

Digital Discourse, Public Sentiment, and Ideology: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Social Media Networks on Demonstrations in Yogyakarta

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ABSTRACT

The advancement of digital technology has transformed how the public interprets and articulates socio-political issues, particularly through social media. In Indonesia, platform X (formerly Twitter) has become a key medium for shaping public opinion and mobilizing collective solidarity, notably during demonstrations in the Special Region of Yogyakarta (DIY) from August 29 to September 3, 2025. This study examines how language, digital interactions, and social practices construct public opinion, mobilize collective emotions, and negotiate socio-political legitimacy in digital spaces. The research combines Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with Social Network Analysis (SNA) using an integrative qualitative approach. Public conversations were collected via the Advanced Network Analytic (ANA) system using relevant keywords and hashtags, then analyzed at textual, discursive, and social-practice levels. Findings reveal three main narrative clusters: the blue cluster emphasizes conflict and state repression, the green cluster focuses on factual documentation, and the red cluster highlights humanitarian solidarity and moral resistance. Language, hashtags, and sentiment shape perception, mobilize emotion, and negotiate legitimacy, while influencers drive discourse distribution. Social media emerges as a complex arena of digital democracy where language, interaction, and socio-political context simultaneously shape public opinion.

Keywords: Digital Democracy, Social Media, Critical Discourse Analysis, Social Network Analysis

INTRODUCTION

The development of digital technology has significantly transformed the landscape of public communication worldwide (Khin & Ho, 2019). The Internet and social media have become the primary means for individuals and groups to express opinions, construct social narratives, and participate in political discourse (Longstreet & Brooks, 2017). More than 65% of the global population is active on social media, where microblogging platforms such as X (formerly Twitter) play a crucial role in shaping public opinion (Xu et al., 2014). This digital transformation presents both opportunities and challenges: on one hand, society gains faster and broader access to information; on the other, the rise of polarization (Arora et al., 2022), algorithmic bias (Carpenter & Harvey, 2019), and misinformation (Ceccato & Petersson, 2022) can influence public perceptions of socio-political issues. Digital interaction is not merely an exchange of information but a site of meaning construction that directly shapes collective opinion and social legitimacy (Selwyn, 2012). Therefore, understanding how language and digital discourse construct social representations becomes crucial for contemporary communication studies.

In Indonesia, social media penetration continues to rise rapidly, with 79.5% of the population actively engaging through digital platforms (Sundjaja et al., 2017). Social media has become not only a medium for social

communication (Meierrieks & Stier, 2025) but also a strategic tool for the public to express political aspirations (Neubauer, 2024), social solidarity (Saqib et al., 2024), and criticism of government policies (King et al., 2013). This phenomenon is evident in various political and social events, including demonstrations (Østbø, 2017), elections (Downing & Ahmed, 2019), and public policy issues (Kim et al., 2024), where the public uses digital media as a space for legitimizing opinions. Several studies conducted in Indonesia have highlighted the role of social media in accelerating information dissemination and shaping collective opinion (Ardi & Pradiri, 2021). However, most of them still emphasize quantitative aspects, such as post frequency (Bigwanto et al., 2024), retweets (Rahmanti et al., 2021), or trending hashtags (Priadana & Tahalea, 2021). Such approaches have not yet been able to explain how language, metaphor, and narrative framing construct social realities, leaving the in-depth understanding of digital discourse and ideological dynamics still limited.

The local context, such as in the Special Region of Yogyakarta (DIY), demonstrates distinctive dynamics in public digital interactions. As an educational city and a center of socio-political activity, Yogyakarta exhibits a complex pattern of digital conversations in which public discourse is shaped through a combination of political issues (Azkiya et al., 2023), humanitarian values (Maemonah et al., 2023), and community solidarity (Haryadi & Malitasari, 2020). Social media in this region functions not only as a communication channel but also as an arena for negotiating meaning (Affan Asyraf et al., 2021), where conflict, empathy, and collective identity are exchanged simultaneously (Fahmi, 2019a). Several studies have emphasized that local digital interactions possess unique characteristics due to historical (Ariwibowo & Fibiona, 2025), cultural (Fahmi, 2019b), and social values that influence how citizens interpret public issues (Felasari et al., 2018). However, such studies have rarely integrated linguistic and social network analyses to understand how texts, discursive practices, and social practices simultaneously shape public opinion and social legitimacy at the local level.

Existing literature shows that social media analyses during political events generally focus on quantitative dimensions, such as post intensity (Bigwanto et al., 2024), interaction levels (Rahmanti et al., 2021), or hashtag popularity (Priadana & Tahalea, 2021). Meanwhile, research grounded in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) emphasizes how language, text structure, and discursive practices represent ideology and power (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2018). Although CDA has been widely applied in global contexts, studies in Indonesia that integrate discourse analysis with social network mapping remain limited. This gap highlights the need for a holistic approach that not only assesses the distribution of information but also examines how language, framing, and digital interactions influence public perception, political legitimacy, and social solidarity. Therefore, studies that integrate linguistic, ideological, and structural dimensions have the potential to provide significant contributions to understanding public opinion in the context of digital democracy.

An approach that integrates Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Social Network Analysis (SNA) enables a comprehensive exploration of digital discourse. CDA provides an analytical framework across three levels text, discursive practice, and social practice—to understand the relationships between language, power, and social context (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2018). On the other hand, Social Network Analysis highlights the structure of digital interactions, information distribution patterns, and dominant actors' roles in shaping public opinion (Kuhamanee et al., 2017). The integration of these two approaches offers a multidimensional perspective in which language, interaction, and socio-political context are analyzed simultaneously. This approach is particularly relevant in explaining how social media's narrative construction and emotional expressions shape collective opinion, influence political legitimacy, and strengthen community cohesion, especially in protests or social mobilization. Through such a methodology, research becomes descriptive and critical toward the processes of meaning production within digital spaces.

This study aims to understand how language and digital communication practices shape representations of social reality, public opinion, and ideological dynamics within society. By employing an integrative perspective combining Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Social Network Analysis (SNA), this study seeks to reveal the interrelations between text construction, discourse distribution, and social practices within digital contestation. The significance of this research lies in its potential to provide an empirical foundation for policymakers, academics, and communication practitioners to design more adaptive, responsive, and evidence-based public communication strategies. Furthermore, the findings are expected to enrich the literature on digital democracy in Indonesia by illustrating how public opinion is formed and highlighting social media's role as a space for meaning construction, emotional mobilization, and the negotiation of socio-political legitimacy in contemporary society.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study employs a qualitative approach (Creswell & Miller, 2000) that integrates Norman Fairclough's model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Social Network Analysis (SNA) (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2018). This approach is chosen because it allows for a holistic analysis of digital phenomena, where SNA reveals

the structure of public conversation networks, dominant actors, and patterns of interaction through mentions, retweets, replies, and hashtags. At the same time, CDA enables a multi-level discourse analysis encompassing the text level (diction, metaphor, narrative framing), discursive practice (production, distribution, and consumption of discourse), and social practice (the relationship between discourse and socio-political structures). The integration of these two approaches allows for a comprehensive understanding of how digital language, network interactions, and social practices shape public opinion, mobilize collective emotions, and negotiate the legitimacy of state institutions. This methodology produces robust, technical, and accountable empirical data while aligning with the research objectives emphasizing discourse construction, emotional mobilization, and digital democracy.

The Special Region of Yogyakarta (DIY) was selected as the focus of this study because it served as the epicenter of the national student demonstrations from August 29 to September 3, 2025 a period marked by escalating criticism toward parliamentary allowances and the repressive actions of law enforcement authorities. The selection of DIY is contextually relevant due to its active socio-political character and role as both a center of higher education and a hub for political discourse at the national level. The platform X was chosen as the object of analysis because it demonstrated the highest level of public engagement in political discourse in Indonesia, with 17,296 exposures and a peak of 7,129 posts recorded on September 1. X provides extensive real-time data and technical features for digital network analysis, including mentions, retweets, replies, and hashtags, enabling tracing public opinion dynamics and the mobilization of digital solidarity. This combination of location and platform facilitates a deeper understanding of how digital discourse shapes opinion, reinforces ideological framing, and mediates social action within digital spaces, as reflected in the observed findings.

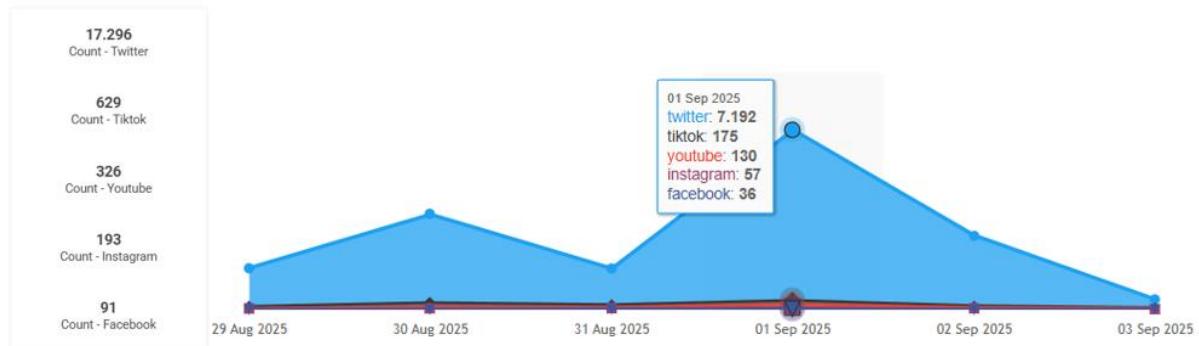


Figure 1. Frequency of Exposure and Highest Number of Exposures by Platform

Source: Monitoring Results via Advanced Network Analytics (ANA), 2025

Data was collected using the Advanced Network Analytic (ANA) system through three structured main stages. First, relevant keywords and hashtags related to the demonstration issue were determined, such as "*tunjangan DPR*" (parliamentary allowance), "*demonstrasi DIY*" (Yogyakarta demonstration), "*represif polisi*" (police repression), "*driver ojol tewas*" (deceased motorcycle taxi driver), as well as #TolakTunjanganDPR, #AksiDIY, and #ReformasiDikorupsi. Second, data harvesting was carried out through ANA to collect all public conversations encompassing tweets, retweets, replies, mentions, hashtags, and account metadata during the critical period from August 29 to September 3, 2025. Third, data was cleaned by removing duplicates, bot accounts, and irrelevant content. Bots were identified using Botometer and manual verification. This procedure ensured that the dataset was valid, representative, and ready for technical analysis through CDA and SNA, while maintaining the overall integrity of the research.

The operationalization of variables was carried out in detail to ensure that the technical analysis aligned with the research objectives. At the textual level (CDA), analysis focused on diction, metaphor, narrative framing, and emotional word choices, using keywords such as "*demonstrasi DIY*" (Yogyakarta demonstration), "*represif polisi*" (police repression), and "*driver ojol tewas*" (deceased motorcycle taxi driver). The discursive practice level (CDA) examined discourse distribution, edge types (mention, retweet, reply, hashtag), and influencers' roles in assessing processes of production, circulation, and consumption of discourse. The social practice level (CDA) analyzed the relationship between discourse and socio-political structures, legitimacy, digital democracy, and civil resistance, using keywords such as "*reformasi jalanan*" (street reform) and "*keadilan sosial*" (social justice). Meanwhile, Social Network Analysis (SNA) was employed to map conversation networks, central nodes, modularity, density, and conversation clusters using hashtags such as #TolakTunjanganDPR and #AksiDIY, ensuring that each variable was analyzed systematically, comprehensively, and in a measurable manner.

Table 1. Techniques and Sources of Data Collection

Analytical Variable	Data Sources & Techniques	Analytical Indicators	Keywords / Hashtags
Textual Level (CDA)	Public conversations on platform X via <i>Analytic Network Analysis</i> (ANA)	Vocabulary, metaphors, narrative framing, and emotional diction	“demonstrasi DIY”, “tunjangan DPR”, “represif polisi”, “driver ojol tewas”
Discursive Practice (CDA)	Distribution of conversations and digital media via ANA	Production, circulation, and consumption of discourse; role of influencers; edge types (mention, retweet, reply, hashtag)	“aksi serentak”, “solidaritas mahasiswa”, “hak demokrasi”, “polisi represif”
Social Practice (CDA)	Contextual conversations via ANA	Relation between discourse and socio-political structures; state legitimacy; digital democracy; civil resistance	“reformasi jalanan”, “korupsi DPR”, “keadilan sosial”, “krisis ekonomi”
Social Network Analysis (SNA)	Account relationship data via ANA	Central nodes, edges, modularity, network density, and conversation clusters	“#TolakTunjanganDPR”, “#AksiDIY”, “#ReformasiDikorupsi”

Data analysis was conducted by integrating Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Social Network Analysis (SNA). The study examined diction, metaphors, and framing at the textual level to evaluate the construction of social reality, ideological orientation, and the mobilization of collective emotions. In the discursive practice dimension, discourse distribution was analyzed through edge types and influencer roles to identify dominant actors, conversation clusters, and mechanisms of narrative dissemination. Meanwhile, at the social practice level, the analysis focused on the relationship between discourse and socio-political structures, legitimacy, digital democracy, and civil resistance. SNA was employed to map central nodes, density, modularity, and digital interaction patterns. This combination ensured that the analysis was descriptive and explanatory, demonstrating how digital spaces function as arenas of democratic contestation, emotional mobilization, and socio-political legitimacy negotiation systematically and measurably.

To maintain validity and reliability, the study applied methodological triangulation (CDA–SNA), source triangulation (digital conversations vs. media coverage), and bot-account verification using Botometer and manual cross-checking. These procedures ensured that the public conversation data were free from bot contamination, representative of the digital population in Yogyakarta, and aligned with the critical period of the demonstrations. Through this approach, the study provided an accurate empirical depiction of textual construction, discourse distribution, and social practices—thereby offering a scholarly contribution to digital democracy studies, evidence-based public communication strategies, and a deeper understanding of public opinion formation within the contemporary socio-political context.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Text Level: Representation of Social Reality through Issues, Hashtags, and Sentiments

Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis at the text level emphasizes how language, word choice, sentence structure, and other linguistic signs construct meaning and represent social reality. At this level, language is not merely understood as a communication tool but also as an ideological instrument that influences how the public interprets events (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2018). Text-level analysis aims to identify how texts construct representations, shape identities, and position relations among actors within the discourse. Therefore, applying the text level in the context of digital conversations about demonstrations in Yogyakarta becomes crucial, as the language used by netizens whether through dominant issues, hashtag choices, or expressions of sentiment reveals how collective opinion is constructed, how conflict is interpreted, and how social solidarity is formed in the digital sphere.

Within this framework, the distribution of dominant issues, hashtag mapping, and sentiment analysis on the social media platform X become relevant to examining the consistency of public narratives surrounding the demonstrations in Yogyakarta. Each conversation cluster forms a distinctive textual pattern, reflecting the diversity of linguistic strategies used to frame the event. The distribution of issues illustrates how conflict, field documentation, and humanitarian narratives are communicated; hashtag mapping demonstrates how keywords

function as both meaning constructions and ideological representations; while sentiment analysis reveals the collective emotions articulated through digital language. Thus, the text-level variables do not stand independently but interconnect these three aspects into a coherent analytical framework. This allows the researcher to understand how the demonstration event is transformed into a public discourse rich in meaning and ideological contestation.

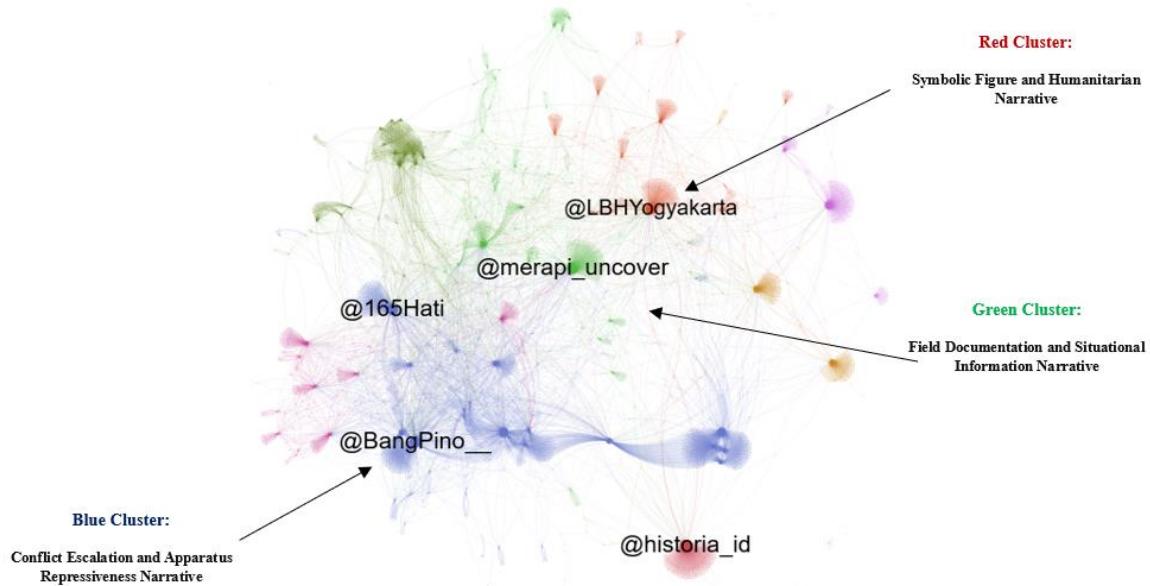


Figure 1. Distribution of Dominant Issues Based on Conversation Clusters on Platform X

Source: Observation Results through Advanced Network Analytics (ANA), 2025

The results of the Social Network Analysis (SNA) show that conversations on the social media platform X about the demonstrations in Yogyakarta (DIY) are fragmented into three major clusters, each characterized by distinct linguistic features. Fairclough's text-level approach enables an examination of how language, word choice, and sentence structure construct representations of events and shape public perception. The blue cluster—the most dominant, encompassing 29% of conversations (1,193 accounts, 5,380 posts)—presents narratives about conflict escalation and police repression. At the textual level, tension-laden terms, confrontational words, and repetitive phrases reinforce a sense of repression. The language in this cluster frames the demonstrations as high-risk events, emphasizing the position of security forces as dominant actors. This analysis demonstrates that, at the text level, language plays a crucial role in constructing perceptions of conflict, creating powerful imagery, and reinforcing repressive framing within public discourse.

Meanwhile, the green cluster, comprising 17% of the conversations (665 accounts, 4,970 posts), focuses more on field documentation and situational information. Fairclough's text-level analysis reveals that the language used in this cluster tends to be neutral and descriptive. The concise sentence structures, factual word choices, and emphasis on chronological sequencing illustrate how language functions as a medium for conveying objective information. Unlike the confrontational tone of the blue cluster, the green cluster's language emphasizes data reliability, informational accuracy, and visual documentation embedded within the narrative. Thus, at the text level, the language in the green cluster constructs an informative rather than emotional public understanding. This highlights that text functions not only as a medium of event representation but also as an instrument for constructing shared knowledge about the demonstration chronologically and factually.

In contrast to the previous two clusters, the red cluster, which comprises 13% of the conversations (543 accounts, 1,500 posts), emphasizes symbolic figures and humanitarian narratives more. At the text level, the language used is rich in empathy-driven expressions, symbolic metaphors, and sentences that highlight values of solidarity. The discourse in this cluster frames the demonstrations not merely as political events but as human experiences that call for social compassion. Thus, the texts within the red cluster function to build emotional closeness, strengthen public solidarity, and create a collective identity grounded in humanitarian values. This analysis underscores that, at the textual level, language can serve as a medium for conveying emotion and symbolic meaning, allowing the demonstration to be interpreted as a political conflict and a moral call to stand with the people. Beyond the narratives, the analysis also reveals that each cluster exhibits distinct patterns of hashtag usage, as illustrated in the figure below:



Figure 2. Mapping of Main Hashtags within Discourse Clusters on Platform X

Source: Observation Results through Advanced Network Analytics (ANA), 2025

According to Fairclough's text-level framework, the variation in hashtags functions not only as topical markers but also as constructions of meaning and ideological representations (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2018). The blue cluster predominantly uses the hashtag #jogja, which reinforces geographical identity while fostering collective awareness that the demonstration is embedded within the image of Yogyakarta. The green cluster is dominated by the hashtag #demo, a more generic label emphasizing collective action without referring to specific actors, thus presenting a more neutral framing. Meanwhile, the red cluster is characterized by the hashtag #polisipembunuhrakyat, which is explicitly confrontational and emotionally charged. From a text-level perspective, the linguistic choices embedded in these hashtags construct an oppositional narrative between the people and the authorities while reinforcing emotional solidarity (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2018). Therefore, the variation in hashtag use underscores how language in digital spaces frames events and articulates the public's ideological stance. Building upon this hashtag construction, the analysis can further explore the sentiments emerging within digital conversations, as illustrated in the figure below:

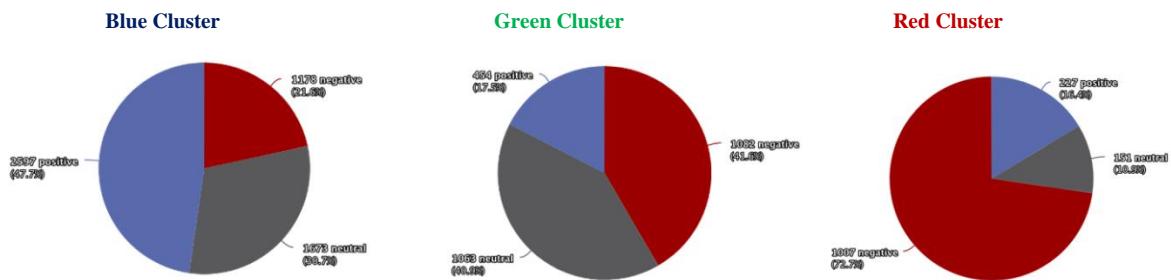


Figure 3. Distribution of Netizen Sentiments Based on Discourse Clusters on Platform X

Source: Observation Results through Advanced Network Analytics (ANA), 2025

Within the same text-level framework, sentiment expressions reveal how language reflects collective emotions and ideological orientations (Kuhamane et al., 2017). The blue cluster shows a dominance of positive sentiment at 47.7% (2,597 posts), followed by neutral sentiment at 30.7% and negative sentiment at 21.6%. This indicates that, although demonstrations are generally associated with conflict, the geographical framing through the hashtag #jogja instead fosters a collective awareness that is mainly positive and appreciative of local identity. Conversely, the green cluster exhibits a higher proportion of negative sentiment (41.6%) than positive sentiment (17.5%). This contrast demonstrates that while linguistically neutral, the more generic hashtag #demo still provides space for the emergence of critical narratives concerning the actions and their broader impacts.

The red cluster demonstrates the strongest correlation between language, ideology, and public emotional expression. With a dominant negative sentiment of 72.7% (1,007 posts), the narratives constructed through confrontational hashtags such as #polisipembunuhrakyat clearly establish a binary opposition between the people and the authorities. Positive sentiment appears only at 16.4%, and neutral sentiment at 10.9%, indicating that discourse within this cluster is highly polarized. From the text-level perspective, this illustrates how confrontational linguistic choices can intensify public emotions and foster solidarity rooted in resistance. Thus, sentiment analysis reveals that social media's language frames events and mobilizes collective emotions. The

differing sentiment patterns across clusters confirm the direct relationship between linguistic strategies embedded in hashtags and how the public articulates ideological positions toward conflict.

The conclusion of this analysis demonstrates that, at Norman Fairclough's text level, language on social media plays a central role in shaping representations, constructing ideology, and articulating public emotions related to the demonstrations in Yogyakarta (DIY). The distribution of dominant issues reveals a fragmentation of narratives into three clusters: conflict and state repression (blue), field documentation (green), and humanity and solidarity (red), each emphasizing how language frames social reality in distinct ways. The mapping of hashtags shows that keywords function not merely as topical markers but as ideological symbols guiding public perception, ranging from local identity (#jogja), neutral collective action (#demo), to emotional resistance (#polisipembunuhrakyat). Sentiment analysis further reinforces that linguistic choices can mobilize collective emotions and strengthen solidarity, whether through appreciation of identity, expression of critique, or articulation of resistance.

Discursive Practice Level: Narrative Contestation and the Role of Influencers within Demonstration Conversation Clusters

Within Norman Fairclough's theoretical framework (Fairclough, 2013), the level of discursive practice refers to the processes through which texts are produced, distributed, and consumed within specific social contexts (Mohr & Frederiksen, 2020). While the text level focuses on the linguistic analysis of language use, the discursive practice level emphasizes the mechanisms of interaction that enable a discourse to circulate and gain legitimacy (Stjernswärd & Glasdam, 2022). This level aims to uncover how communication patterns, interaction networks, and the actors involved contribute to the construction of meaning. In the context of the demonstrations in Yogyakarta, discursive practice becomes crucial because discourse is shaped not only by the confrontational, informative, or symbolic language found in texts, but also by how these messages are disseminated through digital networks. Therefore, this discursive practice variable is positioned to examine how edge types and influencer roles function in directing the flow of public conversations.

Based on this framework, this study analyzes edge types and influencers as the two main dimensions of discursive practice. Edge types represent interaction patterns among digital actors such as mentions, retweets, replies, and hashtags, each reflecting different ways of expanding or reinforcing a discourse. Meanwhile, influencers are seen as dominant actors who play a crucial role in orchestrating the distribution of discourse according to specific ideological orientations. By analyzing both dimensions, it becomes possible to understand how narratives of conflict, documentation, and humanitarian solidarity in the Yogyakarta demonstrations are produced through texts and disseminated and reinterpreted within digital networks. Thus, discursive practice in this study serves to illustrate the dynamics of discourse production and distribution, ensuring analytical consistency from the linguistic stage at the text level to the broader dissemination processes through edges and dominant actors in the digital sphere.

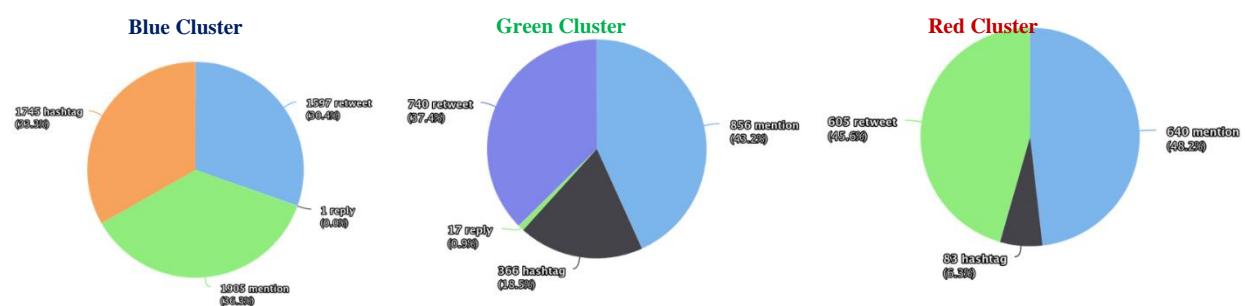


Figure 4. Edge Types Based on Conversation Clusters on Platform X
Source: Observation Results through Advanced Network Analytics (ANA), 2025

Within Fairclough's framework of discursive practice, the interaction patterns formed in the blue cluster illustrate how the production and distribution of confrontational language are carried out systematically. The edge type data show that interactions are dominated by mentions (36.3%), followed by hashtags (33.3%), retweets (30.4%), and only a single reply. This composition indicates that actors in the blue cluster emphasize direct mention strategies to expand the reach of narratives while simultaneously building connectedness within the digital network. The significant use of hashtags, particularly #jogja, reinforces the geographical identity attached to the event, thereby adding legitimacy to the confrontational narratives observed at the text level. Meanwhile, the high frequency of retweets reflects the massive circulation of messages that collectively

reproduce repressive discourses. Thus, discursive practice in the blue cluster affirms that confrontational texts do not stop at linguistic production but are also intensively distributed to sustain a consistent framing of state repression.

In contrast, the discursive practice within the green cluster demonstrates an interaction pattern that emphasizes informative and documentary functions. The edge type data reveal a dominance of mentions (43.2%), followed by retweets (37.4%), hashtags (18.5%), and replies (0.9%). This proportion indicates that the use of mentions in this cluster serves not to build opposition but to strengthen the verification of information sources or affirm field data. The relatively high proportion of retweets suggests the recirculation of factual content, visual documentation, and chronological accounts that support a neutral framing at the text level. The minimal use of hashtags demonstrates that this cluster is not oriented toward ideological confrontation but toward the collective dissemination of factual knowledge. Therefore, the discursive practice in the green cluster reflects a collaborative and informative communication strategy, reinforcing its role as a bridge connecting empirical field data to the broader digital public sphere.

Meanwhile, the red cluster exhibits an interaction pattern that emphasizes the mobilization of emotional solidarity. The distribution of edge types shows a dominance of mentions (48.2%), followed by retweets (45.6%), with hashtags accounting for only 6.3%. This composition indicates that the production and distribution of discourse in the red cluster occur primarily through direct mentions and the recirculation of content, both strengthening inter-actor connections and consolidating networks of digital solidarity. The minimal use of hashtags suggests that ideological reinforcement is constructed more through the intensity of direct interaction than through symbolic keywords. Nevertheless, confrontational hashtags such as #polisipembunuhrakyat continue to serve as ideological markers reinforcing the binary opposition between the people and the authorities. Thus, the discursive practice in the red cluster underscores that symbolic figures produce humanitarian and resistance discourses and are then amplified through retweets and mentions to mobilize collective emotions more rapidly and extensively.

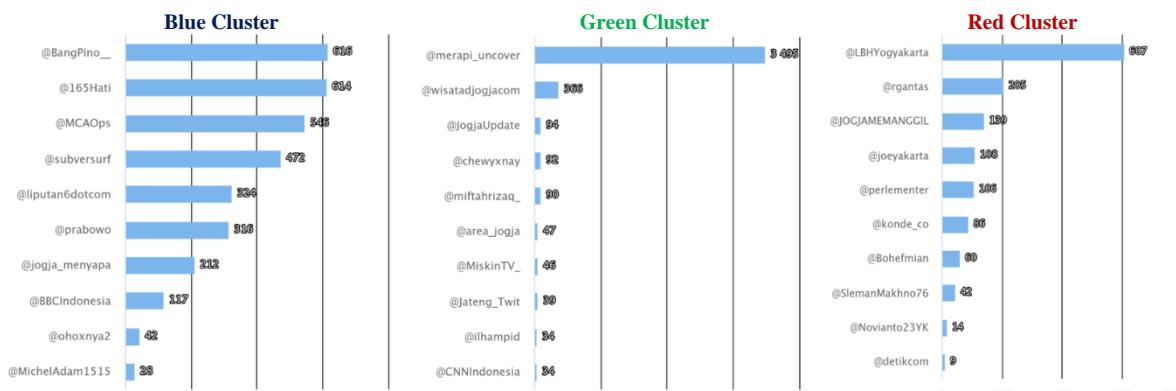


Figure 5. Top Influencers Based on Discussion Clusters on Platform X

Source: Monitoring Results via Advance Network Analytic (ANA), 2025

The distribution pattern of different edge types across clusters is a crucial foundation for understanding how the production and distribution of discourse operate. However, this variation cannot be separated from the influence of dominant actors. Within the framework of discursive practice, influencers act as the main driving force, producing texts and determining the rhythm of dissemination and the orientation of public discourse reception. In the blue cluster, the account @bangpino_ with 616 posts is central in reinforcing conflict and state repression narratives, supported by massive diffusion through mentions and retweets. In the green cluster, @merapi_uncover, with 3,495 posts, demonstrates an orientation toward factual documentation and data-based information, making this account a hub for neutral information distribution. Meanwhile, in the red cluster, @LBHYogyakarta, with 607 posts, functions as an advocacy actor consolidating humanitarian and resistance narratives. Thus, discursive practices within each cluster display an orchestration of discourse production and dissemination driven by influencers according to the ideological orientation of each network.

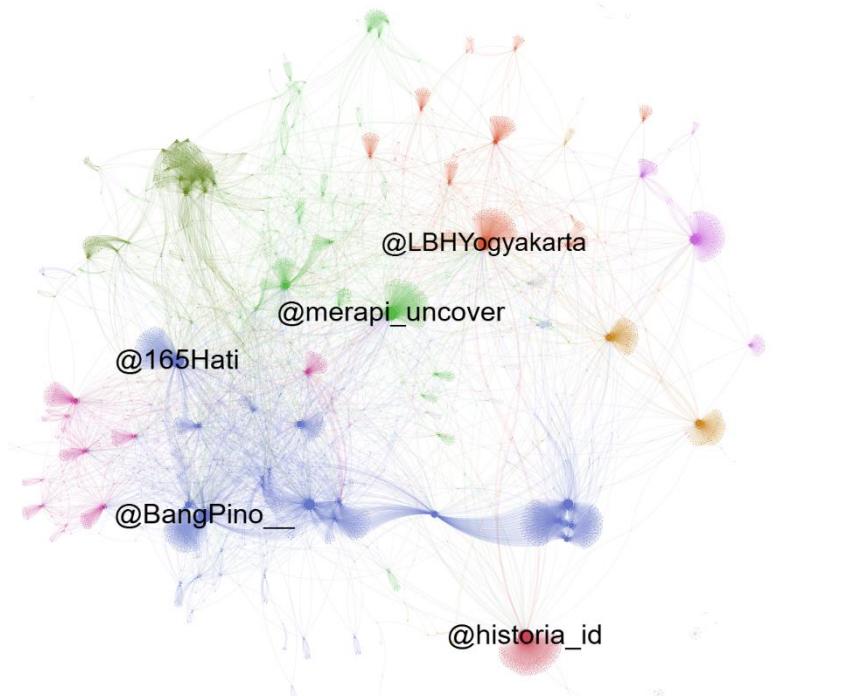
The conclusion drawn from this analysis indicates that discursive practices surrounding the demonstrations in Yogyakarta are shaped not only by linguistic elements but also by digital interaction patterns formed through edge types and influencer roles. The findings reveal that conversation networks form distinct clusters with varying narratives where @BangPino_ dominates the blue cluster, @merapi_uncover leads the green cluster, and @LBHYogyakarta anchors the red cluster. This pattern underscores that public discourse is constructed through contesting narratives and social legitimacy, which are produced and distributed massively on social media. The diversity of edge types such as mentions, retweets, and replies illustrates the mechanisms of message

circulation that influence issue amplification and discourse reach. Therefore, discursive practices provide a comprehensive picture that digital discourse construction is not neutral but somewhat shaped by key actors who direct public perception toward conflict, solidarity, and the legitimacy of protest actions.

Level of Social Practice: Crisis of Legitimacy, Participatory Democracy, and Civil Resistance

Within Norman Fairclough's framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the level of social practice serves as a crucial dimension for understanding the relationship between discourse and broader socio-political structures (Fairclough, 2013). At this level, discourse is not merely viewed as text or individual communication but as a social practice that reproduces, negotiates, and challenges prevailing ideologies and power relations within society (Chiapello & Fairclough, 2002). Thus, public conversations on social media during the Yogyakarta demonstrations cannot be separated from the socio-political context that both shapes and is shaped by them. Social practice allows for identifying how digital narratives reinforce crises of trust, construct legitimacy, or generate civil resistance. Therefore, analyzing social practice requires a deeper exploration of the ideological meanings behind hashtags, conflict framings, and the representation of symbolic figures circulating within the digital sphere as an arena of political meaning contestation.

Analysis at the social practice level also bridges findings from digital network mapping with the ongoing political reality. Social media serves not merely as a channel for information distribution but as an arena for discourse production that influences state legitimacy, social solidarity, and the trajectory of digital democracy. Fairclough emphasizes that every text or interaction has a dialectical relationship with broader social structures. Therefore, digital conversations during the Yogyakarta demonstrations can represent the public's crisis of trust toward authority, the strengthening of digital democracy as a form of social control, and the expression of civil resistance through moral solidarity. In this sense, the social practice dimension enables a more comprehensive analysis of digital discourse not merely as a linguistic phenomenon, but as a reflection of contemporary society's power dynamics, ideologies, and legitimacy struggles.



Blue Cluster: Conflict Escalation and Apparatus Repressiveness Narrative	Green Cluster: Field Documentation and Situational Information Narrative	Red Cluster: Symbolic Figure and Humanitarian Narrative
<p>1. The blue cluster (28.76%) highlights escalation of protests in DIY, focusing on violence against police facilities.</p> <p>2. Key influencers (@BangPino_, @165Hati, @MCAOps) drive narratives demanding decisive government action.</p> <p>3. Framing emphasizes urgency and calls for dismissal of the National Police Chief.</p> <p>4. Hashtags are emotional and provocative, expanding the reach of conflict narratives.</p> <p>5. Interactions among clusters show resonance across diverse audiences, reflecting public attention on legitimacy of police actions.</p>	<p>1. The green cluster (16.9%) focuses on real-time documentation and situational updates.</p> <p>2. Influencers (@merapi_uncover, @wisatadjogiacom) highlight issues like expired tear gas, crowd conditions, and safety concerns.</p> <p>3. Narrative combines citizen journalism and situational reporting to provide factual updates.</p> <p>4. Hashtags facilitate location tracking and event chronology.</p> <p>5. Interactions strengthen dissemination of real-time information and collaboration between media and citizens.</p>	<p>1. The red cluster (13%) emphasizes humanitarian issues and police repressiveness, highlighting critical conditions of protesters.</p> <p>2. @LBHYogyakarta drives narratives on human rights violations and safety concerns.</p> <p>3. The pink cluster (9.21%) focuses on the symbolic presence of Sri Sultan HB X during protests.</p> <p>4. Influencers frame the Sultan as a moral and unifying leader, generating positive sentiment.</p> <p>5. Narrative balances contested discourse by highlighting moral, symbolic, and humanitarian dimensions.</p>

Figure 6. Network Map of Netizen Conversations on Platform X Related to the August 29–September 3 Demonstrations

Source: *Monitoring Results via Advanced Network Analytics (ANA), 2025*

Within Fairclough's social practice framework, the blue cluster, which dominates digital conversations, illustrates how discourse shapes power relations between civil society and state institutions. Narratives of conflict, police repression, and the burning of police facilities are not mere spontaneous reactions but rather ideological articulations that underline the public's crisis of trust. Hashtags such as #PoldaDIY and #Jogja emerge as symbols of resistance that amplify public perceptions of weakened institutional legitimacy. Dominant actors such as @BangPino__ and @165Hati function as agents of discourse production, reinforcing the representation of the state as a repressive entity. In terms of social practice, this reflects a structural tension between formal authority and civil society, with digital media serving as an arena for legitimacy contestation. The language used, conflict framing, and patterns of public interaction indicate that this discourse is far from neutral; it constitutes part of the reproduction of socio-political meanings that shape the state's image in the public sphere.

The green cluster represents a form of social practice rooted in digital democracy, highlighting a shift in the public's role from consumers to information producers. Documentary-style narratives built through accounts such as @merapi_uncover and @wisatadjogjacom reflect the function of social control over power practices. The use of factual and neutral language indicates efforts to maintain informational credibility as a form of collective legitimacy. Hashtags like #AksiDIY and #DemoJogja serve not only as communicative markers but also as instruments of social organization that expand access to information beyond official state channels. Within Fairclough's framework, this cluster illustrates how digital discourse operates as a tool for democratic participation, strengthening the public's role in shaping political narratives. The real-time distribution of information also signifies the emergence of a new social structure in the digital era, where the digital authority of citizens increasingly challenges state authority. Thus, this discourse represents a social transformation toward more horizontal political participation.

The red and pink clusters embody civil resistance grounded in humanitarian values and moral legitimacy. Narratives advanced by accounts such as @LBHYogyakarta assert criticism toward state repression while emphasizing strong public solidarity. The presence of Sri Sultan HB X as a symbolic figure lends moral weight to the discourse, reinforcing civil society's position in confronting the state. Emotionally charged hashtags, humanitarian language, and attention to demonstrators' conditions turn digital discourse into a space of symbolic resistance. In terms of social practice, this reflects the construction of a collective identity that transcends physical resistance. The discourse of resistance demonstrates how digital opinion can foster community cohesion, articulate criticism of the state, and reinforce the moral legitimacy of protest actions. Hence, digital discourse serves as a medium for social solidarity that challenges dominant power structures.

From Fairclough's perspective of social practice, the three digital conversation clusters during the Yogyakarta demonstrations reveal how digital discourse functions as a battleground of ideologies (Fairclough, 2013). The blue cluster highlights the crisis of state legitimacy, and the green cluster reflects digital democracy as social control. In contrast, the red and pink clusters emphasize civil resistance based on moral legitimacy. Language, hashtags, and influencer roles are not neutral; they act as ideological instruments reproducing socio-political structures. With 4,201 accounts and 13,426 interactions, digital discourse is a medium of social meaning production that directly influences state legitimacy, social solidarity, and the relationship between the public and authority. In terms of social practice, this analysis confirms that digital discourse is not merely online communication but rather a reflection of society's broader dynamics of power. In essence, digital social practice becomes the key to understanding the complex interaction between public opinion, political legitimacy, and the direction of democracy in Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

Based on the conducted analysis, the conclusions of this study can be summarized as follows. This research demonstrates that social media platform X (formerly Twitter) functions as an arena of digital democracy contestation in the Special Region of Yogyakarta during the demonstrations of August 29–September 3, 2025, where language, digital interaction, and social practices collectively shape public opinion, the mobilization of collective emotions, and the negotiation of socio-political legitimacy. At the textual level, linguistic choices,

dition, metaphors, narrative framing, and hashtags construct distinct representations of social reality across three clusters: the blue cluster emphasizes conflict and police repression; the green cluster highlights documentation and factual information; and the red cluster underscores humanitarian solidarity and moral resistance. The discursive practice analysis reveals how edge types and influencers act as engines of discourse distribution, reinforcing ideological orientations and expanding the narrative reach within each cluster. At the social practice level, digital conversations reflect a crisis of legitimacy, the strengthening of participatory democracy, and the expression of civil resistance through moral solidarity and conflict-framing narratives. These findings confirm that public opinion in the digital sphere is not neutral but a product of complex interactions between language, social networks, and socio-political contexts. Consequently, this study successfully fulfills its objective of understanding the construction of public opinion, the mobilization of collective emotions, and the dynamics of socio-political legitimacy within the contestation of digital democracy.

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