J U R N A L

KOMUNIKASI

IKATAN SARJANA KOMUNIKASI INDONESIA

Political Communications in the Public Sphere Student Protest in Indonesia 2019-2020

Erik Ardiyanto

Department of Communication, Universitas Paramadina
Jl. Gatot Subroto No. Kav 97, Jakarta and 12790 - Indonesia
Corresponding author: erick.ardiyanto@lecturer.paramadina.ac.id

Abstract

The government and the parliament have decided to pass problematic bills, such as the Corruption Eradication Commission Bill (RUU KPK), the Criminal Code Bill (RUU KUHP), and the Omnibus Law (RUU *Cipta Kerja*) into laws. The reasons behind the passage of the bills irto laws are to make bureaucracy easier and facilitate foreign investment inflows to Indonesia. However, the decision-making process failed to involve elements of the community, such as academics, workers, working class, press, and related stakeholders. Consequently, students staged rallies to protest against the passage of the bills into laws in 2019 – 2020. This research uses an approach qualitative methodology with a critical paradigm. The goal of critical theory is to change a reality that is always unbalanced and dominated. This research tries to encourage change towards a better society and emancipations. The data analysis technique comprises analysis of information sources from the mass media and analysis of research documents. The results of this study find that students had two strategic political communications during the protest. First, the social media movement sent hash tagged messages such as #Reformasidikorupsi #Gejayanmemangil and #Mositidakpercaya. Second, student staged demonstrations in front of the Presidential Place and the House of Representatives Building. When the government and parliament conspire with oligarchs to make policies to maintain power, then conflicts of interest with society, and student protests will be inevitable. As a result, the students have declared a motion of no confidence for parliament in a non-parliamentary participatory democratic system

Keywords: Political Communications; Student Protest; Public Sphere; Hashtag; Democracy

Introduction

The younger generation in today's world is growing up in a life that is accompanied by the development of technology and social media. The younger generation is able to take advantage of technology and social media to obtain information and disseminate it throughout the world. Young people are like a generation of innovators because they are a search, learning, and innovative work that rely on useful technology to make changes in the appearance of our lives. In addition, the younger generation is easy to adapt to and update about something new on social media to be used by political participants such as creating social movement platforms (McQuail,2005). Social media from generation to generation has become their place to express political views and participate in politics (Gil de Zuniga, et al, 2014).

Meriam Budiadjo (2008), said that participation in politics is individuals or groups of individuals who actively follow political information with political parties or through

social media. The concept of public participation in politics has an important meaning in today's democracy, because public participation can encourage political change for the better. With the existence of social media, the younger generation can easily connect with each other even though they have different cultures, cities, and districts. (Budiarjo,2008)

In 2017, the Oxford Dictionary released the new word "Youthquake". This word has since then become famous in the Google search engine. The definition of Youthquake is a very significant cultural, political and social change that arises from the influence of youth. Young people who took the Initiative in the UK created a movement to respond to the referendum result from the European Commission (Brexit). They were dissatisfied with the result of the referendum, because the conservatives carried out a black campaign against the public that immigrants would take jobs if they came to the UK (James Sloam, & Matt Henn, 2018). The youth movement affiliated with the labor party and the focus of the youth movement defeated the anti-immigrant and anti-Semitic, the right-wing in Britain (Bradley Allsop., & Ben Kisby, 2019). Furthermore, the movement has influenced the younger generation in various countries such as Hong Kong, Thailand, Chile, and Indonesia.

In Hong Kong, student activists protested the extradition law under the Chinese regime. Students demanded that the Chinese regime not control government policies in Hong Kong. Their students wanted Hong Kong to be a fully adoption democratic country (Amelia & Mely, 2019). In Thailand, student protests also occurred when the junta's militarism always dominated a government in politics. Historically, the junta's militarism carried out a coup against the leaders of the civil society; they also had the support of the Monarchy. Their students demanded that the country adopt a democratic system without the intervention of the junta's militarism and the monarchy. Then it became a country that opened access for all Thai citizens. In Chile, the situation is the same, with social media becoming a basis of youth behavior in Chile (Sebastian, et al, 2012). Students protested against President Pinera, for having issued several controversial policies such as a train ticket increase, a labor law bill, and a tax bill. Moreover, student protests continue to demand a referendum to replace the rule of law because the constitution, inherited by former President Pinoce, is the root of the

problem system in Chile. In the end, student protests won the referendum (Charis, 2020)

The history of the student movement in Indonesia before independence days was the student spirit to defeat colonialism and imperialism. They demanded that Indonesia become an independent country from the Dutch regime. After the independence period, the situation has changed some of the ideological politics that began to grow in Indonesia. The spirit of the student movement prioritized freedom of expression under the first president Soekarno (the old order era). The reason is the state constitution as the ideology of Pancasila provides several existing ideologies, which are the five values of the Pancasila ideology that describe the reality of society in Indonesia. President Soekarno at that time created a new concept of nationality, religion, and communism/socialism known as "Nasakom" to support the ideological representation of society in Indonesia (Besman & Sjuchro, 2021).

Then under President Suharto (the new order), the situation changed again because the regime had control regulations with the support of the military to make the government authoritarian. The Suharto regime blamed the Communist Party (PKI) for carrying out a brutal coup attempt, following the kidnapping and murder of six top Indonesian officials (Rossa, 2008). After that, there were mass killings in 1965-1966, genocide, and a massive communist purge. According to Human Rights Commission, more than 32,774 people are missing and several places are known to be victims of massacres without trial.

It is Suharto's New Order regime that first enacted a law on foreign investment in Indonesia, namely Law Number 167 concerning Foreign Investment (UU PMA). This law makes the Freeport Company participate in the exploitation of natural resources in West Papua. He also controlled the private and public media from retaining the authority of power by spreading opinions to justify his policies. In addition, he had the hegemony of power from upstream to downstream and made it difficult for anyone to touch him. Suharto was also involved in corruption, collusion, and nepotism (KKN) and had been in power for 32 years (Peter King, 2017). In this new order era, the student movement had the enthusiasm to fight against the Suharto regime, in 1998 there was a massive protest demanding Suharto to resign. After massive student protests and high public pressure on 21 May 1998, Suharto announced

his resignation from the president of Indonesia (Mohamad Maiwan, 2014). Student activism in this era succeeded in overthrowing the Suharto regime, but unfortunately the cronies' regime still exists today and is in power in Indonesian politics.

Meanwhile in Indonesia under the President Jokowi regime, student protests occurred because the parliament issued controversial bills such as the Corruption Eradication Commission Bill (RUU KPK), the Criminal Code Bill (RUU KUHP), and the Omnibus Bill (RUU *Cipta Kerja*). The passage of the bills into laws sparked student protests in various cities in Indonesia. Student demonstrators demanded that the passage of bills into laws be cancelled. In September 2019, students staged rallies for more than two weeks. Even though the police had taken repressive measures against students during the protests, they continued the protests. Moreover, in October 2020 despite the COVID-19 pandemic, students again held demonstrations after the Parliament suddenly endorsed the Omnibus Bill into law. The law-making process did not involve relevant stakeholders such as lecturers, workers, non-governmental organizations, activists, and labors. However, it only involved corporations, investors, and oligarchs. Meanwhile, the result of the law is that there are several articles on employment that support low wages, do not guarantee work protection, and are not environmentally friendly. This law encourages the economy in Indonesia to become more neoliberal.

For decades history has noted that political change always has a student role in it, times may change but the actors remain the same. Thomas Jefferson said, every generation always needs a revolution. Does this study aim to describe student dynamics during the 2019-2020 demonstrations? How are political communication and student hashtag messages in the community?

Theoretical Framework

Jurgen Habermas is a German sociologist and philosopher (1929), who is also the former director of research at the Frankfurt School. It is the second generation of the Frankfurt School after the first generations such as Horkheimer, Theodore Adorno, and Herbert Marcuse. Habermas is an intellectual who is famous for his critical theory and has given birth to critical communication theory which has made major contributions to communication science. What distinguishes critical theory from previous theories, critical theory never imposes its will on society. However, the basic foundation of critical theory is to look first at the problems that occur in a society that is experiencing oppression, then critical theory tries to uncover what is really happening in that society. After that, critical theory tries to turn the extrapolated issues into public discourse. In addition, Habermas also introduced the concept of Deliberative Democracy, the Concept of Public Space, and the Theory of Communicative Action (Habermas, 1985).

Figure 1. The Concept of Deliberative Democracy
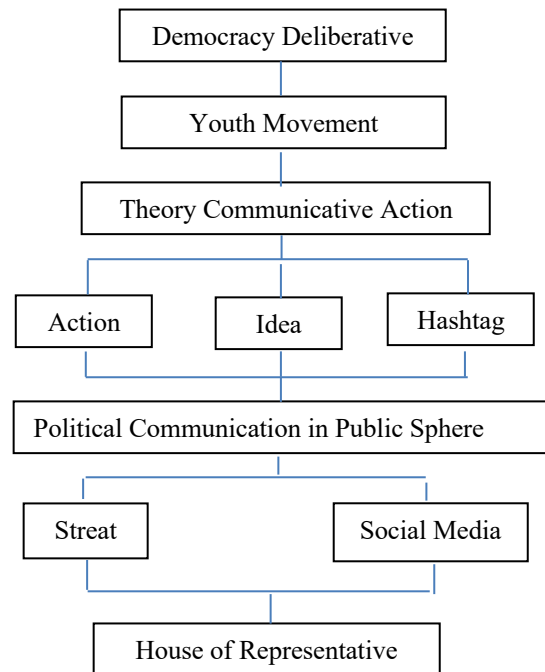
Jurgen Habermas describes the source of community sovereignty as the concept of democratic deliberation. Habermas seeks to harmonize the current condition of society with the classical principle of community sovereignty. In fact, he defines the element of "democracy" not only about government authority (Kratos), power oligarchy, or capitalism but also returns to society (Demos). This is translated into public discourse (Habermas, 1997). The goal should be to ensure that the opinion of the power not only reflects the public opinion (the majority) but without having to ignore the opinion (the minority) and can accommodate their ideas and interests.

The concept of democratic deliberation requires more participatory agents in a democratic society. There are two agents in participatory democracy; first, participatory democracy in society to participate in elections,

the second is participatory democracy without a parliament such as people's movements or student protests. In the Indonesian context, what occurred during 2019 and 2020 was the participation of non-parliamentary democracy where students chose to hold demonstrations because they did not agree with the policies issued by the parliament and the government.

Jurgen Habermas has also introduced the concept of "Public Sphere" in the title of the book "Structural Transformation of Public Space: An Inquiry into the Category of Bourgeois Society (1997). Habermas describes the public sphere as an autonomous space separate from the state and commerce. The public sphere ensures that every citizen who has access becomes a bearer of public opinion. Dispersed public opinion has a role in influencing the nation's formal and informal behavior without any cohesive pressure. In this book, Habermas' political goal is to archive the "enlightenment project" with a more democratic reconstruction of the public sphere. Where the reason to be a winner must have power is not an instrumental reason as is practiced in the modern era, but always has a critical reason to represent the best democracy.

The theory of communicative action is characterized that the most prominent language is the "dual structure". When the communicator and the communicant reach their understanding, they have a simultaneous conversation at two levels, the first level is inter-subjectivity where the communicator and the communicant through "Illocutionary" actions. Then at the second level it has a series of experiences of events known in the communicative function determined by the communicant (Habermas,1985). When concentrating speech acts on the basis of explicit design, several structures can be found on the surface of the structure, which form illocutionary and proportional components. The task inherent in speech acts can therefore fulfill both levels: directly in interaction by holding on to the experience of certainty by showing a proven background format or something that is demonstrated independently or indirectly in discourse theory or inconsistent practical action

Material and Methodology
This study uses a qualitative methodology using a critical paradigm where the scientific paradigm places a critical epistemology of Marxism in its research methodology. The critical paradigm stems from the critical theory of the Frankfurt School which

is inspired by the legacy of Marxism in all of its philosophy (Denzin and Lincoln, 2009).

Lawrence Neuman (2013) explains that the critical social view is that social reality is always changing, which is rooted in tensions, conflicts, or contradictions in social relationships or institutions. Social research has focused change on conflict and action orientation. The goal of critical theory is to change a reality that is always unbalanced and dominated. The critical tradition tries to combine theory and practice. Critical theory is normative which needs to be applied in social life to encourage change towards a better society. Critical theory reveals and analyzes social reality by raising the issue of social inequality which has been studied in the tradition of critical theory which shows competition and conflict of interest and seeks to resolve conflicts of interest by prioritizing the interests of marginalized communities. Critical theory also not only recognizes inequalities in distributional power and distributional resources but also helps create justice and emancipation (Neuman, 2013).

In this study, the data analysis technique used analysis of information sources from the mass media and analysis of research documents. Data analysis can be carried out in three stages, namely data reduction, data presentation, verification and conclusion drawing (Mils & Huberan, 2004). Then the collected data are identified, interpreted and explained using a critical theory approach.

Result and Discussion
The political dynamic of 2019 triggered a student protest in the public sphere in Indonesia
In September 2019, students staged a large protest after they were apathetic about Indonesia's political situation. We note that the last student protest took place during the leadership of former President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in 2011. They staged a protest against rising oil and gas prices which caused the prices of other commodities to rise and made people's lives more difficult. The current situation is different from the past situation, the protests this time were caused by some problematic laws that were being promulgated by the government or being deliberated. We can see the form of student protest's demands in posters spread on social media and several media platforms (Fitri & Ranang, 2020).

On September 5, 2019, the government suddenly decided to ratify the revision of the Corruption Eradication Commission Bill (RUU

KPK). The revision process which lasted for 13 days until September 11, 2019, was unavoidable and the majority of party members in the parliament agreed with the laws. After the revised draft was returned to President Joko Widodo (Jokowi), he then assigned the Ministry of Law and Human Rights to discuss it with the parliament. The government approved several articles from the parliament. On 16 September 2019 the government issued a regulation in lieu of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) law.

There are several indicators of the government regulation in lieu of the law that can reduce the authority of the KPK in eradicating corruption in Indonesia. There are 26 problematic articles that make it difficult for the KPK to handle corruption cases. Some have changed, including Article 46 paragraph 2 of the KPK law, which is the basis for the main role in the procedure for dismantling cases so that it takes a long time and is difficult for the KPK to resolve them. In addition, the chairman of the commission is now directly elected by the president. If candidates for the KPK chief do not have background as investigator and prosecutor, then they will run the risk of not being pro-justice in law enforcement. Then it was decided that the KPK official tasked with eradicating corruption would only have an office in Jakarta, and not in other city. Because of limited human resources, the commission finds it difficult to handle corruption cases in other regions in Indonesia (Ilham & Itsna, 2020).

On the other hand, the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) released the 2020 Indonesian Corruption Perception Index of 3.84 on a scale of 0 to 5. This figure is higher than the 2019 achievement of 3.70. The index scale is close to class 5, which suggests that the people's anti-corruption awareness is getting better (BPS, 2019). The result of the IPAK value which is close to 0 indicates that people's behavior is more permissive towards corruption. This is related to the corruption cases in December 2020, which involve two ministers. The first corruption case involves Juliari Batubara, Minister of Social Affairs from the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP). The second corruption case involves Edy Prabowo, Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries from the Greater Indonesia Movement (Gerindra) Party. The corruption cases add to the list of public officials implicated in graft cases during the leadership of President Jokowi.

In addition, students protested against the government's issuance of the Criminal Code Bill. According to the Institute for Criminal Justice Reform (ICJR) 2019, there are 13 controversial articles, such as articles 218, 219, and 220 on Freedom of Expression, which describe a journalist or citizen who criticizes the president as a protester who is subject to criminal sanctions. Article (432) about Tramp which explains that a female worker who comes home late at night can be considered as a tramp who can be fined up to one million rupiah. Articles 417 and 419 regarding adultery explain that having sex outside of marriage and spending the night in the men's room is punishable. Article 251, 470, 471, 472 concerning Abortion explains that women involved in intentional abortion, except rape victims can be jailed. Article 414, 416 on Contraception explains that a parent who intentionally shows contraception to a child can be fined up to one million rupiah. The other controversial article is article 304 on Religion which explains anybody who violates a religion or blasphemes a religion can be sentenced too.

There are several problems in the articles of the Criminal Code regarding women, which have the potential for the marginalization of women, children, and disabilities. According to the Indonesian Commission for Women (Komnas Perempuan), this article will prevent women from participating in social activities such as education, wealth, reproduction, and prevention of sexually transmitted diseases (STIs) such as HIV/AIDS. Marriages that are not legalized by the Ministry of Religion (KUA) articles 417 and 419 can become a target of discrimination. Then the article of the Criminal Code on abortion can give negative stigma to women even though they are victims of rape. Also, article 470 is out of sync with the Health Law and the SDG commitment to reduce pregnancy-related deaths since undesired pregnancies contribute 70% of maternal mortality (Pratiwi, et al, 2020).

The next is Article 304 of the Criminal Code on religion which describes conservative group's stand on minority group in Indonesia. If we look back at the past, there has been persecution of their memory from the Ahmadiyah Muslim minority. On February 6, 2011, the masses staged a demonstration by attacking Ahmadiyah members to death in front of the police. Unfortunately, they were cops who did nothing to prevent it. They also burned the houses and mosques of the Amhmadiyah Minority. The videos of the mass attacks spread

on social media so that they went viral in the community. After the attack, the perpetrators were only sentenced to one month to seven months in jail (Wulan, 2018).

We have seen that some of the articles above have a very conservative and dangerous character towards the democratic system in Indonesia. Jurgen Habermas said that the concept of deliberative democracy again obliges people's sovereignty. In a democracy, the deliberative public will also seeks to bring back the issue of public credentials which has become a public and emancipatory discourse (Habermas,1985). In fact, some of the articles above do not protect citizens' freedom of expression and re-create a system like Suharto's authoritarian regime. In the historical era of the New Order, many students and protest activists always experienced repression. Even today, around 98 activists have gone missing and been murdered without getting justice.

The Political dynamic in 2020 makes a student protest in the public sphere in Indonesia

In October 2020, the parliament approved the controversial Omnibus Law (Job Creation Law) in a plenary session. The creator of the Omnibus Bill under the leadership of President Jokowi argued the reason behind the enactment of the law is to create a flexible bureaucratic system that makes it easier for foreign investors to invest in Indonesia. The problem is that the process of drafting this law is academically flawed because it does not involve interested parties such as workers, academics, trade unions, and the working class. However, it only involves investors, entrepreneurs and large corporations. Economists predict that the omnibus bill, if passed into law, can encourage the economic system in Indonesia to become neoliberal because it does not care about the condition of Indonesian workers. In addition, the danger is that it can replace the economy based on the characteristics of Indonesia's historical economic system.

There are four issues related to the Omnibus Law, namely: employment, the press, education, and the environment. The example of the first problem, article 774 on corporations explains that the situation in which workers working overtime without compensation tends to benefit the company. The law also removes the minimum duration for contract workers, meaning workers are long-term contract workers employed without permanent status. The case violates provisions on the maximum limit of 2-year contract in the previous rule,

which states that after the contract is completed the worker must become a permanent worker (Hamid, 2020).

In addition, article 88C can abolish the minimum wage in the city and the inflation rate is no longer an element to set the amount of minimum wage in the city. Amnesty International Executive Director Umsan Hamid said the elimination of inflation as a standard criterion in setting the minimum wage (UMK) would have a negative impact on the economic growth of underdeveloped regions. Of course, these provisions can have an impact on low standards of living and conflict with human rights standards.

Also in article 91 of the Manpower Bill, a clause that accommodates the company's obligation to pay workers a minimum wage standard has been scrapped. The article has reduced the bargaining position of the working class in demanding their rights. In addition, Article 93 paragraph 2 of the Omnibus Law has changed provisions on the obligation to pay female workers who are absent from work due to their first menstrual period. The article has scrapped the company's obligations to pay workers who take leave of absence because they have special moments in life such as getting married, marrying off their child, child circumcision, death of a family member, etc.

The second problem is the omnibus bill regarding the environment. The government has removed article 88 on Environmental Protection and Management (UPP PLH). Article 88 of the PPLH Law stipulates that anybody whose action, business and/or activity uses toxic and hazardous (B3) material, produces and/or /processes toxic and hazardous (B3) waste, and/or creates a serious threat to the environment is absolutely held responsible for the losses he/she incurs without probe into his/her misdeeds. For example, if the community or community area is affected by B3 waste, then they must be able to prove it. Such is also the case with somebody who burned forest and land (karhutala). That situation could let him escape legal sanctions (Muhamad Orinaldi,2020).

The third problem of the omnibus bill on education is Article 65, paragraph 12, which stipulates that the implementation of licensing in the education sector can be done through business licensing. This article puts education as a merchandise for profit. This is the same as Article 3 of 1982 concerning licensing of business entities that can be interpreted as "business" as all actions taken are a business for

profit. The problem is that our education system has been purely business-oriented and has made neoliberalism an education (Yantina Debora, 2020). Article 65 is contrary to the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (UUD 1945), in which the goal of the nation is to educate the nation's life and then Article 31 of the 1945 Constitution which states that education is the rights for all Indonesian citizens.

The four omnibus bills concerning the press in the revised article 11 explain that the central government has developed the press business through investment by virtue of laws and regulations in the investment sector. These changes can create the potential for the government to control the press in Indonesia. The law is no longer conducive and has created resistance from media workers. Prior to this revision, the guideline for press workers was the 1999 Press Law, which made the press unable to intervene in their work.

In addition, several articles in Omnibus Bill on the Press have strengthened the digital conglomeration of major media companies such as MNC Holding, CT Crop, Vision Media Asia, Media Group, MRA Media, Berita Satu Holding, and Kompas Gramedia Group. The problem is that we know mainstream media is now under the control of oligarchs. They have business not only about media but also different industries like oil and gas, coal, and meaning (Taspell, 2017: 59). Moreover, some of the mainstream media owners are affiliated with their Indonesian politics as the leading party or coalition against the government.

The hegemonic flow of media by oligarchs allows them to control majority public opinion to dominate their interests in the public sphere. They do this to manage power and maintain material wealth. This condition can make the reduction of the minority opinion in the public sphere as an alternative narrative to emancipation discourse. In fact, it takes a long time to develop alternative media that focus on advocating important issues down to the grassroots level.

Political communication student protest in public sphere 2019 – 2020

The definition of political communication in the public sphere has become a comprehensive area that includes communication into the transmission of information, voice, ideas, emotions, hashtags, skills, actions, world symbols, and figure images, to praxis in the public sphere (Ann Mische, 2008). Political communication also

does not occur in public discussions in the mainstream media. But now political communication is also happening on social media. We are familiar with the terms political communication in offline society (face-to-face interaction) and political communication in online society (virtual interaction). The context is that in the form of student protest of political communication in 2019 and 2020, there is strong political communication both in online and offline public spaces. The first student protest delivered was the three hashtags#Gejayangmecall,#Reformasidikorupsi, and #Mositidakpercaya on social media such as Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, and the second student protest was a stand-up distributing political communications for Houses of Representatives at the national or district level (Sutan et al, 2021).

The public sphere is a real of political communications that allows the democratic participation of all. Its openness is constrained by economic, political, and cultural power asymmetries. Because capitalism is based on asymmetries, its bourgeois public sphere is necessarily limited, colonized, feudalized, and just bourgeois public sphere is necessarily limited, colonized, feudalized, and just a pseudo-public sphere. The media system operates in the public sphere as system political information that provides input from political communications. Capitalist media limit the public sphere in my respect and hamper democratic communications (Fuchs, 2020: 215)

The initial student protest that occurred on September 23, 2019, was initiated by students in Jogjakarta. In the city, popularly known as the city of education, there are many well-known universities that become the destination of prospective students in Indonesia. In our history, the city has also made student activist movements have a good track record. Examples of student activism in the 1998 period have left a movement known as "gejayan memanggil". Then now the #gejayanmemanggil movement is called again to use student protests to trigger hashtag activism on social media. The hashtag became a trending topic on Twitter for almost sixty five thousand as of Monday, September 23, 2019 (Nofrima, S. et al, 2020).

There are three meeting points for the first student movement respectively in front of the Senata Dharma University, Sunan Kalijaga Islamic University compounds, and the Gadjah Mada University compounds. The demands of students expressed in the protest (Table 1):

Table 1. Messages of student political communication in #GejayanMemanggil

1.	Protest against the government to stop the re-discussion of problematic articles in the Criminal Code Bill (RUUKUHP)
2.	Protest against the government and parliament for revising the Corruption Eradication Law that was passed and reject the weakening of the authority to eradicate corruption in Indonesia
3.	Student protests demand the state to prosecute the elites who are supposed to be responsible for environmental destruction in several districts
4.	Students protest against articles in the Manpower Bill that are not in favor of the working class
5	Student protests reject the problematic article in the Land Bill which is a form of betrayal of the spirit of agrarian reform
6.	Press to quickly pass the sexual violence eradication law
7	Promote the democratization process in Indonesia and stop arresting activists in all sectors

The seven messages of the student movement "gejayan memanggil" have spread strongly and massively on social media for young people. Student protests from several universities in Jogjakarta had a major impact on students from other universities in Indonesia (Yayuk Hidayah et al., 2021) such as students of Diponegoro University in Semarang, Bandung Institute of Technology in Bandung, Airlangga University in Surabaya, Brawijaya University in Malang, Hasanudin University in Makassar, Sriwijaya University in Palembang, and Samarinda University. A wave of student protests in some cities quickly spread to other cities and made headlines in the mainstream media.

Moreover, the student protests didn't stop there after the #gejayanmemaggil movement in Jogjakarta, the next day, September 24, 2019, the hashtag #reformasidikorupsi appeared on social media. On the same day, there was a massive student protest in front of the parliament in Jakarta by carrying posters of #reformasidikorupsi. #tolakruukuhp. There are already many students who are members of this movement such as the Greater Jakarta area such as students from the University of Indonesia, Atmajaya University, Trisakti University,

Paramadina University. Even campuses such as Binus University, Taruma Negara University, and the London School Public Relations, previously banned students from joining rallies, but many students took part in these actions.

There are also extra-campus organizational elements such as the Indonesian Nation Student Movement (GMNI), the Indonesian Islamic Student Movement (PMII), the Indonesian Christian Student Movement (GMKI), the Student Association (SEMAR). Then student protesters not only from the Greater Jakarta area but also from outside the region such as from the Central Java area such as Diponegoro University, Jendral Sudirman University, and Semarang State University. Their students managed to come to the Jakarta event even though the police had implemented a blocking strategy that restricted areas entering Jakarta, such as the Cikampek toll road, to prevent a surge in students.

In addition to the student movement #gejayanmemanggil there are four demands of students in the #reformasidikorupsi movement which were communicated in student protests (table 2):

Table 2. Four messages of student political communication in #reformasidikorupsi

1.	Restoration of the eradication of corruption, collusion, and nepotism in Indonesia
2	Restoration of democracy, people's voting rights, respect for the protection and fulfillment of human rights, and community involvement in the policy-making process
3.	Restoration of protection of natural resources, implementation of agrarian reform, and improvement of the non-exploitative economy
4	Restoration of national unity and elimination of discrimination between ethnic groups, economic justice and protection of women

In addition, student protests received financial support from the community through online crowdfunding by kitabisa.com. Funding for the crowd was organized by Ananda Badudu, the former music band Banda Neira. In a short time, online community donations have reached 78,947,671 rupiah. The money from the donation has been used for support such as

accommodation, food, drinks, first aid kits, and cell phone loudspeakers (Sari Endah Nursyami et al,2020). After many people supported the student protests, but unfortunately the student action was under pressure and repression from the police in several cities. In fact, about a hundred people sustained minor injuries, some were rushed to the hospital and five others died during the 2019 student action. The five students are identified as Randy (22 years old), Yusuf Qardhawi (19 years old), Akbar Alamsyah (19 years old), and Bagus Putra Mahendra (15 years old) (Alfi Syahri, 2019).

This incident is a bad precedent for democracy after 21 years of the reformation era. The citizens' freedom of expression is the value of a democratic system. The police even continued to press. There were incidents of students being killed by police bullets such as the incident in Makassar. However, the police always conveyed a narrative in the mass media that they took repressive actions against students on the grounds that student protests had been ridden by irresponsible people who wanted to create chaos in society. According to this situation, Louis Althusser (1918-1990) said, the ruling class uses the repressive state apparatus (RSA) to dominate the working class or the subordinate class. The basic social function of the RSA (government, courts, police, and armed forces) is its intervention in politics in the interests of the ruling class, by oppressing subordinate social classes as necessary, either by means of coercive violence or non-violence. The control class (RSA) control because they also control the state power political, legislative, armed forces (Althusser, 2015: 24).

Then in October 2020, students staged another protest during the Covid-19 pandemic after the government and the parliament decided to endorse the controversial Omnibus Bill into Law. The omnibus bill was considered academically flawed since the process did not involve workers. The government and the parliament only involved businessmen, corporations, and investors in preparing this bill with the excuse of making it easier for foreign investment to enter Indonesia. In this demonstration, students collaborated with several trade unions such as the Indonesian Workers Union Alliance Congress (KASBI), the Confederation of National Workers' Union (KPBI), the National Labor Movement (KSN), the Trade Union Bank (JSP PEBANGKAN), and the Media and Creative Industries Union

(SINDIKASI) (Fakrur & Fedryansyah, 2020). Students and workers staged protest in front of the Presidential Palace and then marched to the parliament building. Student demonstrations occurred not only in Jakarta but also in other cities in Indonesia.

There were ten demands of students and workers that were conveyed in the protest against the Omnibus Bill (Table 3), namely:

Table 3. Ten messages of student political communicationin #Mositidakpercaya

1	Termination of Employment (PHK)
2	Criminal sanctions
3	Foreign Works
4	City Minimum Wage (UMK)
5	City/Regency Sector Minimum Wage (UMSK)
6	Severance pay
7	Working time
8	Right to get wages
9	Fixed Term Work (PKWT)
10	Lifetime Outscoring.

During the student protests against the Omnibus Bill, the hashtag #Mositidakpercaya became a trending topic on social media such as Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, and TikTok. Submission of activism hashtags on social media is very useful and effective for the younger generation because every day they live using social media. As a result, hashtag activism spread very quickly on social media and has a large, familiar impact on society (Bambang,2021). In addition to students and workers, who became the initiators of the protesters, what is interesting is that there are three forces that jointly spread the hashtag #mositidakpercaya message in helping the student protest movement; first, there is the movement through online petitions; second, many TikTok users share support for the student protest and third, many -K-pop fans participate in advocating issues or taking direct action.

Drone Empit's social analysis network founders Imail Fammi said many k-pop fans had participated in spreading the hashtag #mositidakpercaya on social media which became a trending topic on Twitter. K-pop fans that are usually active on social media make connections with each other and connect cities

or regions. We know K-pop fans have a large fan base in Indonesia. Even in some cities, many k-pop fans took part in demonstrations with students (Fammi, 2020). Prior to this action, the public had the perception of k-pop fans as part of a class hedonism displaying expensive brands on social media and performing fetishes of k-pop idols. Also k-pop fans do not care about dynamic politics and are more apathetic about politics. But this perception is totally wrong because many k-pop members are concerned with the political dynamics that are evident from their expression in social media and actions. They not only become followers but also know the implications and impacts of the omnibus bill on the community.

The type of social media TikTok that we know in Indonesia has the image of being shallow media. The reason is, this media was first viral and was widely used by a teenager, namely Bowo to make the public controversial with his behavior on social media. Then many people underestimate this platform also because of the incident. Neither did they expect that this platform turned out to be widely used by young people to convey messages to support the student protest movement. Like the @avanthelove account, he made a video story about a parliamentary figure that likes to sleep during meetings and turns off the microphone when members express their aspirations. It didn't stop there; there were also many messages of support for the student and labor demonstrations carried out by TikTok users, especially high school students, even though they did not take part in the action.

The student protest received support from volunteers who participated in creating an online petition to support the student protest movement and to organize citizens in Indonesia to sign it. Since less than seven years ago, online platform petitions have become popular on social media to influence many young people in Indonesia to support issues at the grassroots level. Online petitions are very easy for the community because they are connected to social media, especially for students who are used to being connected on social media every day. Through the change.org site, 76,962 people have signed an online petition to reject the Omnibus Bill (Ridha, 2020). They demanded the parliament not to make controversial bills during the COVID-19 pandemic. Instead, they should focus on priority policies to solve the Covid-19 pandemic and its impact in Indonesia.

The student protest which finally called for a motion of no confidence #mositidakpercaya for the parliament was a signal of strong political communication from students against the government. In the history of the motion of no-confidence used by the parliament to declare itself, there is no longer any trust in the government because it is considered unable to carry out its duties anymore. But now, students have used a motion of no confidence to vote non-parliamentary participatory democracy. This term is used by students to fight legal issues decided by the parliament and government because they are considered to have betrayed the public trust. They passed laws that benefited investors and oligarchs more than workers and society. This law can make Indonesia's economic system more neoliberal, thereby he using higher socio-economic inequalities.

According to the book Oligarch Jeffery A Winters (2011), oligarchs come from the elite part of government where our power is in the hands of a small minority. The hallmark of an oligarchy is that it always wants to maintain its material and non-material power to maintain wealth by institutional means such as encouraging policies or by means of repression even to the point of violence (Winter, 2011: 42).

The Indonesian Forum for the Environment (Walhi) said that behind the drafting of the Omnibus Law were several people who have relations with conglomerate businesses in Indonesia who wanted to make a guarantee law to obtain business continuity and business security. There are also 12 important key players related to the mining and coal business. They were Airlangga Hartanto, Roslan Roeslani, Pandu Patria Sjahrir, Puan Maharani, Arteria Dahlan, Benny Sutrisi, Aziz Syamsudin, Erwin Aksa, Raden Pardede, M Arshad Rasyid, Boboy Gafur Umar, and Lahhot Sinaga.

Some of these names have power relations with politics and some business affiliates such as ownership or commissioners of the coal and mining industry. For example, Coordinating Minister for the Economy Airlangga Hartanto, who is the creator of the Omnibus Bill Creation Task Force is also Chair of the Working Group for Parties and Commissioner at the Multi Harapan Utama Coal Mining Company. Roslan Roeslani who is the Chair of the Omnibus Bill Task Force is also the General Chair of the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Kadin). He is known to be affiliated with 36 companies

and have business connections in the media, pharmaceutical, finance, property, oil and gas, mining, and coal businesses. He is also listed as a commissioner in several mining and coal companies. Erwin Aksa is Vice Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry and President of the Bosowa Group Commission which oversees several industries such as property, automotive, mining, and energy (https://www.walhi.or.id). Also politically affiliated in the 2019 presidential election supporting the Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno pair and having family clan politics in Indonesia is still strong until now

Those are three examples that prove the many conflicts of interest against the Omnibus Bill, particularly the business roadmap and the conglomeration of the mining and coal industry sector in Indonesia. The current condition of the opposition in the parliament is not so strong that not only many votes have been lost to the government coalition but also it is trying to oppose the Omnibus Bill to no avail. In fact, the opposition does not exist in this regard and there is almost no political opposition in the political dynamics in Indonesia. We know that Jokowi and Makruf Amin's presidential rivals in the 2019 presidential election, Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga Uno, have now joined the Presidential Cabinet as Ministers. As a result, the oligarchic conglomerates are getting stronger in the current political dynamics of Indonesia.

Conclusions

The student protests have shown how strong is their political communication in efforts to counter the policies of the government, parliament, political tparties, media conglomerates, and oligarchs. The efforts are first, conducting political communication on social media to make hashtag activism, convey narratives, launch student platform movements, and create crowdfunding movements; and second, holding demonstrations on the roads in the vicinity of their campus and marching to the Presidential Place and the Parliament Building to stage rallies

The emergence of student protests proves that students are not apathetic to the political situation in Indonesia. Students know that real problems in society must be echoed on social media and in public spaces. The student movement in a participatory democracy without a parliament (motion of no confidence) in the 2019-2020 protests can return the democratic

mandate to the people of "Demos" not "Oligarchs". Because in a democratic system, meritocratic politics should be created in order to create emancipation in society.

References

(IJR), I. f. (2019). There are 13 Controversial Law Enforcement. https://icjr.or.id/.

Allsop, B. (2019). The "Youthquake" in British Politics: Myth or Reality? *Journal IMDPI Societes 2019*, 9(4),68; https://doi.org/10.3390/soc9040068.

Althusser, L. (2015). *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards and Investigation).* (M. Z. Hussein, Penerj.) IndoProgress.

Arianto, B. (2021). Social Media as Channeling Ctiizenship Aspirations: A Discussion Study on the Job Creation Bill. *Journal PIKMA*, https://doi.org/10.24076/pikma.v3i2.469.

Arita, H., & Aida, A. (2020). Childer's Protest in relations to climate emergency: A qualitative study on a new form of resistance promoting politcal and social change. *Journal Sage*, https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568219879970.

Besman, A., & Sjuchro, D. W. (2021). Management Issues in The Soekarno Era. *Journal RIGE*, https://rigeo.org/submit-a-menuscript/index.php/submission/article/view/723/689.

BPS. (2020). Index Perception Corruption. https://www.bps.go.id/publication/2020/08/31/.

Budharjo, M. (2008). *Basic Political Science.* Gramedia Pustaka.

Chirs. (2020). Chile Vote Scrap Pinocet - Contitution.

CNN. (2020). Hastag motion not belief deny omnibus law trending on tiktok. https://www.cnnindonesia.com.

David IIkiw, S. M. (2020). "School Strike 4 Climate": Social Media and The International Youth Protest on Climate Change. *Journal Cogito*, https://www.cogitatiopress.com/mediaandcommunication/article/view/2768.

De, Z. G., H. M., & P, Z. (2014). Social Media Political Participation: Panel Analysis of Lagged and Concurrent Relationship. *Journal of Communcations*, https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12103.

Debora, Y. (2020). *List of Problematic Article and Controversy of the Omnibus Law on the Job Creation BiLL.* Tirto.id.

Dezin, Norman K, & Lincoln Yvonnes. (2009). *Handbooks of Qualitaitive Research.* (e. Dariyanto, Penerj.) Yogyakarta: Yogyakarta: Reference Sholar.

Eka, P. C., Budiyono, & Sujitro. (2013). Yongmen's Role in National Movement of Indonesia In 1908 - 1998. *https://repository.unej.ac.id/.*

Fakrur, R. M., & Fedryyansyah, M. (2020). Conflict between CIvil Society Movement and Goverment In the Process of Drafting The Omnibus Bill Law. *Journal Colaboration Conflict Resolution*, https://doi.org/10.24198/jkrk.v2i2.281 47.

Fhami, I. (2020). The trend of rejection of Omnibus Law Is getting lower. https://pers.droneemprit.id/.

Fifi, M., Ranang, A., & Sugiartono. (2020). Revolution of Poster Protes Language Styles Z Generations In Indonesia. *ParlArch's Journal of Archaeology*, Egypt/Egyptology 17(8),75-89 . ISSN 1567-214X.

Fuchs, C. (2020). *Communications and Capitalism A Critical Theory.* London: University Westminster Press.

Habermas, J. (1985). *The Theory Communicative Action, Volume 1, Reason adn Rationaization.* (T. McCarty, Penerj.) Boston Massachusetts: Beacon Press.

Habermas, J. (1985). *The Theory of Communication Action, Volume 2Llifeworld and System Critique of Functionalist Reason Tranlated by Thomas McCarty.* Boston, Massachusset: Beacon Press.

Habermas, J. (1997). *The Structural Transformation of The Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society.* Massachessets: Cambridge Massachusetts.

Hamid, A. (2020). Analysis of The Importance of Omnibus Law "CIpta Kerja" In Indonesia. *Scientific Research and management*, Doi:10.18535/ijsrm/v8i08.IIao1.

Hazim. (2015). Social and Psychological Impacst For Refugees after the COnflict Betwen Sunni and Shia in Sampang. *Madura Journal Psychologi University Sukoharjo*,

https://doi.org/10.21070/psikologia.v3i 1.107.

Hidayah, Y., Miwatizal Trhastutu, Oom Yomi, Romlah, Muhamad Mona Adha, & Rusti Auliya Ulfa. (2021). #Gejayanmemanggil as Social Communications of Student Movement In Yogyakarta. *Journal of Education Psycology and Consulting*, https://ummaspul.e-journal.id/.

Indonesia, A. I. (2020). *Employment Cluster Comments in the Job Creation Bill.* Amnesty International Indonesia.

Izad, R. (2017). The Phenomenon of Blasphemy in Islam and Pacasila Philosphy Perspective (Case study Against Demonstration II on 04 November 2016). *Journal Pangkaran UIN Suan Kalijaga*, http://doi.org/10.14421/panangkaran.2 017.0101-10.

James, S., & M. H. (2017). *Youthquake The Rise of Young Cosmopolitans in Britain,.* Palgrave Studies in Young People and Politics.

Jiwandono, I. S., & Itsna Oktaviyanti. (2020). The Analysis of Student Demonstration Action Against RU KUHP and RUU KPK Betwen Critical and Narcissistic Attitudes. *Journal of Etic Democracy*, DOI: https://doi.org/10.26618/jed.v5i2.3040.

King, P. (2017). Disintegration In Indonesia since Suharto. *Journal Policy and Society Associetes*, https://doi.org/10.10116/S14449-4035(6)70087-X.

Maiwan, M. (2014). Student Movement In Indonesia within have capturing power New Order. *Journal UNJ*, https://doi.org/10.21009/jimd.v14i1.65 04 .

Mische, A. (2008). *Communication adn Contetion Across Brazilian Youth, Partisan Public.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Nursyami, S. E., Nita Komala Dewi, & Intiah Dindah Taqqiyah. (2020). Analysis Message within Twitter@AnandaBadudu with the periode 22-26 September on 2019 looking for objectivity and regulation law ITE. *Journal Communications UPI YAI*, https://journals.upi-yai.ac.id/.

Orinaldi, M. (2020). Among Law Relations in the era of the Covid-19 Pandemic and the Indonesia Economy. *Mangement*

Journal, http://dx.doi.org/10.33087/jmas.v5i2.1 94.

RIdho, I. (2020). *www.change.org*. Diambil kembali dari https://www.change.org/p/tolak-ruu-omnibus-law-cipta-lapangan-kerja-mositidakpercaya.

Roosa, J. (2008). *The Pretext for the Massacre of the September 30th Movement and the Suhato Coup.* Hasta Mitra.

Sanny Nofrima, A. N. (2020). Cyber - Activism on Dissemination of #gejayanmemanggil Yogyakarta's Student Movement. *Journal Study of Commuication*, Doi:10.25139/jsk.v4i1.2091. .

Sari. (2018). Critical Discourse Analysis of the Case Proposed Against the Ahmadiyah Congregation in Cikeusik. *Journal Communcation Untar*, http://doi.10.24912/jk.v10i1.1507.

Sindunata. (2019). *Dilemma Effort Rational People, Critical Theory Frankfurt School, Max Horkheimer & Theodor W Adorn.* Gramedia Pustaka.

Soehartono, A. F., & Mely Noviriyanti. (2019). Conflict Dynamics In the Anti Extraditional Law Amendement. *Journa Digitall Transformation Brawijaya*, https://transformasiglobal.ub.ac.id/index.php/trans/article/view/152/98.

Suta, A. J., Achmad Nurmandi, Dyah Mutiarin, & Salahudin. (2021). Using Social Media as Tools of Social Movement and Social Protest in Omnibus Law of Job Creation Bill Policy Making Process In Indonesial. *Advemces in DIgtal Science*, ICADS2021,26-274,2021https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-71782-7_24.

Syahri, A. (2019). Analysis of Student and Goverment Conflicts in Indonesia over the KPK Law and the Criminal COde Bill (Conflict Management Evaluation Approach and Organizational Communication). *Journal STAIN*, e-jurnal.staisumatra-medan.ac.id.

Taspell, R. (2017). *Media Power In Indonesia, Oligarchs, Citizen and The Digital Revolution.* Rowan & Litterfield International Ltd.

Valezuela, S., Arturo Arriagada, & Adres Scherman. (2012). The Social Media Basis of Youth Protest Behavior: The Case of Chile. *Journal of Communications*, Pages299–314, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2012.01635.x.

Vidya, M., & Suwanta, N. (2017). Macrostructural Discourse Analysi of Ahok's News in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Elections. *Journal Kanal University Muhamadiyah Sukoharjo*, https://doi.org/10.21070/kanal.v5i2.1479Wulan.

Walhi. (2020). Who is the Sponsor Behind the Omnibus Law Task Forse and Panja? https://www.walhi.or.id/.

Winters, J. A. (2011). *Oligarchy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.