



# HATE SPEECH ON ROCKY GERUNG OFFICIAL YOUTUBE CHANNEL AGAINST PRESIDENT JOKO WIDODO: A PRAGMATIC STUDY

by

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## ABSTRACT

*This study aims to reveal two things, namely the forms of hate speech on the Rocky Gerung Official youtube channel against President Joko Widodo and the forms of illocutionary speech acts in hate speech on the Rocky Gerung Official youtube channel against President Joko Widodo. This type of research is qualitative research with a pragmatic approach. The method used in this study, namely the method of listening to the technique of documentation and note-taking techniques. The data sources for this research are videos on the Rocky Gerung Official youtube channel in 2021-2022. The population of this research is the entire speech containing hate speech on the Rocky Gerung youtube channel. Sampling was done purposively. The data analysis of this research was done descriptively. The results of this study indicate that on the Rocky Gerung Official youtube channel there are six forms of hate speech against President Joko Widodo, namely insults, defamation, unpleasant acts, provocation, incitement, and spreading of false news and there are four forms of illocutionary speech acts in hate speech. Towards President Joko Widodo in the form of assertive, expressive, commissive, and declarative with each function, namely, stating, informing, promising, angry, feeling funny, and giving names.*

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The development of language is closely related to the advancement of internet technology today. Internet media which is growing rapidly is very influential in the use of language. People as language users are aware of the ease of accessing internet media so they choose internet media as one of the main communication media for interacting with other people. Time efficiency, cutting-edge features, and not being limited by distance are internet conveniences that are not found in other communication media.

The ease and freedom of using the internet as a means of communication also have an impact on the way people express and speak. Young people as the most internet media users today are expected to act wisely in conveying information, expressing ideas, and opinions, or conveying criticism. The wise attitude in question is in the form of language politeness as a form of communication ethics. This needs to be considered because language is a reflection of one's personality and the personality of the people of a nation can not be separated from the way of language that is good and right.

Speech containing hate speech is an act of verbal impoliteness that has a tremendous effect on the target audience and non-target listeners. Every speaker has a motivation and an element of intentionality in speaking for the purpose in communicating, namely wanting to convey what is in his thoughts and feelings.

Hate speech is speech that intimidates people from certain social groups that are oriented towards differences in race, national origin, religion, and gender. Hate speech is rife in the internet mass media. Internet mass media is an online media where users can easily participate, share, and create content, including blogs, YouTube, social networks ( Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, and so on), and other sites.

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Unwise use of the internet or misuse of the internet can lead to cybercrime. Cyber crimes can be in the form of banking crimes, online prostitution, online fraud, to acts of hate speech. Therefore, every internet user should be wise in using the internet as a means of communication.

Hate speech has become one of the phenomena that in recent years has been increasingly in the spotlight in various news reports in Indonesia. Freedom of expression is generally the basis for hate speech. Internet media with a wide reach provides the widest possible freedom for users to express themselves, attitudes, views on life, opinions, or even simply express their dislike of something. However, the use of social media that creates conflict or is categorized as a cybercrime can harm its users. Therefore, every public needs to know government regulations regarding interaction in internet mass media as regulated in the Information Technology and Electronic (ITE) Law number 19 of 2016 which is an amendment to Law number 11 of 2008. The matters summarized in The ITE Law changes, namely, violating decency, gambling, humiliation, and/or defamation, extortion and/or threats, spreading false and misleading news that results in consumer losses, and spreading hatred or hostility towards certain individuals/community groups based on ethnicity, religion, race, and intergroup (SARA).

The cases of hate speech that increase every year have made the Chief of the Indonesian National Police (Kapolri) take a firm stance by issuing Circular Letter Number: SE/6/X/2015 concerning the Handling of Hate Speech. The letter mentions seven forms of hate speech, namely insults, defamation, blasphemy, unpleasant acts, provoking, inciting, and spreading false news.

In January 2021, the Global Web Index (GWI) released the results of a survey on social media use. In the report, a survey was conducted in 47 countries based on the average amount of time (in hours and minutes) and internet users aged 16–64 years who spend time using social media per day. The report shows Indonesia is in 9th position as a country with users who spend a lot of time using social media. This can be a reference that the increase in hate speech on social media is due to the increasing number of social media users and so much time being spent on social media.

In March 2021 the Public Relations Division of the Republic of Indonesia Police (Divhumas Polri) informed that there has been an increase in reports received by the police regarding the Electronic Information and Transactions Law (UU ITE) from year to year. Bareskrim Polri data shows that at least 4,360 reports to the police were received in 2018. Then it increased to 4,586 in 2019 and increased to 4,790 in 2020. Based on the increase in cases that occur each year, the National Police recorded the highest cases of all reports related to the ITE Law were cases regarding defamation, fake news, and hate speech.

Electronic transactions play a very important role in the spread of hate speech. Quoted from Beritasatu.com online news, as of January 2021, Indonesia has 202.6 million internet users. This number increased by 27 million people or 16% compared to the previous year. Youtube is still the most popular mass media in Indonesia. The number of youtube users reaches 94% with the age range in the range of 16 to 64 years. This figure is based on a survey conducted by GlobalWebIndex (GWI) in the third quarter of 2020.

The use of YouTube as the most popular media in Indonesia today is inseparable from its advantages compared to other internet media. Youtube was chosen as the media limit in this study for several factors, namely: first, YouTube is the most popular internet mass media today; secondly, youtube has the aim of helping its users to share, upload, download, and comment on videos or the contents of a content; Third, in contrast to other internet mass media, YouTube allows users to upload videos without a duration limit so that it is more satisfying for the audience's curiosity.

The YouTube channel has recently been in the spotlight because it contains content related to government politics in Indonesia. A channel called Rocky Gerung Official which until now has around 1.12 million followers and the number is monitored to increase every day. The channel contains videos of conversations between Hersubeno Arief (hereinafter abbreviated as HA) and Rocky Gerung (hereinafter abbreviated as RG) who are often said to use too bold diction and are often considered insulting to the government.

On January 30, 2019, Tempo.Co once reported on RG which was reported by Permadi, the Head of Cyber Indonesia because it was considered to have alluded to the existence of the holy book. Permadi took issue with the speech during the Indonesia Lawyers Club (ILC) live broadcast on TV One on Tuesday night, April 10 2018.

“Fiction scripture or not? Who dares to answer? If I use the definition that fiction activates the imagination, the scriptures are fiction. Because it's not finished, it hasn't arrived yet. So there is a function of fiction to activate imagination, leading us to think more imaginatively. now he's (fictionally) murdered, killed by politicians.”



The statement is considered to violate the ITE Law, namely intentionally and without rights spreading information aimed at causing hatred or hostility to certain individuals and/or community groups based on ethnicity, religion, race, and intergroup (SARA).

The use of language in criticizing President Joko Widodo attracts researchers to analyze further. The choice of diction and sentences in the discussions is very interesting to study. This can also be a lesson in using language as a means of expressing opinions and criticism as well as the use of YouTube social media as a means of dissemination.

Apart from interesting facts about Rocky Gerung's background, another reason for choosing this youtube channel is Hersubeno Arief. Hersubeno Arief is a senior journalist in Indonesia. He is a figure who influences building public opinion. This can be traced through his digital footprints in the form of writings and videos that highlight politics in Indonesia. As a senior journalist, he often discusses current political matters critically with sharp analysis. He is currently a media and political consultant. In addition, Hersubeno Arief actively makes videos with Rocky Gerung by discussing current political issues in Indonesia uploaded on the Rocky Gerung Official youtube channel. Another factor in choosing the Rocky Gerung Official youtube channel is the tendency to discuss the government of President Joko Widodo, which is increasingly receiving criticism from the public.

Thus, this research is expected to be able to reveal how utterances can be considered hate speech even though they are intended as an expression of criticism of the government, especially President Joko Widodo. This is considered important so that it can be a lesson for anyone in expressing opinions to pay attention to ethics in the language before being disseminated to the public.

The limitation of this hate speech research with forensic linguistics is that this research is limited to revealing forms of hate speech on the Rocky Gerung YouTube channel against President Joko Widodo. This study does not provide an assessment related to legislation. Therefore, this research is limited to revealing forms of hate speech and illocutionary speech acts in a speech containing hate speech.

Based on the above background, the problems to be revealed in this research are: (1) How are the forms of hate speech on the Rocky Gerung Official youtube channel against President Joko and (2) What are the forms of illocutionary speech acts in hate speech on the channel? YouTube Rocky Gerung Official against President Joko Widodo.

In this regard, the purpose of this study is to describe the forms of hate speech on the Rocky Gerung Official youtube channel against President Joko Widodo and to analyze the forms of illocutionary speech acts in hate speech on the Rocky Gerung Official youtube channel against President Joko Widodo.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In this study, several theories will be proposed to support the research. These theories are pragmatic theory, the book *of the Criminal Code and its Commentaries Complete Article by Article*, and linked to Circular Letter Number: SE/6/X/2015 concerning Handling *Hate Speech*. The following is a description of these theories.

### A. Pragmatics

Levinson (in Nababan, 1987) states that pragmatics has two meanings. First, is the study of the relationship between language and context that underlies the explanation of the meaning of language. Understanding language refers to the fact that to understand an expression or speech-language requires knowledge beyond the meaning of the word and its relationship to the context in which it is used. Second, is the study of the ability to use language and relate sentences to appropriate contexts for those sentences. Pragmatics examines the meaning of sentences spoken by speakers adapted to the context and situation.

Pragmatics is a branch of linguistics that studies language from the aspect of its actual use. Pragmatics studies the meaning of speech (i.e. for what the utterance is done; asks what someone means by a speech act; and relates meaning to who speaks to whom, where, when, and how (Leech, 1993: 8). The study of pragmatics focuses on illocutionary and perlocutionary rather than elocutionary. This is because in the illocutionary there is the power of speech (intention and function of speech), perlocutionary means that action occurs as a result of the style of speech. Meanwhile, in locutions, there is no visible function of speech. In the existing elocutionary, namely, the meaning of the word/sentence uttered, what is in the form of the meaning of the said word/sentence.

Meanwhile, Wijana (1996: 2) explains that the meaning studied by pragmatics is the meaning that is bound by context. Pragmatics is a science that studies or examines utterances that are very bound by context. Therefore, pragmatics is closely related to who speaks, when, where, and with what purpose the conversation is. The definition of pragmatics is also put forward by Yule (2006, 3-4) that pragmatics then raises the question of what determines the choice between what is spoken and what is not spoken. The basic answer is tied to the notion of familiarity distance,

whether physical, social, or conceptual intimacy, implying the existence of the same experience, on the assumption of how close or far the listener is, the speaker determines how much need is spoken.

Based on some of the meanings of pragmatics above, it can be concluded that pragmatics is a science that discusses meaning based on the speaker's speech intent following the existing context. Pragmatics is the study of speech and meaning so that it can be said that pragmatics is a science that discusses speech acts. In these speech acts, it can be understood about the presuppositions of the speech conveyed and the implications that arise from the speech. In addition, it is necessary to know about the reference of the speech delivered and the implications that arise from the speech delivered.

### **B. Speech Act**

A speech act is the utterance of a sentence to state that the speaker's intention is known to the listener (Kridalaksana, 1984: 154). Hudson (in Alwasilah, 1993: 19) explains that speech acts are utterances that are made as part of social interaction. Speech acts are part of speech events and speech events are part of speech situations. Every speech event is limited to activities or aspects of activities that are directly regulated by rules or norms for speakers. Speech or speech acts can consist of one or more speech acts in a speech event and speech situation. Thus, the utterance or speech act is very dependent on the context in which the speaker speaks. New utterances can be understood only in terms of the activities in which they are context and where they occur. Following the opinion of Alwasilah (1993), that speech is *context-dependent* or commonly called context-dependent.

Speech acts are individual symptoms, psychological in nature, and determined by the speaker's language ability in dealing with certain situations. Suwito (1983) suggests that speech acts are focused on the meaning or meaning of the act, while speech events are more focused on the purpose of the event. In this speech act, there is a speech event that is done by the speaker to the speech partner to convey information.

Speech acts are the meanings of sentence forms that distinguish locutions, illocutions, and perlocutions, and include situations in determining the meaning of language. Speech act theory focuses on how language is used to communicate the meaning and purpose of the speech. Furthermore, Searle (Wijana, 1996: 17) suggests three types of actions in speech acts that can be realized by speakers pragmatically, namely locutionary acts, illocutionary acts, and perlocutionary acts. These actions are governed by the norms of the rules of using language according to speech or conversation.

The illocutionary speech act is speech that serves to state or informs something. Illocutionary can also be used to do something. Illocutionary acts are more difficult to identify when compared to locutionary acts because they must first consider who the speaker and the interlocutor are, when and where the speech occurs, and what channel is used. Therefore, illocutionary acts are an important part of understanding speech acts. Regarding illocutionary acts, Austin looks at the speech acts of the speaker. If the speaker and his utterance contain the intent and power of the utterance concerned, what is the utterance for.

Searle (Rusminto, 2009) put forward a further hypothesis that every utterance implies an action. Illocutionary action is a central part of the study of speech acts. This speech act has several functions or types of speech. There are five types of utterances expressed by Searle, namely assertive, directive, expressive, commissive, and declaration.

- 1) Assertive is a speech act that binds the speaker to the truth of what is said. For example, stating, reporting, informing, showing, and mentioning.
- 2) Directives are speech acts that are carried out by the speaker with the intention that the speech partner does what is in the utterance. For example, ordering, begging, asking, and demanding.
- 3) Expressive is an act of speech performed by the speaker with the intention that the speech partner shows a psychological attitude toward the situation that is being experienced by the speech partner. For example, praising, criticizing, and thanking.
- 4) Commissive is a speech act that binds the speaker to do what is said. For example, swear, threaten, and promise.
- 5) Declarative are speech acts performed by speakers to create new things or connect the contents of the speech with reality. For example, decide, prohibit, and cancel.

### **C. Hate Speech**

Fasold (2006: 397) defines *hate speech* as an utterance that intimidates people from certain social groups that are oriented towards differences in race, national origin, religion, and gender. Hateful speech can provoke people to use violence, provoke enmity between groups, and many others that trigger criminal acts.

Daniels (2008) explains that in hate speech there are implicit and explicit meanings and hate speech is very unacceptable to any society even though it is related to world politics. In line with this opinion, Tsesis (2009) argues that hate speech does not only have implicit and explicit meanings but also has a semantic structure related to cultural intrinsics.



Hate *speech* is an emotive concept and there is no universally accepted definition in international human rights law ( *Toolkit*, 2015: 9). It further explained many would claim that they could identify 'hate speech' where they saw it, but the criteria for doing so were often elusive or contradictory. International and regional human rights instruments imply different standards for defining and limiting hate speech: this variation is reflected in domestic legislation. In everyday life, the use of the term and the meaning attached to it varies, as does the call to regulate it. This can clear up much of the confusion surrounding the term and what it means for human rights.

According to R. Soesilo (1995: 225), insult is an attack on someone's honor and reputation. Those who are attacked will usually feel embarrassed. Humiliation can happen to anyone, anytime, and anywhere. Even today, insults are rampant on social media.

Humiliation is not only experienced by individuals. Humiliation can also be experienced by the President and Vice President. Furthermore, R. Soesilo (1995: 225) divides insults into 6 types, including: (1) verbally *insulting* (*smaad*) ; (2) insulting by letter/written (*smaadachift*); (3) slander (*laster*); (4) minor insults (*eenvoudige belediging*); (5) complain slanderously (*lasterlijke*); and (6) slanderous accusations (*lasterajke verdarhtmaking*) .

In 2015, the Chief of Police of the Republic of Indonesia issued Circular Letter Number: SE/6/X/2015 concerning the Handling of *Hate Speech*. The circular stated seven forms of hate speech, namely: (1) insults; (2) defamation; (3) blasphemy; (4) unpleasant actions; (5) provoking; (6) inciting; (7) spreading false news; and all forms of action above have a purpose or can have an impact on acts of discrimination, violence, loss of life, and/or social conflict.

In addition to the forms above, the circular also explains that hate speech is aimed at inciting and inciting hatred against individuals and/or community groups in various communities which are distinguished from aspects: ethnicity, religion, religious sect, belief/belief, race, between groups, skin color, ethnicity, gender, people with disabilities (disabled), sexual orientation, and that *hate speech* as referred to above can be done through various media, including: in campaign speeches, banners or *banners*, networks social media, public expression of opinion (demonstrations), religious lectures, print and electronic mass media, pamphlets, that by paying attention to the definition of hate speech above, hate speech acts if not handled effectively, efficiently, and following the provisions of laws and regulations. The invitation will have the potential to cause widespread social conflict and have the potential to cause non-discrimination, violence, and/or loss of life.

### 3. RESEARCH METHOD

This research is qualitative research using a pragmatic approach (Amrullah et al., 2020; Kramadanu et al., 2022). The method chosen in this qualitative research is the descriptive method. Descriptive is carried out solely based on existing facts or phenomena that live on the speakers so that what is produced or recorded is in the form of language descriptions which are usually said to be portraits, exposures as they are (Sugiono, 2012).

Sudaryanto (1993) explains that qualitative research using descriptive methods is research that identifies, classifies, analyzes data that has been obtained, and describes the form of language as it is. Therefore, the data in this study will be described and analyzed in the form of forms of hate speech and illocutionary forms of hate speech resulting from discussions on the Rocky Gerung youtube channel with a pragmatic approach.

The data from this study are utterances containing hate speech spoken by Rocky Gerung on the Rocky Gerung Official YouTube channel against President Joko Widodo. The data sources for this research are videos downloaded from the Rocky Gerung Official youtube channel from February 2021 to April 2022. The population of this research is the entire speech on the Rocky Gerung Official youtube channel that contains hate speech against President Joko Widodo.

The method used in this research is the listening method with documentation and note-taking techniques. The listening method is used to obtain data by listening to the use of language containing hate speech in the video. Next, the video containing the hate speech is downloaded.

After the videos have been watched and downloaded from the Rocky Gerung Official youtube channel, the speech in the video that is considered to contain hate speech is then transcribed in text form. The text will be the data to be analyzed.

The note-taking technique is a continuation of the documentation technique carried out. After listening, downloading the video, and making an inventory of the video, then the speech deemed to contain hate speech is recorded using manual writing instruments. The recorded data is then typed using a computer so that it is in the form of a soft file. Thus, the data held there are two forms, namely soft files and hard files.

Observation is a step that needs to be done before conducting a study. Observations were made to observe all the stories on Rocky Gerung's youtube channel that discussed President Joko Widodo. In addition, to find out and

get the story you are looking for, it is necessary to repeatedly watch videos on the Rocky Gerung Official youtube channel.

The data analysis in this study was carried out by identifying the utterances contained in the video transcript and identifying to determine the speech containing hate speech. These utterances were then collected and used as data for this research. The data obtained through documentation and note-taking techniques are further classified based on the form of hate speech following Circular Letter Number: SE/06/X/2015 concerning Hate Speech. The names of the moderators and resource persons are abbreviated and included in the list of abbreviations. The hate speech data is analyzed in detail the problems contained in the data that has been collected. The forms of hate speech include insults, defamation, blasphemy, unpleasant acts, provocations, incitement, and spreading false news. Furthermore, the forms of hate speech are analyzed for their illocutionary speech acts according to Searle's pragmatic theory, including assertive, directive, expressive, commissive, and declarative.

#### 4. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

This research produces two main parts, namely the forms of hate speech on the Rocky Gerung *Official youtube channel* against President Joko Widodo and the forms of illocutionary speech acts of hate speech on the Rocky Gerung *Official youtube channel* against President Joko Widodo. The following is a description of this.

##### 1. Forms of Hate Speech on the *Official Rocky Gerung Youtube Channel* Against President Jokowi

Based on the research that has been done, there are six forms of hate speech on the Rocky Gerung *Official youtube channel* against President Joko Widodo. The forms of hate speech found in this study, namely insults, defamation, unpleasant actions, provocations, incitement, and spreading of false news.

No.	Category	Data Number	Presentation
1.	Insult	1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 11, and 21	25.92%
2.	Defamation	6 and 3	7.40%
3.	Blasphemy	-	0%
4.	Unpleasant acts	3, 4, 10, 12, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25 and 27	44.44%
5.	Provocation	16	3.70%
6.	Incitement	15, 17 and 26	11.11%
7.	Spreading Fake News	9	3.70%

##### (a) Insult

Insulting or insulting is attacking someone's honor and good name (R. Soesilo, 1995: 225). Insulting is the act of looking down on another person by offending that person's feelings.

##### Speech 1

RG : And it's a shame because international analysts also peek at Indonesia. Indonesia is as big as Australia, America all agree that this is megalomania. And some people are still polite, it's as if 'Pak Jokowi scolds dong' yoo Jokowi himself is a megalomaniac. Luhut's megalomania? That's right.

Speech (1) contains hate speech in the form of insults marked by a declarative sentence, *yes, Jokowi himself is megalomaniac*. RG's statement is an act of looking down on President Joko Widodo because he says the president has a mental disorder characterized by delusions of power and self-aggrandizement. Declaring someone has a certain disease should be done by a competent doctor. RG is not a doctor so it can be concluded that he insulted the head of state with personal arguments. In addition, RG said that the countries of Australia and America agreed that even the president had megalomania without evidence so that it could not be proven true.

##### (b) Defamation

Defamation is the act of attacking someone's honor or reputation by accusing someone of something that is intended to make it public so that someone's good name will be bad.

##### speech 2

RG : So these are the people, Mr. Habibie, SBY, people who really understand democracy. It is a good read, and enlightened by seeing events in the world. It was read well by Mr. Haabibie and Mr. SBY. Currently, Pak Jokowi does n't have any books to read. He does not know what democracy is. So if Mr. Liddle ends up writing something like that, it means that Mr. Liddle also thinks that Jokowi actually *doesn't* understand democracy.

Speech (2) is a hate speech form of defamation. This is marked by the declarative sentence " **Currently, Pak Jokowi does n't have any reading. He doesn't know what democracy is** ." RG's statement initially compared



President Joko Widodo to the previous president, then defamed the president with the sign 'Pak Jokowi doesn't have any reading'. According to RG, the president's ignorance is caused by the president's *lack of reading* or, in other words, a lack of reading.

(c) Unpleasant acts

An unpleasant act is an action (in the form of verbal or written) that is done by someone to another person that causes discomfort to the person being addressed.

**speech 3**

RG: So we have to say on purpose that Pak Jokowi's footsteps are finally *over* ca *n't* be deleted. Those ambitious streaks. And it did make its way. What is the name, towards **one time we will assume that inside Pak Jokowi there is an authoritarian or even totalitarian mentality.** Because if he is authoritarian, he *just uses* violence, right ? But this is totalitarian. This totalitarian is more than authoritarian. **He seems to smuggle his ambition by persuading people of all kinds, but in the end it is totalitarianism. That's the danger in the era of democracy there are attempts to cancel the function of the constitution.**

Speech (3) contains hate speech in the form of unpleasant actions with the declarative sentence " **at one time we will assume that in Pak Jokowi there is an authoritarian or even totalitarian mentality** ". RG's statement is an unpleasant act against the president with the assumption that the president's thoughts are totalitarian. Totalitarianism is concerned with a government that suppresses personal rights and oversees all aspects of the lives of its citizens. However, RG clarified his point by stating that the president had ambitions disguised by persuading others.

**2. Forms of Acts of Illocutionary Speech on Hate Speech on the Rocky Gerung Official Youtube Channel Against President Jokowi**

Hate speech on the Rocky Gerung *Official youtube channel* against President Joko Widodo can also be linked to the form of illocutionary acts of participation. This is because illocutionary speech acts are speech acts in which there is an intention and function or speech power. The result of this study is an analysis of the form of illocutionary speech acts related to hate speech on the Rocky Gerung *Official youtube channel*.

The forms of illocutionary speech acts found in the research are *assertive, expressive, commissive, and declarative*. Each form of illocutionary speech act is also accompanied by its communicative function. The following is a presentation of the forms of illocutionary speech acts found in hate speech on the Rocky Geung *Official youtube channel* against President Joko Widodo.

No.	Forms of Speech Acts	Data Number	Presentation
1.	Assertive	1, 2, 3, 5-15, 18, 20-24 and 26	81.48%
2.	Expressive	16, 19 and 27	11.11%
3.	Directive	-	0%
4.	commissive	4	3.70%
5.	Declarative	25	3.70%

(a) Assertive

Assertives are speech acts that bind the speaker to what he says. The function of assertive speech acts is to state or explain something in accordance with the existing truth. Which includes assertive speech acts, namely stating, reporting, proclaiming, informing, showing, and mentioning?

**Speech 1**

RG : The slamming of a student shows that **Jokowi failed to state that just and civilized humanity must precede police rudeness.**

Speech (1) is a form of illocutionary speech act that has speech intent and power. This is marked by the statement " **Jokowi failed to state that just and civilized humanity must precede police rudeness** ". The speech act has an assertive function because RG intends to state to his speech partner (audience) that Jokowi fulfils the second principle of Pancasila. The fact is that under Jokowi's leadership there were students who were slammed by the police during demonstrations.

(b) Expressive

Expressive is a speech act performed by the speaker with the intention that the speech partner shows a psychological attitude towards the situation in the illocutionary. This includes the form of expressive speech acts, namely praising, criticizing, thanking, criticizing, complaining, condoling, blaming, and so on.

**2 speech**

RG : But also what was shown on the highway in Tangerang where students were slammed and the president tried what he wanted to say from his genius about such harsh democratic *practices* ? **That's actually what our anger today. Anger at President Jokowi's inability to direct this nation towards an authentic democratic civilization.**

Speech (2) is a form of illocutionary speech act that has the intent and power of speech. This is marked by RG's speech " **That is actually what is our anger today** ". The speech act has an expressive function because RG intends to criticize the government of President Jokowi who is considered incompetent. As for the diction 'anger' which is mentioned twice, it shows feelings of anger. RG uses *our* pronouns as if to show that the audience as partners also feels the same psychology.

(c) commissive

A Commissive is a speech act that binds the speaker to do something in the future according to what he said. This includes commissive speech acts, namely, promise, offer, swear, and declare ability.

### 3 speech

RG: So we *have* to say on purpose that Pak Jokowi's footsteps are finally *over* *ca n't* be deleted. Those ambitious streaks. And it did make its way. What is the name, towards **one time we will assume that inside Pak Jokowi there is an authoritarian or even totalitarian mentality.** Because if he is authoritarian, he *just uses* violence, right ? But this is totalitarian. This totalitarian is more than authoritarian. **He seems to smuggle his ambition by persuading people of all kinds, but in the end it is totalitarianism. That's the danger in the era of democracy there are attempts to cancel the function of the constitution.**

Speech (3) is a form of illocutionary speech act that has the intent and power of speech. This is marked by RG's speech " **at one time we will think that in Pak Jokowi there is an authoritarian or even totalitarian mentality** ". This speech act has an expressive function because it means that there is indeed an 'authoritarian mentality' and even a 'totalitarian' within Pak Jokowi. The mental in question is that which is coercive with violence. The function of this assertive speech act is in the form of a promise that will be known in the future.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Based on the results and discussion of this research, it can be concluded that the Rocky Gerung Official youtube channel found forms of hate speech against President Joko Widodo. The forms of hate speech found are; humiliation as much as 25.92%, defamation as much as 7.40%, blasphemy as much as 0%, provocation as much as 3.70%, incitement as much as 11.11%, spreading false news as much as 9%, and unpleasant acts as much as 44.44. Hate speech in the form of unpleasant acts is the most common because in conveying his criticisms and opinions of President Joko Widodo, RG often uses inappropriate diction and sentences that are not even following the ethics of expressing opinions, especially when this is done in the mass media. can access it. RG believes that as an opposition party, his criticisms and opinions are directed at President Joko Widodo to represent the people.

In the forms of hate speech found in this study, the forms of illocutionary speech acts were also found. There are 4 forms of illocutionary speech acts found in this study, namely assertive as much as 81.48 %, expressive as much as 11.11%, commissive as much as 3.70%, and declarative as much as 3.70%. Assertive illocutionary speech acts are the most dominant because, in their utterances, RG expresses his opinion more about President Joko Widodo's policies. Behind these statements, which then have the intent and power of speech to be conveyed to the speech partner. The functions of each illocutionary form found, namely; assertiveness include stating and telling opinions; expressiveness includes expressions of anger, feeling funny, and threatening; commissive in the form of promises; and the declarative confirms the new meaning.

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