

SPEECH ACTS AND POWER OF “17 + 8 TUNTUTAN RAKYAT”

Adinda Prasty Ascalonicawati

Universitas Pembangunan Nasional “Veteran” Jawa Timur

adinda_prasty.bispro@upnjatim.ac.id

ABSTRACT

This study examines the discourse of “17 + 8 People’s Demands” from a pragmatic perspective, using a case study of news coverage related to the riots during the people’s protest in early September 2025. The urgency of this study lies in the use of language at the level of meaning conveyed in interviews and news narratives. This study aims to identify speech acts used in interviews and media coverage regarding the “17 + 8 People’s Demands” discourse circulating on social media. The method employed is purposive sampling based on established criteria, utilizing Austin and Searle’s Speech Acts theory and Fairclough’s Discourse Analysis. This study aims to (1) identify the types of speech acts used in the “17 + 8 People’s Demands” text, and (2) explain the function of language in constructing the people’s position as political subjects who possess the authority to demand change from stakeholders or those in power. The researcher views the urgency of this issue from a linguistic perspective, particularly regarding speech acts. News narratives and interviews are considered the most appropriate primary data sources for analyzing this phenomenon. The language used by the interviewees is regarded as a representative data source for examination within the pragmatic domain by evaluating speech act strategies, one of which is the directive speech act. Directive speech acts aim to exert influence from the interviewees, they are the representative of the protesters and guest speakers. This influence is expected to encourage the addressee, in this case is the government, especially the President, to take action in accordance with the speaker’s wishes. Forms of directive speech acts include commands, requests, appeals, advice, and coercion. These demands aim to ensure that the targeted party follows up on and resolves the various issues raised by the speakers. The international news is chosen because the researcher seeks to examine how the tragedy of the demonstration related to the “17 + 8 People’s Demands” is narrated across countries. The assertive function is the most dominant speech act function used. This phenomenon indicates that power is exercised not only through formal institutions but also through linguistic practices. Although political phenomena related to demonstrations have been extensively studied, from a linguistic perspective, particularly in terms of linguistic analysis, political discourse on this issue has not been extensively researched.

Keywords: Speech acts, Critical discourse analysis, 17 + 8 People’s Demands, Speech acts, Speech act functions

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini mengkaji wacana “17 + 8 Tuntutan Rakyat” secara pragmatis pada studi kasus pemberitaan terkait kerusuhan demo tuntutan rakyat pada awal September 2025. Urgensi penelitian ini terletak pada penggunaan bahasa dalam tataran makna yang disampaikan dalam wawancara serta narasi berita. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengidentifikasi tindak tutur yang digunakan dalam wawancara dan liputan media mengenai wacana “17 + 8 Tuntutan Rakyat” yang beredar di media sosial. Metode yang digunakan adalah sampling purposif berdasarkan kriteria yang telah ditetapkan, dengan memanfaatkan Teori Tindakan Wacana Austin dan Searle serta Analisis Wacana Fairclough. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk (1) mengidentifikasi jenis-jenis tindakan wacana yang digunakan dalam teks “17 + 8 Tuntutan Rakyat”, dan (2) menjelaskan fungsi bahasa mengonstruksi posisi rakyat sebagai subjek politik yang memiliki otoritas untuk menuntut perubahan dari pemangku kepentingan atau pemegang kekuasaan. Peneliti memandang urgensi isu ini dari perspektif linguistik, khususnya terkait tindakan wacana. Narasi berita dan wawancara dianggap sebagai sumber data primer yang paling tepat untuk menganalisis fenomena ini. Bahasa yang digunakan oleh narasumber dianggap sebagai sumber data representatif untuk dianalisis dari segi pragmatik dengan mengevaluasi strategi tindakan wacana, salah satunya adalah tindak direktif. Tindak tutur direktif bertujuan untuk memberikan pengaruh dari penutur, yang dalam hal ini merupakan perwakilan dari para demonstran dan pembicara tamu. Pengaruh tersebut diharapkan dapat mendorong mitra tutur untuk melakukan tindakan sesuai dengan kehendak penutur, dalam hal ini ialah pihak pemerintah, terutama Presiden. Adapun bentuk-bentuk tindak tutur direktif meliputi perintah, permintaan, permohonan, nasihat, dan paksaan. Tuntutan-tuntutan ini bertujuan untuk memastikan bahwa pihak yang dituju menindaklanjuti dan menyelesaikan berbagai masalah yang disuarakan oleh para penutur. Berita internasional dipilih karena peneliti berupaya mengkaji bagaimana tragedi demonstrasi terkait “17 + 8 Tuntutan Rakyat” diceritakan di berbagai negara. Fungsi asertif adalah fungsi tindak tutur yang paling dominan digunakan. Fenomena ini menunjukkan bahwa kekuasaan tidak hanya dijalankan melalui institusi formal, tetapi juga melalui praktik kebahasaan. Meski fenomena politik terkait isu demonstrasi sudah sangat banyak dikaji, namun dari segi kebahasaan khususnya kajian linguistik, wacana politik terkait isu ini belum banyak diteliti.

Kata kunci: Tindak tutur, Analisis wacana kritis, 17 + 8 Tuntutan Rakyat, Tindak Tutur, Fungsi Tindak Tutur

INTRODUCTION

Language not only facilitates communication but also establishes and upholds power dynamics in society. Language is frequently utilised in a sociopolitical setting to express the desires and interests of the people in general. Sianturi et al. (2024) stated that in a political setting, language can be used in speeches, campaigns, news stories, and even conversations. Every person or speaker can produce utterances in any different setting and for different function. According to Wijana (2021) as stated in Yusanti (2022), speakers' acts are determined by both the context of utterance and the pragmatic context in linguistics. A speech act is any activity that a speaker takes while communicating (Tiani, 2017). Speech acts are one topic that is studied in pragmatics. A speech act is a statement made by a speaker with the intention of achieving a desired result. A speaker and an addressee can communicate through speech acts (Fauzi et al., 2022). Speech Act Theory offers a practical paradigm for examining language as action from a pragmatic perspective (Laoli et al., 2026; Ilinawati et al., 2025). This theory, which was proposed by Austin in 1962 then developed by Searle in 1969, is to emphasise the speaker's intention and the impact of language on audiences by conceptualising utterances as consisting of locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary acts. Locutionary act is the actual act of uttering. Illocutionary act is the social function of what is being said by the speaker. Perlocutionary act is the resulting act of what is said. In this study, the researcher focused more on the illocutionary act to analyze the utterances being said by the speakers, which in this case were uttered by in the news report.

Saifudin (2019) stated in his study, due to the fact that Austin's classification was based only on lexical criteria and that the distinctions between the five categories were ambiguous and overlapped, Searle, his student, later improved upon it. However, in order to facilitate the identification of illocutionary acts, the boundaries must be clearly defined. Then, using five categories as well, Searle (1979) created a new classification.

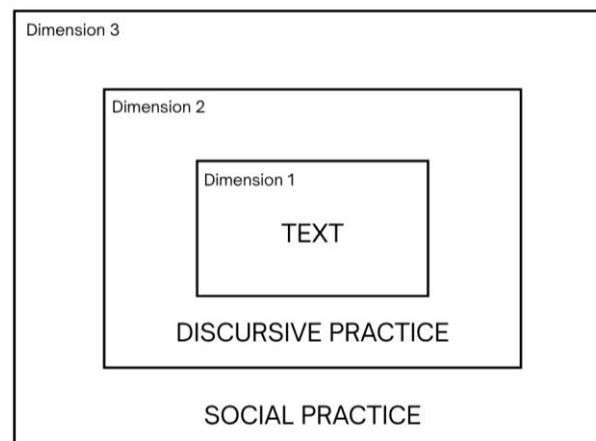
1. The first category is **assertives**, it is used for boasting, complaining, and claiming. They are statements that connect the speaker to the truth of the proposition being stated.
2. Second, **directives** are statements like "ordering", "commanding", "requesting", "advising", and "recommending" that are meant to cause the hearer to act in accordance with the statement.
3. Third, it is used to call for the speaker to make a future course of action. Promising, swearing, denying, threatening, and guaranteeing are a few examples of **commissives**.
4. In addition to that, **expressives** are the expression of the psychological state regarding the situations being described. Congratulating, condoling, apologising, welcoming, and thanking are a few examples.
5. The last type is **declaratives**, which are illocutions that change or adjust a proposition to reality. Dismissing, baptizing, naming, and punishing are a few examples.

Other than analyzing the data from the pragmatic perspective, the researcher also looked at the bigger picture, which is how the "17 + 8 Tuntutan Rakyat" performs as the power to deliver the protest for the people as a discourse. The study of discourse that focuses on language use in context is called discourse analysis (Mandarani, 2028). Language use can have a big impact on how power is used in each of the political situations. Chilton (2004) defined conventional political studies often overlook the concept that micro-level activities are linguistic actions, often known as discourse. In the meantime, macro-level institutions have distinct characteristics, such as legislative debates and television interviews. Constitutions and laws are written texts with defined content. Jalali et al. (2014) added that critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a subfield of Discourse Analysis that analyses political spoken and written texts. As explained above, this study focuses on an analysis based on data from international television interviews. Permita (2019) argues that a discourse cannot exist in a vacuum. A discourse can arise from a wide range of reasons. One method for understanding how language use may both affect and be influenced by power is critical discourse analysis (Sianturi, et al., 2024). As elaborated in Eriyanto (2006), he mentioned numbers of characteristics of Critical Discourse Analysis, the first one is **action**. Discourse is more than just a collection of words or sentences, it may be viewed as a mode of action and interaction. According to this viewpoint, discourse has a purpose since it is created with particular goals in mind, such persuading, disputing, influencing, rejecting, or defending certain points of view. Then, **context**. When analyzing, discourse analysis also looks at the communication context, including who is communicating with whom and why, to what audience and under what circumstances, through what medium, how different communication styles differ, and the connections between the parties. Understanding the reasons behind the discourse's history

or evolution, the reasons behind the language's usage, and other factors is crucial for analysis. That is the characteristic number three, **historical** aspect. Next is **power**. Van Dijk (2008) in his book stated that control extends beyond discourse to involve the minds of individuals under control, including their knowledge, views, attitudes, ideologies, and personal or social representations. The last one is **ideology**. Dominant organisations apply discourse to justify their power and persuade the public of its legitimacy. Fairclough, in the meantime, identified discourse in three dimensions, they are:

1. In **texts**, texts are analysed linguistically to assess vocabulary, semantics, and sentence structure, including coherence and cohesion. How words and phrases are joined to create meaning.
2. **Discursive practice** involves producing and consuming texts.
3. **Sociocultural practice** extends beyond the text and context.

The three dimensions are displayed below:



Picture 1. Norman Fairclough's CDA model diagram

Jalali et al. (2014) identify Dimension 1 (description) as the process of dealing with the object of analysis, which may be verbal, visual, or a combination of both. Dimension 2 (interpretation) concerns the processes through which an object is created and interpreted by individuals, including activities such as writing, speaking, designing, reading, listening, and viewing. Dimension 3 (explanation) refers to the social and historical contexts that shape and constrain these processes of production and interpretation. To analyze both from text and discourse perspective, the researcher pointed out a number of relevant previous works as references in this study.

Tiani (2017) investigated speech acts in *Republika.co.id* headlines. Based on the findings of her study, it can be said that pragmatic approaches have been used while creating news headlines. The illocutionary strategy is the most common pragmatic tactic. Political and economic news dominate the news material that makes the headline, making the illocutionary tactic dominant. The use of speech functions during the 2020 International Women's Day protests in Jakarta was the subject of another study by Fauzi et al. (2022). The findings demonstrated that speakers used speech functions in a variety of ways. 11 instances of the assertive function, 17 instances of the directive function, 5 instances of the expressive function, and 12 instances of the declarative function made up these speech functions. The use of the speech function was dominated by the directive function. This was due to the fact that throughout the protest, speakers mainly asked their interlocutors to address all of the concerns they brought up. Wibowo and Anggraini (2024) conducted a research to examine Muhaimin Iskandar's locutionary and illocutionary activities during the first vice presidential candidate debate in the 2024 Indonesian presidential election. It resulted that Muhaimin Iskandar frequently used illocutionary acts in his speeches during the First Debate of the Vice-Presidential Candidates. With 47 utterances, this study discovered that the Illocutionary Act of Directive was the most common type of illocutionary act. Henita and Azad (2024) conducted the study to examine how expressive and commissive speech acts were used during the 2024 Indonesian presidential debate, which was broadcast on the YouTube channel TvOne News. The findings showed that while commissive speech acts like promising, offering, vowing, swearing, and expressing intention were used to project commitments and bolster credibility, expressive speech acts like thanking, apologising, criticising,

praising, and insinuating were effectively used to deal with interpersonal relationships and construct ethos. Another recent study is conducted by Pratika and Simatupang (2025) about Illocutionary Acts In The 2024 ABC News Presidential Debate Between Harris And Trump. The purpose of this study is to examine the use of illocutionary actions in the 2024 U.S. presidential debate between Donald Trump and Kamala Harris, with an emphasis on how the candidates strategically utilise language to influence public opinion. The study concludes that illocutionary acts are effective rhetorical devices for influencing audience perception, forming political narratives, and supporting ideological perspectives. From all of the above previous works, one study analyzes both from pragmatic perspective and using the approach of discourse analysis seems like the closest as this research. Lestari (2025) investigates Prabowo Subianto's speech at the High-Level International Conference for the Peaceful Settlement of Palestine and the Implementation of the Two-State Solution. Insiadah et al. (2014) analyzed the data explicitly use Fairclough's and Halliday's critical discourse analysis theory using the data from Prabowo Subianto's speech in the ASEAN SUMMIT. The study found that the speech takes an organised and intelligent approach to conflict resolution, emphasising empathy, proactive problem-solving, and the value of international collaboration.

Although political phenomena related to demonstrations have been extensively studied, from a linguistic perspective, particularly in pragmatic research, the critical discourse surrounding this issue has not yet been thoroughly examined. The "17 + 8 People's Demands" discourse, which arose as a reflection of the people's collective goals toward the state, is still a relatively new concept and a noteworthy example of language use in Indonesian politics. There are non-neutral comments in the "17 + 8 People's Demands" campaign that seem urgent, demanding, and moral pressure on individuals in positions of authority.

METHODS

This study employs a qualitative approach grounded in linguistic pragmatics. The qualitative approach was chosen because this study aims to understand the meaning, function, and power of speech acts in the text "17 + 8 People's Demands" in a deep and contextual manner, rather than to measure the phenomenon quantitatively. The problem-solving strategy in this study encompasses several stages: identification, classification, analysis, and conclusion. The primary data source is the transcription of the news by Al Jazeera English on YouTube entitled '*What's behind widespread unrest in Indonesia? | Inside story*'. That includes the transcription of interview session with three guest speakers: Abigail Limuria as the Co-founder of *What Is Up Indonesia?*, a digital media platform that unpacks Indonesian sociopolitics; Vedi Hadiz as Professor of Asian Studies at the University of Melbourne; and Wirya Adiwena as Deputy Director of Amnesty International Indonesia. In the news, the journalist also asked the representative of protesters some investigation to support the factual news on site. The identification process was conducted by the researcher to identify data containing speech act units. Subsequently, the classification process was applied to assess which utterances contained speech acts. The analysis process was conducted to address the research question of this study, namely the types and functions of speech acts used in the news narrative "17 + 8 People's Demands," and these were interpreted using the concept of power in discourse. Finally, the analysis of the results were presented in the discussion, which is expected to address the research question of this study.

News narratives and interviews were deemed appropriate data sources for analyzing this phenomenon. The language used by guest speakers was considered a representative data source for examination in the pragmatic domain by evaluating speech act strategies, one of which is the assertive speech act. Meanwhile, international news is considered an appropriate data source for analysis because the researcher aims to examine how the tragedy of the demonstration related to the "17 + 8 People's Demands" is narrated across countries. This phenomenon demonstrates that power is exercised not only through formal institutions but also through linguistic practices.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter is divided into two sections, they are data results and analysis. The analysis identified a total of 45 utterances containing 29 assertives, 8 directives, 1 commissive, and 7 expressives. There is no declarative speech act in this study since this study only investigates a news report.

Data results

Table 1. Distribution of Speech Acts

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type of Speech Acts</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1.	Assertives	29	64.4%
2.	Directives	8	17.8%
3.	Commissives	1	2.2%
4.	Expressives	7	15.6%
5.	Declaratives	0	0%
	Total	45	100%

The results show that assertive speech act is the most found type in this study with the total of 29 (64.4%) utterances. While the least data is declarative, which the researcher did not find any.

Discussion

1) Assertives

In this type, the researcher found 29 utterances that are used for declaring, complaining, and claiming. From the data, it can be elaborated based on the function of the assertives.

From the utterances found in this study, here are the examples:

- (1) "Seven officers were found to have violated the police code of ethics"
- (2) "It began with the police killing of a young motorcycle rider in Jakarta on Friday, but the scale of unrest since has rocked Indonesia."
- (3) "I pay all my taxes. I'm a tax compliant citizen, but I don't know who my taxes are going to"
- (4) "The people inside the House of Representatives building don't listen to the complaints of their own people at all"
- (5) "As we know, Indonesia is not in a good shape economically. It is worsening"
- (6) "We're experiencing sort of a collapsing job market as well where thousands has been laid off and there's a lot of unemployment and instead of a helpful and compassionate response from their leaders, these people are continuously met with policy that worsen the situation"
- (7) "...but in 2022 the nation was also angry with the death of 135 people in Malang in the Kanjuruhan stadium because improper use of tear gas has pushed the crowd there into panic and into stampede"

As stated above, the function of assertives found in this study are various. In example (1), the utterance states the factual information because it provides the number of officers involved in the incident and spoken by the news anchor. There are other examples of assertive which function as stating the fact, they are "Drivers are also human as well as commoners as said by our lawmakers" which was spoken by interviewee as the representative of protesters; and "They are all speaking out because it's not just labor protest. It's not just a student protest. It's not just the worker class" which was spoken by interviewee as guest speaker. In example (2), the utterance reports events as truth which was spoken by the news anchor as opening the news report. Another example is "There's been outrage, too, at revelations that members of Parliament are getting a housing allowance worth more than \$3,000 a month on top of their salaries" to report the public reaction regarding the event. In example (3), the utterance complains about personal fact and claims for transparency which was spoken by the interviewee as the representative of protesters on site as well. In example (4), the utterance has the function of criticizing the authority as it conveys dissatisfaction with government representatives. In example (5), the utterance describes an ongoing reality which was spoken by the interviewee as the guest speaker. It is also supported by other examples, like "It's been building for months and some may even argue for years and it's all because of both economic and political frustration", and "And so they took it to the street and they took it to the protest" to claim strong truth. In example (6), the utterance functions to state the root cause as truth which was spoken by the interviewee as guest speaker. Another example is "That's 10 times the minimum wage in Jakarta. Many Indonesians see politicians as

part of a corrupt elite as well as the capital” which was spoken by the news anchor to support the factual data as the cause of the incident. In example (7), the utterance describes a past reality which was spoken by the interviewee as guest speaker. It was uttered due to the connection with current incident.

2) Directives

In this type, the researcher found 8 utterances that are used for commanding, requesting, and recommending. From the data, it can be elaborated based on the function of the directives.

From the utterances found in this study, here are the examples:

- (8) “Please pay attention to this”
- (9) “The president should have started with an actual apology that is followed by a clear concrete action plans in which he outlined series of policies to reform the police to ensure that such things are not happened again”
- (10) “...so that the police officers who are responsible for the death of the young motorcycle driver to be held fully accountable and to receive full justice and so that there are also some reform in the police department”

The following is an example of directive speech act found in the news report. Example (8) portrays the function of requesting action from authority as spoken by interviewee as representative of protesters. In example (9), the utterance is used to recommend the obligation. It is stated by the interviewee as guest speaker. And in example (10), the utterance describes the commanding action as to demand for justice. Other similar examples are “Although I still think that the government still have a chance to meet the people where they are and actually diffuse the situation”, “What people want is simply for the representative to meet them where they are to listen to their aspiration as per their job”, and “I think if the president can somehow urge the house of representative member to actually listen to the people, I feel like the people would actually feel like the situation would actually diffuse because that’s what actually instigating the violence”. Those utterances were simply suggested by the guest speaker to expecting an action taken by the authority immediately.

3) Commissives

There is only one commissive type of illocutionary act found in this study. The functions of commissive found is promising.

- (11) “Jakarta’s police chief has apologized for the death and promised a full investigation”

The utterance above is categorized as commissive speech act due to its function as promising. It indicates the commitment to investigate the incident thoroughly, which was spoken by the news anchor to describe the factual reality. It is considered as reported commissive, because it was not said by the person concerned, but rather conveyed by the news anchor.

4) Expressives

In this type, the researcher found 7 utterances which are used for expressing the emotions felt by the interviewees. From the utterances found in this study, here are the examples:

- (12) “We’re very disappointed in all law enforcement agencies, especially the police chief”
- (13) “On behalf of myself and the Indonesian government, I would like to express my deepest condolences and sympathy. I am deeply concerned and saddened by this incident”
- (14) “..and what is very troubling for me as well right now today we are very angry because of the death of Affan the motorcycle driver”

From the examples above, they are used for expressing different feelings stated by different parties. In example (12), it functions to express the dissapoinments by the interviewee as the representative of protesters. In example (13), the utterance is used for apologizing and show empathy which was spoken by the President. It is delivered in the excerpt of the clarification video from The President regarding the incident. And in example (14), it shows some personal concerns of the guest speaker. It is also stated in other examples, “I feel like

people are more angry at the arrogancy that they receive and they are just fed up with being treated that way” and “It is something that is really really concerning”. From both examples, by saying that, the guest speaker delivered strong emotional expression about the reality going on.

The identification of speech acts in the data exposes how speakers use language to perform specific communicative functions, such as asserting claims, expressing emotions, and demanding action. However, the language functions must be understood in the perspective of the wider sociopolitical context. For this reason, Critical Discourse Analysis is used to investigate how discourse generates legitimacy, represents social groups, and negotiates power.

In this part, the researcher analyzed the utterances based on the characteristics of CDA which has been elaborated above.

1) Action

One important characteristic of Critical Discourse Analysis is that discourse is understood as a form of social action rather than merely a collection of words. The utterances found in this study are:

- (1) “people have been asking for change”
- (2) “the government should address justice and accountability”
- (3) “people are fed up”

In the analyzed data, discourse functions as an intentional communicative act used to express criticism, legitimize resistance, and influence public perception. The utterance (1) produced by interviewee is not neutral description of events, but purposeful statements aimed at achieving specific social and political effects. In utterance (2), through language, the interviewees do not simply report reality; they actively intervene in social reality by criticizing institutions, demanding accountability, and encouraging public awareness. In utterance (3), they even perform action by mobilizing collective emotion and reinforcing solidarity among audiences. Therefore, discourse in this case serves as a mechanism of resistance and political engagement.

2) Context

In this study, the discourse emerged within the context of political unrest, police violence, economic dissatisfaction, and growing distrust toward government institutions in Indonesia. These contextual conditions significantly shape the meaning of the utterances.

- (1) “people are angry”

This utterance may appear as a simple emotional expression, but within the broader context of repeated police violence, unemployment, rising living costs, and governmental inaction. It represents collective socio-political frustration rather than individual emotion.

3) Historical

Critical discourse analysis also emphasizes the importance of historical context because discourse is influenced by previous social events, institutional memory, and long-standing political conditions. The analyzed data strongly reflects this historical dimension, as several speakers connect current protests to earlier incidents of state violence and unresolved systemic issues.

- (1) “..but in 2022 the nation was also angry with the death of 135 people in Malang in the Kanjuruhan stadium because improper use of tear gas has push uh the crowd there into panic and into stampede. What did we learn? Nothing”
- (2) “Remember, he was Soeharto’s son-in-law. Secondly, he has actually created a situation where Indonesia’s fiscal situation has become more unstable than it should have been”

The statement (1) uttered by one of the speakers has explicitly constructed continuity between past and present events. We, as the listener must have the prior knowledge, which refers to the Kanjuruhan tragedy back in 2022. The tragedy repeated improper use of tear gas that makes the current anger is not merely a reaction to a single incident, but part of a longer historical pattern of institutional failure. Utterance (2) has the historical references in comparisons to older authoritarian political strategies, indicating fears of democratic regression. This demonstrates that discourse is historically embedded and shaped by collective memory, not isolated present events.

4) Power

Power emphasizes control over discourse, public knowledge, beliefs, and social understanding. In this study, the narratives are being controlled by Al Jazeera English who plays the role as the media.

- (1) "So who is Prabowo Subianto? Well, he was a former general in the Indonesian military, serving in the campaigns in East Timor and in West Papua, where the military was accused of war crimes and human rights abuses. Prabowo was never prosecuted, but was banned for a time from entering the US over the allegations. He moved into business and politics after being discharged honorably from the military in 1998. He campaigned unsuccessfully for the presidency twice and served as defense minister between 2019 and 2024. Prabowo was finally successful last year and became Indonesia's eighth president. But critics say that he ran a sanitized campaign using social media to promote a fatherly image"

In the analyzed data, power is reflected not only through institutional authority but also through discursive resistance shaped by the media. The news anchor's narrative does not appear entirely neutral; instead, it tends to align more closely with the concerns of the Indonesian public rather than the governmental perspective. This is evident in the way the anchor frames the incident, introduces the President's background, and organizes factual information to guide audience interpretation, demonstrating how media discourse can influence the construction of social and political meaning.

5) Ideology

The analyzed discourse reflects competing ideological positions concerning democracy, justice, governance, and authority.

- (1) "Many Indonesians see politicians as part of a corrupt elite as well as the capital"
- (2) "And what we are seeing is how the government seems to be more focused, more interested really to frame legitimate and peaceful criticisms as internal enemy as internal threat"

In utterance (1), it reflects an ideological construction of politicians as privilege ruling class and the rest of Indonesian ordinary people as the victims who eager to demand the justice. Utterance (2) shows that this statement expresses a democratic ideological perspective by characterising protesters as legitimate civic actors and the government as authoritarian and repressive.

From the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis, the findings demonstrate that discourse in this study functioned not merely as communication, but as a site of ideological struggle, social representation, and power negotiation.

CONCLUSION

This study examined the discourse "17 + 8 People's Demands" surrounding the public protests in Indonesia through the frameworks of Speech Act Theory and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to understand how language functions in expressing social criticism, constructing meaning, and negotiating power relations. Based on the speech act analysis, the findings reveal that assertive speech acts were the most dominant, followed by directive and expressive speech acts, while commissive speech acts appeared only minimally and declarative speech acts were absent. The dominance of assertive speech acts indicates that speakers primarily used language to present claims, describe socio-political realities, construct narratives of crisis, and legitimize public dissatisfaction. Directive speech acts were used to express demands for accountability, justice, transparency, and institutional reform, reflecting attempts to influence governmental action. Expressive speech acts conveyed emotions such as anger, disappointment, frustration, and concern.

From the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis, the findings demonstrate that discourse in this study functioned not merely as communication, but as a site of ideological struggle, social representation, and power negotiation. As discourse as action, the utterances served intentional purposes such as criticizing authorities, legitimizing protest, influencing public opinion, and resisting dominant narratives. In terms of context, the meaning of the discourse was deeply shaped by the socio-political situation, including economic hardship, police violence, political distrust, and democratic tensions in Indonesia. Historically, the discourse was connected to previous incidents of institutional violence and unresolved governance issues.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

Complete Name : Adinda Prasty Ascalonicawati, S.S., M.A.
Institution : UPN "Veteran" Jawa Timur
Education : S1 Sastra Inggris Universitas Brawijaya, S2 Linguistik Universitas Gadjah Mada
Research Interests: Sociolinguistics, English for Specific Purposes, English Linguistics in Digital Context