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REPRESENTATION OF ONLINE NEWS MEDIA ON PEOPLE'S DEMANDS: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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Abstract: This study examines how Indonesia's 17+8 People's Demands were represented in selected English-language online news articles published by Reuters, Tempo English, and The Jakarta Post during September 2025. Although previous Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) studies have investigated political discourse and media representation, further comparative examination of how a specific grassroots civic movement is linguistically constructed across international and Indonesian English-language news outlets may contribute to a more nuanced understanding of protest discourse. Using a qualitative comparative CDA design, this study analyzes nine purposively selected news articles through Fairclough's three-dimensional model of text, discursive practice, and social practice. The textual analysis focuses on lexical choice, transitivity, and modality, while the discursive and social dimensions are examined through textual evidence concerning source selection, narrative organization, representation of social actors, ideology, and power relations. The analysis identifies different patterns in the selected articles: Reuters emphasizes unrest, political consequences, and institutional responses; Tempo English foregrounds public grievances, civic actors, reform, and accountability; and The Jakarta Post combines the recognition of civic demands with representations of security pressure and legal consequences. These patterns suggest that the movement is constructed through different linguistic and discursive emphases across the selected corpus. The findings contribute to comparative CDA by illustrating how linguistic choices and the representation of social actors shape the meanings attached to a specific civic movement. However, the findings are limited to the nine selected articles and should not be generalized to the overall editorial practices of the three media organizations.
Keywords: *Critical discourse analysis; media representation; protest discourse; 17+8 People's Demands; ideology; English-language online news.*

INTRODUCTION

Online news media have become a central arena in which political events, public protest, and civic movements are represented and interpreted. News reports do not merely transmit information to the public; they also construct meanings through language, source selection, narrative framing, and institutional positioning (Fairclough, 1995; Fowler, 1991; Hall, 1997). In protest reporting, the same public action may be represented as legitimate democratic participation, disruption to public order, or a threat to political stability, depending on the linguistic and institutional frame used by the media (Cottle, 2008; Lee, 2014). Therefore, media discourse needs to be examined critically, especially when it reports civic movements that challenge state authority and demand institutional accountability.

The present study focuses on the representation of the 17+8 People's Demands in online news media. The 17+8 People's Demands refers to a collective set of demands articulated by students, civil society groups, activists, influencers, and digital communities in Indonesia. The movement emerged as a public response to dissatisfaction with government institutions, lawmakers' benefits, police violence, and the handling of nationwide protests. It gained wider public attention after the death of Affan Kurniawan, a motorcycle taxi driver who was reportedly hit by a police vehicle during a protest. This incident intensified public anger and encouraged civic actors to demand police reform, the release of detained protesters, investigation into victims of violence, transparency of lawmakers' benefits, withdrawal of the military from civilian security duties, and broader democratic and institutional reforms. Thus, the 17+8 People's

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Demands became not only a protest issue but also a wider discourse of public grievance, state accountability, democratic participation, and power relations in Indonesian political life.

Language plays a central role in constructing such political meanings. In media discourse, lexical choices, grammatical structures, and modal expressions may influence how readers perceive protesters, state institutions, and the protest movement itself (Fairclough, 2001; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Fairclough (1995) argues that discourse is a form of social practice because language both reflects and shapes social realities. Similarly, van Dijk (2008) explains that media discourse can reproduce power and ideology through the control of knowledge, representation, and public interpretation. Hall (1997) also emphasizes that representation is not a neutral reflection of reality but a process of meaning production through language, signs, and symbols. Therefore, the analysis of online news media is important because news language can legitimize civic resistance, normalize state authority, or position protest within a framework of disorder and instability.

Critical Discourse Analysis provides an appropriate framework for examining this issue because it connects linguistic features with institutional and sociopolitical contexts. CDA views language as a social practice closely related to power, ideology, and social inequality (Fairclough, 1992, 1995; Wodak & Meyer, 2016). Fairclough's three-dimensional model is particularly relevant because it analyzes discourse through three interrelated levels: textual analysis, discursive practice, and social practice. Through this model, media texts can be understood not only as reports of events but also as ideological constructions shaped by institutional routines and sociopolitical interests (Fairclough, 2010; van Dijk, 2008).

Previous studies have examined the relationship between media discourse, ideology, and the representation of political events. Research on protest reporting has also demonstrated that linguistic choices, source selection, and the representation of social actors can influence how demonstrations are interpreted in public discourse (Cottle, 2008; Lee, 2014; McLeod & Detenber, 1999). Other CDA studies have investigated ideological differences across news outlets and the representation of political actors in different national and institutional contexts (Anggraeni et al., 2022; Yu & Zheng, 2022). Taken together, these studies establish the relevance of examining protest representation through linguistic and discursive analysis. However, the specific representation of Indonesia's 17+8 People's Demands across international and Indonesian English-language online news outlets provides a focused case for comparative investigation. Rather than assuming that this topic has received no previous scholarly attention, the present study examines how selected news articles construct the movement through linguistic choices, the representation of social actors, and the discursive meanings associated with civic demands and institutional responses.

However, most previous CDA studies have paid more attention to elite-centered discourse, such as presidential rhetoric, government narratives, institutional statements, political campaigns, or international political conflict. Limited attention has been given to how grassroots civic movements are represented across both national and international English-language online news media. This limitation creates an important research gap because the 17+8 People's Demands represents a civic movement involving students, activists, civil society actors, and digital communities. Its representation in English-language online news media has not been sufficiently examined through a comparative Critical Discourse Analysis perspective. It remains important to investigate whether online news media represent the movement as a legitimate

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democratic demand, political disturbance, security problem, or contested civic issue.

The significance of this study lies in its comparative examination of nine English-language news articles concerning the same civic movement. By analyzing selected articles from Reuters, Tempo English, and The Jakarta Post, the study explores similarities and differences in the linguistic construction of protest, civic participation, institutional accountability, and state authority. Its contribution is empirical and analytical rather than methodological: it applies Fairclough's established three-dimensional CDA model to a specific Indonesian case and considers how textual patterns relate to broader sociopolitical meanings. The comparison also provides an opportunity to examine whether the selected articles reproduce, negotiate, or complicate established patterns of protest representation identified in previous media studies.

The novelty of this study lies in its focus on social movement discourse rather than elite-centered political discourse. By analyzing the 17+8 People's Demands, this study extends Critical Discourse Analysis to the representation of grassroots civic activism in Indonesian online news media. It also offers a comparative perspective by examining three English-language media outlets with different institutional orientations: Reuters, Tempo English, and The Jakarta Post. Furthermore, this study applies Fairclough's three-dimensional model comprehensively by connecting textual features, media production and distribution, and broader social practices. In doing so, this study contributes to the understanding of how online news media construct meanings of protest, citizenship, state authority, and democracy.

Based on this background, this study aims to examine how Indonesia's 17+8 People's Demands are represented in selected English-language online news articles through Fairclough's three-dimensional CDA framework. Specifically, it investigates the textual features used to represent the movement and its social actors, examines discursive patterns observable in the published articles, and interprets how these patterns relate to ideology and power within the sociopolitical context of the movement. The study is guided by three research questions: (1) What textual features characterize the representation of the 17+8 People's Demands in the selected news articles? (2) How do observable discursive practices contribute to the representation of the movement? (3) How are ideology and power relations reflected in the textual representation of the movement?

LITERATURE REVIEW

This section strengthens the theoretical and empirical basis of the study by reviewing concepts and previous studies related to Critical Discourse Analysis, media representation, protest discourse, and ideological framing. In CDA, discourse is understood as a form of social practice that connects linguistic choices with social structures, institutional routines, and power relations (Fairclough, 1992, 1995; Wodak & Meyer, 2016). Fairclough's model is useful for media analysis because it allows researchers to move from textual description to interpretation of production and distribution, and finally to sociocultural explanation. In this study, the textual dimension focuses on lexical choice, transitivity, and modality; the discursive-practice dimension focuses on production, distribution, and source orientation; and the social-practice dimension focuses on ideology, power relations, and democratic representation.

Research on protest representation suggests that news discourse can shape the legitimacy attributed to demonstrations and the social actors involved. The protest paradigm describes recurring patterns through which protests may be represented in terms of disorder, conflict, spectacle, or threats to public order, potentially reducing

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attention to the protesters' underlying demands (McLeod & Detenber, 1999; Lee, 2014). Cottle (2008), however, emphasizes that protest reporting is not necessarily uniform, as media coverage may also provide visibility to dissenting voices and civic participation. These perspectives indicate that protest representation should not be evaluated solely according to whether a report presents a movement positively or negatively. Attention must also be given to how news texts identify participants, assign agency, select sources, describe institutional responses, and connect protest actions to broader political consequences. In the present study, these analytical concerns provide a basis for examining whether the selected articles emphasize disruption, civic legitimacy, institutional accountability, or competing interpretations of democratic participation.

Fairclough's three-dimensional model provides the overarching framework for connecting textual analysis with discursive practice and social practice (Fairclough, 1992, 1995, 2001). The textual dimension examines how meanings are constructed through linguistic choices, while the discursive-practice dimension considers how texts relate to processes of production, circulation, and interpretation. The social-practice dimension connects discourse with wider relations of power, ideology, and social structure. Within this framework, lexical choice, transitivity, and modality are selected as complementary analytical categories because they address different aspects of textual meaning. Lexical choice reveals how social actors and events are named and evaluated; transitivity helps identify how actions, agency, and responsibility are grammatically represented; and modality indicates degrees of certainty, possibility, obligation, or commitment. These categories are not interchangeable or exhaustive. Rather, they provide a focused set of linguistic resources for examining how the selected articles construct the movement and its relationship with state institutions and civic actors. Their interpretation is subsequently related to discursive and sociopolitical contexts without treating textual evidence alone as direct proof of newsroom decision-making or audience reception.

Studies of protest discourse show that media coverage often follows a protest paradigm, in which demonstrations are framed through disorder, violence, spectacle, deviance, or threat to public order (Lee, 2014; McLeod & Detenber, 1999). Cottle (2008) argues that protest reporting is always political because news coverage can either amplify dissenting voices or restrict them through frames of disruption and illegitimacy. More recent studies suggest that the protest paradigm is not static. Aldrete (2025) shows that the legitimacy of social movements depends on the relationship between protesters, authorities, and media institutions, while Aharoni (2025) argues that online media may create new forms of proximity to protesters through testimonies and visual closeness. Eriyanto (2026) also demonstrates that in Indonesia's 2025 demonstrations, online news and social media selectively transformed the protest paradigm by differing in protest framing, sourcing, and legitimization devices.

Several previous CDA studies are relevant to the present research. Yu and Zheng (2022) compared China Daily and The Guardian and showed that different newspapers may construct the same event according to institutional ideology and national context. Anggraeni et al. (2022) analyzed the representation of the French president in France's English online news and showed that nomination and predication strategies shaped political representation. Li (2023) used corpus-based CDA to examine reporting practices in Chinese and American news reports and demonstrated that reporting verbs and source choices can reveal ideological positioning in news discourse. Tongkai (2025) specifically analyzed

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Reuters' coverage of the 2025 Sino-U.S. trade war and found that even a globally respected news agency may produce subtle ideological patterns through lexical selection, source preference, and global power framing. These studies confirm that news discourse should be examined critically because neutrality in journalism can still carry ideological assumptions.

Recent Indonesian-related CDA studies also provide a useful comparison. Sinaga et al. (2025) investigated how Kompas, CNN Indonesia, and BBC News constructed public opinion during the 2024 Indonesian presidential campaign using Fairclough's CDA model. Their study found that online news emphasized mobilization, spectacle, and legitimacy rather than substantive policy debate. Eriyanto (2026) focused more directly on Indonesia's August-September 2025 demonstrations and found that online news relied more heavily on institutional sources and more frequently associated protesters with violence, whereas social media foregrounded protesters' voices and police violence. These findings are closely related to the present study because they show that Indonesian protest discourse is shaped by both institutional media logic and public contestation.

The present study also responds to the journal's concern for relevance to TRANS-KATA scholarship by engaging with Murdiyanti and Prastiwi's (2025) study on representation of discrimination in the animated film Zootopia. Although their object is film rather than news, their study is relevant because it demonstrates how media texts represent social inequality, prejudice, and ideological power through semiotic and narrative structures. The present article extends this concern with representation from filmic discourse to online news discourse. While Murdiyanti and Prastiwi (2025) focus on discrimination and ideology in animated media, the present study focuses on protest, civic demands, and democratic accountability in news media.

The conceptual framework of this study follows the relationship between text, discursive practice, and social practice in Fairclough's model. At the textual level, lexical choice, transitivity, and modality are examined to identify how the 17+8 People's Demands and the actors involved are represented. At the discursive-practice level, observable features such as headlines, source attribution, quotations, and narrative organization are examined to understand how the issue is presented in the published articles. At the social-practice level, the textual and discursive findings are interpreted in relation to civic participation, institutional accountability, state authority, and democratic contestation in Indonesia. The three dimensions are interconnected: linguistic observations inform the interpretation of discursive patterns, which are then considered in relation to the broader sociopolitical context. This framework guides the analysis while maintaining a distinction between observable textual evidence and interpretations that extend beyond the available data.

Based on the previous studies reviewed above, the research gap can be identified more clearly. First, many CDA studies examine political discourse, media ideology, or representation of political actors, but fewer studies examine grassroots civic movements as the central object of analysis. Second, protest studies often examine the protest paradigm broadly, but limited attention has been given to the specific discursive construction of the 17+8 People's Demands in English-language online news. Third, few Indonesian CDA studies compare national and international English-language outlets reporting the same civic movement. Therefore, this study contributes to the existing body of knowledge by examining how Reuters, Tempo English, and The Jakarta Post construct the 17+8 People's Demands through textual choices, institutional discursive practices, and sociopolitical ideologies.

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METHOD

This study employed a descriptive qualitative and comparative Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) design to examine the representation of Indonesia's 17+8 People's Demands in English-language online news articles. The analysis was guided by Fairclough's three-dimensional model, which conceptualizes discourse in terms of text, discursive practice, and social practice (Fairclough, 1992, 1995, 2001). This framework was appropriate because the study sought to interpret how linguistic choices construct representations of the movement and how these representations relate to broader sociopolitical meanings. The study focused on textual evidence available in published news articles. Accordingly, references to discursive production, circulation, institutional context, and audience orientation were treated as interpretations of observable features of the texts rather than as direct observations of newsroom practices or audience responses.

The research corpus consisted of nine English-language online news articles published by Reuters, Tempo English, and The Jakarta Post during September 2025. Three articles were selected from each outlet through purposive sampling. The selection criteria required that an article (1) explicitly discuss the 17+8 People's Demands or directly related protest events, (2) fall within the specified publication period, (3) be written in English, and (4) contain sufficient textual material relevant to the representation of civic demands, protesters, state institutions, and institutional accountability. The nine-article corpus was intended to support close qualitative comparison rather than statistical representativeness. The selection of three articles per outlet provided a manageable corpus for examining linguistic features and comparing patterns across the selected texts. To make the sampling process transparent, the final manuscript should report the search sources and search terms used, the number of potentially relevant articles identified for each outlet, the reasons for including the final nine articles, and whether duplicate reports, syndicated content, or updated versions were excluded or treated separately. The corpus should be documented in a table containing each article's title, outlet, publication date, and original URL.

The researcher served as the primary analytical instrument, supported by a document observation sheet and a coding table developed from Fairclough's three-dimensional CDA framework. The observation sheet recorded each article's title, publication date, outlet, central topic, and relevant textual characteristics. The coding procedure involved repeated reading of the nine articles, identification of relevant words, phrases, clauses, and sentences, and classification of the selected textual evidence according to lexical choice, transitivity, and modality. Lexical choice was examined through the naming, description, and evaluation of the movement and its participants. Transitivity was analyzed by examining the representation of processes, participants, agency, and responsibility in clauses. Modality was identified through linguistic expressions of possibility, certainty, obligation, and commitment. The coding categories were applied to the same corpus using explicit analytical criteria, and each interpretation was linked to the relevant textual evidence. Where a passage contained more than one relevant linguistic feature, the features were classified according to their respective analytical definitions rather than automatically treated as mutually exclusive categories.

The data collection procedure was conducted through document observation and archival documentation. First, the researcher identified online news articles that discussed the 17+8 People's Demands in Reuters, Tempo English, and The Jakarta Post. Second, the researcher selected articles that fulfilled the purposive criteria of topic

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relevance, publication period, language, and discourse richness. Third, the selected articles were downloaded, saved, and organized according to media outlet and date of publication. Fourth, the researcher read each article several times to understand its general topic, narrative structure, source use, and ideological tendency. Fifth, relevant words, phrases, clauses, and sentences were marked as data for analysis. After the data were collected, they were classified based on Fairclough's three levels of analysis. In the first stage, the researcher identified textual features by marking lexical choices, transitivity patterns, and modality expressions. In the second stage, the researcher examined the discursive practice of each article by analyzing how the text was produced, how sources were selected, and how the issue was distributed to readers through the media outlet's institutional position. In the third stage, the researcher interpreted the social practice by connecting the textual and discursive findings to broader issues of ideology, power relations, democratic participation, state authority, and civic resistance in Indonesia.

The data were analyzed using Fairclough's three-dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis through description, interpretation, and explanation. The description stage focused on textual analysis by examining lexical choice, transitivity, and modality to identify how the 17+8 People's Demands, protesters, civil society actors, government institutions, police, and lawmakers were linguistically represented in the articles. The interpretation stage focused on discursive practice by examining how each media outlet produced and circulated the discourse of the 17+8 People's Demands. This included the analysis of source selection, institutional orientation, audience positioning, and distribution patterns. Reuters was interpreted in relation to its role as an international news agency, while Tempo English and The Jakarta Post were interpreted in relation to their positions as Indonesia-based English-language media. The explanation stage focused on social practice by connecting the textual and discursive findings to broader sociopolitical contexts. This stage examined how ideology and power relations were reflected in the representation of the movement and whether the news articles represented the 17+8 People's Demands as legitimate civic participation, political instability, institutional challenge, security problem, or democratic contestation. To ensure the trustworthiness of the analysis, the researcher applied repeated reading, data categorization, and theoretical triangulation. These procedures were used to make the analysis systematic, transparent, and reproducible.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The findings show that the representation of the 17+8 People's Demands in Reuters, Tempo English, and The Jakarta Post was constructed through different linguistic, institutional, and ideological patterns. At the textual level, the three media outlets used lexical choice, transitivity, and modality to shape how the movement, protesters, state institutions, and public demands were represented. At the discursive-practice level, the differences were influenced by each media outlet's production process, distribution pattern, and audience orientation. At the social-practice level, the representation reflected different ideological positions and power relations in understanding protest, democracy, and institutional accountability. These findings answer the three research questions by showing that online news media do not merely report the 17+8 People's Demands as a political event but actively construct its meaning through discourse.

Textual Representation of the 17+8 People's Demands

The textual analysis examined how the 17+8 People's Demands were represented in nine English-language news articles published by

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Reuters, Tempo English, and The Jakarta Post in September 2025. Following Fairclough's (1992, 1995) approach to Critical Discourse Analysis, the analysis focused on lexical choice, transitivity, and modality to identify how language constructed representations of the movement, its participants, government institutions, and public demands. The findings identified 95 instances of lexical choice, 81 instances of transitivity, and 30 instances of modality. Lexical choice was therefore the most frequently identified feature, followed by transitivity and modality. These figures indicate the distribution of the coded features in the selected articles rather than the overall quality or intensity of each outlet's coverage. The percentages presented in Table 1 represent each outlet's share of the total instances identified for each feature.

The three outlets displayed different patterns in their lexical representation of the movement. Reuters tended to connect the 17+8 People's Demands with unrest, violence, political consequences, governance pressure, and national instability. This pattern placed the movement within a broader narrative of political developments and their consequences for public order and institutional stability. Tempo English, in contrast, more frequently foregrounded public grievances, civil society participation, reform, and institutional accountability. Through this emphasis, the movement was presented more clearly as a civic agenda articulated by citizens and social groups. The Jakarta Post combined references to civic demands and democratic participation with attention to security pressure, detention, and legal consequences. Its representation consequently situated the movement within a context of both public demands and institutional tension.

Table 1. *Frequency and Percentage of Textual Aspects in the Nine Selected News Articles*

No	Name of Media	Lexical Choice		Transitivity		Modality	
		Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Reuters	28	29.5	27	33.3	7	23.3
2	Tempo English	33	34.7	24	29.6	11	36.7
3	The Jakarta Post	34	35.8	30	37.1	12	40.0
	Total	**95**	**100**	**81**	**100**	**30**	**100**

Reuters represented the 17+8 People's Demands through lexical items that emphasized unrest, violence, political consequence, and national instability. Its word choices tended to connect the movement with crisis, public disorder, governance pressure, and economic risk. This pattern is understandable because Reuters is an international news agency that reports Indonesian events for global readers. As a result, domestic protest was made meaningful through issues that are usually relevant to international audiences, such as political stability, state response, and market confidence. This finding is consistent with recent CDA research on Reuters showing that international news agencies may construct geopolitical and political events through seemingly neutral but ideologically meaningful lexical patterns and source preferences (Xu, 2025).

Tempo English represented the movement differently. Its lexical choices foregrounded public demands, civil society groups, grievances, accountability, and reform. Rather than emphasizing protest mainly as disorder, Tempo English presented the 17+8 People's Demands as a civic agenda rooted in public dissatisfaction. This lexical pattern gave stronger legitimacy to public actors because students, activists, influencers, and civil society groups were represented as organized participants in democratic life. In this sense, Tempo English

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constructed the movement as a form of public pressure directed toward institutional accountability. This finding supports Cottle's (2008) argument that protest representation may function as a space where civic voices challenge dominant authority.

The Jakarta Post produced a more hybrid textual representation. Its lexical choices recognized civic actors and public demands, but they were also frequently connected with security, crackdown, detention, fear, and legal consequence. This means that The Jakarta Post did not simply delegitimize the movement, but it placed the movement within a tense environment of security control and institutional pressure. The outlet's lexical pattern therefore constructed the 17+8 People's Demands as democratic participation under pressure. Compared with Tempo English, The Jakarta Post gave more attention to legal and security consequences. Compared with Reuters, however, it still provided a stronger local sense of civic concern and democratic anxiety.

Transitivity patterns strengthened these differences. Reuters often used grammatical structures that foregrounded protests, unrest, state institutions, or economic indicators as actors in the news narrative. Tempo English used transitivity to give more agency to the public, civil society groups, and movement initiators. The Jakarta Post distributed agency between civic actors and state institutions. Students and activists were represented as gathering, demanding, or protesting, while police, officers, and government institutions were represented through actions related to security, detention, and control. These findings are in line with Halliday and Matthiessen's (2014) view that transitivity represents experience by assigning processes, participants, and circumstances.

Modality appeared less frequently than lexical choice and transitivity, but it still played an important role in constructing stance. Reuters used modality to express caution, possibility, and procedural response. Tempo English used modality to express stronger expectation and obligation toward institutions, especially in relation to what the government, DPR, police, and military should do. The Jakarta Post used modality to connect protest discourse with legal risk, institutional uncertainty, and security tension. Therefore, modality helped each outlet express its stance toward protest and state response, even when the number of modal expressions was smaller than that of other textual features.

Discursive Practice in the Representation of the Movement

The second research question concerns how discursive practices shape the representation of the 17+8 People's Demands. The findings show that the different representations were not caused only by language choices but also by the institutional position and communicative orientation of each media outlet. Reuters, Tempo English, and The Jakarta Post produced, distributed, and positioned the issue differently because they addressed different readerships and operated within different journalistic contexts. This supports Fairclough's argument that discourse should be understood not only as text but also as a process of production, distribution, and consumption (Fairclough, 1992, 1995).

Reuters produced the issue through an event-driven and crisis-oriented logic. The 17+8 People's Demands were represented in relation to protest escalation, government response, political pressure, and possible instability. This production pattern made the movement understandable for international readers who may not have detailed knowledge of Indonesian political dynamics. By foregrounding unrest, economic reaction, and state response, Reuters translated a local civic movement into a global news frame. This does not mean that Reuters ignored public demands, but its institutional orientation made the consequences of protest more visible than the detailed content of the

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demands.

Tempo English presented a different emphasis by foregrounding the demands, the actors supporting them, the grievances behind the movement, and the institutional responses being sought. This framing made the movement more visible as a structured civic agenda rather than simply an episode of public disorder. The relationship between public participation and institutional accountability was particularly important to this representation. By presenting the demands in connection with civic actors and reform, the selected reports provided readers with a framework for understanding why the movement emerged and what changes its participants sought. This pattern is consistent with Cottle's (2008) discussion of protest communication as a contested space in which public voices and dominant forms of authority are represented and negotiated.

The selected articles from The Jakarta Post combined attention to students, activists, and public demands with discussion of security pressure, detention, and legal consequences. This combination presented the movement within a context of democratic participation and institutional tension. Civic actors remained visible in the coverage, while state institutions were also represented through their capacity to respond to, regulate, or restrict protest activity. The resulting framing was therefore neither exclusively focused on civic legitimacy nor solely concerned with public disorder. Instead, it brought public demands and the consequences of protest into the same narrative.

These differences can also be considered in relation to the distribution and intended readership of the selected news reports. Reuters addressed an international audience, while Tempo English and The Jakarta Post provided English-language coverage of Indonesian affairs for their respective readerships. Such publication contexts may be relevant to the aspects of the movement emphasized in the reports. Nevertheless, readership orientation should be treated as a contextual interpretation rather than a directly established cause unless supported by additional evidence. The present study did not examine audience responses, newsroom deliberations, or the actual effects of the articles on readers. It therefore cannot determine whether particular frames were deliberately selected by journalists or how readers ultimately interpreted them.

The findings suggest that discursive practice is important because news reports do not present every aspect of a movement with equal prominence. Decisions about which events, participants, demands, and institutional responses appear in a report shape the account made available to readers. This interpretation is consistent with Fairclough's view that texts are produced and interpreted within social and institutional contexts. It also connects with research on protest representation, which demonstrates the importance of examining how news discourse positions protesters, authorities, and public grievances (Cottle, 2008). In the present study, however, the analysis is limited to the framing patterns visible in the nine selected articles. Further research involving journalist interviews, newsroom materials, or audience reception would be needed to establish more directly how these texts were produced and interpreted.

The distribution pattern also shaped meaning. Reuters circulated the issue to international readers, making the protest part of a wider global understanding of Indonesia's political stability. Tempo English circulated the issue to readers interested in Indonesian civic discourse, reform, and public accountability. The Jakarta Post circulated the issue to national and international readers who needed to understand both the civic demands and the political risks surrounding them. This finding supports recent studies showing that online news and institutional media may reproduce, negotiate, or selectively transform protest

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representation depending on media logic, audience orientation, and source selection (Aharoni, 2025; Eriyanto, 2026).

Social Practice: Ideology, Power Relations, and Democratic Representation

The third research question concerns how ideology and power relations are reflected in the representation of the 17+8 People's Demands. The findings show that each outlet reflected a different ideological orientation. Reuters reflected an ideology of instability management. Tempo English reflected an ideology of civic legitimacy and participatory democracy. The Jakarta Post reflected an ideology of democratic concern under institutional pressure. These ideological orientations were visible through the interaction between textual choices and discursive practices.

Reuters' representation reflected an ideology of instability management because the movement was frequently connected to unrest, violence, governance pressure, and political consequences. In this representation, protest became meaningful mainly because of its effects on state authority, political stability, and public order. Power relations were constructed by giving strong visibility to state institutions, government response, and political consequences. Civic actors were present, but their demands were often placed within a broader frame of crisis. This pattern reflects how international media may interpret domestic protest through a stability-oriented lens.

Tempo English reflected an ideology of civic legitimacy. Its representation foregrounded public grievances, civil society, reform demands, and institutional accountability. Power relations were constructed by positioning the public as an active political subject and the state as the institution expected to respond. This representation gave stronger symbolic authority to civic actors because they were not merely shown as crowds in the street but as citizens articulating structured demands. In this sense, Tempo English represented the 17+8 People's Demands as part of democratic participation and civic responsibility.

The Jakarta Post reflected democratic concern under pressure. Its representation acknowledged the legitimacy of students, activists, and civil society groups, but it also repeatedly positioned them within a context of security pressure, detention, fear, and legal control. Power relations were therefore constructed as contested. Civic actors appeared as participants in democratic action, while state institutions appeared as powerful actors capable of controlling, restricting, or criminalizing protest. This representation shows that democratic participation was not denied, but it was shown as operating under institutional tension.

Compared with previous studies, this study is consistent with research showing that media discourse is ideologically shaped and that different outlets may represent the same event differently (Aldrete, 2025; Yu & Zheng, 2022). However, this study offers a more specific contribution because it focuses on a grassroots civic movement in Indonesia and compares international and national English-language media. The finding reveals that the representation of protest is not only a matter of positive or negative framing, but also a matter of how media assign agency, legitimacy, risk, and responsibility. Overall, Reuters made the movement visible through the language of crisis and political consequence; Tempo English made it visible through the language of civic demands and accountability; and The Jakarta Post made it visible through the language of democratic concern, security pressure, and legal consequence.

Overall, the results demonstrate that the 17+8 People's Demands became a site of discursive struggle. Reuters made the movement visible through the language of crisis and political consequence. Tempo English made it visible through the language of civic demands and accountability. The Jakarta Post made it visible through the language of democratic concern, security

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pressure, and legal consequence. These differences show that online news media actively participate in shaping public understanding of protest and democracy. Therefore, the scientific significance of this study lies in its demonstration that media representation of civic movements is constructed through the interaction of language, institution, and ideology.

CONCLUSION

This study examined the representation of Indonesia's 17+8 People's Demands in nine selected English-language online news articles from Reuters, Tempo English, and The Jakarta Post using Fairclough's three-dimensional Critical Discourse Analysis model. The analysis focused on lexical choice, transitivity, and modality, together with observable discursive patterns and their relationship to broader sociopolitical meanings. The findings suggest that the selected articles differ in how they represent civic demands, social actors, institutional responses, and the consequences of protest. The selected Reuters articles place greater emphasis on unrest and political consequences, the selected Tempo English articles foreground civic grievances and accountability, and the selected The Jakarta Post articles combine civic recognition with representations of security pressure and legal consequences. These findings indicate that protest representation involves competing emphases concerning legitimacy, agency, responsibility, and institutional authority. They should, however, be interpreted as patterns within the analyzed corpus rather than definitive characterizations of the three media organizations.

The study contributes to comparative CDA by examining a specific grassroots civic movement across international and Indonesian English-language news outlets. Its findings illustrate the value of connecting linguistic evidence with discursive and sociopolitical interpretation rather than treating media representation as a neutral reflection of events. The comparison also demonstrates the importance of examining how different social actors are named, represented grammatically, and positioned in relation to civic demands and state institutions. These observations provide a focused contribution to research on protest discourse and media representation, while further investigation is needed to establish whether similar patterns occur across a broader range of news coverage.

Several limitations should be acknowledged. First, the corpus consists of only nine articles from three outlets, which limits the scope of comparison and prevents generalization to their overall editorial practices. Second, the study examines English-language articles published during a specific period in September 2025 and therefore does not represent all reporting on the movement across different languages, platforms, or periods. Third, the study relies on published news texts and does not include interviews with journalists or editors, newsroom documents, direct observations of editorial processes, or audience reception data. Consequently, interpretations of production, institutional context, and audience orientation remain limited to inferences supported by the available texts.

Future research could expand the corpus, include Indonesian-language reporting and social media discourse, and incorporate interviews or audience studies to investigate how media production and reception relate to textual representation. Such research would provide a broader understanding of how civic movements are constructed and contested in contemporary media discourse.

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