

Discourse Analysis of The Guardian Of Oligarch: The Udayana Bali Student Criticism Movement on Instagram Social Media 2021

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Abstract. Students are considered an essential element in the social change structure in society. Information technology has changed how people view things, including the student protest style against the Government. Nowadays, students express their aspirations through social media. One of the BEM uploads on Instagram managed to attract conversation in the public sphere, namely the 2021 Udayana Bali BEM upload entitled The Guardian Of Oligarch. This study aims to analyze student criticism text messages on Instagram and why students criticize government policies in the Joko Widodo regime. This study found that BEM Udayana Bali 2021 students interpreted Jokowi's existence only as a guardian of the Oligarchy because of the ratification of the Minerba Law, the work creation law, the weakening of the KPK, and the existence of Buzzer used by politicians. The reasons students criticize are that students are a privileged identity, there is anxiety among educated youth classes about their future and a burden on the history of previous generations of students. Meanwhile, using social media, Instagram, to criticize government policies is an alternative means to fight the discourse from the Government and mobilize the student movement.

Keywords: Text Analysis, Teun A. Van Dijk, Joko Widodo, BEM Udayana 2021

1. Introduction

Where is the student movement when social media becomes the last channel for voicing political aspirations? Can Indonesian students today still be called agents of change and agents of social control? This question sounds quite cliché, but it still needs to be answered as material for reflecting Indonesia's student movement during the Jokowi administration. The position of the expected answer to this question is to find out what steps and traditions the students take in responding to government policies during changing times.

In recent years, technology and information have developed so rapidly. These developments imply that community interactions tend to use communication media technology. Social media comes with interactive characteristics. It is possible for individuals to create messages and publish their content and then engage directly in the virtual world. The distribution of messages has been so fast compared to previous conventional media [1].

Events at home and abroad can be accessed so quickly. Students in Makassar can communicate quickly with students in Java or other areas. So to unite the movement and control of social issues can be in line and rhythm. It is because the development of the Internet allows this to happen. The Internet has become a new public space for mutual agreement in

responding to the latest social issues. The Internet's public space manifests in forms such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram [2]. Social media, initially only used as a tool to communicate, finally, in today's modern era, has been able to initiate and build a discourse that involves all components of society.

It has been seven years since Joko Widodo has been President of the Republic of Indonesia. Since winning the 2014 and 2019 presidential elections, the figure of Joko Widodo has been under constant criticism from several parties. It is because various policies issued by the Joko Widodo regime are considered controversial. The controversial policy contains the KPK Law, the Minerba Law, the Covid-19 Handling Law, and the ITE Law. It does not hesitate to arrest and throw in prison for those considered to have disturbed the stability of the Government. Because of these cases, bad judgment or negative stigma is in the Joko Widodo regime.

Government policies considered inappropriate by students are expected to be the main issue to be voiced. There is a call to the soul to voice these aspirations. This incident shows a concern from students about the socio-political conditions currently happening in their Country; historically, students have been directly involved in the same situation for a long time. It can be seen from the emergence of the national revival movement in 1908 by bringing the spirit of the national building, which was finally actualized in the text of the Youth Pledge in 1928, the Indonesian independence revolution movement in 1945, and the movement to overthrow Bung Karno in 1965-1966, the disillusionment movement against the Suharto government in 1974 and 1978, until the 1998 reform movement[3]. These movements are an enormous contribution made by students in the world of politics. It proves that the student movement is very influential in the Indonesian nation. Student voices cannot be underestimated, for the students must be a strong and sturdy bridge connecting people's anxiety to the Country.

The following student movement must be able to see the situation and conditions or the context of student life. The student movement must be in harmony with the development of information technology in order to achieve a massive message. Students born and raised in the era of the information technology revolution are a generation that can use new technological devices and communicate with each other using new media. Prensky terms this generation as the generation of digital natives[4].

The development of information technology has changed the way people view things—no exception in protesting against the Government. Today students convey an aspiration through social media by uploading memes or posters. Student criticism of the Government through social media is nothing new. Nevertheless, the way is starting to shift. Before the technology was not as advanced as today, students criticized it by taking to the streets and holding demonstrations. Uploading the meme is a new way for students to protest against government policies. Criticism through social media is a mouthpiece for presenting non-violent arguments.[5]

The emergence of the student movement on social media is not something that just happens. The ideas and ideas of students do not exist in a vacuum. The language that has a critical nuance is present in social cognition and the social context that shapes students. The phenomenon of students criticizing government policies through social media is a form of resistance by using contemporary language. The use of language in everyday life can be in the form of a series of sentences or utterances, although discourse can be in the form of one word or utterance. One of the uploads that attracted public attention was the upload of the 2021 Udaya Bali Student Executive Board entitled The Guardian Of Oligarch.

Critical discourse analysis views the text through a critical approach. In this study, researchers are interested in using critical discourse analysis of the Teun A. Van Dijk model; critical discourse analysis of this model combines elements of discourse so that it can be used practically; discourse by Teun A. Van Dijk has three dimensions, namely text, social cognition, and social context [6] so that through the analysis of this model it can answer questions about the meaning of text messages from uploads of student associations, especially BEM Udayana Bali 2021 on Instagram, and also find out the reasons for students to criticize the Government.

2. Methods

This study uses a critical paradigm approach using the critical discourse analysis method developed by Teun A. Van Dijk. Researchers will conduct a critical study of uploads on the Instagram account of BEM Udayana Bali on July 16, 2021. Researchers use the Teun A. Van Dijk analysis method because this analytical method is not only limited to text analysis but can also uncover hidden meanings in the text. Behind the critical social media texts, students use Instagram to criticize the Jokowi government. This type of research is descriptive and qualitative. Data collection techniques in this study are observation, interviews, and documentation with the validation process using the triangulation method, including theory, method, and data triangulation.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 Text of Student Criticism of BEM Udayana Bali 2021

On July 16, 2021, students gathered in the Udayana Bali Student Executive Board uploaded a criticism of Jokowi with the title of criticism of The Guardian Of Oligarch. This criticism was uploaded through the Instagram account @bem_udayana. This content consists of eight slides and is liked by 6,780 and 614 comments.

In the first slide (figure 1), Jokowi is depicted as a superhero fighting an enemy who will destroy life on earth. Jokowi is described as the figure of a hero who keeps human life safe from attacks by monsters that come from other planets. This slide also has the words The Guardian of Oligarch on it.



Fig 1. The first and second slides of the 2021 Udayana Bali BEM Uploads,

On the second slide (picture.1), a text reads Jokowi, the Guardian of the Mining Oligarchy. There is also a picture of Jokowi smiling while holding a sack that reads Rupiah (RP). The ratification of the Minerba Law and the Job Creation Law are considered political instruments to smooth out cash income by the oligarchs.

On the third slide (picture.2) are pictures of five TNI members, photos of activists from 1997-1998 whom Team Mawar kidnaped, and an inscription that reads Jokowi, the Guardian of Human Rights Violators. In this slide, data are found in the form of informative and interrogative sentences. As seen in Jokowi's quote, he again shocked the public because he appointed two former members of the Rose team to become Ministry of Defense officials. This sentence is an informative sentence that serves to inform the public that Jokowi's decision to approve the appointment of 2 former members of the Rose team is considered to violate the promises contained in his Nawacita, especially in investigating cases of activist abductions and enforced disappearances as well as past human rights violations in this Country.



Fig 2. The Third and Fourth Slide Uploads of BEM Udayana Bali 2021

The account @bem_uyayana explained that the appointment of two former members of the Mawar team as Ministry of Defense officials was Jokowi's effort to protect figures who had violated human rights. The rose team was the mastermind behind the 1997-1998 activist kidnapping operation. A total of 22 activists were kidnapped, nine returned alive and well, and

13 activists were declared missing. Implicitly the @bem_uyayana account wants to express its disapproval of the appointment of two names of TNI members to become Ministry of Defense officials.

In this slide, the @bem_uyayana account explains the phenomenon of two former members of the rose team who became officials at the Ministry of Defense. As reported from detik.com media, Amnesty International Indonesia highlighted that two former members of the Mawar Team became high-ranking officers (pati) in the Ministry of Defense (Kemhan). The two officials were Brigadier General Dadang Hendrayudha, who was appointed Director General of Defense Potential of the Ministry of Defense and Brigadier General Yulius Selvanus became Head of the Defense Strategic Installation Agency of the Ministry of Defense. According to Amnesty International Indonesia's findings, the appointment of two names suspected of being involved in the disappearance of activists in 1998 violated the Government's commitment to investigate past human rights violations [7].

Furthermore, on the fourth slide (Fig. 2), there is a picture of the former Social Minister Juliari Batubara, who is being handcuffed and wearing a typical orange vest from the KPK. Juliari became a suspect in the Covid-19 corruption case of social assistance (bansos) for the Jabodetabek area, which cut packages of Rp. 10,000 for each package as reported by the tribun. news, this corruption case caused state losses to reach 2 trillion [8].

Several politicians in the Jokowi era were proven corrupt but did not receive proper punishment from the KPK, including Juliari Peter Batubara. In addition, the account @bem_uyayana also considers that in the Jokowi regime, the KPK has also been weakened. Of the two cases, the account @bem_uyayana considers Jokowi as the guardian of corrupt politicians. The spread of corruption and even weakening of the KPK is an oligarchic activity that should be watched. The work of the Oligarchy is structured from the top down to the grassroots through the systematization of ratification of legislation.

On the fifth slide (Fig. 3) is the inscription of Jokowi, the Buzzer guard. On this slide, there is also a picture of Jokowi, who seems to be pointing at someone and saying Hi, where are your manners? In this context, Jokowi assesses that people who criticize the Government through social media are considered rude or disrespectful and have no manners. To fight the critical public on social media, the Government uses buzzers as a shield.



Fig 3.The Fifth and Sixth Slides Uploaded by Udayana Bali BEM 2021

Initially used to promote a selling product, Buzzer has now been transformed into a vehicle by politicians for specific interests and is even used to create a bad image of a critical society. From this case, the account @bem_uyayana assesses Jokowi as the keeper of the Buzzer.

The interrogative sentence data is found in the quote Hey, where are their manners? This sentence implicitly places Jokowi as a subject who asks the public about manners on social media. In the question sentence, Jokowi assessed that people who were critical through social media were disrespectful and violated manners.

On the sixth slide (Fig. 3), there are two pieces of news headlines. The first is from Tempo.Com's media, Jumbo Budget to Pay Influencers and Buzzers. This news is proof that

Buzzer is a pet of the Jokowi regime. Second, news from tribun.news entitled Bintang Emon Attacked Buzzer, Slandered Using Drugs. There is also a poster of Comedian Bintang Emon scattered on Twitter that reads Keep Stamina Bintang Emon Admits Using Drugs. On the other hand, the @bem_uyayana account includes a picture of Jokowi raising his hand, giving a thumbs up, and saying, " Good job, my buzzers! An image is a form of Jokowi's appreciation for the buzzers who have succeeded in forming a bad image for critical people, including Bintang Emon.

On the seventh slide (Picture 4) is a picture of the former Minister of Maritime Affairs, Susi Pudjiastuti, famous for the word drown. The @bem_uyayana account intends to drown out the buzzers who attack personally on social media. One example is netizens who commented that the President of Ubud is a Muslim.

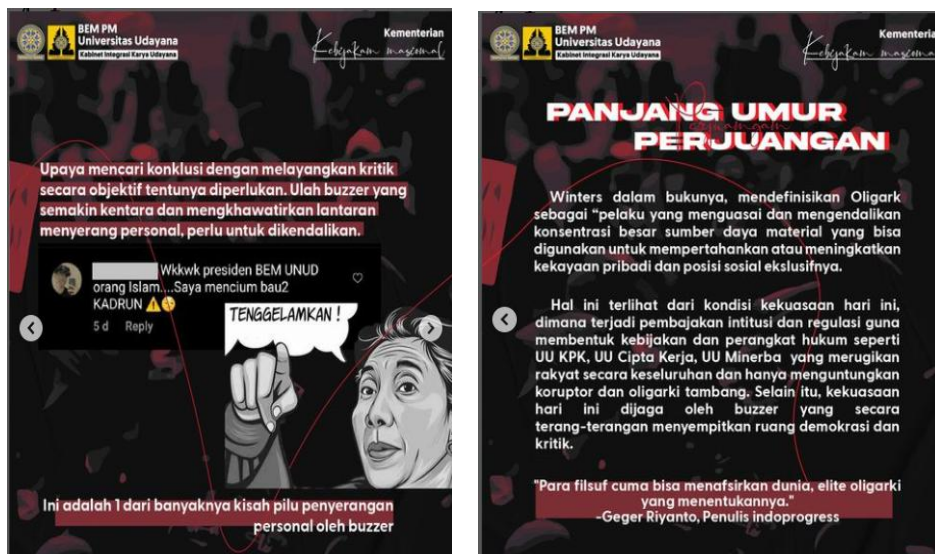


Fig 4. The Seventh and Eighth Slides Uploaded by Udayana Bali BEM 2021

On the eighth slide (Picture.4), there is a long life of struggle, which means that the struggle of students will always exist and grow in fighting for the fate of the people under a tyrannical regime. In this slide, the account @bem_uyayana explains the definition of Oligarchy written by Winters. Oligarchs are actors who control and control large concentrations of material resources that can be used to maintain or increase their wealth and exclusive social position. This oligarchic definition data means that the State of Indonesia is still in the grip of the oligarchs in power in Indonesia.

On June 13, 2022, the researcher conducted an interview with the Chairperson of the 2021 Bali Udayana Bem on behalf of Novriansyah, saying, *The problems that exist in Indonesia are very complex from all sides, the economy, the environment, education, health, and the results of the analysis of the problems of all these problems the community does not understand. have access to regulate all of that, and only people in the government who can do that include people who have many funds or what we call investors.*

With all its policies that are not very pro to the people and only prioritize the owners of capital, Indonesia is proof that the State of Indonesia is a place for the growth and establishment of capitalism with a relationship with the Government. This Country still has a paradigm that social change will occur if capitalism becomes a pillar of the bureaucracy. In a situation like this, BEM Udayana 2021 hopes that the people in the Government can change Indonesia's condition for the better. Novriansyah said, *1% of people in Indonesia, including state officials and investors, can manage problems, but they cannot see the reality in society and only focus on profits.*

According to Novriansyah in his interview, the Government today has a relationship with the capital owners, calling them business people. So when the Government makes a specific policy, it is apparent that it will benefit both parties, the Government and the business people themselves. It can be seen that the policies of the Omnibus Law Law are only beneficial to a few parties without ever thinking about the situation of small communities. Today's government practice shows that money is power. In other words, the Indonesian State can be said to be a capitalist state that is more concerned with the interests of materialism, resulting in transactional politics.

Bem Udayana Bali, 2021, hopes that Jokowi, as the number one leader in Indonesia, can change the direction of these policies to be pro to the people. However, looking at the prevailing policy situation has shown that Jokowi can only protect the interests of the oligarchs. From that situation, the 2021 Bali Udayana BEM at the Nahkodai Novriansyah gave birth to the text *The Guardian Of Oligarch*. The Coordinating Ministry produced the critical text of *The Guardian Of Oligarch* for National Policy administrators, Bem Udayana Bali 2021.

Bem Udayana, in forming the discourse of the resistance movement to the Government, was carried out by the Coordinating Ministry for National Policy management. Bem Udayana conducts internal consolidation to unite national issues that will be voiced. Issues voiced are not only national, which is no less important, namely the issue of the Bali region.

This consolidation movement highlights the policies made by the rulers and is very anti-people. In other words, the issues raised by the student criticism movement are not private or elitist but are populist issues that touch the people.

The criticism from the @bem_uyayana account shows that Jokowi's work is only to maintain the oligarchs' activities. Jokowi's existence only protects the interests of the oligarchs still in power in Indonesia. Four messages critical of the @bem_uyayana account show Jokowi's activities to maintain the continuity of the Oligarchy, namely, the ratification of the Minerba Law and the Job Creation Law, allegedly as a way to smooth the work of the oligarchs in obtaining considerable economic benefits. So that Jokowi is considered the guardian of the mining oligarchy, the appointment of two former Team Mawar to become officials of the Ministry of Defense (Kemenhan) is considered as Jokowi's effort to protect perpetrators of human rights violators. The rose team was the mastermind behind the 1997-1998 activist kidnapping operation. So that Jokowi is considered the guardian of human rights violators, the circle of corrupt politicians is increasingly mushrooming. The systematic weakening of the KPK shows the evil Government in the Jokowi era. So that Jokowi is considered the guardian of corrupt politicians, and Jokowi is considered the guardian of the Buzzer. Politicians use the existence of a buzzer to attack people who criticize social media personally. This incident is evidence of a defensive attitude that has harmed Indonesian democracy.

Producing critical texts for the Government certainly has its purpose. One of the purposes of Propaganda is to change the public's attitude towards something. It is the same with the text production uploaded by Bem Udayana Bali 2021 on their social media. Students want the public to know about the nation's conditions and policies that only benefit certain groups. BEM Udayana Bali felt the same anxiety as BEM on other campuses. A soul is calling as a student to criticize the Government. There is a positive change that students want in the Propaganda carried out through social media. The Government's hegemony through its various powers has lulled the critical awareness of the community.

According to researchers, the movement to criticize the Government through social media is Propaganda that wants to change and raise the critical power of society. So Propaganda which has been interpreted as something negative, is an interpretation of the past when war was still raging in the Western world.

It is not only society that must raise its critical power. The body of a student must always be nurtured with that critical power. In other words, among students who are outside the Bem organization, at least they should be able to feel the same unrest. Through this Propaganda, the breath of the critical movement will always blow. Student propaganda on social media is just a bluff to get attention to the issues raised. Thus, in this context, students criticizing social media only want to dismantle the epistemological basis of government policies.

3.2 Analysis of the Reasons Students Criticize the Government

3.2.1 Student Identity Privilege

The phenomenon of the student criticism movement on social media has become a separate phenomenon in the history of the student movement. This phenomenon is an effort to implement democratization in Indonesia. The Government must, of course, facilitate the movement because it is a dialectic. The student movement on social media is expected to maintain idealism to safeguard people's interests consistently. The student criticism movement will continue to occur. The momentum will not fade as long as democratization takes place.

Discourse is an action. Students increasingly emphasize their involvement in social and political activities as a privileged identity. The discourse voiced by the students is not just a reflex action or an unintentional action, but the discourse is a deliberate and purposeful critical social movement activity. Even the actions of these students can always be justified. Student criticism of Jokowi is an expression that departs from social unrest.

Student Identity is a privileged identity that not everyone has. The Chairman of Bem Udayana Bali, Novriansyah (*Interview with the Chairperson of BEM Udayana 2021, June 13, 2022*), said that *students have more privileges where we have freedom, free thought, politically free, and free of burdens, so we still have the freedom to have an opinion or see things as an idea.*

In society, when they hear the word student, what comes to mind is a young man who is intelligent and learned. This stereotype shows that students must be socially responsible for their intellectual roles.

In completing the preparation of the premises of this research, the researchers did not forget to conduct interviews to get another point of view about why students criticize the Government. What is meant by the author is the Chairman of the DPD Muhammadiyah Makassar Student Association, Abdul Ghofur. Thursday, June 7, 2022, the researcher and Abdul Ghofur met at noon. The Chairman of the DPD IMM Sulsel, Abdul Ghofur, said, *Students as educated individuals, with their level of knowledge, should be able to play their roles and functions, not only as academics but also to contribute their thoughts and energy to the problems around them.*

Students can be said to play a significant role and are in a strategic position as a bridge between the Government and the people. Students are still considered to have an independent position. With the process of forming idealism while on campus, students also do not hesitate to express the opinion of the broader audience with their network and knowledge. Students are categorized as a class of educated youth in the social structure of society. The class division is because students have intellectual and social capital that ordinary people do not own. Educated youth or students are critical actors in most processes of social change.

In this case, youth are individual figures with specific characteristics: revolutionary, optimistic, forward-thinking, and moral. Another trait carried out with a young spirit is to direct the nation in a better direction. How important is the role of students in a nation? In the historical record of this nation's journey, the role of students has always been a pillar and motor for achieving independence and the nation's progress.

3.2.2 Educated Youth Class Anxiety About Their Future

Wazib Muhlis, who serves as the Chair of the KPI Masters Forum at UIN Sunan Kali Jaga Yogyakarta, expressed the anxiety of the educated youth class. Wazib is one of the students who actively follow the development of the discourse on youth movements in Indonesia. From his statement, he was one of the participants in the #gejayanmecal action. He said: This youth movement was born from middle-class youth in Indonesia, who have the social capital to study, have the sufficient social capital to go to college, but in the Jokowi era, the middle class in Indonesia is increasingly threatened, and today's students seem to no longer be able to imagine having a successful life as expected by their parents. Their fate is threatened, and students who fall into the middle-class category have a bleak future.

Researchers consider the educated youth class as students living in the present era, both in the city and the village. This youth class always has aspirations to rise to a higher social class. In today's reality, there are not enough job vacancies for some students who have completed their studies. The State should be present and provide an answer about it instead of labeling these students as unskilled and unable to compete in the world of work. For researchers, all students must have specific skills in the field of work, but only because all students do not have the same opportunities.

The free market operation means that each student is free to seek his fortune according to their chosen field. However, in today's reality, the free market does not provide equal opportunities for all students.

The class of educated youth who have the social capital obtained in college cannot be channeled due to limited access and the complexity of administrative problems in Indonesia. Anxiety about the future of the educated youth class finally spilled out in their criticisms through social media and the last resort through street demonstrations. Researchers say that students who protested on the street were worried about their future when they got a degree on campus.

3.3.3 Historical Burden

The struggle of the student movement in Indonesia, seen from its history, continues to experience ups and downs influenced by the changing regime in power, the political economy order, and the scope of the applied education system. The role of the student movement in the dynamics of power change in Indonesia has a significant influence, such as during the struggle for independence, during the struggle for independence, the fall of Suharto, which gave birth to the New Order era, and also during the reformation period that overthrew the Suharto regime [9].

In the history of modern Indonesia, especially when the Indonesian people entered a new era marked by an awareness of their identity as a nation, important phenomena emerged that marked changes in history. These markers are manifested in so-called "generations," each of which has its characteristics during its struggle. As a result, there appeared, for example, "class of 1908", "class of 1928", "class of 45", "class of 1966", and "class of 1998". Uniquely, these forces are driven by youth groups, specifically students or college students [10]. The

struggle of students from previous generations is believed to be successful in carrying out the movement, even used as an indicator of the success of a student movement today. In other words, the success standards of previous generations of students are almost always used as references today.

The student movement was considered a success because it was directly involved in a transfer of power from Soekarno's power to Suharto's until the reform era. That cannot be separated from the work of student activists who want a change.

However, what is important is that behind the presumption of success for the previous generation of students, it was at that point that it became a burden for today's students. Moreover, in the end, there was an assumption that today's students were just following along with their seniors.

So that today's student movement can be said to be a movement because there is an order from the seniors. Here it can be seen that behind a student critique movement is the interest of seniors, whether they are seniors from campus or seniors from different organizations. The discourses voiced by students on various social media platforms, from holding demonstrations on the street, are actual. However, it will be over if the field generals receive specific rations and everything is finished in coffee shops. Finally, the discourse that was voiced stopped there. It did not even rule out the possibility of this happening to the previous generation of students, who were said to be considered great successes in carrying out the movement. From this point of view, the researcher is skeptical of the student movement. Students do not fight for the rights of marginalized communities but represent themselves and their seniors. It is often heard that the student movement is a movement on behalf of the people and a movement that the people ride. However, the researcher saw that it was all nonsense and only a segmentation of the student movement.

Today's students assume that knowledge from their seniors is taken for granted knowledge. Namely, when students move because they assume that the tradition of senior students who are often critical and conduct demonstrations is an act of objective knowledge. In other words, the traditions carried out by senior students must be carried out so that they are not considered as dissident juniors.

3.3 Social Analysis of Students Criticizing the Government

Udayana Bali's 2021 BEM upload on Instagram considers Jokowi a guardian of the Oligarchy. Jeffrey A. Winters in Sunardi (2020) explained that Oligarchy could be seen from two different perspectives. One side sees Oligarchy as an attempt by conglomerates to maintain wealth, while the other sees Oligarchy as an elite effort to expand wealth [10]. For example, the trick is to seize the practical instrument of power in the Pilkada. The oligarchs will use political instruments by participating directly in the contestation process or becoming donors to the contestants who will fight in the Pilkada arena.

According to a study by Nathaniel (2020), Jokowi is part of an oligarchy. PDIP, which was significant because it was considered the antithesis of the New Order at the beginning of the Reformation era, was part of the present Oligarchy [11]. PDIP's support for Jokowi is not

because of the ideal awareness that the former Solo Mayor is the best leader for the people but because Jokowi is the best choice to win. Jokowi managed to win because political parties and the elite decided to carry him. That is why until he became President for two terms like now, he could not go against the interests of the elite and political parties.

The results of research conducted by Muhtadi (2015) found something similar, that in fact, Jokowi's success in occupying the presidential seat was partly the result of oligarchic support for his campaign, making it difficult for him to discharge his obligations to the oligarchs after taking over the Government [12].

Coordinator of the Mining Advocacy Network (Jatam) Merah Johansyah said that this kind of Oligarchy only benefits the ruling circle. The regulators around power are business actors who make regulations only to benefit the elite, not the small and middle class, as Jokowi has portrayed so far.

Jatam noted that both Jokowi and DPR leaders have businesses related to mining. Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs Airlangga Hartarto is related to PT Bara Hanyu Kapuas and PT Multi Harapan Utama. Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs and Investment Luhut Binsar Panjaitan is related to PT Toba Sejahtera. DPR chairman Puan Maharani has a husband who is active in Odira Energy Karang Agung and PT Rukun Raharja. Meanwhile, the Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives, Azis Syamsuddin, is the Commissioner of PT Sinar Kumala Naga [11].

Seeing this situation, in the context of Indonesia, Oligarchy is not only because the conglomerates or elites have many coffers of wealth, but more than that, Oligarchy in Indonesia can exist and still be able to survive in every situation because social relations support it, in this case, the existence of an oligarchy. Dominant capital relations. This situation gives the conglomerates more room to survive and expand their economic network using political instruments [10].

To oversee the passage of the ratification of the Job Creation Act, the State uses the police unit to issue a ban on demonstrations. The State did this to silence the resistance movement by civil society and students. The Police issued a Telegram numbered STR/645/X/PAM.3.2./2020 as of October 2, 2020, which prohibited conducting demonstrations during the Covid-19 Pandemic [13].

In addition to anticipating demonstrations, the telegram also asks all ranks of the National Police to carry out cyber patrols on social media related to the potential for the spread of false information or hoaxes related to the issue of the Job Creation Act or the Omnibus Law.

Some of the efforts made by the State, including the Police, which issued a ban on demonstrations, were an effort that did not protect the rights of civil society and changed the Marwah of its institutional goals. There is a hidden intention with the issuance of the prohibition, namely, so that the ratification of the Job Creation Act can run smoothly without any interference. At this point, Covid-19 was scapegoated or used as an excuse for the interests of the oligarchs. So actually, with Covid-19, this is an advantage for the Government because there is a reason to prohibit students from holding demonstrations. Finally, one way to fight this power is by criticizing it using social media.

Another policy passed during the pandemic. Namely, the President issued Presidential Regulation No. 109 of 2020, which contains the Acceleration of the Implementation of National Strategy Projects in line with the Job Creation Act or the Omnibus Law.

During the situation where the PSBB is still being implemented, large projects are still running. The number of development projects consists of 201 projects and ten programs with a total value of Rp 4,809.7 trillion. It was a revision of Presidential Regulation Number 56 of 2018 when the set PSN included 223 projects and three programs. Meanwhile, the ten programs include the Electricity Infrastructure Development Program, the Economic Equity Program, the Border Area Development Program, the Exit Toll Access Road Development Program, the National Tourism Strategic Area Development Program (KSPN), the Waste Processing into Electrical Energy (PSEL) Development Program, and the National Tourism Strategic Area Development Program. Smelter Development, National Food Provision Improvement Program (Food Estate), Superhub Development Program, and Regional Development Acceleration Program [14].

Seeing the amount of the budget prepared at that time was very contrary to the community's needs. During the Covid-19 pandemic, the Government should focus on health and economic insurance for people in need.

Facing this situation, students do not run out of creative ideas to respond to government policies. Activists on all campuses use social media to communicate and unite the resistance movement to reject the law. Social media is a crucial tool in a pandemic situation in the resistance movement against the Government. Starting from an invitation to protest against the law, a wave of protests occurred everywhere, including Makassar.

On Monday, September 23, 2019, there was a simultaneous action in various regions against the Draft Criminal Code, which started with calls on social media. Students were moved to take action through #gejayanMecall, created on social media. Hidayah et al., in their research, found #Gejayan calling it a social communication for the student movement in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. #Gejayan Calls to be a trending topic that contributes to Gejayan Calls' call for action in Yogyakarta, Indonesia[15]. In line with that, another study explains that the Gejayan Calling Movement has become a starting point for changes in social movements in Indonesia, where the foundation that is built is no longer based on material resistance but is more based on issues of humanity, injustice, politics, the environment, and society. Woman. Therefore, the ideology that develops has changed from something that is class resistance to identity resistance[16].

Demonstrations on the street have limited space for conveying inspiration. The banners and leaflets held by the demonstrators only contained words, without any data explanation of the inspiration voiced. It is different when criticizing social media. There are explanations of evidence and data that can be seen. Uploads on social media are also old and can be saved as long as they are connected to the Internet. Students who are members of the Bem at each campus also conduct academic studies before they upload them on social media.

Saud and Margono (2021) noted that students moved to use the Internet and social media for participation in digital democracy in Indonesia. Using digital technology will benefit national sovereignty to create and strengthen democracy—social media influences

student movements, including political communication and struggles for change in society. With the existence of social media, student participation as an educated group is increasingly open [17].

Social media has an essential character as a medium for forming public opinion and counter-discourse from narratives produced by power. In today's era of information abundance, information becomes the breath of democracy, and finally, the war of opinion becomes inevitable.

The discourse of power is spread through ideology through mainstream media and social media, often known as Buzzer. Discourse is often repeated so that later, people will assume that the discourse produced by power is truth. If it is not students who do the counter-discourse, then who else? Because parents in the village cannot take care of this. If students fail to maximize these open spaces, it will be challenging to fight for their ideas.

Media ownership in Indonesia has closed the discourse for alternative narratives in favor of marginalized people. It is hard not to admit that the mainstream media is more pro-capitalist than the political party of the 2019 presidential election that has passed has shown us an evident phenomenon of media bias. Then where else can a narrative of struggle go if all of them have been controlled by power? The answer is through social media and grassroots strengthening.

Social media can be a tool to raise class consciousness or at least as a means of struggle. Students can build strength and display critical ideas. Several BEMs in Indonesia have already done that, using social media to produce critical texts. The ability of students living in the digital era must maximize the potential to increase classroom awareness.

Efforts to criticize social media by uploading graphic designs or memes are critical during the onslaught of modernity, making some students apathetic and individualistic. Students who criticize social media are creative students who can always get new possibilities. This creativity signifies that alternative media is accurate, not just a slogan.

4. Conclusions

Student criticism contained in the uploaded text of BEM Udayana carries a message that Jokowi's existence is only limited to maintaining the continuity of the Oligarchy because the ratification of the Minerba Law and the Job Creation Law is allegedly a way to smooth the work of the oligarchs in obtaining considerable economic benefits. The appointment of two former Rose Teams to serve as Ministry of Defense (Kemenhan) officials is seen as Jokowi's effort to protect perpetrators of human rights violators. The circle of corrupt politicians is increasingly mushrooming, and the systematic weakening of the KPK shows the poor governance of the Jokowi era. So that Jokowi is considered the guardian of corrupt politicians, Jokowi is considered the guardian of the Buzzer. Politicians use the existence of a buzzer to attack people who criticize social media personally.

The reasons students criticize are because students are a privileged identity, there is anxiety among the educated youth class about their future, and there is a burden of history from previous generations of students. Meanwhile, using social media, Instagram, to criticize

government policies is an alternative means to fight the discourse from the Government and mobilize the student movement.

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