

Public Voices and Cyber Controversy: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the #Bjorka Trending Topic on Twitter (X)

Tasya Salsabilla Dirgantari ^{a,1*}, Drina Intyaswati ^{b,2}, Utih Amartiwi ^{c,3}

^{a,b,c} Department of Communication Sciences, Universitas Pembangunan Nasional Veteran Jakarta, Jl. Rs. Fatmawati, Pondok Labu, Jakarta Selatan, DKI Jakarta, 12450

¹ tasyas@upnvj.ac.id; ² drina.intyaswati@upnvj.ac.id; ³ utihamartiwi@upnvj.ac.id

* Corresponding author



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ABSTRACT

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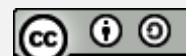
Twitter

Trending topics on Twitter (X) play a significant role in highlighting public-interest issues. This study aims to examine the meanings constructed in tweets related to the trending hashtag #Bjorka on Twitter (X). A descriptive qualitative approach was employed, with data collected through textual observation, data scraping, and documentation. The analysis was conducted using Teun A. van Dijk's critical discourse analysis model across three dimensions: text, social cognition, and social context. In the textual dimension, many tweets expressed frustration and sarcasm toward the government and police for their perceived incompetence in handling the Bjorka case. In the social cognition dimension, tweet authors interpreted that Bjorka was not an actual hacker. In the social context dimension, the public demanded accountability. This study contributes to digital discourse research by demonstrating how public narratives can shift from an initial issue to broader political criticism, underscoring the need for further research on news patterns and issue framing in shaping public discourse. The findings are expected to serve as a reference for both the public and the Indonesian government—particularly the Ministry of Communication and Digital Affairs (Komdigi), the National Cyber and Crypto Agency (BSSN), and the Indonesian National Police (Polri)—to take a more proactive role in addressing cybercrime and strengthening personal data security systems, thereby restoring public trust and preventing similar incidents in the future.



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INTRODUCTION

As technology has advanced, social media has become an inseparable part of human life. People use social media to share their daily activities or important life moments with a broad audience (Mahmudah & Rahayu, 2020). Social media has also changed the way people communicate, removing limits of distance, space, and time (Watie, 2016). Among various social media platforms, Twitter is the fastest for sharing information. People often leverage its effectiveness to generate viral topics, primarily through hashtags (Ikhsan, 2022). Hashtags facilitate message grouping, making it easier for users to identify and join discussions on similar topics (Cahyono, 2021).

In 2023, Twitter was rebranded as X. Users often use the platform to share their thoughts on a wide range of topics, including government policies (Harmoko & Purwaningrum, 2022). With real-time, open interactions, Twitter (X) provides a space for discussion, particularly when topics are sensitive and have a broad societal impact. It also serves as a digital democratic space in which political ideas and information can be expressed, debated, and shared through ongoing discourse (Suharto, 2024). Twitter includes a trending topics feature, which helps users discover the most discussed topics (Ramadhy & Sibaroni, 2022). These topics range from entertainment and politics to technology and economics. Where trending topics in the media often originate from Twitter (Zarrella, 2011).

The hashtag #Bjorka was among the topics that attracted significant public attention from September 11 to 17, 2022. On September 12, #Bjorka ranked second on Twitter's trending topics list, generating 118,000 tweets. The discussion gained momentum after the appearance of a pseudonymous account, @bjorkanism, which used a fictitious identity (Panjaitan et al., 2020). The account shared a link to a Telegraph article titled "Who Killed Munir?" discussing



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the suspected perpetrators behind the 2004 murder of Indonesian human rights activist Munir Said Thalib. A day before trending, on September 10, Bjorka tweeted “happy birthday sir,” along with a screenshot of Johnny G. Plate’s personal data, who at the time served as the Indonesia Minister of Communication and Informatics. This post immediately sparked public controversy, particularly regarding the weakness of Indonesia’s personal data security system.



Fig. 1. Tweet from @bjorkanism

Source: Twitter / via Laman Riau

Other high-ranking officials subsequently targeted by Bjorka included Mahfud MD, Puan Maharani, and Anies Baswedan. The leaked personal data included full names, national identity numbers (NIK), home addresses, and phone numbers. In addition to exposing data, Bjorka claimed to have sold hundreds of millions of Indonesian citizens’ personal data, obtained from SIM card registrations, the PeduliLindungi application, and the General Election Commission (KPU). This information was previously posted on the BreachForums account on September 6, 2022, under the title “INDONESIA CITIZENSHIP DATABASE FROM KPU 105M”.

Bjorka’s data breach sparked public concern and exposed vulnerabilities in Indonesia’s personal data protection system. The right to personal data security is recognized as a human right under the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR, 2000) and the ASEAN Human Rights Declaration (AHRD, 2012) (Rianarizkiwati, 2024). Consequently, the state holds responsibility for protecting citizens’ data, especially sensitive information. However, the government’s perceived inability to prevent and address such incidents has fueled public skepticism and a legitimacy crisis (Kurniawan & Syah, 2022). The erosion of trust poses a serious threat to law enforcement institutions, as legitimacy depends on public confidence in their ability to maintain order. Poorly managed communication further amplifies distrust and undermines institutional credibility (Suspaningrum & Sunarto, 2024).

In 2023, Bjorka alarmed the public with a post titled “BPJS Ketenagakerjaan Indonesia 19 millions,” claiming to have sold 19.5 million personal records of Indonesian citizens obtained from the Social Security Administration for Employment (BPJS Ketenagakerjaan) for USD 10,000 (IDR 153 million). A year later, in September 2024, he reportedly leaked 6 million Indonesian taxpayers’ numbers (NPWP) along with the personal data of public officials, including President Joko Widodo, Gibran Rakabuming, and Sri Mulyani (Saptohutomo, 2024). In 2025, Bjorka’s name trended again on Twitter (X) following reports of his alleged arrest by the police on October 3; however, it was later confirmed that the person arrested was an impersonator, while Bjorka resurfaced by leaking hundreds of thousands of personal data records belonging to Indonesian National Police (Polri) personnel on BreachForums (Girsang, 2025).

Furthermore, numerous studies on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) have examined how users express opinions and construct discourse on social media. One study found that Twitter (X) users often express personal emotions or thoughts through their tweets, while the platform itself plays a key role in raising public awareness about social issues, such as the #StopAsianHate movement in the United States (Haliza & Triyono, 2022). Another study revealed that Twitter users engage in opinion leadership and news framing, with hashtags like #2019GantiPresiden functioning as tools for organizing discourse and shaping public narratives. In contrast, users employ various linguistic strategies and ideologies when discussing political topics (Pitaloka, 2021). Similarly, Twitter (X) users employ repetition, diction, style, and figurative language to emphasize their opinions and to express public criticism and satire toward the Indonesian Directorate General of Taxes (Anggriyani et al., 2024).

The repeated appearance of Bjorka as a trending topic on Twitter (X) has sparked a variety of public discussions. Building on this, the present study aims to examine and explain the meanings embedded in tweets related to the trending hashtag #Bjorka on Twitter (X) by analyzing text, social cognition, and social context using Van Dijk’s Critical Discourse Analysis model. This study differs from previous research in several ways. First, no prior CDA study has specifically investigated how discourse surrounding personal data breaches is closely related to power relations between the government and the public, as exemplified by the Bjorka case. Second, most previous studies used Fairclough’s model, which primarily examined the link between text and discursive practice, with limited attention to the social cognition dimension emphasized in van Dijk’s model. Third, no study has used the trending hashtag #Bjorka as the object to illustrate how the public collectively constructs meaning regarding personal data breaches over time.

Therefore, this study not only analyzes the textual content of tweets but also considers the experiences, perceptions, and ideologies that shape how users compose tweets about Bjorka. Critical discourse analysis is the process of uncovering the discourses articulated by individuals (Prihartono & Suharyo, 2022). The meaning of these discourses can be found in texts, speech, sentences, and visual elements, which can be critically analyzed to reveal underlying social structures and power relations (Sanubarianto, 2021).

METHOD

This study employs a descriptive qualitative method, which is appropriate for exploring the meanings, ideologies, and public perceptions reflected in tweets related to the trending topic #Bjorka on Twitter (X). Qualitative research produces data in the form of written or spoken words (Moleong, 2013). Meanwhile, the descriptive method involves systematically, factually, and accurately observing, analyzing, and explaining phenomena related to the data and the relationships among the phenomena under study (Hidayat & Kasmawati, 2022).

Data for this study were collected through three methods: text observation, data scraping, and documentation. Text observation was conducted to identify tweets containing the hashtag #Bjorka posted between September 11 and 17, 2022. Data scraping was then performed in Google Colab using the snscreape and pandas libraries to extract tweets containing the hashtag "#Bjorka" during the trending period. Google Colab is a cloud-based platform commonly used for data processing, artificial intelligence modeling, and data analysis (Andarsyah & Yanuar, 2024). From 250 raw tweet samples, manual screening was carried out to remove irrelevant posts, resulting in 100 qualified tweets.

Following the purposive sampling technique, where samples are selected based on specific criteria (Sugiyono, 2017), tweets were included if they met the following conditions: (1) original content related to Bjorka, (2) not a quote or reply, (3) contained the hashtag #Bjorka, and (4) received more than 100 likes. This threshold was determined to represent adequate public engagement in the discourse. From these, 20 tweets were selected for in-depth analysis. Meanwhile, documentation was conducted by taking screenshots of selected tweets on a smartphone to support the analysis and findings. The data were categorized into primary and secondary sources: primary data consisted of the 20 analyzed tweets, while secondary data included relevant books, journal articles, and online sources that provided theoretical and contextual support for the study.

The data were then analyzed using Teun A. van Dijk's CDA model, which examines discourse through three dimensions: text, social cognition, and social context. Van Dijk integrates these three dimensions into a single analytical framework that links language, cognition, and society (Van Dijk, 2015). The text dimension analyzes how linguistic and structural features highlight specific topics or ideologies, and the social cognition dimension explores the mental models that influence discourse production and interpretation. The social context dimension examines how broader ideologies and power relations shape discourse (Saleh et al., 2022). CDA not only analyzes text but also explores the systematic relationships among elements embedded in social processes (Ratnaningsih, 2019). Furthermore, to ensure data validity, this study employs triangulation, which combines multiple data collection techniques and sources to enhance credibility (Sugiyono, 2017).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

A. Text Structure

The textual dimension consists of three discourse structures: macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure (Van Dijk, 2015). The macrostructure explains that the meaning of a text can be identified by examining its main topic. Meanwhile, the superstructure refers to the organizational framework of a text, showing how its elements are systematically arranged from the introduction to the content to the conclusion. Lastly, the microstructure encompasses lexical and grammatical choices at the levels of words, clauses, sentences, and rhetorical style.

In this study, the macrostructure is observed through the dominant theme or topic found in the #Bjorka tweets on Twitter (X), which reflects the expression of public annoyance and sarcasm toward the police following the mistaken arrest of two young men from Madiun and Cirebon who were initially suspected to be Bjorka. However, after further investigation and interrogation, it was revealed that neither of them was the real Bjorka. Responding to the incident, the real person behind the Bjorka account wrote on BreachForums: "FOR DARK TRACER, IT'S YOUR SIN TO HAVE GIVEN WRONG INFORMATION TO A BUNCH OF IDIOTS."



Fig. 2. Meme at @vallen_eka, @sentuhdisini, and @kavitamedia's account

Source: Twitter (X)

Subsequently, as shown in Figure 2, several memes began circulating on Twitter (X) mocking the police's handling of the case. People often use memes, especially in political contexts, to convey political messages and voice public opinion (Suhantoro & Sufyanto, 2024). Moreover, memes help shape public perceptions and evaluations of social and political issues (Putra et al., 2022). Moving to the superstructure, not all tweets follow a clear organizational pattern. However, tweets from the news portal @VIVAcoid show more structured composition, such as:

“Hacker Bjorka secara mengejutkan muncul di media sosial Twitter. Ia berkisah kalau dirinya memiliki seorang teman sejati asal Indonesia yang tinggal di Warsawa, Polandia. Selengkapnya: <https://t.co/Uzg8TYEp8V> #VIVAcoid #Bjorka #Hacker” – “Hacker Bjorka surprisingly appeared on Twitter. He said that he had a close friend from Indonesia who lives in Warsaw, Poland. More: <https://t.co/Uzg8TYEp8V> #VIVAcoid #Bjorka #Hacker” (@VIVAcoid, September 11, 2022).

“Klaim perkembangan telah mengantongi identitas sosok asli Bjorka justru mendapat ledakan dari sang hacker. Bjorka tampak meledek pemerintah yang saat ini justru sibuk mengejar “Bjorka KW”. buff.ly/3QMjndd. #VIVAcoid #Bjorka #Berita” – “The government's claim that they had identified the real Bjorka was met with a sharp reaction from the hacker, who seemed to mock them for chasing a “Fake Bjorka.” buff.ly/3QMjndd #VIVAcoid #Bjorka #Berita” (@VIVAcoid, September 15, 2022).

In the first tweet by @VIVAcoid, the introduction appears in “Bjorka surprisingly appeared on Twitter,” the content in “he had a close friend from Indonesia,” and the conclusion in the link for complete information. The same structural pattern appears in the second tweet by @VIVAcoid. Thus, it demonstrates a clear superstructure even in short digital text.

Microstructure refers to the meaning of discourse that can be observed in the smallest components of a text, including words, sentences, propositions, clauses, paraphrases, and images used (Putri et al., 2023). Microstructure can be analyzed through semantic elements (the meaning emphasized in a sentence), syntactic elements (the arrangement or structure of a sentence), stylistic elements (word choices in a sentence), and rhetorical elements (the ways specific meanings are emphasized) (Eriyanto, 2002).

Semantic elements can be observed through aspects such as background, details, intentions, and presuppositions (Prihartono & Suharyo, 2022). Most semantic elements found in the trending topic #Bjorka tweets consist of expressions of anger and sarcasm directed at the government, particularly the Ministry of Communication and Information (Kominfo), due to the ease with which millions of citizens' personal data were leaked and sold. Moreover, the government's approach to addressing this issue appears indifferent and uncritical. Johnny G. Plate even urged the public to secure their own personal data while asking them to trust the government's efforts to resolve the case. A semantic element can be seen in the following tweet:

“Kalo apa yg diomongin Bjorka itu salah, ga mungkin juga ada yg panik sehingga akun Bjorka ditangguhkan. Ngapain panik kalo ga merasa salah? Ntah Bjorka itu siapa, yg jelas banyak rakyat yg asyik melihat aksinya ini. Pada gemes ya ama pemerintah?? Sama berarti gue juga #Bjorka” – “If Bjorka had said something wrong, it would have been impossible for anyone to panic, so Bjorka's account would have been suspended. Why panic if you do not feel bad? I do not know who Bjorka is, but many people enjoy watching his actions. Are you annoyed with the government? Same here, #Bjorka” (@karebet_jugjawy, September 15, 2022).

In the tweet by @karebet_jugjawy, the author assumes that if the government had done nothing wrong, there would be no need to panic about Bjorka's actions. In other words, the government's panicked response, by suspending Bjorka's Twitter account, is perceived by the public as evidence of wrongdoing or a failure to implement cybersecurity

measures. The following tweet by @korantempo serves as another example:

“Alih-alih sigap melacak sumber kebocoran data pribadi masyarakat, pejabat pemerintah mengeluarkan pernyataan-pernyataan konyol. Apakah pemerintah kehabisan akal melawan Bjorka? #KoranTempo #Bjorka – “Instead of promptly tracking down the source of the public’s personal data leak, government officials issued absurd statements. Has the government run out of ideas to deal with Bjorka? #KoranTempo #Bjorka” (@korantempo, September 13, 2022)

In the syntactic element, the transitivity and grammatical positions of actions in the text are analyzed to understand how social meaning and assumptions about a discourse are constructed (Meutia et al., 2025). Examples of syntactic elements found in the #Bjorka tweets include:

“Pola nya mulai kebaca #Bjorka ini bkn hacker murni & komunitas peretas. Dia mulai main ke arah domain nya (politik). Kelihatannya ini orng sendiri tp operasinya numpang di luar negeri. Karena dia spt hafal sejarah & peristiwa insidental di Indonesia. Bs jadi orang sewa an” – “The pattern is starting to be read. #Bjorka is not a purely hacker-oriented community. He started to play towards his domain (politics). This person is alone, but his operations are overseas because he seems to be familiar with history and incidental events in Indonesia. It could be a hired person” (@MS_Rahmat_7, September 12, 2022).

“Fenomena Bjorka mengingatkan saya pada apa yg disampaikan oleh dosen saya seorang Prof., mengatakan bahwa instansi/lembaga negara kita banyak diisi oleh org yg tidak berkompeten dibidangnya. Ia mencontohkan seorang dokter gigi pun bisa menjadi kepala Bappeda di sebuah daerah #Bjorka” – “The Bjorka phenomenon reminds me of something my professor once said: that many of our state institutions/agencies are filled with people who are not competent in their fields. He even gave an example that a dentist could become the head of a regional Bappeda. #Bjorka” (@kadai_abak, September 12, 2022)

In the first tweet by @MS_Rahmat_7, a causal clause appears in the sentence “he seems to be familiar with Indonesian history,” and the phrase “It could be a hired individual.” This indicates a perceived connection between Bjorka’s knowledge of Indonesian history and the suspicion that he is Indonesian and deliberately hired for a specific purpose. Similar to the clause analysis, the use of pronouns such as “he” and the phrase “he is an Indonesian,” in the tweet appears to construct a narrative that portrays Bjorka not as a foreigner but as an Indonesian living abroad. According to cybersecurity expert and bug hunter Putra Aji Adhari, Bjorka is not an individual hacker but rather a group collaborating to attack and leak personal data from both governmental and nongovernmental platforms (Sutikno & Stiawan, 2022).

Meanwhile, in the second tweet by @kadai_abak, a complex clause structure appears in the sentence “The Bjorka phenomenon reminds me,” followed by “of something my professor once said,” and in the sentence “our state institutions/agencies are filled with people who are not competent in their fields.” In this tweet, the author links the Bjorka issue to his personal experience, further reinforced by his professor’s expert opinion. The pronoun “he” in the tweet refers to a professor, suggesting the argument comes from an authoritative academic rather than an ordinary person. This statement indicates that the Bjorka issue is not only about data breaches but also a critique of Indonesia’s weak bureaucratic system, particularly the placement of incompetent individuals in public office.

In the stylistic element of critical discourse analysis, lexical choices (word selection) also play an essential role (Sakka et al., 2023). This research found specific word choices used by Twitter (X) users to express their anger toward the government. This can be seen in the following tweet by @coachaddie_off:

“Cie yang Semangat, Terstruktur, Sistematis dan Masif Menyengsarakan Rakyat, Harga BBM NAIK, Sembako NAIK, Listrik NAIK... Asyik... yang miskin bertambah biar suaranya bisa dibeli dengan BLT jelang 2024. Uhuy #Bjorka #BBMNaikRakyatRevolusi” – “Wow, the spirited, structured, systematic, and massive misery of the Indonesian people. Fuel prices INCREASE, daily staples INCREASE, electricity INCREASE... Funny... people with low incomes are increasing, so their votes can be bought with BLT ahead of 2024. Uhuy. #Bjorka #BBMNaikRakyatRevolusi” (@coachaddie_off, September 13, 2022).

The user with the handle @coachaddie_off employs stylistic elements through the hashtag “#BBMNaikRakyatRevolusi” and the word “INCREASE,” as well as slang expressions such as “Wow,” and “Woohoo,” and ellipsis marks (...). The repeated use of the word “INCREASE” in all capital letters three times conveys intense anger toward the government over rising living costs. Meanwhile, the use of ellipses paired with expressions such as “Wow” and “Woohoo” creates a dramatic and sarcastic tone, highlighting the user’s mockery of rising fuel prices. The following tweet by @Been4Q59 further illustrates the use of these stylistic elements:

“Simak baik baik.. SBY sudah mengendus aroma kecurangan PEMILU 2024 yang akan datang. Dan seperti nya INVISIBLE HAND ini pula yang bermain pada pemilu 2014 dan 2019 yang lalu. Siapakah mereka...??? Sebuah pertanyaan yang tidak memerlukan jawaban bagi mereka yg paham. #Bjorka” – “Pay close attention... SBY has already sensed the scent of fraud in the upcoming 2024 ELECTION. And it appears that this same INVISIBLE HAND was also at play in the 2014 and 2019 elections. Who are they...??? A question that needs no answer for those who understand. #Bjorka” - @Been4Q59, September 14, 2022)

This tweet uses capital letters for “2024 ELECTION,” and “INVISIBLE HAND,” to emphasize critical issues surrounding the 2024 election and the alleged presence of an invisible hand. This emphasis suggests the author’s intention to draw the reader’s attention to suspected hidden actors behind the electoral process. The phrase “sensed the scent of fraud” conveys suspicion of election fraud, even though it has not yet been proven. The ellipsis (“...”) creates a mysterious, dramatic tone, while the consecutive question marks (“???”) reinforce the accusatory, suspicious tone, encouraging readers to question the integrity of the election.

Furthermore, rhetorical elements in the #Bjorka tweets include numerous satirical statements that employ irony and sarcasm and appear in public critiques of the government. Irony is a figurative expression in which the intended meaning contrasts with the actual reality (Pitaloka, 2021). Commonly understood as a form of subtle ridicule, this linguistic style is often used to mock or criticize something indirectly, as seen in the following tweets:

“So so an cari #Bjorka, Harun Masiku aja belum ketemu sampe sekarang padahal wujud dan muka nya sudah jelas. Kadang pemerintah kita suka keterlaluan ngelawaknya” – “Act like looking for #Bjorka. Harun Masiku has not yet been found, despite his form and face being clearly identifiable. Sometimes, our government likes to go too far with its jokes” (@SusuKurma91, September 15, 2022).

“Licin uga lu #Bjorka” – “You are also slippery, #Bjorka” (@Hipo20x, September 15, 2022).

“Kalo apa yg diomongin Bjorka itu salah, ga mungkin juga ada yg panik sehingga akun Bjorka ditangguhkan. Ngapain panik kalo ga merasa salah? Ntah Bjorka itu siapa, yg jelas banyak rakyat yg asyik melihat aksinya ini. Pada gemes ya ama pemerintah? Sama berarti gue juga #Bjorka.” – “If Bjorka had said something was wrong, it would have been impossible for anyone to panic, so Bjorka’s account would have been suspended. Why panic if you do not feel wrong? I do not know who Bjorka is, but many people enjoy watching his actions. Are you annoyed with the government? Same here, #Bjorka.” (@karebet_jugjawy, September 14, 2022).

“Inilah bukti, bahwa pemerintahan kita antikritik dan lebih baik bermain di balik keadilan. Pantaskah begitu? pembesar-pembesar istana dan mereka yang menggongong di sana? Ingat wajahnya, dan jangan pilih partainya! #bjorkanism #Bjorka” – “This is proof that our government is anti-criticism and prefers to play behind justice. Is that appropriate? The palace elites and those who ‘bark’ in there? Remember their faces, and do not vote for their parties! #bjorkanism #Bjorka” (@EgoisTamamono, September 11, 2022)

These four tweets by @SusuKurma9, @Hipo20x, @karebet_jugjawy, and @EgoisTamamono illustrate how Twitter (X) users employ irony to mock Bjorka for being difficult to capture and to criticize the government for its failure to resolve the case. The use of irony is evident in words such as “its jokes,” “slippery,” “annoyed,” and “bark.” The word “its jokes,” which literally means “acting funny” is used negatively to refer to the government and police’s incompetence in handling the long-running Harun Masiku case and, now, the Bjorka case. The word “slippery,” portrays Bjorka as extremely difficult to catch or identify, like a slippery eel. Meanwhile, “annoyed,” originally meaning “cute” is used sarcastically to express the author’s frustration with the government for suspending Bjorka’s Twitter account. According to the user, if Bjorka’s claims were false, the account should not have been suspended. Lastly, the word “bark,” which usually refers to a noisy barking dog, is used ironically to criticize the government for not being “loud” or assertive enough in addressing an issue that severely harms the public.

Sarcasm is a harsher rhetorical device than irony and cynicism, often containing bitterness or sharp ridicule (Heru, 2018). Sarcasm is usually intended to hurt or mock others (Merlina & Dewi, 2022). In this study, sarcasm is evident in a tweet by @bee201213 that uses the term “TRASH” to convey anger:

“Kalau dikasih duit pajak itu mbok ya curiannya berkualitas gitu loh jangan kayak SAMPAH @Dennysiregar7 #Bjorka #Bjorkanism #Buzzer” – “If you are given tax money, the theft should be of good quality, not like TRASH @Dennysiregar7 #Bjorka #Bjorkanism #Buzzer” (@bee201213, September 13, 2022).

The word is intentionally written in full capital letters to indicate emphasis and intense anger. In this context, the author insults Denny Siregar, whom he accuses of being behind the Bjorka account. The word “TRASH,” is used metaphorically to describe something worthless, referring to the stolen personal data exposed by Bjorka.

B. Social Cognition

The social cognition dimension examines how the author’s mental processes shape their interpretation of particular individuals or events (Ramadhan & Herman, 2021). Social cognition serves as a conduit linking social phenomena or events to discourse, indicating that the cognitive awareness of both writers and audiences inescapably shapes the content produced (Yusar et al., 2020). In this study, the researcher analyzes several tweets posted by @ImamNugrohoHD, an account owned by Imam Nugroho. He is a journalist who was active on Twitter (X) at the time and frequently discussed the Bjorka case. He formerly worked as a producer for an automotive program at a major media outlet and had professional experience at Trijaya FM.

The social cognition dimension comprises four schemas: person schema, self-schema, role schema, and event schema (Van Dijk, 2015). The person schema refers to how an individual perceives others; the self-schema reflects how

others perceive the self; the role schema concerns how individuals view the roles or functions of others; and the event schema centers on how events are interpreted through specific cognitive structures (Eriyanto, 2002). In this study, the person schema refers not to an individual but to an institution—BSSN. Imam reflects this individual schema in a tweet, commenting on the weak legal foundation of BSSN. He contends that the agency's ineffectiveness stems from the absence of a specific law that defines its structure and authority. The tweet can be seen in:

"#Bjorka Bisa dibilang BSSN ini lembaga bodong, krn belum memiliki UU. Byk investor asing keberatan dgn UU ini. Pantes sj mandul. Link lengkapnya penjelasan matan Wakil Kepala BSSN Komjen Pol Dharma Porengkun, di channel Akbar Faizal, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dFrYc1gwddg>" – "#Bjorka BSSN is a fake institution because it does not have a law (UU) yet. Many foreign investors object to this law. No wonder it is sterile. The full link to the explanation of the former Deputy Head of BSSN, Commissioner General of Police Dharma Porengkun, on the Akbar Faizal channel." <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dFrYc1gwddg>" (@ImamNugrohoHD, September 15, 2022)

This tweet suggests that, in the author's cognitive construction, BSSN's weaknesses stem not only from the lack of clear regulations but also from broader political-economic dynamics. Therefore, the person schema in this context is directed not toward a specific individual but toward a state institution perceived as failing to meet public expectations for data protection and cybersecurity governance. No self-schema is identified in Imam's tweets, as none of his posts describe how others view him. However, his criticisms of police performance clearly reflect the role schema. The issue arises from the incident in which two young men were mistakenly arrested on suspicion of being Bjorka. Responding to the event, he posted a sarcastic tweet:

"#Bjorka ditangkap karena info Cepu NKRI Harga Mati. Etdah, timsus bentukan presiden mau nangkep Bjorka malah nangkep Bocah. Pdhl polisi py alat cyber canggih di kantor Cawang. Ini gmn wibawanya kalo beneran salah tangkap?" – "#Bjorka was arrested because of the Snitcher Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) Info. Oh my, the special team formed by the president wanted to arrest Bjorka but instead arrested a child. Even though the police used sophisticated cyber tools in their Cawang office, what would their authority be if they made a wrong arrest?" (@ImamNugrohoHD, September 15, 2022)

This tweet underscores the perception that the police are unable to perform their role professionally, particularly in handling the Bjorka case. Through sarcasm, Imam frames the police as an institution that misidentifies suspects and fails to utilize available technological tools to support proper investigation. This indicates that, within the role schema, the police are positioned as actors unable to meet societal expectations concerning accuracy and credibility in managing cybercrime cases. He further reinforces this criticism in another tweet:

"Yg diamankan ternyata cm pengecer. Tipikal kerja polisi banget. Moga dikasih ongkos pulang ini Botjah. Moga jd netizen yang RT bantu share konten Bjorka ga ikut diamankan. #Bjorka" – "It turns out that the arrested person was just a retailer, very typical of police work. Hopefully, that child will be given money to go home. Hopefully, the netizens who retweeted Bjorka's content will not be arrested. #Bjorka" (@ImamNugrohoHD September 15, 2022)

The phrase "Typical police work" implies that people perceive wrongful arrests as recurring rather than isolated incidents. The statement reflects the public sentiment that police performance is often inaccurate and rash. Additionally, there is hope that the arrested child will at least receive transportation reimbursement, along with concern for users who merely retweeted Bjorka-related content. Bjorka-related content might also be detained to reinforce the view that police actions are excessive and disproportionate. Thus, the role schema portrays the police as an institution that not only fails to ensure public security but also exacerbates anxiety. Next, the event schema is illustrated in the following tweet:

"#Bjorka itu ecek2. Simak fenomena hacker ngehack oleh Komjen Pol Dharma Parengkun ini. Mirip film "Die Hard, Live Free or Die Hard" Nama serangannya, Fire Sale. Akhirnya ada jd yg wwc. Link lengkapnya di channel Akbar Faizal, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dFrYc1gwddg>" – "#Bjorka sucks. Watch the hacker phenomenon by Komjen Pol Dharma Parengkuan. Similar to the movie "Live Free or Die Hard." The attack is named Fire Sale. Finally, there is an interview. The full link is on Akbar Faizal's channel: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dFrYc1gwddg>" (@ImamNugrohoHD September 15, 2022)

In this tweet, he argues that Bjorka is not a real hacker but merely "sucks," a low-level actor. He forms this judgment after watching an interview with Dharma Porengkun, a retired police commissioner general. In the interview, Dharma explains that Bjorka's attack pattern resembles the scenario depicted in the "Live Free or Die Hard," movie, in which a group of hackers carries out a fire sale cyberattack to cripple major U.S. infrastructure systems, including transportation, communication, finance, and energy. Through this comparison, Imam argues that Bjorka's activities do not match the scale or sophistication of the major cyberattacks portrayed in the film, thereby reinforcing his view that Bjorka's hacking capabilities are limited.

C. Social Context

The social context dimension shows that discourse is written, viewed, and understood through an individual's specific context. Actor description is necessary to provide detailed information about the place, person, manner, or thing that plays a vital role in the social and political context, both positively and negatively (Syed et al., 2025), this dimension can be analyzed by considering background, situational factors, social status, key events, history, and social conditions that shape language use. In this study, the social context identified from tweets about the trending topic #Bjorka on Twitter (X) shows that the public demands justice from the Indonesian government regarding their personal data, which has been leaked and could be sold.

A notable account on a news portal, @korantempo, known for its critical, independent, and credible reporting, also criticized the government in its post. The author even urged the government to stop dreaming of matching Silicon Valley if it is unable to address fundamental issues. User with @mental_break01 handle also emphasizes that Indonesia needs justice.



Fig. 3. Tweets from @mental_break01 and @korantempo

Source: Twitter

These tweets in Figure 3 reflect a social-context dimension, demonstrating that the public not only expresses disappointment with the weak personal data protection system but also demands concrete government action to resolve the issue promptly. #Bjorka exemplifies how the public used the hashtag to express opinions regarding the @bjorkanism account and the data leak controversy. According to Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis, discourse reflects not only the text itself but also social cognition and context, meaning that public responses on Twitter (X) reveal how individuals interpret, process, and reproduce social meanings related to the issue. Trending topics on Twitter significantly influence issue framing and public discussion, while Twitter's trending feature indicates public attention and engagement with social or political issues (Haliza & Triyono, 2022; Rufaidha & Irhandayaningsih, 2022).

This study also shows that tweets with the hashtag #Bjorka generated diverse discourses, accompanied by high levels of public participation, encouraging users to engage in critical discussion, express opinions, and reproduce social meanings related to cybersecurity and government transparency. A similar case was observed in previous studies, which found that Twitter users used the hashtag #SaveHajiLulung not to support Haji Lulung but to criticize him (Juditha, 2018). Similarly, the hashtag #Bjorka is used to critique the performance of the government and relevant authorities, rather than condemn Bjorka's actions.

In contrast, some studies that did not apply Van Dijk's framework focused on analyzing power relations, personal cognition, social actions, and social structure contexts (Rosida, 2021). Similarly, other research examined the social cognition dimension through different elements, such as knowledge, opinions, attitudes, and ideology (Jamaludin, 2022). Nevertheless, the analytical outcomes of these studies remain broadly consistent with findings from those employing Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis model. Integrating text, cognition, and social context as interconnected components, and supporting the point that discourse reflects underlying social realities shaped by the writer's context, interests, and reporting environment (Ronda et al., 2024).

CONCLUSION

The findings show that tweets containing the trending hashtag #Bjorka on Twitter (X) not only reflect public reactions to Bjorka's actions but also have evolved into political criticism of the government, particularly Kominfo (rebranded as Komdigi in 2024), BSSN, and Polri. Most users express anger and disappointment at the authorities' perceived incompetence in handling the Bjorka case, a perception reinforced by repeated data breaches over the past three years that remain unresolved. The shift in discourse from concerns over data privacy to broader political critique underscores how social media functions as a space for public dissent and digital activism.

Theoretically, this study contributes to the development of digital discourse analysis by demonstrating how the interaction between text, social cognition, and social context dimensions reveals meaning-making processes in online communication. It extends Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis model to the context of digital discourse, illustrating how language functions as a tool for expressing ideology and negotiating power relations on social media. In practice, the study provides valuable insights for government agencies and digital literacy educators, particularly in cybersecurity communication. Understanding how citizens articulate criticism online can help policymakers and institutions craft more transparent, responsive, and credible communication strategies to maintain public trust.

Future research could employ alternative analytical approaches, such as semiotic analysis, to explore the denotative and connotative meanings of memes used in online discourse. Additionally, applying agenda-setting and framing theories would deepen the understanding of how media coverage interacts with public narratives on social media. Comparative studies across different digital platforms could also offer a broader perspective on how online discourse evolves and shapes public perception of governance and data security issues.

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