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Reconstructing the Meaning of President Prabowo Subianto's Controversial Speech in Cross-Categories of Instagram Content Creators

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Abstract

This study examines how Instagram content creators reconstruct the meaning of President Prabowo Subianto's controversial remarks, "Ndasmu" and "Emang gue pikirin", delivered during the 17th National Farmers and Fishermen Week in Gorontalo in 2026. Employing a descriptive qualitative approach, the study integrates Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional Critical Discourse Analysis with Kress and van Leeuwen's multimodal discourse analysis. Five Instagram posts representing student organisations (@bem.fhui), news media (@mediakoranjakarta and @tempodotco), and individual content creators (@bewngaa and @awaanstory) were analysed. The findings reveal that differences in lexical choices, video editing, captions, and visual representations construct contrasting portrayals of the President, ranging from indifference towards public concerns to deliberate directness in political communication. These variations reflect distinct content production practices, including organisational discussions, editorial considerations, and individual perspectives. Audience engagement and comments further indicate that conflict-oriented representations attracted greater attention than clarificatory content. The study concludes that a single political utterance can generate multiple interpretations through processes of selection, recontextualisation, and digital circulation. These findings highlight the relationship between language, power, and meaning construction in digital political discourse.

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Introduction

Social media has become one of the main ways people get information, including political information. Data from the 2026 Indonesian Internet User Penetration and Behavior Survey shows that internet penetration in Indonesia will reach 81.72% in 2026, equivalent to 235,261,078 people out of a total population of 287,303,234 people and Instagram is one of the most frequently accessed platforms by Indonesian people with a portion of 27.7% (Indonesian Internet Service Providers Association (APJII) 2026). Instagram was chosen as the object of research because it can combine video, text, and caption in one upload at a time. The majority of Instagram users in Indonesia come from productive age groups who actively communicate (Nurnisya and Kasmani 2025), and the platform also encourages the development of visual communication that can reach many people at once (Watajdid dkk. 2021).

The way people access information is now changing with just a few taps and this has also encouraged the increasing popularity of the media Social (Zulfadhli, Hamdani, and Farokhah 2021) At the same time, it makes it a bridge for political figures to convey ideas to the people (Novitasari et al. 2024). This ease of access also affects the way netizens respond to political issues that are often colored by emotional language and lack of manners (Pramujiono et al. 2023). The tendency of netizens to hurl hate speech on social media is closely related to the level of emotional maturity of each individual (Cahyono et al. 2023). In fact, the comment column and Caption on the accounts Haters Instagram contains a lot of hate speech, ranging from attacks on the interlocutor's self-esteem, threats, ridicule, to intimidating warnings (Subyantoro et al. 2023).

In the world of Indonesian politics, a leader's speech is an important moment for the people, because the content of the president's speech should reflect the nation's vision and grand plans for the future (Maryanah 2025). Every sentence in an official speech becomes the main reference for the community to judge its leaders, so that language is not only a means of communication, but also a way to defend or challenge power (Rico, Susanto, and Fatimah 2024). According to Wodak, the language of a leader has a performative side that can create new social realities (quoted in Rumaf dkk., 2025), while the power of rhetoric can be used by leaders to regulate power relations in the current Indonesian political context (Indrayanti, Rakhmawati, and Saddhono 2025). President Prabowo Subianto's speaking style itself is often in the public spotlight because of his bold, open, outspoken, and spontaneous nature which then provokes various reactions (Lestari et al. 2025). Another unrest arises when the President uses words such as "Ndasmu" in his official speech because abusive language in formal state situations is usually considered a violation of the manners that a state leader should maintain. Even so, speech that seems impolite does not necessarily mean a violation of norms, but it can also be a communication strategy that has certain practical, rhetorical, and ideological goals (Aminuddin and Musfiroh 2025).

Political news on Instagram has often gone through a reframing process by content creators who can change the original meaning of a speech, for example by cutting videos or adding certain text. This condition is in line with the post-truth era (post truth) that is, when truth and fake news are increasingly difficult to distinguish (Megawati 2021), as a result, digital literacy is now not only a technical ability, but also an important social need for society (Sasmayunita and Kurniawan 2025). Without sufficient understanding, people risk being trapped in forming wrong opinions only from video clips, let alone propaganda Hoaxes can be used to influence public opinion and raise or lower the image of political candidates (Tahir, Kusmanto, and Amin 2020). Efforts to change one's image are also an interesting

part of the political communication strategy on Indonesian social media today, such as political concepts Squirming That changes the image of a hard-working leader to a friendlier one. (Triyogo et al. 2024) Because social media is considered effective in making political figures look more positive and memorable (Fadiyah and Simorangkir 2021).

As the main analytical framework, this study uses Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional (CDA) which consists of text dimensions, discursive practices, and social practices (Hajrah, Alam, and Jufri 2024; Scott, et al., 2025). Simply put, the text dimension looks at what words and visual displays are used to build a certain impression in a speech (Rumaf dkk. 2025); The dimension of discursive practice looks at how the content process is created, edited, and disseminated by its creators (Durmaz dan Yoğa 2022); Meanwhile, the dimension of social practice connects the results of the previous two dimensions with the social, cultural, and power relations contexts that underlie them (Utomo 2024). These three dimensions have been widely used to dissect various state speeches and the results have always consistently shown that the language of state leaders is always related to the legitimacy of power and certain ideological attitudes.

The CDA Fairclough model has also been applied not only to written text, but also to single images such as advertisements (Durmaz dan Yoğa 2022), considering that the way the media frames and displays certain figures in a policy or statement of state leaders also determines how the public understands an event (Hanafiah, Hamdani, and Mulyadi 2026). In other words, the meaning that the audience receives does not only come from the President's speech, but also from the way the content creator frames the event because a work created by the content creator is always related to the social context around it (Ramadani and Satriani 2025). Considering that the object of this research is Instagram content that combines elements of sound/text and images at once, this study also uses the framework of multimodal discourse analysis from Kress and van Leeuwen, especially the section that discusses how meaning is formed through images (representational meaning) seen from three elements, namely the action depicted (process), the parties involved (participants), and the supporting background (circumstance) (Salahuddin 2023). This framework is so far more widely used to analyze posters, hence its application to short-format videos Reels on Instagram that combines snippets of speech, subtitle, Caption, and editing techniques are still a space that needs to be explored further.

From a search of previous studies, three main trends were found. First, research using CDA Fairclough on President Prabowo Subianto's discourse generally only analyzes one speech from one source, for example the inaugural speech (Rumaf dkk. 2025), Speech on Trade Tariffs (Again et al. 2025), or a speech rejecting the election results (Megawati 2021). No one has ever compared how the same piece of speech is reframed differently by various content creators on social media. Second, research that examines the controversy of "ndasmu" speech in particular still stops at sociopragmatic and pragmatic approaches (Aminuddin and Musfiroh 2025; Lestari et al. 2025). No one has explored how speech representation is constructed in a multimodal manner at the same time in terms of text, discursive practices, and social practices. Third, research on personal issues branding and President Prabowo Subianto's activities on social media generally only focus on one platform or one official account (Novitasari et al. 2024; Nurnisya and Kasmani 2025). No one has compared the framing strategies across categories of content creators with different interests such as student organizations, news media, and content creator individual. This gap is what this study tries to fill through through a comparative analysis of five Instagram content from three different categories of content creators that frame the same controversial speech of the President by combining the CDA Fairclough framework and the multimodal analysis of Kress and van Leeuwen at the same time.

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Based on this description, this study formulates the following research questions, how do Instagram accounts from three different categories of content creators reconstruct the meaning of President Prabowo Subianto's controversial speech through the three dimensions of Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (text, discursive practices, and social practices) with text dimensions enriched by the framework of Kress and van Leeuwen's representational meaning in its visual elements? This question is important to answer because political communication should still maintain a space for dialogue in a democratic society (Anindita et al. 2025), while excessive reframing risks blurring that dialogue space. This research is expected to enrich the study of Critical Discourse Analysis on digital political communication, as well as help the public be more critical in understanding the framing of information on social media. In line with that, this study aims to answer this question through a comparative analysis of five Instagram content representing the three categories of content creators.

Methods

This study employed a descriptive qualitative approach using Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), encompassing textual, discursive, and sociocultural dimensions (Yasa 2021), supported by Kress and van Leeuwen's multimodal discourse analysis. Conducted from 28 June to 1 August 2026, the study examined Instagram representations of President Prabowo Subianto's controversial remarks, "Ndasmu" and "Emang gue pikirin", delivered during the 17th National Fishermen Week event in Gorontalo. Five Instagram posts were purposively selected from nine initial posts based on speech similarity, audiovisual completeness, engagement levels, and content creator diversity. The selected accounts represented student organisations (@bem.fhui), news media (@mediakoranjakarta and @tempodotco), and individual content creators (@bewngaa and @awaanstory). Data comprised speech transcripts, subtitles, captions, video footage, visual elements, and the three most-liked comments from each post. The complete speech recording published by Warta Kota Production on YouTube served as comparative material. Data were collected through documentation, transcription, and repeated observation, with engagement metadata recorded on 7 July 2026.

Data analysis integrated Fairclough's three dimensions with multimodal analysis of representational processes, participants, and visual circumstances. Textual analysis examined lexical choices, sentence structures, modality, captions, subtitles, and editing techniques. Discursive analysis focused on speech selection, recontextualisation, and circulation, while sociocultural analysis considered the broader social and ideological contexts. Representational differences were identified through evaluative language, juxtaposition, overwording, and visual framing. The five posts were compared to identify variations in discourse construction across content creator categories. Data credibility was strengthened through source triangulation, repeated observations, and supervisory discussions (peer debriefing). Ethical considerations were addressed by anonymising the identities of Instagram users whose comments were analysed.

Results and Discussions

The results of an analysis of five Instagram content that framed President Prabowo Subianto's controversial speech at the peak of the 17th National Fishermen Farmers' Week in 2026 in Gorontalo show that each account reconstructs the meaning of the speech in its own way, both the accounts of student organizations @bem.fhui, @mediakoranjakarta and @tempodotco news media accounts, and

content creator accountsindividuals @bewngaa and @awaanstory. The following discussion is prepared based on the three dimensions of Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis so that the findings remain in line with the research objectives and methods that have been set previously.

1. Text Dimensions

In the text dimension, the most fundamental difference lies in how each account selects, cuts, and juxtaposes the President's speech, resulting in a different picture of the same speech event. The two most popular speeches are "Ndasmu" and "Emang gue pikirin". The word "Ndasmu" comes from Javanese, literally meaning "your head" and is commonly used as a rude expression of rejection which is more or less equivalent to the word "fuck" in Indonesian. "Emang gue pikirin" is a Jakarta slang phrase that means "indeed I care", usually used to show an indifference attitude towards criticism. These two speeches are the main material that is then processed differently by each account according to their respective perspectives and interests.

The @bem.fhui account processes the speech through a juxtaposition technique, which juxtaposes two elements that contradict each other so that the contrast feels sharper. The words "DENGERIN RAKYAT" are placed side by side with "EMANG GUE PIKIRIN" following the popular Drake meme format on the internet, which is a two-panel visual format that depicts rejection in the top panel and acceptance in the bottom panel. Here, the speech "Emang Gue Pikirin" is released from its original context as a casual response to the issue of paid demonstrations, and then placed as an answer to the call to "DENGERIN RAKYAT" thus forming a new impression that the President is indifferent to all the aspirations of the people and not just to one particular issue.

This impression is then strengthened through a series of additional texts such as "RUPIAH MELEMAH", "RAKYAT DITENDANG", and "MBG BOBROK" which are arranged sequentially like a list of accusations, a strategy that in Critical Discourse Analysis is called overwording or the excessive use of negatively charged words or phrases on one topic to instill a certain point of view in the reader's mind. At the end, the account closes with the Latin phrase "vox populi vox dei" which means "the voice of the people is the voice of God", a statement that elevates the position of the people to the highest place while placing the President's attitude as a violation of that principle. Through this series of text strategies, @bem.fhui forms the image of the President as a leader who loses legitimacy because he ignores the sovereignty of the people.



Figure 1. Screenshot of Instagram content @bem.fhui

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@bewngaa accounts use a different text strategy, namely using English-language narratives to reach a wider and younger audience. Instead of letting the term "Ndasmu" be guessed by the audience, the creator blatantly translates and describes it as "a rude Javanese expression" which is more or less equivalent to a rude swear word in English. Explanations like this are a strategy in itself because it not only conveys information, but also emphasizes the level of rudeness of speech to an audience that may not be familiar with Javanese culture. The President's image is then strengthened through the choice of phrases such as "we're so doomed" and "the apocalypse moves one day closer", two exaggerated expressions that place the President's speech as a sign of regression or even a major threat to the nation. The addition of a mocking voice effect such as "nyenyenye" to the part that displays a dismissive attitude to criticism further strengthens the impression of the President as a figure who is not serious and childish in responding to state issues.



Figure 2. Screenshot of Instagram content @bewngaa

Unlike the previous two accounts, @awaanstory account uses a text strategy that goes in the opposite direction by restoring the lost context instead of muddying it. This content blatantly shows the reaction of netizens who are disappointed with "Ndasmu" speech, then compares it to a longer snippet of the speech, in which the President is actually imitating the speech style of a populist leader who pretends to be polite in front of the media. In that intact context, the word "Ndasmu" appears as part of a satire (parody) of the leadership style that he considers hypocritical, not as an expression addressed directly to the people. By displaying a more complete piece of speech, this account forms the opposite picture, namely the President as a figure who consciously chooses a blunt and frank style of speech when dealing with farmers and fishermen, not a figure who underestimates his people. Content titles that use hook style (opening sentences that are deliberately made to provoke curiosity), such as "PRESIDENT'S 'NDASMU' SPEECH GOES VIRAL AGAIN UP TO 1 MILLION LIKES EVEN THOUGH THE CONTEXT IS DIFFERENT", shows that this debunking text strategy still takes advantage of the attraction of controversy, only it is directed to straighten out, not muddy public understanding.



Figure 3. Screenshot of Instagram content @awaanstory

On news media accounts, the text dimension appears more neutral but still directed towards a specific goal. The @mediakoranjakarta account chose the title "After Saying 'Endasmu'", Prabowo Regarding the Criticism "Emang Gue Pikirin!" which placed the two speeches as the core of the news without giving an overt assessment, so that the impression formed tended to highlight the humor and spontaneity of the President as an individual, not as a symbol of power relations. On the contrary, @tempodotco account did not touch the speech of "Ndasmu" at all, but chose to raise the statement "Only in Indonesia" which was repeated by the President when alluding to the involvement of the TNI and the National Police in the agricultural sector. The repetition of the phrase is a style of language called anaphora (the repetition of the same word or phrase at the beginning of several consecutive sentences for emphasis) which is here used to form the impression of pride and cross-sectoral cooperation, not the effect of linguistic politeness. The difference in topic choices on two news media accounts that are both mainstream media shows that the text dimension never stands alone, but always reflects the editorial policy and news direction that has been set by each media institution.

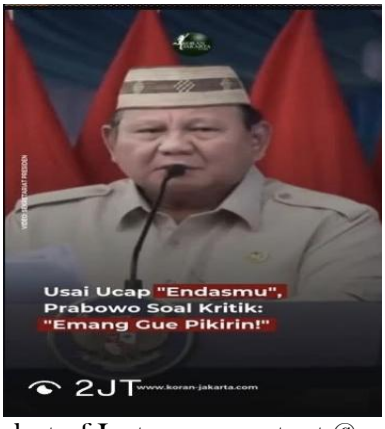


Figure 4. Screenshot of Instagram content @mediakoranjakarta

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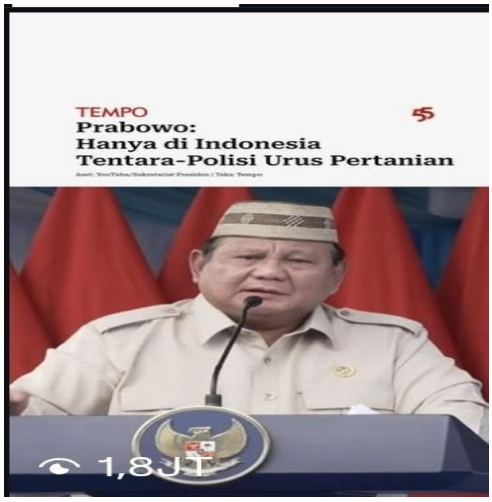


Figure 5. Screenshot of Instagram content thumbnail @tempodotco

Viewed through the multimodal framework of Kress and van Leeuwen, the three images shown in this study also show how meaning is constructed through elements of process, participants, and circumstances. In Figure 1, elements of the process are seen through the gesture of the President speaking in front of the microphone, juxtaposed with a graphic cut of the weakening of the rupiah and the crowd, an image that connects the President's speech with the alleged socio-economic impact. The participants shown are the President as the main character, while @bem.fhui plays the role of the party who frames the image for the student audience. The circumstance is seen through the effect of torn photos and stacked arrangements that place economic graphics and crowds as supporting backgrounds, reinforcing the impression that the President's speech has a wide impact on economic and social issues. In Figure 4 and Figure 5, the picture is simpler, namely the President speaking at the official podium with a red flag background, while the circumstance is in the form of a text title at the bottom of the image which functions to direct the meaning according to the editorial interests of each media, without the additional element of juxtaposition as in Figure 1. This difference in the complexity of visual elements helps explain why the image formed on the student organization's account seems sharper than news media accounts that tend to display the image as it is.

The same multimodal framework is also used for two individual content creator categories in the form of reaction videos. On @bewngaa account, elements of the process are seen through the creator's activity of watching and responding to the source clip directly (reaction format), interspersed with reaction memes and mocking voice effects that highlight the emotional attitude towards the President's speech. The participants include the President as a character shown through the source clip, while the creator plays the role of bridging Javanese cultural terms for English-speaking audiences. The circumstance is evident through the split-screen layout between the creator and the source clip, the shock-style transitions or distortions, and the insertion of news images and maps that reinforce the socio-political context being discussed.

On @awaanstory account, elements of the process are seen through the creator's activity of conveying reactions as well as clarifications, juxtaposed with snippets of longer versions of speeches as evidence of missing context. The participants include the President who is shown in two versions of the footage (cropped and full context), while the creator plays the role of the party who reveals the facts. The circumstances are evident through the video overlay technique, the contrasting hook title on a

dark background, and the zoom-in effect on the likes numbers to emphasize virality before clarifying. Thus, all five pieces of content show varying levels of complexity of multimodal elements, ranging from layered personal reaction models such as @bewngaa and @awaanstory to simpler static image models such as @mediakoranjakarta and @tempodotco, with @bem.fhui displaying the highest level of juxtaposition complexity among the five accounts.

When compared based on the three categories of content creators, it appears that the framing pattern is quite consistent. The category of student organizations, whose pattern is still temporary because only one account is represented, tends to frame the President's speech from a normative and constitutional perspective that places the issue of politeness of language as a matter of legitimacy of power. The individual content creator category shows a more personal and contrasting framing, starting from the point of view of sarcasm that magnifies controversy as in @bewngaa to the point of view of clarification that actually dampens it as in @awaanstory, so that this category is the most diverse in framing directions. The news media category tends to frame the same events from the point of view of institutions and news interests, where @mediakoranjakarta choose a mild human interest point of view ,while @tempodotco choose a more serious policy point of view. The difference in viewpoints between these categories is proof that one exact same President speech can produce a very diverse picture, depending on the interests, institutional background, and audience targeted by each content creator.

2. Dimensions of Discursive Practice

In the dimension of discursive practice, attention is directed to the process of production, packaging, and dissemination of the content behind the text has been analyzed beforehand because, according to Fairclough, the image of the text dimension never appears out of nowhere, but is produced through a series of production and dissemination processes that are typical of each content creator. The @bem.fhui account produces its content through the Department of Studies and Strategic Actions, an internal unit of student organizations that is specifically tasked with compiling attitudes and studies on current issues. The production process that involves a joint study like this makes the content not just a spontaneous opinion of one person, but the result of a joint consideration that has gone through some kind of internal organizational mechanism. The inclusion of #KASTRATBEMFHUI hashtags in each upload is also a marker of institutional identity that places criticism in an academic and constitutional framework, for example through reference to the concept of people's sovereignty as the holder of the highest power of the state. Against this backdrop of production, the criticisms delivered by @bem.fhui have a different institutional legitimacy than criticisms delivered by individuals without affiliation with a particular organization.

The individual content creator category shows a much more personal production pattern and depends on the style of each creator. @bewngaa account produces content in a reaction format or video format that shows creators watching and responding directly to the source video by including references from international mainstream media such as CNN and Kompas to strengthen the credibility of their arguments in the eyes of viewers. This kind of production process is relatively fast and reactive to viral trends, so content can be uploaded in a short time after the event occurs. On the other hand, @awaanstory accounts produce debunking content or content that is specifically created to dismantle public misunderstandings of information that has already gone viral by comparing the video clips that are circulating with the full speech recordings. This kind of production process requires additional research in the form of tracing the original source before the content is uploaded, so the production time tends to be longer than spontaneous reaction content. Interestingly, the production steps on this @awaanstory account happen to be similar to one of the source triangulation techniques used in this

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study, which is to compare video clips with whole speech recordings to ensure context. This similarity is a finding that illustrates that verifying the original context of speech is a common need, both for content creators who try to straighten out information and for researchers who maintain the validity of data and affirm that the meaning of speech depends on how much context is presented to its audience.

Meanwhile, news media accounts show discursive practices that are much more institutionalized and follow official editorial policies. The @mediakoranjakarta account produces its content through a standard journalistic process by taking footage from the official channel of the Presidential Secretariat, then editing it into short pieces with provocative hook-style titles to make it interesting to reshare. A prevalent packaging practice is called infotainment because it combines elements of information and entertainment at the same time. The process of its dissemination also utilizes links to its official news site and shows that Instagram content only serves as a storefront to direct audiences to the media's main platform. The @tempodotco account shows a slightly different discursive practice because it chooses an agenda setting strategy with the media's efforts to determine which issues are considered important to be highlighted to the public through the way of raising the side of agricultural policy and not from the side of language controversy. The difference in production strategy between two news media whose recording sources are exactly the same confirms that the discursive practices of mass media do not solely reflect events as they are, but always go through a process of selection, editing, and consideration of business and institutional image before finally being disseminated to the public.

A comparison of discursive practices among the three categories of content creators shows that there are different levels of institutions that affect the way content is produced. Student organizations exhibit the most structured production practices because they involve joint review before content is uploaded and news media exhibit the most institutionalized production practices because they are subject to journalistic standards and official editorial policies, while individual content creators exhibit the most flexible and personalized production practices. Starting from the reactive and fast to the investigative ones, and it takes longer. This institutional level difference ultimately explains why the direction of framing in the text dimension can vary even though it comes from the exact same piece of speech, because each category of content creator brings their own production methods, institutional goals, and audience considerations into the discourse packaging process.

3. Dimensions of Social Practice

Table 1. Audience engagement data recapitulation on five Instagram content analyzed

Account	Content Creator Categories	Viewers	Likes	Comments	Repost	Shared	Saved
@bem.fhui	Student Organizations	2.6 million	335 thousand	6.435	81,3K	24,7K	14.7 thousand
@bewngaa	Content creator individu	2.3 million	363 thousand	3.998	65.9K	44,1 thousand	20,5K
@awaanstory	Content creator individu	66.2 thousand	6.726	746	720	601	497

@mediakoranjakarta	News media	2 million	73,2 thousand	10.3 thousand	6.419	16,5K	5.904
@tempodotco	News media	1.8 million	76,7K	24,3 thousand	9.485	13,9K	4.153

In the dimension of social practice, the level of audience engagement and the content of netizens' comments on each content both show how the discourse is received and disseminated again by the digital community. @bem.fhui's content with sharp criticism received 2.6 million impressions and 335 thousand likes, while @bewngaa content received 2.3 million impressions and 363 thousand likes. This high number is in line with the content of the three comments with the highest number of likes on both accounts, which consistently show a cynical attitude and rejection of the President's speech. In @bem.fhui content, the comments with the highest engagement juxtaposed a series of "Ndasmu", "Nyinyir-nyinyir", "Nyenyenye", and "Emang gue pikirin" to question the President's quality when facing criticism, while other comments openly demanded a change of leadership.

In @bewngaa content, the comments with the highest likes highlight the ethical issues of the President's speech in official forums, even calling the variety of language used as something inappropriate for state speeches. This pattern shows that the audience does not just watch passively, but participates in reproducing criticism through comments that are in line with the negative image that has been built on the text dimension, so that what in Critical Discourse Analysis is called discourse reproduction occurs, which is the process when the audience not only accepts, but also participates in disseminating the meaning offered by the content creator through his own response.

This trend is in line with the findings on @awaanstory accounts which only received 66.2 thousand impressions, much smaller than similar content that highlights the controversial side. This striking difference is an early indication, although it cannot be generalized from only the five contents analyzed, that netizens' emotions are more easily provoked by sharp words than by a complete explanation of the context, as mentioned in the introduction. The comments with the highest likes on this account did not fully accept the clarification submitted. Some of the comments still accused the President of deliberately propagandizing and calling certain support groups as parties who are difficult to tell the truth, while a small number of other comments actually showed sympathy by praying for the President's health. This variety of responses shows that debunking efforts do not necessarily change the attitude of all audiences because some netizens still stick to the initial understanding that has been formed from previous viral content. A symptom that is in line with the concept of confirmation bias or a person's tendency to maintain the beliefs he already has despite the evidence to the contrary. This condition also confirms that people still have difficulty distinguishing the truth from pieces of information that are circulating, so that digital literacy is increasingly important as a social need for social media users.

On news media accounts, @mediakoranjakarta content received 2 million impressions with 73.2 thousand likes, while @tempodotco content received 1.8 million impressions with 76.7 thousand likes. Although the engagement rate of these two media accounts is relatively high, the direction of the discourse is different because each media chooses to highlight the humor side or the agricultural policy side, not the criticism side of the President's politeness. This difference in direction can also be seen from the comments with the highest likes on each account. In @mediakoranjakarta, the most engaging commentators directly criticized the President's way of speaking in official forums and expressed longing for a more academic and authoritative leader, showing that the audience did not fully accept the humor

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frame offered by the editor, but still returned it to the issue of propriety. Meanwhile, the comments with the highest involvement in the @tempodotco highlighted the involvement of the TNI and the National Police in the agricultural sector in a cynical manner, for example calling it a deviation from the main task, rather than responding to it as an achievement as highlighted in the news headlines. The difference in audience acceptance of all the content analyzed shows that the power relationship in digital discourse is not only determined by what the President says and how the media frames it, but also by the extent to which the audience is willing to accept or even oppose the frame offered.

Table 2. Quote three comments with the highest number of likes on each piece of content (user identity is disguised as per research ethics)

Account	Code	Quote Comment (identity withheld)	Likes
@bem.fhui	K1	"Ndasmu.." "Nyinyir-nyinyir.." "Nyenyenye.." "Emang gue pikirin.." Gini kah kualitas presiden kita saat dikritik???	44,3K
	K2	"Punya emas diserahkan ke Amerika, punya nikel diserahkan ke China, punya batu bara diserahkan ke Australia, punya utang diserahkan ke rakyat."	21,9K
	K3	"EMANG GW PIKIRIN" ehhh ternyata bener ga dipikirin ini negara."	14.7 thousand
@bewngaa	K1	"Untung buzzer gabesa bahasa enggreeess."	50.4 thousand
	K2	"Itu presiden??"	17,9 thousand
	K3	"Udah capek-capek rakyat menyampaikan aspirasi. Dijawab 'Ndasmu! Emang gue pikirin...'"	10,9 thousand
@awaanstory	K1	"Orang kan emang lbh suka di propaganda, bang."	744
	K2	"GEROMBOLAN WABAH EMANG PEKOK!!!" (pekok: bahasa Jawa, berarti bodoh/tolol)	381
	K3	"Bener, orng2 lebih menerima berita negatif dri pada yg positif."	339
@mediakoranjakarta	K1	"Ini pidato sekelas presiden tapi kok begini ya?"	25.9 thousand
	K2	"Itu la watak aslinya."	20,7K
	K3	"'Emang gue pikirin'.... miris dengernya, bosss...."	11,6 thousand
@tempodotco	K1	"Cuma di Indonesia juga yg polisi dan tentaranya masuk dapur."	9.833
	K2	"Bukannya malu, malah bangga."	9.012
	K3	"Bangga karena penyimpangan..."	4.240

Behind these findings, the researcher realizes that reading the visual elements in the text dimension cannot be separated from the researcher's subjectivity as the main instrument and the triangulation of sources serves to strengthen, although it has not completely eliminated the potential bias. These findings also answer three gaps in previous research that have been mapped in the Introduction. First, this study expands the scope of the application of Fairclough's CDA from a single speech analysis to a cross-creator comparative analysis because it shows that the same speech is reframed differently by different categories of content creators, different from previous studies that only analyzed one source (Reinanti et al. 2025; Megawati 2021; Rumaf et al. 2025). Second, this study explores the representation of "ndasmu" speech in a multimodal manner, as well as in terms of text, discursive practice, and social practice, thus complementing the sociopragmatic and pragmatic studies that have existed before(Aminuddin and Musfiroh 2025; Lestari et al. 2025). Third, this study shows that framing strategies vary systematically according to the institutional interests of the content creators. A pattern not seen in previous studies that focused only on one platform or one official account (Novitasari et al. 2024; Nurnisya and Kasmani 2025).

4. Research Limitations

This study still has limitations, including the scope of data that only covers five of the nine contents found in the initial stage, the number of accounts that is unbalanced between categories because the category of student organizations is only represented by one account while the other two categories are each represented by two accounts so that the framing pattern in the category of student organizations cannot be generalized adequately, the limitation of the analysis of netizens' comments on three comments with a mark highest likes per content, a short observation time span of June 24 to 26, 2026, and reliance on the interpretation of researchers as the main instrument even though triangulation of sources has been sought. Despite these limitations, this research still makes a special contribution to the development of Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis study combined with Kress and van Leeuwen's multimodal analysis, especially in revealing how the institutional categories of content creators help determine the direction of framing political speech on social media, as well as how audiences participate in reproducing discourse through their comments. In general, this research also enriches the development of digital political communication and media literacy in Indonesia by emphasizing that language and power cannot be separated in today's linguistic studies.

Conclusion

This study concludes that President Prabowo Subianto's controversial speech at the Peak of the 17th National Fishermen Farmers' Week in Gorontalo was reconstructed differently by three categories of Instagram content creators. This difference is evident in the choice of words and visual elements that make up the President's conflicting image in the different production processes behind each content, as well as in the level of audience acceptance, where conflicting content acquires a much wider reproduction of discourse than content that seeks to straighten out the context. These findings confirm that a single speech by a state leader can give birth to diverse social realities, depending on who reframes it and how the audience responds to it. Further research suggests extending the scope of the data to other platforms such as TikTok and X, as well as extending the observation span to see the consistency of framing patterns. Based on these findings, this study also recommends that content creators always pay attention to the original context when editing the speech of public figures, and that academics and language researchers more consistently combine the Critical Discourse Analysis approach with multimodal analysis in similar studies.

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