netizen accounts that meet these criteria are: @londo_ireng_ (@Londo ireng katanya), @poxyroxycoffee (@SNIPER NETIZEN✅), @mumbluk6 (@mumbluk Demite BANYUWANGI), @radar.91 (@RADAR), @gian.putra65 (@Aa☆[Gian]☆), @faktamorgana66 (@Black Mamba.DP), @yantohermanto30 (@yalistashop), @indrakoil (@indra hg), @rahwana55095 (@🫦🌹Rahmawati🫦🌹), @a.haryanto04 (@A Haryanto), @hendryginting68 (@HenDryGin), @helooooooo744 (@helooooooo744), @silalahipangaribuan (@user96293957488), @penculikwowo (@penculik), dan @muchnidesfi87 (@Muchni Desfi87).

Stitch Category (Video Snippets & Direct Rebuttals) — 6 Data Units

In stitch-type content, netizens juxtapose an initial snippet of the speech audio during the opening seconds, which is then immediately joined by a video recording of their personal response. These responses feature spoken arguments, facial expressions, and verbal satire. Content creators extract an opening excerpt of Prabowo's speech video (1–5 seconds) and seamlessly follow it with a recording of their own opinion or direct rebuttal. Several accounts falling into this category include:@mamaktaknormal (@emak tak biasa): Sharp rebuttals linking the 'Londo Ireng' rhetoric to great-grandfather's lineage, @vlogger.amatir1 (@Vlogger Amatir): Response videos satirizing the speech style of a political figure, @lukarmadja1965 (@Julius Lukarmadja): Emotional expressions and spontaneous reactions to the term, @mulyono_336 (@BADUT POLITIK): Utilizing the video reply feature (*reply to comment/stitch*), @ciblekburung2 (@ciblekb): Concise rebuttals featuring political counter-narratives, and @saikun847 (@Mr. kampleng): Recordings of emotional reactions to speech excerpts.

Duet Category (Side-by-Side / Split-Screen Reactions) — 4 Data Units

The stitch and duet features serve as primary interactive mechanisms for netizens to respond to the speech in both confrontational and dialogic manners. Meanwhile, the duet feature is utilized to place the original speech video alongside the netizen's response video in a side-by-side format on a single screen, facilitating real-time recordings of nonverbal responses such as head shakes, sarcastic applause, or gestures pointing to text overlays. Duet content displays the original video on one side of the screen, while creators present facial expressions, bodily gestures, or written reaction overlays on the other. Several accounts falling into this category include @nusantara.93 (@Vingky): Satirical reactions targeting

parties offended by the term 'Londo Ireng, @anugerah1984 (@Ay): Nonverbal expressions of concern or astonishment regarding the unfolding issue, @guspaerdierdi (@Yan Mintaraga): Visual gestural reactions regarding the public response phenomenon and @suara.rakyattt (@RANDY OFFICIAL): Split-screen reaction videos labeling speech narrative rejectors.

Visual Parody Expressions and Comedic Subversion — 12 Data Units

The third content format entails visual manipulation that pairs the "Londo Ireng" audio track with comical scenes or dramatic everyday skits. Netizens utilize the state speech audio as background music to parody absurd situations, such as interpersonal conflicts among friends, workplace dramaturgy, or jokes concerning lifestyle discrepancies. The isolation of political audio, subsequently superimposed onto comedic visuals, constitutes a cultural act that strips away the gravity of national issues, diverting them into affective entertainment (Bermejo-Berros, 2021; Zeng & Schäfer, 2021). This delivery of incisive political critique through the guise of humor renders it more palatable while circumventing content moderation flags.

Several content units falling into this category include:@mulam564 (@Moolam): Meme teks visual silsilah politik, @araablokal (@Araabbss): Modifikasi visual dramatis/satir, @trunojoyodotcom (@Trunojoyo.com): Rekaman aksi teatrikal wartawan berjalan mundur sebagai parodi atau kritik simbolis, @agaaaaa2701 (@agaaaaa2701): Visual pesan dukungan satir kepada wartawan, @tommy.harahap2 (@Tommy Harahap): Slide foto edukasi pemikiran kritis (*photo mode*), @shortmed (@Shortmed Media): Slide grafis riwayat sejarah keluarga Margono Djojohadikusumo, @rajainfo10 (@-INFO MENYALA-): Format slide foto tebak-tebakan sosok "Londo Ireng", @bratanewstv.com (@BrataNewsTV): Tangkapan layar/slide narasi bumerang politik dan sejarah Diponegoro, @lengaru_ (@lengaru.id): Format slide foto tangkapan layar kegaduhan opini publik, @msri.media (@MEDIA SUARA RAKYAT INDONESIA): Slide kompilasi tangkapan layar yang ramai di media sosial, @eselon1.id (@eselon1.id): Format gambar/slide artikel koran Belanda yang membahas isu tersebut, dan @bangsainspire (@BangsaINspire): Slide foto pernyataan menteri dan simbol diplomasi kata "I love you".

Commentary Narratives (Text Overlay & Voiceover / Opinion Reviews) — 20 Data Units

In addition to video-based content formats, the comment sections beneath viral posts utilizing the "Londo Ireng" audio track have transformed into a massive arena for textual debate and opinionated comment threads within digital public spaces (Cervi, 2021; Hidayat & Setyawan, 2024; Zulli & Zulli, 2022). Comment threads function as a space for elaborating the perspectives of netizens who do not create video content. Within this domain, netizen utterances range from the deployment of polarizing hashtags and the re-appropriation of historical terms to the articulation of critical arguments concerning freedom of expression and the role of non-governmental organizations (Sulaiman et al., 2024).

Medium-to-long-form video content presents opinion reviews, speech context analyses, perspective explanations, or artificial intelligence (AI) voiceovers accompanied by on-screen text overlays. Several content units falling into this category include: @tersiar.com (@Tersiar.com): Highlight review analyzing the "Londo Ireng" statement, @kulionlen (@Kuli Onlen - 2 videos): Analytical explanation emphasizing the importance of understanding the complete context of the speech, @presidengaruda.id (@presidengaruda): Review examining the ideological concepts of a "servile mindset" (*mental jongos*) versus an "independent mindset" (*mental merdeka*), @taurus.anak.jendr (@Taurus Anak Jendral - 2 videos): Defense narrative supporting Prabowo's policies and leadership, @slametsepdianto7 (@@bang_slatem): Opinion exploring Islamic scholars' (*ulama*) perspectives in assessing the issue, @kabarparepare (@kabarparepare): Public discussion call contrasting substantive ideas against isolated soundbites, @sakumenit (@sakumenit): Review correlating the term "Londo Ireng" with the economic policies of four nations,

@poris.media (@poris.media): Review of Hasan Nasbi's clarification regarding press and NGO concerns, @eva.dwitama (@Eva.dwitama): Explainer video unpacking the etymological and political semantics of "Londo Ireng.", @peong916 (@peong): Educational narrative clarifying misconceptions regarding the speech content., @kawan_berita (@Kawan Berita): Analytical review on human resource development and the surrounding discursive controversy, @nazjudge (@Naz Judge): Explainer video on the origins and contemporary resurgence of historical political terminology, @rvs2791 (@One Media): Rhetorical opinion questioning the definitions of traitors and sycophants, @redaksipoinfomedia.com (@poinfomedia.com): Narrative coverage of the open letter issued by the Indonesian Journalists Association, @grafika6026 (@Artha keling): Commentary evaluating the expansion of public critical awareness, @portaljtvcom

(@PortalJTV.com): Narrative report on the protest actions staged by Greater Malang journalists, @teje900 (@MANG TEJE): Narrative review detailing the firm response issued by the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI), @trendaimedia (@Trend media Ai): AI voiceover narrative delineating the chronology of the speech at the PKB Anniversary (*Harlah*)..

Digital Reception Meanings of Netizens

The decoding and re-encoding processes performed by netizens regarding the "Londo Ireng" rhetoric manifest across three primary reception typologies, as conceptualized in digital reception theory and critical discourse analysis (Hall. 1980; (Hall, 1980; KhosraviNik, 2018; Papacharissi, 2021). These three interpretative typologies are articulated as follows:

Hegemonic-Acclamatory Meaning: Affirmation of Polarization and Populist Authenticity

Among netizen cohorts adopting a dominant-hegemonic reception position, user-generated content functions as an explicit endorsement of the ruling narrative. Ideologically, netizens reproduce the speech audio to affirm the binary *Us vs. Them* construction (Wodak, 2021). The term "Londo Ireng" is interpreted literally as a legitimate signifier to label critical civil society groups and mass media as unpatriotic foreign agents (Riyadi & Wahyuni, 2023). Symbolically, deploying this audio track within heroically styled video edits (*patriotic edits*) serves to celebrate President Prabowo's populist leadership style, which is perceived as decisive, authentic, and no-nonsense (Moffitt, 2020).

Oppositional-Subversive Meaning: Satirical Responses and Meaning Hijacking

Conversely, within the oppositional typology, netizen-generated content embeds meanings of resistance and a direct rejection of the ruling authority's singular interpretation. Resistance on the TikTok platform is rarely manifested through rigid theoretical rebuttals; rather, it operates via satire, parody, and meaning hijacking (Zulli & Zulli, 2022). Netizens deliberately extract the speech audio, characterized by an angry and intimidating tone, and juxtapose it with absurd, everyday scenes. From a cyber-pragmatic perspective, this act aims to dismantle the political intimidation inherent in the "Londo Ireng" diction. By converting an official state speech into a jest, netizens trivialize the authority's labeling strategy while

simultaneously lampooning the threat of silencing civil liberties (Bermejo-Berros, 2021; Sulaiman et al., 2024).

Negotiated Meaning and Algorithmic Pragmatism (Trend-Riding)

The third typology demonstrates a pragmatic and ideologically neutral construction of meaning (Lane et al., 2019). For this group of netizens, the "Londo Ireng" diction and its accompanying speech audio are not interpreted as a profound political issue, but merely as an attention commodity (Gillespie, 2018). Netizens leverage the trending audio templates solely to optimize algorithmic reach on the For You Page (FYP) recommendation system to maximize engagement metrics, such as views, likes, and followers (Vizcaíno-Laorga et al., 2023). In this context, the function of political discourse undergoes a pragmatic shift and extension: transitioning from an instrument of state communication into a vehicle for content capitalization within the digital sphere (Fitriani et al., 2024; Wardani et al., 2025).

Reception Typology	TikTok Content Forms	Meaning & Ideological Function	Examples of Multimodal Expressions
Dominant-Hegemonic *(Cultural Acclamation)*	Patriotic edits Affirmative text overlays Supportive comment threads	Affirming binary polarization (Us vs. Them) Confirming the pejorative labeling of "Londo Ireng" for critical groups Celebrating the firmness and authenticity of populist political figures	Edited speech video clips set to heroic background music accompanied by full narrative support text overlays
Oppositional-Subversive *(Satirical Resistance)*	Stitch and duet videos Visual parody skits Satirical text overlays	Executing meaning hijacking Trivializing the intimidating power of political discourse Critiquing back the tendency to silence civil liberties	Playing anger-infused speech audio as background music for absurd skits or everyday life activities
Negotiated *(Algorithmic Pragmatism)*	General audio overlays Non-political entertainment content Trending hashtag attachment	Trend-riding popular soundbites Orienting toward For You Page (FYP) algorithm engagement metrics Diverting political discourse into digital attention commodities	Using speech audio templates solely because they are trending, without engaging with or discussing the underlying political issues

Table 1. Summary of TikTok Netizens' Multimodal Reception Typology toward the Diction "Londo Ireng"

TikTok Algorithmic Mediation and the Depoliticization of Public Discourse

At the meso- and macro-analytical levels, the empirical findings confirm that the transformation of political discourse from official state podiums to the TikTok ecosystem is far from neutral; rather, it is strictly mediated by an algorithmic culture (Gillespie, 2018; KhosraviNik, 2018). President Prabowo's rhetorical construction, deliberately employing provocative and rhyming diction ("Londo Ireng"), functions as a strategic form of *algorithm-baiting*. This diction is technologically tailored for effortless extraction by the platform's recommendation engine, transforming it into high-reach audio snippets (Vizcaíno-Laorga et al., 2023).

However, upon entering the short-video ecosystem, TikTok's platform architecture forces political discourse to undergo systematic decontextualization. Substantive policy concerns, such as critiques raised by civil society organizations (NGOs) and journalists regarding state governance, are systematically eroded by dramatic audio snippets designed to evoke visceral, emotive responses. This phenomenon accelerates the depoliticization of public discourse in Indonesia, wherein rational democratic deliberation degenerates into mere digital entertainment (*infotainment politics*) and superficial aesthetic consumption (Bermejo-Berros, 2021; Nugroho & Syarief, 2021; Zeng & Schäfer, 2021). Although netizens retain agency to enact subversion through parody and satire, this critical momentum is frequently co-opted back into algorithmic logic and commodification cycles that prioritize sensationalism over the substantive resolution of socio-political issues.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that TikTok netizens' multimodal reception of President Prabowo Subianto's speech containing the term "Londo Ireng" unfolds through two primary dimensions aligned with the research questions: **First**, regarding the forms of User-Generated Content (UGC), platform affordances enable netizens to transform linear political discourse into interactive multimodal content. Netizen UGC manifests across four distinct categories: (1) audio meme templates (soundbites), (2) Stitch response videos (direct audio-visual rebuttals), (3) Duet response videos (nonverbal side-by-side reactions), and (4) visual

parody expressions involving comedic subversion, complemented by textual debate threads within comment sections.

Second, regarding meaning construction and reception typologies, netizens deconstruct the "Londo Ireng" rhetoric into three primary interpretative positions. First, hegemonic-acclamatory meanings affirm binary polarization (*Us vs. Them*) while validating the political figure's populist stance. Second, oppositional-subversive meanings execute meaning hijacking, effectively trivializing political intimidation through satire and comedic parodies. Finally, negotiated-pragmatic meanings reflect an instrumental adoption of the political audio, deployed solely for trend-riding to optimize algorithmic reach on the *For You Page* (FYP).

Theoretically, these findings reinforce Digital Critical Discourse Analysis (DCDA) and Stuart Hall's Reception Theory by demonstrating that discourse meaning in new media is no longer unilaterally determined by elite encoding, but is continuously renegotiated through algorithmic mediation and audience cultural agency. Crucially, this phenomenon illustrates a depoliticization of public discourse, wherein substantive policy critique is displaced by emotional commodification and cyber-infotainment politics.

Limitations and Future Directions: The limitation of this study lies in its focus on a corpus restricted to TikTok within a specific observation timeframe (July–September 2026). Future research should extend toward cross-platform comparative analyses (such as Instagram Reels and YouTube Shorts) and incorporate computational big data methodologies to measure network-wide netizen participation on a broader scale.

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DECLARATIONS

Ethical considerations This study strictly adhered to the ethical guidelines of digital netnography and social media research (Kozinets, 2020). All public content and user comments collected from TikTok were fully anonymized to protect individual privacy, and usernames/personal identifiers were removed or disguised in textual exemplars.

Use of artificial intelligence (AI)

The authors declare that the generative artificial intelligence (AI) tool ChatGPT/Gemini was used exclusively for language editing and/or grammatical improvement. The use of AI did not influence the scientific content, study design, data analysis, data interpretation, results, or conclusions of the manuscript. Full responsibility for the content remains with the authors.

Conflict of Interest

The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

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