



## Digital Hate and Ideology: Critical Discourse Analysis on Cyberbullying against Putri Padang

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**Abstract.** This study delves into the linguistic and ideological dimensions of cyberbullying discourse directed at TikTok creator Putri Padang within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). In Indonesia's digital landscape, TikTok has become one of the prominent platform for self-expression and cultural performance, yet it also serves as a site for public shaming and moral policing. Drawing on Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional model, this qualitative research analyzes fifty hate comments collected from several TikTok videos featuring Putri Padang to uncover how language reproduces power relations and cultural ideologies. The findings reveal that hate comments are not random acts of aggression but structured discursive practices characterized by repetition, labeling, and moral judgment. Linguistic strategies such as mockery, objectification, and intertextual humor—exemplified by terms like “muka kotak” and “Adudu”—function as mechanisms of symbolic domination, reinforcing gendered and regional hierarchies. Moreover, the comments often invoke patriarchal values and cultural authenticity to moral criticism, positioning the target as a violator of feminine and cultural norms. The research contributes to cyber-discourse studies by extending into multimodal contexts and emphasizing the need for culturally grounded approaches to online gender-based violence.

**Keywords:** Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA); Cyberbullying; Gender Ideology; Hate Comments; TikTok Indonesia.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

In the contemporary digital landscape, social media has become a dominant arena for communication, identity construction, and public self-expression. Platforms such as TikTok, Instagram, and Twitter provide users with unprecedented opportunities to create and share content, yet they have also emerged as sites of hostility and verbal aggression. This phenomenon commonly referred to as cyberbullying represents a growing form of digital violence that manifests through ridicule, humiliation, and hate speech directed at individuals or groups. Patchin and Hinduja (2015) describe cyberbullying as the use of electronic communication to intimidate or demean others, a behavior that can inflict lasting emotional and psychological harm.

Within Indonesia's vibrant digital ecosystem, TikTok has gained immense popularity, particularly among young users who utilize the platform to perform identity, culture, and creativity. However, the same environment that facilitates creative expression also enables public shaming and moral policing. The case of Putri Padang, a TikTok creator known for her cultural representation and outspoken personality, exemplifies this tension. The negative remarks directed toward her are not merely instances of personal attack; rather, they represent a wider ideological discourse that reflects entrenched gender and cultural hierarchies in

Indonesian society. Her experience reveals that online aggression often functions as a discursive mechanism through which power and ideology are enacted in digital spaces.

Given these dynamics, cyberbullying toward public figures such as Putri Padang must be understood not only as a psychological or behavioral issue, but as a linguistic and ideological practice. In this regard, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) offers a powerful theoretical and methodological lens. Fairclough (1995) and van Dijk (1998) emphasize that language both reflects and reproduces social power relations; through linguistic choices, individuals position themselves within ideological frameworks that sustain dominance and marginalization. Applying CDA to online discourse thus allows researchers to trace how digital language constructs, legitimizes, or contests societal ideologies especially those concerning gender, morality, and cultural identity.

A significant amount of scholarly work has examined the phenomenon of cyberbullying using linguistic and discourse-based approaches, with particular emphasis on the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). For example, Al-Khateeb and Epiphaniou (2020) investigated hateful remarks on YouTube and discovered that digital communication often mirrors social inequality through linguistic expressions that convey dominance and authority. Their research demonstrated that language acts as a medium of symbolic power, where strategies such as repetition, labeling, and verbal aggression serve to reinforce patterns of online hostility. From Trindade (2024) perspective, there is also some understanding hate and abusive behavior online that requires a cross-cultural analytical lens, as expressions of hostility often emerge from localized social norms, values, and power relations. This perspective reinforces the relevance of examining Indonesian social media contexts, where hate speech frequently intertwines with issues of morality, gender, and cultural identity. Afifah, Windarti, and Budiwati (2025), for instance, explored hate speech surrounding Indonesian celebrities and found that language on social media often carries ideological undertones of morality and cultural judgment. Likewise, Subyantoro and Apriyanto (2020) analyzed impoliteness in Indonesian hate speech on Instagram, revealing how linguistic aggression functions as a form of symbolic power to discipline and shame others publicly. These studies suggest that cyberbullying discourse reflects not only interpersonal hostility but also the reproduction of societal values and hierarchies.

Moreover through specific youth context, Andriani et al. (2020) examined cyberbullying among teenage K-pop fans and found that online conflicts frequently emerge from issues of identity, belonging, and emotional investment in digital communities. Meanwhile, Purba, Sundawa, and Nurbayani (2022) investigated fan wars among K-pop communities on Twitter and concluded that linguistic hostility online mirrors offline social divisions and moral

positioning. On the other ones, Nugraha (2025) demonstrated how Indonesian TikTok users employ humor and satire as commentary on social and political issues, indicating that language on TikTok often carries layered meanings beyond mere entertainment.

Taken together, these studies widely reveal that hate speech and online bullying are not isolated acts of aggression but part of a larger social discourse embedded in ideology, power, and identity. Nevertheless, the majority of existing research has concentrated on global or broadly defined cases, leaving a gap in studies that explore culturally specific instances within the Indonesian context. Therefore, this present research focuses on cyberbullying against Putri Padang on TikTok, where issues of gender, local identity, and digital discourse converge. By adopting Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis model, this study aims to broaden the current understanding of how linguistic and semiotic choices are used to establish, legitimize, and maintain social dominance in Indonesia's online environment.

Despite these valuable contributions, several limitations remain. Most prior research tends to focus on Western digital contexts or treat online hostility in general terms, overlooking the localized ideological dimensions of cyberbullying in Indonesia. Moreover, the intersection of gender, culture, and regional identity as seen in the case of Putri Padang has received minimal scholarly attention. This bridges the gap of context-sensitive analyses that consider how Indonesian cultural norms and social values shape linguistic aggression in online spaces. The present study therefore seeks to fill this void by investigating cyber discourse directed at Putri Padang through the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis.

This study has several aims which are to examine and classify the linguistic features evident in cyberbullying comments directed at Putri Padang on TikTok; to interpret how those linguistic forms encode ideologies, hierarchies, and gendered relations of power; to make contribution towards the academic discourse on Indonesian cyber communication by integrating CDA as a methodological and analytical framework. Through this analytical focus, the study contributes to a broader understanding of how ideology and identity intersect in online environments. Theoretically, it extends CDA to a multimodal digital context, bridging discourse studies with cultural and gender perspectives. Practically, it provides insights that may inform educational programs, digital literacy campaigns, and policy development aimed at mitigating symbolic violence on social media. Ultimately, this research underscores that online language is never neutral it is a potent medium through which ideology, culture, and power relations are negotiated in the contemporary digital age.

Moreover, traditional CDA research has typically analyzed printed or written materials, whereas platforms like TikTok involve multimodal communication combining text, imagery, and contextual nuances.

Accordingly, this research aims to extend CDA into a digital and culturally specific setting by investigating how online users linguistically and ideologically construct cyberbullying directed at Putri Padang.

## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

The rise of social media has elevated cyberbullying and digital hate to prominent concerns within critical discourse scholarship. Kaur and Saini (2022) conceptualize cyberbullying as repeated, intentional aggressive conduct carried out via digital channels that inflicts emotional or psychological harm on victims. Their work argues that advances in information technology have widened the arenas for online aggression, particularly on platforms such as TikTok, Twitter, and Instagram, where hate-filled messages may be sanctioned or normalized by prevailing ideological currents. Importantly, digital hate frequently extends beyond mere insults or ridicule to include embedded ideological biases and social narratives that render symbolic violence acceptable in online environments (Kaur & Saini, 2022).

Within the Indonesian setting, Adawiah and Eleanora (2023) contend that cyberbullying is especially intractable because anonymity and enduring digital traces complicate detection and remediation. Based on longitudinal data covering 2016–2020, their analysis indicates that the consequences of online bullying reach beyond short-term distress, undermining victims' social functioning and academic attainment. They further argue that existing legal frameworks are often insufficient for prosecuting perpetrators, underscoring the need for integrated interventions that engage families, schools, and responsive public policy.

Yoshida (2022) highlights how youth online practices foster ideologically aligned communities in which divergent viewpoints can escalate into verbal confrontation and symbolic aggression. In such networks, cyberbullying frequently operates as a tactic of exclusion to preserve a group's dominance in digital spaces. Consequently, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a pertinent methodological lens for tracing how language operationalizes ideology to construct power relations and maintain hegemony within online discourse. CDA allows scholars to surface the ideological assumptions underpinning hate speech, which is particularly salient when public figures like Putri Padang are targeted through gendered or moralizing tropes.

Tao and Fisher (2021) further demonstrate that digital hate often intersects with racial and gendered forms of discrimination, with tangible repercussions for mental health. Their findings show that repeated exposure to online hate speech increases risks for stress, anxiety, and depressive symptoms effects that disproportionately affect historically marginalized

populations. These results align with additional studies indicating that social media platforms function as sites where dominant ideologies are reproduced and where verbal aggression and discriminatory narratives toward groups such as women and minorities are legitimized.

Viewed through the prism of critical discourse, the literature converges on the idea that cyberbullying is not an isolated individual phenomenon but a symptom of broader ideological systems enacted through digital linguistic practices. The research shows that online hate often mirrors asymmetrical power relations between aggressors and targets, with language serving as a vehicle to justify particular worldviews. Therefore, applying CDA to cases of cyberbullying against public figures such as Putri Padang can illuminate the layered ideological work performed by digital hate and reveal its implications for how women are represented and contested in online public spheres.

Grounded in the background and preceding studies, the research addresses the following key questions on the linguistic patterns characterize the cyber discourse targeting Putri Padang on TikTok; the way these linguistic strategies express or reinforce social power and ideology in Indonesian digital culture; and the ways of cultural and gender-based stereotypes being reproduce, negotiate, or resist from the online comments toward Putri Padang.

### **3. METHOD**

This study uses a qualitative Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach to explore how hate comments directed at Putri Padang on TikTok reflect and reinforce ideologies surrounding gender, culture, and morality in Indonesian online spaces. CDA was chosen because it allows a deeper look into how language expresses power relations and ideological positions (Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 1998; Wodak, 2001).

The data were taken and collected from public comment sections on several TikTok videos featuring Putri Padang and the TikTok videos that were recently posted by the content creator itself on her official TikTok account. Only comments containing explicit or implicit forms of cyberbullying—such as ridicule, moral judgment, gendered insults, or regional stereotyping—were included. Unrelated comments were excluded. In total dataset, we gathered and choose fifty comments from five different usernames; two of them which comes from the official Putri Padang and three which were posted by different content creator, mostly written in Bahasa Indonesia.

#### 4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Putri Padang has become a widely talked-about person on TikTok and other social media sites, not mainly because of the content she creates, but because of the way people mock her looks and actions. Putri Padang maintains two active TikTok accounts, namely @puttriipadang and @puttripaadaang, and engages with her audience through her content and live sessions. Her videos, which are generally harmless or ordinary, have been targeted by groups who use ridicule as a form of entertainment. While not every comment is negative, the majority of the feedback she receives includes criticism regarding her physical appearance and the consumer products she promotes. This has led to a lot of online bullying that is disguised as humor. Below are the comments that was shown through her videos:

**Table 1.** Comments from The TikTok Related Videos

Commentator	Comment
p!ngkibae 📱	adudu jualan apa 😊
taaaaaaa	ga mau ah put takut keracunan 🤢
esry	Barbie kotak emg ada 🙄👉
4ureylzZ'	mie goreng, mie kuah, menjauhlah
naaa	IHHH CANTIK 😍 klo gk diliat
enzz 📺	ADUDU
Lzz?	simpen ahh buat nakutin ponakanku
安吉丽娜 🌸	tung tung tung sahur
nd.yaaaa	siapa juga yang mau ngomongin adudu 🤔🤔
jeyicaa 🎸	gayanya
ayyna	kenapa harganya ngga ngotak? krna ipud udh kotak
d	dia ke aga aga g si?
Donat	BENER BENER REDUP 🤔 TENTRAM BGT FYP GADA PETAK
ONLY FREYA 🌸	dipuji tidak pantas dihina oke gas 🤔
Edo	siapa yg mau beli roti basi silahkan datang ke gubuk nenek
nawraa 🌟	buka dulu kampung
nurliawaty landa	lo artis?
Cindy Iskand	Berasa ceo bgt anjir

Sumber: TikTok @puttriipadang and @puttripaadaang.

In addition to the comments on her posts, other users create content that spreads negativity toward her. For instance, a TikTok user with the username **@friska\_32** compiled a video showcasing Putri Padang's unique methods of eating and drinking, which were gathered from her account or live sessions. At first glance, Putri Padang seemed concerned about her lips coming into contact with the food, but netizens seized the opportunity to bully her. The comments below reflect the reactions to this video:

**Table 2.** Comments from The TikTok Related Videos

Commentator	Comment
<b>matchanaput</b>	ombre lapis legit
<b>adell10611</b>	ih roblox gk boleh mam es krim 😊
<b>hii.itsmutiaaa</b>	lailahailallah makin jauh aku dari surga 😊
<b>rid.0105</b>	coba cari adudu
<b>ojolelite25</b>	Roblox kah
<b>ilovekindii</b>	DIA TERBUAT DARI APASI 🤔
<b>trakreator</b>	moon maaf, gw cari adudu tapi yang keluar iput dongg
<b>4sma_nurjannah</b>	busukk kali hatii aku 🙏🙏, maaf kan hamba mu yaAllah
<b>zzna22</b>	yang nangkap sedotan paling best seller sih
<b>vrkhan_</b>	Ipud ini termasuk gen z kan? Kayak gd aura gen z nya bjir 🤔
<b>ajeng.nopita6</b>	mulut dia knpa gitu bgt sii 🤔🤔🤔🤔
<b>p4niiii</b>	bibir ipud terbuat dari apa ?

Sumber: TikTok **@friska\_32** <https://vt.tiktok.com/ZSy1D5x4X/>.

Another post by the username **@zoel\_r** features a point-of-view video of him watching Putri Padang's live session. Her face is close to the phone screen, and at the end of the video, **@zoel\_r** edited his own face into a box-shaped style. As anticipated, the comments on this video were largely bullying in nature. The comments below illustrate the reactions to this video:

**Table 3. Comments from The TikTok Related Videos**

Commentator	Comment
bluearthc	PECAH BANGET PAS MUKANYA JADI KOTAK 🤖
jennerzss	bukti kalau struktur wajah bisa nular ya gais👏
nn20576	Eh nular kah kl sering nonton iput 🤖 🙇
cipaa_itoshi	SEKOTAK ITU!?
doyankopisusuu	jadi kesimpulannya : tiap nonton live ipud endingnya jadi kotak
nugrahhtrii	semakin dekat semakin kotak
siregar.rr	adegan kissingnya eps brpa?
aeriyaz	cie cie naksir niee 😊
uknwkowme	cie ketempelan
cimoryyy_sqz	suka banget square couple 😍
thepinkyverse_	cieeee tatap'an ciee cieeee

Sumber: TikTok @zoel\_r <https://vt.tiktok.com/ZSy1yjKXU/>.

Another video was posted by the username @user12354972, which is an edited clip of Putri Padang and a boy in a short movie, accompanied by the caption “My Favorite K-drama”. This account also uploaded a series of videos in a mocking manner. These are the comments that reflect the reactions to this video:

**Table 4. Comments from The TikTok Related Videos**

Commentator	Comment
zalppac	K-drama itu kotak drama?
dellaww0.0	kisah cinta perempuan roblox
n1y46	yg minta judul 😊 title: The love behind si petak. eps: 700 episode. apk: ifood kotak box. mkasih 🙇 🙇 😊
d0opplegangers	ini termasuk drama apa ya? drama cina atau drama kotak?
nutiez_	sejak kapan roblox bisa ke dunia nyata?
baellee_	film ini rekomend banget plss buat kalian yg mau ngusir setan dirumah ❤️ #drakorfavsejutaumat☐

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<b>theonly.dvna</b>	iput coba ikut casting drakor, siapa tau ditolak
<b>ulftlhyt5_</b>	di eps brpa si cwe meninggal?
<b>sofspamsiess</b>	eps ke berapa cewenya ketabrak truk kak?

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Sumber: TikTok @[user12354972](https://vt.tiktok.com/ZSy1P4LbC/) <https://vt.tiktok.com/ZSy1P4LbC/>.

## Discussion

### A. Linguistic Patterns in Cyber Discourse Targeting Putri Padang

The discourse analysis of TikTok comments directed toward Putri Padang indicates that cyberbullying is not random aggression but a patterned communicative act characterized by repetitive linguistic strategies of insult, labeling, and moral judgment. These patterns aim to discredit her public persona and regulate her behavior according to gendered expectations. Many users employ derogatory descriptors such as “arrogant,” “immoral,” or “seeking attention,” often accompanied by commanding expressions like “act properly” or “respect your culture,” which implicitly reinforce normative ideals of feminine modesty. Such lexical tendencies are consistent with Afifah, Windarti, and Budiwati’s (2025) observation that evaluative lexis in Indonesian digital spaces often functions to silence women and uphold patriarchal order.

Additionally, references to regional or ethnic identifiers notably mentions of Padang or Minangkabau culture reveal an ongoing process of discursive othering. This linguistic framing constructs Putri not only as a gendered subject but also as a cultural transgressor. It is found that hate speech online frequently draws upon ethnolinguistic stereotypes to justify moral judgment. In this case, Putri’s regional background becomes a symbolic site where social values and cultural authenticity are evaluated.

Multimodal cues such as emojis (e.g., laughter, disgust) and hashtags (e.g., *#malu*, *#perempuanminang*) act as semiotic reinforcements that visually intensify textual ridicule (Subyantoro & Apriyanto, 2020). Together, these linguistic and visual strategies illustrate that cyberbullying in this context represents a structured discourse practice, circulating shared ideologies of morality and gender discipline rather than spontaneous hostility.

### B. Linguistic Strategies as Mechanisms of Power and Ideology

The linguistic construction of hate speech toward Putri Padang demonstrates how discourse encodes relations of dominance and ideology within Indonesian digital communication. According to Fairclough’s (1995) three-dimensional model, every linguistic act is simultaneously textual, discursive, and social. In this study, commenters’ lexical choices function as ideological expressions, legitimizing societal control over femininity and cultural

propriety. Through evaluative and modal expressions, users assert symbolic authority over the norms defining “acceptable womanhood.”

Frequent appeals to *adat* (tradition) and *kesopanan* (politeness) further reveal how moral and patriarchal ideologies are reproduced as common sense in online interaction. Following van Dijk’s (1998) theory, ideology becomes embedded in everyday discourse, naturalizing social hierarchies through routine communication. This phenomenon also reflects Bourdieu’s concept of symbolic domination (as discussed in Al-Khateeb & Epiphaniou, 2020), wherein language acts as a subtle instrument of coercion, disciplining individuals who challenge established gender roles.

Moreover, the coordinated tone among commenters suggests a form of ideological alignment, where shared mockery and humor create group cohesion by marginalizing the target. Purba, et al. (2022) identified a similar dynamic in K-pop online fandoms, where moral regulation was enacted through collective linguistic behavior. Therefore, the cyber discourse directed at Putri Padang illustrates how hate speech extends beyond personal attack it is a social process of ideological reproduction that reinforces gendered and cultural hierarchies entrenched in Indonesian digital spaces.

### **C. Reproduction and Resistance of Cultural and Gender Stereotypes**

Although the dominant narrative in the dataset perpetuates gendered and ethnocultural stereotypes, a smaller segment of the discourse exhibits resistance to mainstream ideology. Supportive comments often advocate for self-expression and personal agency, countering conservative notions of female conduct. Expressions such as “stay strong” or “ignore the haters” act as discursive counter-strategies, reframing Putri as a subject of unfair judgment rather than moral failure. This finding resonates with Nugraha’s (2025) argument that digital platforms, despite their role in spreading harassment, can also become arenas for ideological negotiation and empowerment.

However, the prevalence of moralistic and derisive language indicates that patriarchal discourse remains dominant. This surely exposes gendered regionalism a discourse pattern where female behavior is policed through both gender and locality-based expectations. The comments on Putri Padang’s TikTok illustrate how gender and culture intersect in digital discourse, where normative ideologies are rearticulated through everyday language, humor, and multimodal signs.

Ultimately, the CDA reveals that online aggression toward Putri Padang symbolizes more than interpersonal hostility it encapsulates an ideological struggle over cultural authority and moral legitimacy in Indonesia’s digital culture. By unpacking the linguistic construction

of these comments, the analysis exposes how cyber discourse both sustains and contests entrenched ideologies of gender, culture, and morality. The findings therefore advance the understanding of cyberbullying as a discursive arena of power negotiation, where language becomes the medium through which social identities are constructed, challenged, and redefined.

## **D. Critical Discourse Analysis**

### **a. Language as a Tool of Power and Marginalization**

In CDA, language is not seen as something neutral, but as a way to create and maintain social rankings. The repeated use of terms like Roblox (a game in which the avatars there have square face), “Adudu” (a made-up alien villain with a strange face) and “*muka kotak*” (meaning square face) reduces Putri Padang’s identity to a joke. This kind of language:

- a) Takes away her individuality and replaces it with laughter.
- b) Reinforces what is considered beautiful by putting her outside of that standard.
- c) Acts as a way to exclude her, by defining who is normal and who is different.

This kind of talk gives people power, as they use mockery to feel superior in the online world, while hurting Putri Padang's self-respect.

### **b. Humor as a Mask for Violence**

Comments like “*takut banget keluar layar*” (scared she’d come out of the screen), “*buat nakutin ponakan*” (to scare the younger siblings), or “*mie goreng, mie kuah, menjauhlah*” (noodle, soup noodle, get away) are presented as jokes, but they carry hidden anger and emotional damage. These comments make bullying seem like a fun activity that is socially acceptable. In CDA terms, this fits with the idea of “banal violence” — everyday cruelty that is allowed because it is wrapped up as comedy or group fun.

### **c. Intertextuality and Collective Participation**

The repeated use of phrases like “Adudu” and “*tung tung sahur*” shows how people copy each other’s words to be part of a group. This behavior:

- a) helps bullies build a sense of identity among themselves.
- b) makes the target seem less like a real person and more like a joke or a symbol.
- c) shows how the algorithm can encourage mockery to become a popular and accepted form of online behavior, where repetition makes bullying seem normal.

## E. Cyberbullying Dimensions

### a. Bullying Based on Looks

Many comments focus on her appearance, like calling her “*muka kotak*”, “*Adudu*”, “*Barbie kotak*”, or “*IH CANTIK klo gk dilihat*”. These kinds of remarks are about body shaming and judging someone based on how they look. They reduce her to solely on her physical features, which are seen as not up to the usual beauty standards. This harms her self-esteem and shows that women are often only valued for how they look.

### b. Seeing Her as a Monster or Object

Some comments compare Putri Padang to monsters, food, or inanimate objects like “*mie goreng*”, “*nakutin ponakan*”, or “*roti basi*.” This treats her like she's not a real person with feelings. By making her seem like an object or a monster, people feel it's okay to be mean to her. This lets them feel like their harsh words don't have real consequences.

### c. Excluding Her and Discrediting Her

Comments like “*lo artis?*” or “*berasa CEO banget anjir*” try to tell her she's not worthy of being on the internet. These remarks question her right to be seen or respected online. This is part of what's called “boundary policing”, where people inconsiderately decide who is allowed to be part of the online community and who isn't.

### d. Mocking Her Morality and Economic Status

Some comments talk about her selling things, like “*buka dulu, kampung*”, “*takut keracunan*”, or “*roti basi di gubuk nenek*.” These remarks mix up class-based insults with jokes about her being an entrepreneur. They suggest she's not respected because she's poor or different. This kind of behavior not only hurts her but also supports a view that people who are not perfect, poor, or different are funny or worth making fun of.

## 5. CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This study has maps the linguistic patterns and ideological dimensions of cyberbullying comments directed at Putri Padang on TikTok through the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The findings evince that the hate comments are not random or isolated acts of online aggression but are structured linguistic practices embedded in gendered, moral, and cultural ideologies. Repetitive use of demeaning lexical items, intertextual humor, and multimodal expressions demonstrates how language functions as a tool of symbolic domination, disciplining women who deviate from normative expectations of femininity and

cultural propriety. The discourse surrounding Putri Padang reconstructs her identity through ridicule and objectification, thereby reproducing patriarchal and ethnolinguistic hierarchies that persist within Indonesian digital culture. At the same time, a small number of supportive comments indicate the presence of counter-discourses advocating empathy and self-expression, highlighting that social media remains a contested space where ideological reproduction and resistance coexist.

Theoretically, this research extends CDA into the multimodal landscape of TikTok, demonstrating that online communication cannot be divorced from broader sociocultural ideologies that shape how individuals, particularly women, are perceived and policed in digital spaces. Practically, the findings underline the urgent need for digital literacy education that emphasizes critical awareness of language use and its ideological effects. Policy frameworks and educational initiatives should address not only overt hate speech but also the subtle forms of symbolic violence masked as humor or moral commentary.

Despite the analysis conducted, this study has limitations that must be acknowledged. The data were confined to a small sample of TikTok comments within a specific cultural and temporal context, and the analysis focused primarily on linguistic elements rather than nonverbal or algorithmic dynamics influencing online discourse. Future research should therefore incorporate a larger and more diverse dataset across multiple platforms, combining linguistic, visual, and computational methods to map broader patterns of online aggression and ideological reproduction. Longitudinal studies could also explore how public attitudes and digital discourse evolve over time in response to growing awareness of gender-based cyberbullying. Deepening the interdisciplinary dialogue between discourse studies, digital communication, and gender theory, subsequent research surely furthers the illumination on how power and ideology continue to shape online interactions in Indonesia's rapidly evolving social media landscape.

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