

The Speech Act of Criticism Strategy Analysis on the Hashtag #Wadasmelawan

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Abstract—The study aims to describe the function of the hashtag #WadasMelawan and the criticism speech act strategy in voicing social justice for Wadas residents. Wadas is a village in the Central Java Province of Indonesia that is projected to be developed as an adhesive mining site—a government plan that the local Wadas villagers reject. The data in this study were collected on February 8 and 9, 2022, and processed using NVivo software. A total of 1550 tweets were analyzed using the hashtag function (Simpson, 2018) and the speech acts of criticism strategy (Nguyen, 2005). The results indicated that the #WadasMelawan has functions in expressing victimhood, solidarity, integration (victimhood and solidarity), and hashtag alone (expressing either solidarity or empathy). The speech acts of criticism strategy are negative evaluation, disapproval, disagreement, statement of difficulty, and consequences. In addition, indirect strategies are correction, indicating standards, preaching, demand for change, advice on change, uncertainty, asking, sarcasm, and the use of emojis or pictures. The #WadasMelawan and criticism strategy involved the media voicing justice for Wadas on X (formerly known as Twitter).

Index Terms—speech acts of criticism strategy, #WadasMelawan, hashtag function, social justice

I. INTRODUCTION

Social justice movements are collective actions that react to injustice, oppression, violence, political conditions, and economic or cultural circumstances (Horn, 2013; Nardini et al., 2021). The use of language in social movements serves as social integration, cultural outreach, and social interaction, as well as a channel for instilling values and bringing people, ideas, and society together (Edrington & Lee, 2018). Nowadays, social media not only functions as a communication tool but is also employed as a tool to voice social movements against injustice (Brunsting & Postmes, 2002). Additionally, social media is considered a more democratic medium than others because of its openness and freedom. Moreover, it is not controlled by elite media, which is usually one-way for the listener (Edrington & Lee, 2018).

One social media platform is X (formerly known as Twitter), which has several features, including hashtags (#). A hashtag is a way of labeling a tweet (a short text message of 280 characters or less posted on the social media application X) and indicates that the tweet is part of a larger theme. In addition, a hashtag also connects an X user with other users who are interested in the same topic so that the hashtag creates a network (Giaxoglou, 2018). Using a hashtag in a tweet also makes the tweets more searchable by wider X communities. Furthermore, tweets can become a trending topic due to the increase in the number of users using the hashtag during certain periods (Giaxoglou, 2018).

As a tool for voicing social movements, X (and under its former name, Twitter) has been extensively studied (Cao et al., 2022; Datiri, 2021; Field et al., 2022). Field et al. (2022) examined the emotions expressed on the #BlackLivesMatter hashtag. The results of their research highlighted users' anger and disgust for racist behavior. In addition, Cao et al. (2022) and Cao et al. (2022) studied the hashtag #StopAsianHate, which emerged in protest of the racist treatment of Asian Americans due to the outbreak of the coronavirus. Moreover, Datiri (2021) examined the strategies of African feminist activists who applied X (formerly known as Twitter) to voice injustice and violence against women through the hashtags #JusticeForNoura and #BringBackOurGirls.

Researchers in Indonesia have also conducted studies on the use of hashtags to advocate social justice movements in their own country. Pratiwi (2021), for example, examined the use of the hashtag #SaveIbuNuril on X (formerly known as Twitter) to voice violence against women. In addition, Apriyani (2021) researched the function of social media in protesting against government policies through the hashtags #GejayanMemanggil, #MosiTidakPercaya, and #BengawanMelawan. Moreover, P. Sitowin (2019) investigated the use of social media to protest the construction of a cement factory in Rembang, Indonesia. Residents were so against the project that, along with using social media to protest it, residents from the Kendeng Mountains in Central Java protested the construction by casting their feet in blocks of cement. One demonstrator, a Mrs. Patmi, died as a result. The incident echoed across the protesters' solidarity movement on X (formerly known as Twitter), spawning the hashtags #KendengLestari, #SaveKendeng, #KendengMelawan, and #SaveIbuPatmi.

The hashtag #WadasMelawan appeared on X (formerly known as Twitter) on February 8, 2022 (Andriyanto, 2022), and was first posted by @Wadas_Melawan. Earlier on that day, approximately 70 surveyors, accompanied by 250 officers for their protection, visited Wadas Village in the Bener District of Purworejo Regency in Central Java Province (Heksantoro, 2022). The arrival of the surveyors and their apparatuses for measuring were the result of the Governor of Central Java's Decree No. 590/41/2018, which determined that Wadas Village was an andesite mining site for materials for the construction of the nearby Bener Dam. Nevertheless, most Wadas residents rejected the plan (Ekayanta, 2022). As a result, the surveyors and police arrived in Wadas Village to take land measurements for the mining project, but were soon met by local protestors. Things soon got violent, and a total of 63 residents, including 13 children, were detained.

As a result, the #WadasMelawan hashtag evolved as a means of protest against the authorities' inhumane treatment of Wadas village residents. The hashtag immediately took first place as a trending topic in Indonesia because many netizens tweeted the hashtag. The large number of tweets containing #WadasMelawan and criticism of the actions of the apparatus and government decisions are interesting to examine, particularly from the aspect of the hashtag function and speech act of criticism as a means of voicing social justice on social media. From a review of previous studies, it can be argued that a study on social movement through #WadasMelawan on X (formerly known as Twitter) has never been conducted. Hence, there are two questions to be answered by this study:

1. What is the function of the #WadasMelawan hashtag in voicing the Wadas social movement on X (formerly known as Twitter)?
2. What are the speech acts of criticism strategies contained in the #WadasMelawan tweets as a criticism of the apparatus and the government action?

According to Simpson (2018), activists use a hashtag on X (formerly known as Twitter) to promote a social movement or a justice movement. Moreover, a hashtag has four functions, namely: 1) to reveal expressions when there are victims of oppression or violence; 2) to express solidarity; 3) to express victimization and solidarity at the same time (a combined hashtag for different functions); and 4) to show solidarity or victimization even if it's just a hashtag without a statement. Hashtags can be placed at the beginning, within, or at the end of a statement in a tweet. In addition, the hashtag #WadasMelawan is an integral part of criticisms stated in tweets against the government's actions and policies related to the decision to make Wadas a part of the Bener Dam construction project.

Criticizing is an illocutionary act to assess negative actions, choices, words, and products (Nguyen, 2005). This speech act of criticism is carried out to influence the listener's behavior or actions so that they become better in the future, according to the speaker's view. Furthermore, Hyland (2000) said that criticism is an expression of dissatisfaction or

negative comments that can be analyzed using the Speech Act Theory put forward by Austin (1962). Moreover, Min (2008) stated that based on Austin's speech act analysis, the performative verb "to criticize" is an act of criticism (a speech act of criticism). Meanwhile, Searle (1979), in Alshakhanbeh and Alghazo's 2022 work, classified speech acts based on their functions: declaration, representative, expressive, directive, and commissive. Moreover, criticism consists of declarative, representative, and expressive language. Hence, commissive and directive are not included in critical speech acts.

Several studies have been carried out on speech acts of criticism; for instance, Nguyen (2005) examined Vietnamese students of foreign languages and their speech acts of criticism and the responses to them. In addition, Farnia (2015) studied speech acts of criticism among native speakers of Persian. Furthermore, Al-Kayed and Al-Ghoweri (2019) examined the speech act of criticism strategy of Jordanian Arabic speakers. Moreover, Jauhari (2018b) researched the response to criticism in the Javanese Mataram cultural community. Meanwhile, Alshakhanbeh and Alghazo (2022) examined the speech acts of criticism strategies used by males and females to criticize government policies on Facebook and X (formerly known as Twitter).

Meanwhile, there has been only one study that focuses on the speech acts of criticism on X (formerly known as Twitter) and Facebook and considers gender an influential factor in selecting the speech act strategy. Unlike previous studies, this study not only aims to describe the speech act of criticism strategy posed by X (formerly known as Twitter) users toward government policy and their violent actions, but it also describes the function of the hashtag #WadasMelawan as a part of the social movement. The two elements, namely the speech act of criticism strategy and the hashtag #WadasMelawan, provide a cohesive approach to expressing the social justice movement of Wadas on X (formerly known as Twitter). This study contributes to the speech act of criticism in online social media and the study of social media as a means for voicing social justice as a part of the social movement in real-life situations.

II. METHODOLOGY

The research methodology applied in this study is qualitative to explain the data containing the hashtag and to describe the speech act. The quantitative method is applied to count the data containing the categorized strategy. The research procedure followed the interactive model analysis proposed by Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2017). The analysis comprises data collection, data reduction, data display, and concluding conclusions.

A. Data Collection and Reduction

Data was collected using NVivo software with NCapture installed on a Google Chrome add-on toolbar. The NCapture documented and saved the tweet status and comments containing #WadasMelawan from X (formerly known as Twitter). Additionally, NCapture documented the public profile of the users (X ID, username, tweet content, time tweeted, location, Web URL, and so on). However, user identity data was removed to ensure that users remained anonymous, following the X research guidelines stated by Ayers et al. (2018). Data was collected from February 8, 2022, when the hashtag #WadasMelawan first appeared, to February 9, 2022. The total number of tweets during the two days was 189,000.

Data reduction included retweet responses (sharing tweet content by pressing the circulation symbol) or likes (liking a tweet by pressing the heart symbol) because it only copied and pasted the original data. Data containing ads with #WadasMelawan was not included because the purpose of using the hashtag was to gain recognition so that the ads would be more widely known. Therefore, the data analyzed amounted to 1,550 tweets that were in either Indonesian or English. (Still, the example data is rendered only in English in the data presentation.) Afterwards, the data was encoded according to two distinct categories: the hashtag function and the method of the speech act of criticism.

B. Displaying Data and Drawing Conclusions

The data display and conclusion consisted of two steps. The first is to present the hashtag #WadasMelawan function data in a table showing its frequency and words. This study applied the theory of the function of hashtags on X (formerly known as Twitter) as a tool to raise awareness of social change movements (Simpson, 2018). The function of hashtags is to raise awareness about victims of oppression or violence, to express solidarity, to combine more than one hashtag for different functions (raise awareness and express solidarity), and to show solidarity even if only through the use of a hashtag.

The second step was to display and analyze the data on the strategies of speech acts of criticism that were used. The data were classified based on the framework of Nguyen (2005), adapted by Alshakhanbeh and Alghazo (2022). Nguyen (2005) divides critical speech act strategies into indirect and direct criticism. The direct criticism speech act strategy consists of negative evaluation, disapproval, expression of disagreement, statement of difficulty, and consequences. Indirect strategies include correction, standard setting, preaching, demand for change, advice about change, expression of uncertainty, asking or presupposing, sarcasm, and other hints, pictures, or videos. Alshakhanbeh and Alghazo (2022) added "grievances to God" as part of a strategy of speech act criticism. Then, based on the results of the analysis, conclusions were drawn.

III. RESULTS

A. The Function of #WadasMelawan

Simpson (2018) mentions some functions of the hashtag as part of a social justice movement on X (formerly known as Twitter), namely expressing victimhood through oppression or violence, expressing solidarity, combining more than one hashtag for different functions (expressing victim and solidarity), and using the hashtag alone to show solidarity or victimhood. The following table illustrates the frequency and percentage of the #WadasMelawan function.

TABLE 1
THE FUNCTION OF #WADASMELAWAN

No	Hashtag Function	Frequency	Percentage
1	Solidarity	583	38%
2	Victimhood	635	41%
3	Combine Hashtag	258	17%
4	Hashtag Alone	74	5%
	Total	1550	100%

Based on Table 1 above, victimhood is the highest function at 41%, followed by solidarity at 38%. The explanation for each function is as follows:

(a). *The Solidarity Function*

The hashtag #WadasMelawan as an expression of solidarity appears 583 out of 1550 times, giving it a percentage of 38%. The hashtag was used to express a sense of togetherness, approval, and support for social movements to get social justice for Wadas, as shown in the example below.

Example 1

Indonesian: “URGENT ACTION!!! HENTIKAN RENCANA PENGUKURAN TAHAP 2 YANG BERPOTENSI CIPTAKAN KEKERASAN DAN KRIMINALISASI WARGA WADAS #WadasMelawan”

English: “URGENT ACTION!!! STOP THE STAGE 2 MEASUREMENT PLAN THAT POTENTIALLY CREATES VIOLENCE AND CRIMINALIZATION OF WADAS VILLAGERS. #WadasMelawan”

The tweet calls for urgent action against the government's actions leading to violence and criminalization. It includes a call to action, a hashtag, and a call to stop, aiming to raise netizen awareness and voice this injustice.

(b). *The Victimhood Function*

The hashtag #WadasMelawan as an expression to show victimhood is used 631 out of 1550 times, giving it the highest percentage of use at 41%. This function was used to express the condition or situation of a victim as a result of unfair treatment and violence. An example of a hashtag that stated the function of a victim was as follows:

Example 2

Indonesian: “Pembungkaman masih berjalan. Keserakahan memang sulit dihentikan. Uang punya kuasa luar biasa. #WadasMelawan”

English: “Silencing is still in progress. Greed is hard to stop. Money has extraordinary power. #WadasMelawan”

The word *pembungkaman*, which means “silence”, indicated the position of the Wadas residents who did not have the power to fight the violence that was the result of greed. The end of the statement closed with #WadasMelawan, which was tied up with a comment status that served to express Wadas villagers as victims.

(c). *The Combined Hashtag Function*

The combined hashtag was used 258 out of 1550 times, giving it a percentage of use of 17%. The combined hashtags fell into two categories: first, there were tweets that contained victimhood and solidarity comments and ended with #WadasMelawan. Second, there were tweets that were followed by #WadasMelawan plus other hashtags; for example, #SaveWadas, #WadasMemanggil, and so on. The following is an example of a combined hashtag that was written in English only:

Example 3

“We stand in solidarity with Wadas. Wadas villagers had been attacked by police. We condemn the repressive actions taken by Indonesian police against the community, protecting their land from mining. We call on the Indonesian government to stop the mine. #SaveWadas #WadasMelawan #WadasMemanggil”

The example uses a tweet expressing solidarity and victimization, ending with the hashtags #SaveWadas, #WadasMelawan, and #WadasMemanggil. The tweets condemn repressive actions by Indonesian police against Wadas villagers while highlighting their status as victims. The hashtags amplify the message, generating netizen support for Wadas villagers and underscoring the potential for saving them from violence and repression.

(d). *The Hashtag Alone Function*

Finally, tweets containing only #WadasMelawan or other hashtags without comments were used as a criticism strategy only 5% of the time. Here is an example of a stand-alone hashtag:

Example 4

“#WadasMelawan #WadasCombat #WadasAdalahKita #WadasIsUs”

Three hashtags, #WadasMelawan, #WadasAdalahKita, and #SaveWadas, were used to support Wadas villagers in their fight for land. #WadasMelawan aimed to evoke empathy and support to survive fighting for their land, while #WadasAdalahKita connected Wadas villagers to X (formerly known as Twitter) users. #WadasMemanggil encouraged social movements for justice, while #SaveWadas portrayed Wadas as a victim who was to be saved. These hashtags aimed to voice social movements for Wadas residents.

Another finding was that every hashtag had the same keyword as the topic of conversation, namely Wadas as a place for violence and the cause of the emergence of the hashtag as a social movement. Other hashtag variants were #SaveWadas, #WadasMemanggil, #Wadastolakambang, #WadasAdalahKita, and #CabutIPLWadas. Wadas in #WadasMelawan, #Wadastolakambang, and #WadasMemanggil acted as human actors who could act to *melawan*, “to fight”, and *memanggil*, “to call”. The two hashtags served as expressions of solidarity. The word Wadas in #WadasAdalahKita was associated with the verb *adalah*, or “is”, and with *kita*, or “us”. In this case, the word *kita* (“us”) referred to X users. This definition and identification built awareness that Wadas villagers were part of the X community that deserved to be defended by carrying out a solidarity movement through this hashtag. On the other hand, the hashtag also implied that what happened to Wadas villagers might happen to X users as well. As a result, there was an awareness of solidarity with the Wadas.

Meanwhile, Wadas in #SaveWadas and #CabutIPLWadas was an object with the verbs “save” and *cabut* (“revoke”). IPL is an abbreviation of *Izin Penetapan Lokasi*, or “Location Determination Permit”, for Wadas as a place for mining adhesive materials for Bener Dam. The permit was issued by the governor, Ganjar Pranowo. Both verbs were in the form of imperative sentences that functioned to build solidarity and a sense of victimhood. The two hashtags had the function of calling for solidarity because they invited X users to support the Wadas. The two hashtags functioned to express victimhood by seeing Wadas' position as an object receiving unfair treatment from the authorities.

Based on the findings, the #WadasMelawan function could not be separated from the content of the tweeted comment because #WadasMelawan was an integral part of the tweeted comment. These findings were slightly different from Simpson's (2018) category because, based on the findings, some data indicated that #WadasMelawan was flexible and could be used in the content of comments that served to express solidarity or victimhood, or both (solidarity and victimhood). The hashtag #WadasMelawan, based on Simpson's (2018) criteria, was included in the solidarity function because the message conveyed in the hashtag served to provide unified support.

B. Speech Act of Criticism in X Comments Containing #WadasMelawan

This section presents the speech acts of criticism strategies used in X, with comments containing the hashtag #WadasMelawan. Data analysis shows that X users employ various strategies to criticize the apparatus, officials, government, and parties related to the events in Wadas. This speech acts of criticism strategy complements #WadasMelawan. Table 2 illustrates the frequencies and percentages based on the speech acts of criticism (direct or indirect criticism):

TABLE 2
STRATEGY OF SPEECH ACT CRITICISM

No	Speech Act of Criticism Strategy	Frequencies	Percentage
Direct Criticism			
1	Consequences	127	8%
2	Disapproval	223	14%
3	Negative Evaluation	202	13%
4	Expression of Disagreement	58	4%
5	Identification of Problem	85	5%
6	Statement of Difficulties	58	4%
	Total	753	49%
Indirect Criticism			
7	Advice or Suggestions about change	58	4%
8	Asking	175	11%
9	Demand or Request for Change	96	6%
10	Grievance to God	85	5%
11	Indicating Standard	42	3%
12	Correction	47	3%
13	Preaching	90	6%
14	Sarcasm	137	9%
15	Uncertainty	35	2%
16	Emoji Picture	31	2%
	Total	796	51%
	Grand Total	1550	100

Table 2 displays the frequency of tweets containing speech acts of criticism strategy used with the hashtag #WadasMelawan, which totals 1550. The highest direct criticism strategy is Disapproval at 14%, while the highest indirect criticism strategy is Asking at 11%. Moreover, the frequency of direct strategy (49%) is nearly the same as indirect strategy (51%). Both strategies are discussed further below:

(a). *Direct Strategies*

Based on the results of the analysis, the direct strategy of criticism consists of six types, namely consequences (8%), disapproval (14%), negative evaluations (13%), expressions of disagreement (4%), identification of problems (5%), and statements of difficulties (4%).

1. *Consequences*

Consequences are speech acts of criticism strategy that warn of negative consequences or impacts from the receiver's decision or action (Nguyen, 2005). The strategy is employed here to scrutinize the acts and decisions of institutions, governments, and related parties on Wadas. The strategy was used as a warning of the negative impact on Wadas villagers and the environment. The frequency of this strategy was 8%, and an example of its use is as follows:

Example 5

Indonesian: “RENCANA PENGUKURAN AKAN BERPOTENSI CIPTAKAN KEKERASAN DAN KRIMINALISASI WARGA WADAS #WadasMelawan”

English: “THE MEASUREMENT PLAN WILL POTENTIALLY CREATE VIOLENCE AND CRIMINALIZATION OF WADAS CITIZENS. #WadasMelawan”

The user warned the government about the negative impact of a measurement plan, citing potential violence and criminalization of Wadas villagers. The modal *akan* (“will”) highlights the threat, in line with Al-Kayed and Al-Ghoweri (2019), because the people who criticize are actively involved in decision-making and feel comfortable using this strategy. Meanwhile, the result of this study indicated low frequency because the users did not get involved in decision-making.

2. *Disapproval*

Disapproval is a direct speech act of criticism strategy showing a poor opinion of the receiver's actions and decisions (Nguyen, 2005). X users used this strategy to show disapproval of the government's repressive actions and decisions. Based on the analysis, it is known that this strategy was the most widely used by X users, at 14%. An example of its use is as follows:

Example 6

Indonesian: “Kami mengutuk tindakan represif kepolisian Indonesia terhadap masyarakat yang melindungi tanahnya dari pertambangan. #WadasMelawan”

English: “We condemn the repressive actions taken by Indonesian police against a community protecting their land from mining. #WadasMelawan”

Disapproval was shown in the phrase “*kami mengutuk tindakan represif kepolisian*”. The word *mengutuk*, or “condemn”, shows the disapproval of X users toward the police action.

3. *Negative Evaluation*

A negative evaluation is a strategy to criticize directly by giving a negative assessment of the receiver's actions and decisions. The frequency of the negative evaluation strategy in this study was 13%. This particular tweet provides a negative evaluation of the police and government action toward Wadas villagers:

Example 7

Indonesian: “Parah... miris aparat perang rakyat #WadasMelawan”

English: “It's bad... It's so sad to see the government apparatus fight against the people. #WadasMelawan”

Example 8

Indonesian: “Sangat tidak manusiawi #WadasMelawan”

English: “Very inhumane #WadasMelawan”

Both examples showed a negative evaluation of both the government apparatus and the government's decisions, as seen from the use of several negative adjectives, namely *parah* (“bad”), *miris* (“sad”), and *sangat tidak manusiawi* (“very inhumane”). The use of negative adjectives and judgments was also an expression of dissatisfaction with the government's apparatus and actions. The result of this strategy is in line with the findings of Nguyen (2005) and Alshakhanbeh and Alghazo (2022), as this strategy was one of the most popular choices used by X users in criticizing government actions and decisions.

4. *Expression of Disagreement*

The expression of disagreement is a strategy of criticism characterized by the word negation of “no” or “I disagree” (Nguyen, 2005). The frequency of the expression of disagreement strategy was 4%. Here is an example found in this study:

Example 9

Indonesian: “Sangat tidak setuju dengan tindakan aparat, mengapa tidak mengayomi rakyat #WadasMelawan”

English: “Strongly disagree with the apparatus action, so why not protect the people?” #WadasMelawan

The disagreement expression was *sangat tidak setuju* (“strongly disagree”), which is directed toward the apparatus' action. It showed that X users chose to express the disapproval strategy over the disagreement strategy since the former was thought to be more expressive in conveying dissatisfaction with the government's action.

5. Identification of Problem

Identifying the problem is a strategy for criticizing the receiver's action or decision (Nguyen, 2005). The frequency of this strategy was 5% in this study, and the use of this strategy can be seen in the following example tweet:

Example 10

Indonesian: izin diterbitkan padahal masih ada penolakan di sebagian masyarakat. Inilah bukti penyelewengan kekuasaan @ganjarpranowo sebagai gubernur. #WadasMelawan

English: "The permit was issued even though there were several rejections from the community. This is evidence of @ganjarpranowo's abuse of power as governor. #WadasMelawan"

The identification of the problem was shown in the sentence *izin diterbitkan padahal masih ada penolakan*, which is followed by the second sentence, *"Inilah bukti penyelewengan kekuasaan @ganjarpranowo sebagai gubernur*. The problem based on the two sentences is that Ganjar Pranowo gave the permit for the exploitation of Wadas by neglecting the rejection of Wadas villagers. His decision could be evidence of an abuse of power.

6. Statement of Difficulties

Nguyen (2005) mentions that the statement of difficulties strategy occurs when Vietnamese EFL learners express ideas in English, but the idea is difficult to understand. Hence, the teacher criticizes the student by stating that the idea is difficult to understand. Usually, this strategy is manifested in the sentence structures "I find it difficult to understand" and "It is difficult to understand". It can be said that this strategy is used in a learning context.

This strategy was also used by X users to express the problems experienced by Wadas villagers. The frequency of this strategy is 4%. X users employed this strategy to convey the difficulties faced by the Wadas inhabitants, since it was vital to remind the police and decision-makers about those difficulties.

Example 11

Indonesian: "Heran, tanahnya mau dirampas paksa kok Gak perlu takut #WadasMelawan"

English: "Surprised, the land is being forcibly confiscated; there is no need to be afraid. #WadasMelawan"

The user had difficulty understanding the statement from the Governor of Central Java, who said, *"Gak perlu takut"* (There's no need to be afraid"), which was contradictory to the fact that Wadas villagers felt afraid of losing their land.

(b). Indirect Strategy

1. Advice or Suggestions About Change

Advice or suggestions are a more subtle and polite way of criticizing than asking for or demanding change (Alshakhanbeh & Alghazo, 2022). In the English language, this strategy is expressed in the phrase "I suggest that..." or the structure "it would be better if" or "why don't you" (Nguyen, 2005). Based on the findings, the expression of advice or suggestion in Indonesian is *sebaiknya* "it is better..." or *alangkah baiknya* "it would be better..." (M. Moeliono et al., 2017). The frequency of this strategy is 4%, and an example of this strategy is as follows:

Example 12

Indonesian: "Sebaiknya pemerintah mengadakan musyawarah kepada warga desa Wadas mengenai penyelesaian yang akan diambil dan kompensasi yang sebanding, sesuai dengan sila ke-4 yaitu Kerakyatan yang Dipimpin oleh Hikmat Kebijaksanaan dalam Permusyawaratan/Perwakilan. #savewadas #WadasMelawan"

English: "It is better for the government to hold deliberations with the Wadas villagers regarding the settlement to be taken and comparable compensation, in accordance with the 4th principle, namely, the democracy guided by the inner wisdom of unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst representatives. #savewadas #WadasMelawan."

The advice about the change is presented in the expression *sebaiknya* ("It is better"), which is followed by a suggestion "...pemerintah mengadakan musyawarah kepada warga desa Wadas mengenai penyelesaian yang akan diambil dan kompensasi yang sebanding, sesuai dengan sila ke-4 yaitu Kerakyatan yang Dipimpin oleh Hikmat Kebijaksanaan dalam Permusyawaratan/Perwakilan" ("...for the government to hold deliberations with the Wadas villagers regarding the settlement to be taken and comparable compensation, in accordance with the 4th principle, namely, the democracy guided by the inner wisdom of unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst representatives"). The user advised the government to hold deliberations to resolve the problem peacefully and provide fair compensation to Wadas villagers.

2. Asking

Asking is a criticism strategy that uses rhetorical questions to call attention to the receiver's improper conduct or decision. *Instead* of asking for an answer, these questions are designed to raise the receiver's awareness and, hopefully, influence his action or decision. The frequency of this strategy is 11%, which is the highest strategy chosen by X users. The usage is as follows:

Example 13

Indonesian: "Hello, @ganjarpranowo apa kabar. Apakah ini yang disebut pengukuran? Di mana nalar anda? #WadasMelawan #WadasTolakTambang #WadasMemanggil #Indonesia #jateng"

English: “Hello, @ganjarpranowo. How are you? Is this what measuring land is called? Where is your conscience? #WadasMelawan #WadasTolakTambang #WadasMemanggil #Indonesia” #jateng

Two rhetorical questions, namely, “*Apakah ini yang disebut pengukuran?*” (“Is this what measuring land is called?”) and *Di mana nalar anda?* (“Where is your conscience?”) do not need any answers because the questions were intended to remind the government, and especially Ganjar Pranowo, the Governor of Central Java, and the apparatus’ inappropriate actions at Wadas. The questions were aimed at making the audience realize that there was violence in Wadas. Like the study of Alshakhanbeh and Alghazo (2022), the results of this study show that this strategy is more popular among X users, reaching a frequency of use of 11%. Meanwhile, the results of this study differed from Suharno’s (2015) findings. He claimed that the strategy was rarely used by Indonesian EFL students in the EFL teaching and learning context because students had not known and mastered how to use the strategy in English. In addition, criticizing in the EFL context was different from the social media context since X users tend to focus more on expressing criticism than the embarrassment of making mistakes or errors in performing the strategy of criticism since their identity can be secretly covered.

3. Demand or Request for Change

The criticism strategy of demand or request for change aims to make a receiver change his or her actions that are inappropriate in the speaker’s perception. The strategy is characterized by the phrases “you have to”, “you must”, “it is obligatory”, “you are required,” “you need to,” or “it is necessary”, among others (Nguyen, 2005). Meanwhile, in Indonesian, the expression of demand or request for change is characterized by the expressions *harus* (“must”) and *semestinya* (“should”), or in the form of a structure such as *anda harus* (“you must”) + (verb), *anda perlu* (“you need”) + (verb), *anda wajib* (“you need to”) + (verb), or just a verb. In addition, it is common to use the expression of request *tolong* (“please”) as a modality to soften the imperative sentence. The frequency of this strategy is 6%, and the following is an example of its use:

Example 14

Indonesian: “@ganjarpranowo, lihat pak, lihat! Tolong kasihani mereka! Tolong hentikan kekerasan gitu, mereka manusia tolong di manusiakan! #WadasMelawan”

English: “@ganjarpranowo, look, sir, look! Please have mercy on them! Please stop that violence. They are humans. Please humanize them! #WadasMelawan”

The X user demanded the governor of Central Java (@ganjarpranowo) stop the violence against Wadas residents by using imperative words and phrases like *lihat* (“look”), *kasihani* (“have mercy”), *hentikan* (“stop”), and *tolong* (“please”) as modals to soften the imperative sentence. However, like the results of the study by Alshakhanbeh and Alghazo (2022), this strategy was not widely used.

4. Grievance to God

Expressing complaints to God for the receiver’s actions and decisions was carried out by X users. The users believe only God can change the receiver’s actions and decisions. The strategy is also used to remind the listener that God will hold him accountable for his wrongdoings and decisions. The frequency of this strategy is 5%, and an example of its use is as follows:

Example 15

Indonesian: “Ngebayangin aja sakit hati. Ya Allah, semoga pada kena azab karena dah zolim sama rakyatnya. #SaveWadas #WadasMelawan”

English: “Just imagine, make me hurt. Oh Allah, I hope they will be punished because they have been cruel toward their people. #SaveWadas #WadasMelawan”

The user prayed by stating the sentence, “*Ya Allah, semoga pada kena azab karena dah zolim sama rakyatnya.*” (“Oh Allah, I hope they will be punished because they have been cruel toward their people.”) It was used to criticize the government and the police for not acting justly because their deeds were against religious teachings. In addition, the strategy also reminded them that acts of violence and injustice will be punished by God. According to Alshakhanbeh and Alghazo (2022), this strategy is very reasonable to use for religious people to surrender problems to God since the speaker feels he or she does not have the power to change the receiver’s action or decision.

5. Indicating Standard

Indicating standard is a speech act of criticism strategy that mentions collective obligation rather than a personal obligation for the receiver or, as a rule, that the sender believes is widely agreed upon and applied to all (Nguyen, 2005). The frequency of this strategy was 2% for this study, and an example of its use is as follows:

Example 16

Indonesian: “Polisi Melayani & Mengayomi bukan menindas. #WadasMelawan”

English: “Police Serve & Protect, not oppress. #WadasMelawan”

It was stated that the standard duty of the police is to serve and protect, not to oppress. This strategy demonstrates the standard that the police should adhere to, but they do the opposite. Furthermore, according to Nguyen (2005), this strategy is used to criticize while avoiding confrontation subtly.

6. Correction

The correction strategy identifies the receiver's wrongdoing action and decision and then corrects it with an alternative solution. The frequency of this strategy was 3%, and an example of its use is as follows:

Example 17

Indonesian: "Kekerasan kepada warga Wadas tidak sesuai dengan sila kedua Pancasila, ajak warga bermusyawarah dan beri ganti rugi yang adil #WadasMelawan"

English: "Violence against Wadas residents violates the second Pancasila principle; invite residents to negotiate and provide fair compensation #WadasMelawan"

The user corrected the apparatus's violent actions by stating, "*Kekerasan kepada warga Wadas tidak sesuai dengan sila kedua Pancasila*" ("Violence against Wadas residents violates the second Pancasila principle"). Pancasila is the ideology of Indonesia, and the second principle is just and civilized humanity. The user then proposed a solution by stating, "*Ajak warga bermusyawarah dan beri ganti rugi yang adil*" ("Invite residents to negotiate and provide fair compensation").

7. Preaching

The *preaching* strategy is a method of giving instructions to listeners because receivers are thought to be unable to make the right decisions and actions (Nguyen, 2005). The frequency of this strategy was 5% for this study, and the use of this strategy was as follows:

Example 18

Indonesian: "Berdasarkan keputusan MK proyek penambangan di Desa Wadas dihentikan. Keputusan MK ini mengikat dari pemerintah pusat sampai daerah. Oleh sebab itu, pemerintah daerah dapat mencabut IPL. Intinya, sudah menjadi tanggung jawab pemerintah daerah untuk menghentikan proyek ini dan melindungi warga Wadas. #WadasMelawan"

English: "Based on the Constitutional Court's decision, the mining project in Wadas Village was halted. The Constitutional Court's decision is legally binding on national and regional governments. Consequently, the local government has the authority to revoke the IPL. It is the local government's responsibility to halt this project and protect the Wadas villagers. #WadasMelawan"

The user instructs the government by stating, "*Berdasarkan keputusan MK proyek penambangan di Desa Wadas dihentikan*" ("Based on the Constitutional Court's decision, the mining project in Wadas Village was halted"). The Constitutional Court (MK) decision number 91/PUU-XVIII/2020 states that the Wadas project is terminated (Ekayanta, 2022). The data also proposed a solution by asking the local government to revoke the IPL (location allocation permit) and take responsibility for halting the project and protecting Wadas villagers. This strategy directed the local government to act concerning Wadas. This strategy was less popular among X users and may not be preferred by critics in the real world because listening to criticism in a lecture style requires friendly ears with open arms (Alshakhanbeh & Alghazo, 2022).

8. Sarcasm

Sarcasm is a strategy for indirectly criticizing and ridiculing the actions and decisions of the government (Alshakhanbeh & Alghazo, 2022). Sarcasm is a type of language that aims to offend others' feelings by using harsh or disrespectful language or jokes (Syafuruddin et al., 2021). The frequency of the strategy in this study is 9%, and an example follows:

Example 19

Indonesian: "Humanis sekali memperlakukan warga, seperti Junta Militer aja. #WadasMelawan #WadasTolakTambang #WadasMemanggil #StopAparatMasukWadas"

English: "It's very humane to treat citizens just like the military junta. #WadasMelawan #WadasTolakTambang #WadasMemanggil #StopAparatMasukWadas"

Sarcasm was presented in the sentence, "*Humanis sekali memperlakukan warga, seperti Junta Militer aja*" ("It's very humane to treat citizens just like the Military Junta"). The glorification of apparatus by saying it is very humane is not intended to praise apparatus because the following parable was like a military junta. As the military junta was referred to as a dictatorship ruled by the military, this term had a negative connotation because this form of state was undemocratic and happened after a coup against the legitimate power (Ivana et al., 2021). In that tweet, there were two contradictory things. First, it seemed as if they were praising them when the authorities treated the citizens inhumanely. Second, the violent treatment of the apparatus was compared to a military junta that disregards deliberation. The Sarcasm strategy, according to Suharno (2015), is classified as a "combined strategy" because the strategy can be used for other strategies, such as expressing disapproval, uncertainty, or consequences.

9. Uncertainty

The speaker employs the uncertainty strategy to raise the receiver's awareness of his inappropriate choice and action (Nguyen, 2005). The frequency of the strategy in this study is 2%, and an example of the strategy is given below:

Example 20

Indonesian: "Hingga kini janji mengusut kekerasan tidak ada kejelasan. Wadas masih dibayangi ancaman represi. #WadasMelawan #SolidaritasUntukWadas"

English: “Until now, the promise to investigate violence remains unclear. The people of Wadas are still threatened by repression. #WadasMelawan #SolidaritasUntukWadas”

The user expressed uncertainty by stating, “*Hingga kini janji mengusut kekerasan tidak ada kejelasan*” (“Until now, the promise to investigate violence remains unclear”). The governor of Central Java promised to investigate the violence in Wadas. However, the investigation was not clear in terms of when, how, and what the result was, while Wadas residents remained threatened by further repression. This strategy was used to criticize the reliability of the government, which, in the speaker's perception, did not meet his expectations of a good government. According to Al-Kayed and Al-Ghoweri (2019), this strategy acts as an icebreaker, instilling confidence and openness in the critical process. Although netizens do not know each other personally and do not know either officials or the government, in a democratic country, criticism in the form of distrust or uncertainty about the government's performance and accountability is a citizen's right to strive for a better government.

10. *Emoji Image*

Emoji images can also be used to express indirect criticism. According to Danesi (2017) and Arafah and Hasyim (2019), “emoji” is a Japanese term that refers to images and letters used to support effective conversational messages and emphasize the meaning of a conversation. The frequency of use of this strategy is 1% in this study. An example of its strategy can be found below:

Example 21

Indonesian: “*Hentikan kekerasan* 😞 #WadasMelawan #WadasMemanggil #WadasTolakTambang”

English: “*Stop the violence* 😞 #WadasMelawan #WadasMemanggil #WadasTolakTambang”

The emoji 😞 showed unhappiness toward the apparatus's repressive action. In addition, the emoji of sadness strengthened the disapproval strategy of police violence against Wadas villagers. The semantic and pragmatic function of emojis in conversation is to express the connotative meaning of the user's feelings and emotions and to strengthen meaning and social relationships between users (Arafah & Hasyim, 2019). In this case, the emoji built solidarity among users and Wadas villagers.

IV. DISCUSSION

The data and findings shown above indicate that X (formerly known as Twitter) users tend to use criticism strategies more freely because the distance is unlimited or obscure and because their identities are not revealed. Whereas, according to Jauhari (2018a), when criticizing in a real-life community, for example, in this case, Javanese, it is necessary to follow cultural values, social distance, social status, and gender.

The previous research was carried out in an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) setting (Suharno, 2015; Nguyen, 2005). One of the factors that hinders students from criticizing through the use of the criticism strategy is a lack of confidence and the ability to use English (Nguyen, 2005). Meanwhile, this research reveals that X users tend to use various criticism strategies with ease since they use their native language and are not in a formal and controlled situation like in a classroom. Moreover, the implementation of a criticism strategy in social media and EFL settings varies due to the varied media. The realization in it is oral, while the realization in X is written, which has a limited capacity for using words.

The finding relates to and enriches the previous research on criticism strategy conducted by Alshakhanbeh and Alghazo (2022), Nguyen (2005), Farnia (2015), Al-Kayed and Al-Ghoweri (2019), and Jauhari (2018a). The difference between the current and previous studies is that this study combines the function of the hashtag #WadasMelawan with criticism strategy for social movement justice. This study also enriches earlier studies regarding the use of hashtags in generating social justice movements conducted by Fields et al. (2022), Cao et al. (2022), Datiri (2021), Pratiwi (2021), Apriyani (2021), and P. Sitowin (2019).

V. CONCLUSION

Based on the findings and analysis of the status and comments containing #WadasMelawan on X (formerly known as Twitter), it could be concluded that the hashtag #WadasMelawan and the speech acts of criticism strategy were successfully employed by the users for the social justice movement of Wadas since the hashtag became a trending topic in Indonesia on February 8-9, 2022, with the hashtag being used in 189.000 tweets.

The #WadasMelawan had functioned in expressing victimhood, which raised empathy for the Wadas villagers as the victims of oppression and injustice in government decisions. The #WadasMelawan hashtag helped create solidarity that supported Wadas villagers in their fight for the land and to protest the unjust actions and decisions made by the government. The integrating hashtag and the hashtag alone had the same function of fostering solidarity and empathy among X users. Furthermore, the speech acts of criticism strategy used in tweets containing #WadasMelawan were used in both direct strategies and indirect strategies.

The direct strategies employed by X users were negative evaluation, disapproval, expression of disagreement, statement of difficulties, and consequences. X users utilized indirect strategies, which included correction, indicating standards, preaching, demand for change, advice about change, expression of uncertainty, asking/presupposing, sarcasm, and other

indirect strategies such as emojis and pictures. These strategies aimed not only to gain sympathy and support from X users for Wadas but also to criticize the actions and decisions of the government and other responsible parties regarding Wadas.

The criticism towards the government about Wadas on X was a form of democracy and citizen concern that supports good governance by upholding human rights and *Pancasila* ideology values. The #WadasMelawan function and speech act of criticism strategy was an integral component in voicing the social movement justice for Wadas on X since it amplified and raised solidarity for Wadas from domestic and international users and groups such as Green Peace and Friends of the Earth Asia Pacific. Thus, the social justice movement on X was part of Wadas and global activists' efforts to echo social justice movements around the world.

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