



**We are Far from Jakarta: Lesson Learned from Makassar Student Movement 2009-2020 As A Political Power of Disruption Against the State**

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**Abstract**

The Makassar student movement is a unique phenomenon in the history of Indonesian social movements. The pattern of the Makassar student movement has always been complex, militant, and steady. This background led to this research be conducted. By using qualitative research methods and case studies, the following results are obtained. Throughout 2009-2020 Makassar students grew as a disruptive force that responded, fought, and tried to negotiate against state policy. Students were disappointed with the state policy of increasing fuel prices, weakening the eradication of corruption, commercializing education, acting unfairly towards workers and the people, and being ruled by capitalism and neoliberalism. Makassar students gave strong reactions because they felt far from Jakarta. In addition, the mass media demanded that the student movement must be strong so that it could affect public opinion. The student movement was also culturally based on tribal values, and they fought the state using collective actions. Theoretically, the Makassar student movement has disrupted state hegemony, and historically the student movement has always given a definite meaning to the public sphere as an expression of democracy. Students are always in a public space that places equality for their participants, is never bound by state domination, and always opposes state hegemony.

**Keywords**

Power of disruption; student movement; war on the highways

**JEL Classifications:** J11, F43

## **1. Introduction**

The student movement is an indispensable feature in the study of social movements. The study of student movement varies in diverse and intricate ways. It is considered unique because student movement studies are often long-term and seek to improve the socio-political system or state (Sastramidjaja, 2016), (Abdullah and Osraf, 2019) and (Vaillant and Schwarz, 2019). The student movement reacts various to important local, national, and international challenges deemed necessary. The student movement is regarded significant due to the fact that, on a macro level, it always includes three characteristics of social movement theory., they are (1) conflict (Rhoads, 2016) and (Agger, 2016); (2) collective behavior (Sukmana, 2016); and (3) social change and democracy (Nielsen, 2019). Moreover, the student movement is a critical move towards the state that is carried out sustainably (Luescher, 2018).

The student movement in Makassar is a critical and distinctive national political phenomena due to its violent, highly militant, and consistent behavior. In other locations, including as Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta, and Surabaya, the demonstrations have ceased, but in Makassar, they continue to engage in aggressive behavior. Marijan and Fitrianto's study found the phenomenon that there was violent behavior in the Makassar student movement (Marijan and Fitrianto, 2013). There are two sorts of violence committed by Makassar students: justifiable and unjust. Just violence may be witnessed in the violent clashes amongst students in Makassar. In the meantime, the Makassar student movement's aggression against the state is unfair. Thus according Marijan and Fitrianto, a feeling of social identity inside the department and faculty is the source of violence among Makassar students (Marijan and Fitrianto, 2013: 4). Abdullah and Mustafa similarly reached the conclusion that the student movement in Makassar was violent. In 2019, Abdullah and Mustafa published a book on the militancy of the Makassar student movement, which has always been extreme, violent, and militant in its opposition to the state. When most Indonesian presidents visit Makassar, Makassar students protest, resist, and even reject their presence, including President Soeharto, B.J Habibie, Abdurahman Wahid, Megawati, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), and Joko Widodo (Jokowi). In 2014, a Makassar student demonstrated Vice President Jusuf Kalla (JK) when he returned to Makassar. (Abdullah and Mustafa, 2019: 63). Because of the frequent demonstrations by Makassar students, Abdullah and Mustafa called Makassar the City of Demonstrators. The student movement in Makassar is not only a demonstration, but rather a "battle" on the highway against the police. They frequently shoved one other, verbally abused each other, flung stones at each other, and traded punches. Students in Makassar frequently torch used tires, vandalize structures, seize state-owned vehicles, and occupy gas stations.

Frequently, student demonstrations in Makassar claim several lives; even in 1996, in AMARAH,, three students were killed.<sup>1</sup>

Students in Makassar frequently block the main highway, causing the majority of the city's traffic to be halted. The majority of Makassar City's universities are situated along the route between the airport, Jalan Sultan Hassan-Din, and Jalan Pattarani. They shut off the highway before torching old tires and delivering speeches. When delicate issues are highlighted, the Makassar student movement grows in size and complexity. The case for increasing the price of fuel oil, rejecting the "commercialization" of education (educational capitalization), weakening the Corruption Eradication Commission in 2019, ratifying Law No. 11 of 2020 on Job Creation, and resolving the question of people's land is always a difficult one. The Makassar student movement has become part of social behavior because it is impossible to analyze only with the theory of relative deprivation, where there is a wide gap between the reality experienced by students and the community. Relative deprivation theory is strongly psychologically biased and therefore considered by Eder "not to enter the heart of social theory" (Della and Mario, 2015: 32). The relative deprivation factor is essential and becomes the primary basis for most social movements in general, as Morrison (Sukmana, 2016: 99) formulated. The Makassar student movement is too complex for the emergence of the relative deprivation phenomenon because it requires a comprehensive socio-political background in the context of relations with the state, socio-economics, and the power of civil society as formulated by the new social movement paradigm (Singh, 2010: 129). According to Vaillant and Schwartz, the modern student movement is a social disruption aimed at negotiating power (Vaillant and Schwartz, 2019: 113). The Makassar student movement is not simply a question of the emergence of the profit-and-loss phenomena, the growth of leadership patterns, and the dissemination of student organization patterns as outlined by the Resource Mobilization Theory. (Sukmana, 2016). The student movement in Makassar was perceived as a resistance movement against the state. The power of anomie is perpetually opposed to that of the state. In Volk's terminology, the protest movement is a contribution to counter-hegemonic discourse that shows political alternatives and necessitates the possibility of political choices. (Volk, 2018: 4).

## **2. Materials and Methods**

This research uses a descriptive qualitative method with the type of case study research. The case study research is on the 2009-2020 Makassar Student Movement, the period of the SBY-Boediono and Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla and Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin regimes. The purpose of the case study in this research is to view the Makassar student movement as a unique phenomenon.<sup>2</sup>

The subjects of this research are (1) internal student organizations consisting of BEM (Student Executive Board) or Student Senate, BLM (Student

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<sup>1</sup> The AMARAH occurred on 24 April 1996 at UMI (Indonesian Muslim University) Makassar. UMI students demonstrated and then clashed with security forces. The clashes left 3 UMI students dead. Because of that, the event is known as AMARAH (stands for *April Makassar Berdarah*).

<sup>2</sup> Yin, Robert K (2003): *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, third edition, Applied Social Research Methods Series, Volume 5, Sage Publications, Inc, London. According to Yin, case study research focuses on specific phenomena with in-depth exploration, starting from research questions, proposals, and analysis, to research reports.

Legislative Board), Student Press Activity Unit, and the Department of Student Association; (2) external student organizations such as HMI (Muslim Students' Association), PMII (Indonesian Islamic Student Movement), GMNI (Indonesian National Student Movement), KAMMI (National Front of Indonesian Muslim Students), GMKI (Indonesian Christian Student Movement), PMKRI (Catholic Student Movement of the Republic of Indonesia), and IMM (Muhammadiyah Student Association), and (3) external student organizations that hold leftish ideologies such as LMND (National Association for Democracy), FMD (Democratic Student Front), FMK, and FMN (National Student Front).<sup>3</sup>

According to Robert K Yin, there are six sources of data or evidence in the case study, which are collected from (1) observation activities on students' social, economic, and political conditions and the people of Makassar 2009-2020; (2) secondary data such as documents, journals, books, print, electronic mass media, papers, education regulations, and leaflets from students; (3) in-depth interviews with leaders of the student movement, police officers, the National Military of Indonesia officers, Makassar city government, university leaders, community and cultural leaders, political figures, and NGO activists. The fourth, archival data consists of various types, namely archive data for the Makassar student protests for the 2009-2020 periods.

### **3. Results and Discussion**

#### **3.1 Makassar Student Movement 2009-20124**

The behavior of the Makassar student movement is not determined by time but state policies that are considered to affect the fate of the people. The behavior of the student movement is correlated with state behavior and policy (Shek, 2020; Vaillant and Schwarztz, 2019; Luescher, 2018). It explains why so transition from the regime of SBY-Boediono to that of Jokowi-JK (Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla) could not prevent the hostile and aggressive behaviour of Makassar students against the state. Due to the revision of the Corruption Eradication Commission Law and the ratification of the Law on Cooperation Creation, student opposition to the policies of the Jokowi government in Makassar was as passionate and militant as it was against the SBY regime from 2009 to 2014. It is intriguing that, under the Jokowi rule, which is more oppressive and severe on the student movement, the frequency

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<sup>3</sup> According to Neuman, ethnographic case studies research subjects focused on a small group of people. Therefore, informants focused on student groups.

<sup>4</sup> This research took place from January 2009 to December 2020: the regimes of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) and Joko Widodo (Jokowi). January-October 2009 was the end of the term of the first President SBY with Vice President Muhammad Jusuf Kalla (SBY-JK). The second term of office of SBY is paired with Vice President Boediono from October 20, 2009, to October 19, 2014. The period of the Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla regime is from October 20, 2014, to October 19, 2019. Jokowi's second term of office is 2019-2024 (Jokowi-Makhruf Amin regime).

<sup>5</sup> The structure of the Makassar student movement consists of (1) Field General (coordinating overall demonstrations), (2) Field Deputy General (coordinating street demonstrations), (3) Field Coordinators, (4) Espionage (reading the situation and collecting data), (5) Public Relations (spreading information), (6) chronologist (stating the course of action), (7) Agitator (speech in demonstration), (8) Courier (connector to the network), and (9) others as needed (formed according to needs demonstration).

of student resistance in Makassar has not decreased and is even larger than under the SBY-Boediono regime. The most of Makassar students' responses to various issues were rallies, demonstrations, seminars, training, workshops, group discussions, ambushes, rejections, boycotts, and multiple forms of resistance to power, whether against central, regional, corporate, or other forms of institutional governance<sup>5</sup>. Students from Makassar have caused both structural and intrusive state disturbances (Vaillant and Schwarz, 2019: 114-115).

The movement's breadth relies on the concerns to which students in Makassar are responding. Matters pertaining to the lives of many people (the people), at least as they pertain to the interests of Makassar students, can frequently result in large, extensive, and protracted demonstrations that last days. Even movement can occur several times, however not in a single period. For instance, the opposition against Law No. 9 of 2009 regarding Educational Legal Entities was lengthy and arduous. During the Jokowi administration, the 2019 and 2020 movements challenged the revision of the Corruption Eradication Commission Law and the Job Creation Law. There were days of massive demonstrations. Protests can occur often throughout the year, although not consecutively, and activists and participants might vary. Conversely, segmentation is seen when students respond to specific concerns pertaining to other nations, even though they are worldwide, yet believe they have little influence on the Indonesian people. On January 19, 2009, Islamic student organisations including KAMMI, PMII, IMM, and HMI demonstrated in support of the Palestinian people. In accordance with Altbach's argument, the extent of the student movement in Makassar is determined by the severity of the problems they encounter (Luescher, 2018: 301). The following graph illustrates the frequency of student movements in Makassar from 2009 to 2014.

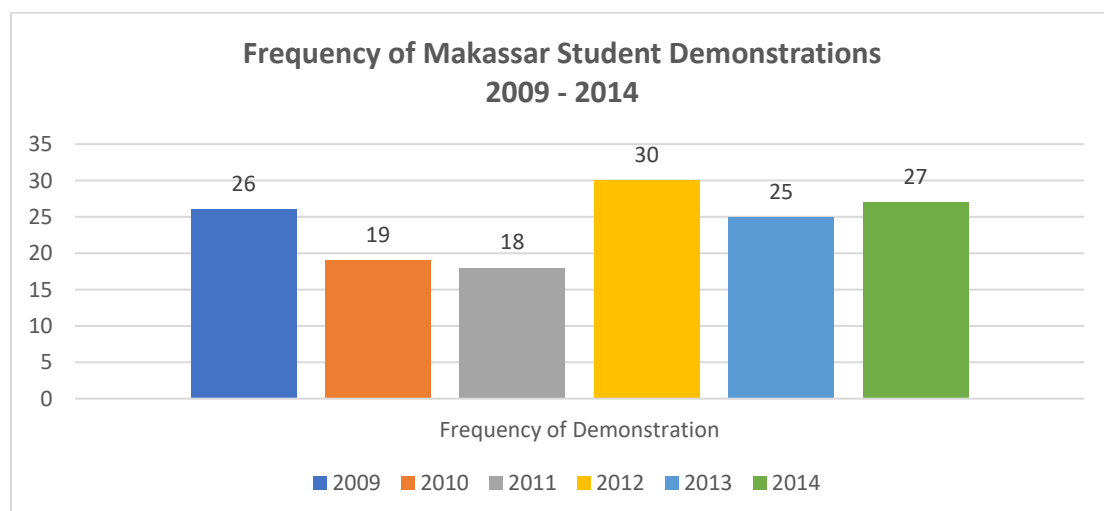


Figure 1: This is a figure of Frequency of Makassar Student Demonstrations 2009-2014

Source: processed data from internet, interviews, and printed media

During 2009-2014 Makassar students held more than 145 demonstrations: there were 26 in 2009, 19 in 2010, 18 in 2011, 30 in 2012, 25 in 2013, and 27 in 2014. The meaning of the graph above is that every year Makassar students demonstrate at least 24 times and every month, on average, Makassar students demonstrate two times.

The Makassar student movement during the Jokowi regime is not much different. There is even an upward trend, although the regime's behavior is far more repressive and intolerant. Student movement data for the 2015-2020 periods: in 2015, students acted 30 times. There were 20 in 2016; 21 in 2017; 30 in 2018; 53 in 2019; 60 in 2020. During 2015-2020 there were 219 student demonstrations in Makassar. On average, every year, Makassar students perform the movement 36 to 37 times. It means that every month Makassar students demonstrate 3-4 times. In addition, there are 3 to 4 student movements every month in Makassar throughout 2015-2020. See the following data:

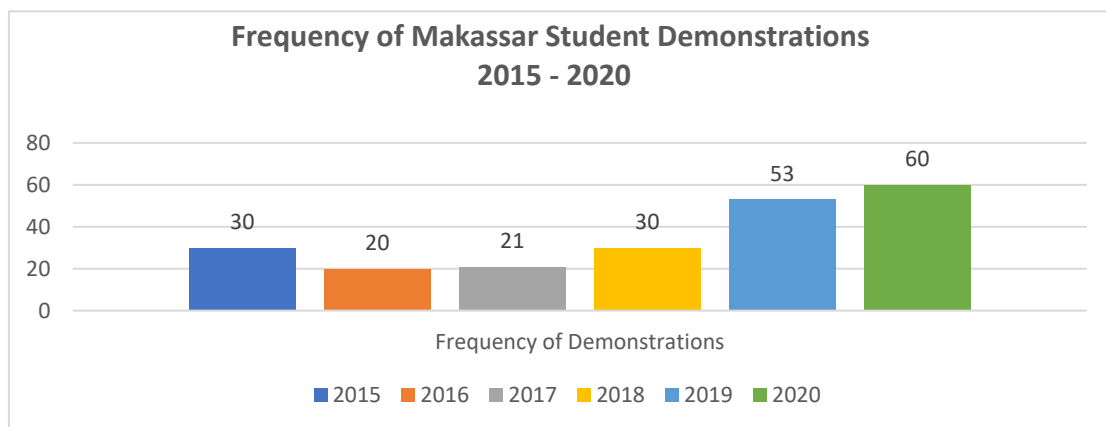


Figure 2. This is a figure of Frequency of Makassar Student Demonstrations 2015-2020

Source: processed data from internet, interviews, and printed media

### 3.2 Group Resistance

Students from Makassar always employ the collective strategy while fighting against the state. The purpose of collective resistance for Makassar student activists is to equal the might of the security forces. In addition, collective resistance turns the strength of individuals, subgroups, factions, and groups into a critical mass that functions as a mass force<sup>46</sup>. Four types of Makassar student groupings were used for demonstrations: (1) the group based on the type of

<sup>6</sup> Yunasri Ridho is a student at the Makassar State University. He was the President of BEM 2018 interviewed on 10 August 2018 at the Makassar State University.

<sup>7</sup> BEM (Student Executive Board) is a student organizational representative that carries out executive functions in the faculty. BLM (Student Legislative Body) is a student organizational representative with legislative authorization. The Department of Student Association is a forum for students to scientific activities based on their department or study program. Meanwhile, HMI (Muslim Students' Association), GMNI (Indonesian National Student Movement), PMII (Indonesian Islamic Student Movement), PMKRI (Catholic Student Movement of the Republic of Indonesia), GMKI (Indonesian Christian Student Movement), IMM (Muhammadiyah Student Association), KAMMI (National Front of Indonesian Muslim Students), LMND (National Student Association for Democracy), FMD (Democratic Student Front), FMK (Student Front for Democracy), and FMN (National Student Front) are external campus organizations.

student internal campus organisations, such as "faculty government" or based on study programmes, such as BEM, BLM, Student Press Activity Unit, and Department of Student Association<sup>7</sup>; (2) the group of students that emerged based on the nature of the anomie movement itself, where students formed this grouping or coalition based on the developed issues; and (3) the group of students that emerged based on (National Student Association for Democracy).

Against the government, the Makassar Student group resisted in a variety of ways. In a single motion, pupils from Makassar may overlap many group models. Students of HMI (Muslim Students' Association), KAMMI (National Front of Indonesian Muslim Students), IMM (Muhammadiyah student association), and Anarko could join BEM, BLM, and Student Council for the movement against the revision of the 2019 Corruption Eradication Commission Law and the ratification of the 2020 Job Creation Law, for example. Then, they organised a protest against the proposed amendment of the Corruption Eradication Commission Law. The group's resistance inspired the aggressiveness of the student movement in Makassar. According to Blumer, groupings in the shape of crowds are emotional and illogical social forces that serve as the backbone of social movements (Sukmana, 2016: 47). According to Tarrow, this type of organisation is a social force with strong solidarity and a unified identity that may be used to oppose the state (Della Porta, Donatella A, and Diani, Mario, 2015: 8).

### **3.3 Resistance on the Highway**

Students utilise highways as a disruptive tool to attract the attention of society and the government. According to 24-year-old Muhammad Ismail, roads and other public locations are democratic zones where students may voice their aspirations. Students perceive roads as a circuit of capital movements<sup>5</sup>. Highways are a crucial component of the city's economic cycle. The selection of the highway for the demonstration is a form of opposition to the existing capitalist economy and a shock so that the student's message may be heard by a large audience. The highway, according to Ridho, 23, is a method for extracting capitalism. On this highway, capital and power is so significant; then it is selected as a key demonstration location. They battle against capitalism and hegemonic power on the streets. They attempt to halt the flow of traffic while streamlining the spread of information and student aspirations relating to the problems they are conveying. In addition to slowing down the economy and urban industries, the usage of roads is a focal point for student activism<sup>8</sup>. Student disruption is caused by

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<sup>8</sup> Muhammad Ismail is a student of the Faculty of Agriculture, Hasanuddin University. Junasri Ridho is a student activist at the Makassar State University in the 2018s. According to Goubin Yang, the dramaturgical point is the point that becomes the center of public attention.

<sup>9</sup> Ishak Salim is the Chairperson of the NGO Inninawa interviewed on 11 August 2018 at the Inninawa office. Salim is an alumnus of Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Hasanuddin University.

<sup>10</sup> Interview with Dr. Sarkawi, 47 years old, on August 2, 2018, in the Department of History, Faculty of Humanities, Airlangga University. Sarkawi is a lecturer in the History Department, Faculty of Humanities Airlangga University. In 1991-1992 he was the Chair of the BLM, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Hasanuddin University.

demonstrations, road closures, and a pattern of resistance by Makassar student organisations (Vaillant and Schwarz, 2019).

In contrast, the security forces, including the police, Satpol PP, and the TNI (The Indonesian National Armed Forces), frequently beat, kicked, shoved, fired tear gas, and fired warning shots. Several of these students even perished as a result of the brutality of the security forces during the highway demonstration. Students from Makassar never ceased their enthusiasm and energy to demonstrate. Numerous students on their campuses have been sanctioned, ranging from warnings to expulsion, yet this has not prevented Makassar students from conducting rallies.

According to Salim, a 43-year-old man, the aggressiveness of the police inspires the students to respond with violence. Because of the inflexible nature of the security personnel, students frequently use violence as well. According to Salim, the aggressive behaviour of students is a consequence of police aggression<sup>9</sup>. Sarkawi supports Salim's assertion that movement activists are so irritated and angry of the security forces. They frequently refer to Tarbun's security personnel as a joke (an abbreviation of Tentara Buntuh). People today refer to the police as Patah Penasil, a term that originated during the New Order era (to show their low status)<sup>10</sup>.

According to Ismail, students' violent interactions with the state are a result of the state's brutality towards the people. Ismail provided examples of the state's political violence against the people in various land acquisition cases for the sake of "development," violence against people believed to have participated in the 1965 G30S/PKI, and state violence against indigenous peoples as a result of their development policies. Students are inspired to confront the state and its oppressive machinery, according to Ismail, by the state's aggression towards its people.

In Makassar, police brutality against students became an indication of student-police animosity. Students express their "hate" towards the police through the dissemination of bad information. In 2009-2010, there was a sticker circulating at Hasanuddin University that stated, "Reading diligently makes you clever; reading lazily makes you a policeman." In the same year, another sticker portrayed people tossing police caps into the garbage with the phrase "Throw the cops in their place." Students' anger against the police was also evident when street violence broke out during student rallies.

According to Ridho, the opinions of activists about the security forces differ. As an unlawful actor, Ridho perceives the security forces to be an institution that always serves the interests of power and money. The state is a violent tool against its citizens. In contrast, the state is viewed as the one entity capable of achieving justice, equality, freedom, and prosperity. Therefore, the state must be questioned and resisted if it cannot accomplish these four components. But the Anarko faction believes the state must be dismantled if it cannot offer justice and welfare<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>11</sup> The Anarko group demonstrates very loudly. They carry the thought of Mikhael Bakunin: a figure of classical Soviet Marxism. According to Abdullah, the Anarko group has always been at the forefront of fighting the security forces. They cover their faces with a cloth so that they look like wearing masks.



### 3.4 Cultural Construction

The conclusion of Syaiful's research was that the violence of Makassar students was associated with their cultural construction and masculinity. Syaiful utilises the research of Sahab and Musaqi to demonstrate that the cultural construction of the Bugis-Makassar community<sup>12</sup> tends to coincide with the mass violence perpetrated by Makassar students. Hasse (2012), meanwhile, examines the anarchist component of student demonstrations through a case study of the Alauddin State Islamic University in Makassar. Sjaif explores the dynamics of Makassar's ethnic groupings in local political interactions. Sjaif identified three components in the politics of Makassar: the history of ethnicity, the ethnic population structure, and the ethnic-based local political dynamics. These three reasons have ramifications for the political and economic dominance of Makassar<sup>13</sup>

According to Sjaif, there are two kinds of cultural and structural ethnic political canalization in Makassar. In a democracy, cultural canalization, which takes the shape of ethnic political channels, is geared at reproducing siri's (self-respect/shame) ideals. In the meantime, structural canalization is primarily focused on solidifying regional organisations' role as protectors of Siri's values in a democracy. The significance of Sjaif's work is connected to Makassar's ethnic, cultural, and political ideals.

Martanto and Sukri also reached the conclusion that there was a connection between cultural values and the actions of the Makassar student movement<sup>14</sup>. According to Martanto and Sukri, philosophically, the Bugis people can construct esprit de corps and collective identities, such as Mali siparappe (drifting to save each other), Rebba sipatokkong (falling to support each other), Malelu Sipakainge (forgetting to remind each other), taro ada taro gau (a promise to keep), and fada idi fada elo (determined in togetherness). In addition to these historical foundations, it is believed that additional cultural roots, particularly acts of violence in South Sulawesi, contributed to the genesis of the war.

As a manifestation of their masculinity, violence is an indication of rewa (brave) conduct. Collective violence is utilised in this context as a "place" to demonstrate one's existence as a rewa and collective identity. The period of fighting between groups was designed to serve as a battleground for existential images and negotiating positions among young groups establishing their "maleness" and "rewa-ness" amongst them.

As a socio-anthropological notion, masculinity is frequently associated with aggression and bravery. In the culture of Makassar, masculinity meant having a large stomach. Despite the fact that each culture has its own definition of

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<sup>12</sup> Muhammad Syaiful examined the collective violence of Makassar students as a result of masculinity factors in Bugis-Makassarese culture. Syaiful's research results are published in *Etnosia: Jurnal Etnografi Indonesia*, 2 (1): 95-116. Syaiful, M. (2017): *Kekerasan Kolektif di Perkotaan: Konstruksi dan Representasi Maskulinitas dalam Budaya Masyarakat Makassar*

<sup>13</sup> Sjaif, Sofyan (2016): *Kanalisis Politik Etnik di Makassar*, accessed on 17 April 2016; *Jurnal Sodality* ISSN: 2302-7517. Vol 6. No. 02, 2016

masculinity, one thing is indisputable: being manly implies being a genuine man. The connection between masculinity and violence exists because masculinity is frequently used to explain certain men's violent behaviour and their willingness to protect what they consider to be right by any means necessary, including violence. Therefore, the communal violence in Makassar City may have been directly tied to masculinity. In accordance with what Darwin (Darwin, 1999: 5) noted, traditional aggression is also a masculine archetype. The term masculine is closely related to the word muscle, which is immediately linked with strength, power, bravery, and aggressiveness.

This section may be divided by subheadings. It should provide a concise and precise description of the experimental results, their interpretation, as well as the experimental conclusions that can be drawn.

### **3.5 Ideology of the Movement "Negative Thinking Criticism"**

As a socio-anthropological notion, masculinity is frequently associated with aggression and bravery. In the culture of Makassar, masculinity meant having a large stomach. Despite the fact that each culture has its own definition of masculinity, one thing is indisputable: being manly implies being a genuine man. The connection between masculinity and violence exists because masculinity is frequently used to explain certain men's violent behaviour and their willingness

In addition to being rooted in cultural values, the complex, radical, and long-lasting resistance of Makassar students is also derived from their mentality and ideology as a result of the pattern of cadre education on campus. According to 25-year-old Syahrul Rauf, the cadre process on campus originally shaped student ideology. Cadre begins with freshmen entering campus and continues through graduation. Alongside the student learning process on campus is the teaching of critical doctrine by senior students. At the beginning of a new student's enrollment, there is a period of orientation during which senior students continually harass new students. They indoctrinate new students with the belief that they must always serve the public. There is even a recollection in the minds of students that the movement is led by students. The process of socialisation and indoctrination of students is packed with state-critical ideals. They cultivate the notion that pupils are accountable for the nation. This notion becomes important for the student movement's morale. Alamsyah considers the state to be neoliberal since it must be questioned and opposed in some cases. Students' core values are critical values because they oppose the hegemonic state.

According to Sarkawi, BEM and BLM organise orientation activities, but the majority of orientation implementing committees are members of extra-campus organisations such as HMI (Muslim Students' Association), PMII (Indonesian Islamic Student Movement), GMNI (Indonesian National Student Movement), KAMMI (National Front of Indonesian Muslim Students), PMKRI (Catholic Student Movement of the Republic of Indonesia), etc. This cadre pattern also occurs at Indonesian Muslim University, State Islamic University, and Makassar State

University, where there is a substantial interaction between intra- and extra-campus groups in the student cadre process.

The campus newspapers or tabloids that are widely distributed at universities also impact the critical and intelligent thinking of students. The campus media serves as a resource not just for student discourse but also for student cadre actions. At Hasanuddin University, Indonesian Muslim University, Makassar State University, and Muhammadiyah University, the UKPM (Student Press Activity Unit) provided a forum for campus and government bureaucratic criticism.

At Hasanuddin University, Makassar State University, Alauddin State Islamic University, University of Muhammadiyah Makassar, and Indonesian Muslim University, students engaged in critical thought via the student press. This has occurred at Hasanuddin University since the Suharto period. According to Abdullah and Mustafa, the viewpoint of student activists in Makassar has been shaped by negative thinking critique. These beliefs and values are contrary to those of the university and the state. The activist student's perspective is distinct and in opposition to the school and the state. According to Abdullah and Mustafa, this value is characterised by defensive pessimism, i.e., the deployment of pessimism and negative thinking toward the state. By fostering negative thinking, pupils are liberated from the dominant thinking of the state (Abdullah and Mustafa, 2019: 168).

The worldview of student activists, as presented by student press, rejects any sort of compromise with either the state or school government. Students are not required to acknowledge the achievements of the rectorate and governmental authorities. It is not necessary for students to express gratitude, as it is their responsibility and commitment to do so. Alternatively, if the college or state threatens and warns students, they must be commended for their accomplishment in suspending and dropping out pupils.

### **3.6 Jakarta is Far from Here**

Aminah believed that the student movement in Makassar was frequently aggressive, critical, and even contributed to anarchy and vandalism (Aminah, 2011: 35). According to Aminah, the students of Makassar have made violence a practise during numerous rallies. Due to the socioeconomic structure of the students and outsiders of Makassar, their rallies are frequently unruly, aggressive, and vandalistic. Student habitus becomes a communal as well as an individual phenomenon in this situation. Habitus facilitates comprehension of the social and political reality. Nevertheless, social life and sociopolitical frameworks differentiate student players due to several student habits.

The attitudes and behaviours of students adjust to the time and environment. It corresponds to their daily sociocultural background. It implies that the aggressive behaviours of students are related to current events and conditions. Academically, students are agents/actors who can think critically, emphasise reason in their thoughts and actions, and preserve moral principles when pursuing

the truth. However, the current state of students in Makassar is awful, with violence occurring nearly every day.

So that Jakarta and the rest of Indonesia can hear Makassar's message, according to Soren, a 31-year-old, Makassar's students must be loud and conspicuous at protests. Soren said, "Jakarta is far away, therefore we must be nasty and aggressive." The aspirations of Makassar and its students will not be considered by the Indonesian people or the larger community unless Makassar students demonstrate loudly, strongly, radically, and tend to be anarchists. "Not only do we face an oppressive rule or a destructive police force, but also the mass media." Soren, who is also engaged in the campus theatre, concluded that the media will not cover Makassar students if they do not cover any location, including Jakarta.

Those who see the student movement from a dramaturgical standpoint always take society and the media into account, employing the phrases distal and proximal. Press or mass media are close to "audiences" at the crime scene and distant from those who are far away. According to Yang, the student movement constantly considers the attitudes and acceptance of the press or mass media regarding student attitudes and activities from a dramatic perspective. The student movement is a form of community theatre that views the mainstream media as a distant audience that is thought to be a member of the movement itself (Yang, 2007: 82).

According to Soren, the physical location of Makassar city, which is remote from Jakarta, influences the pattern of the student movement in Makassar in addition to the media. The job of the perimeter includes the movement pattern of the students. Soren argued that the aggressive and militant nature of the Makassar student movement stemmed from their perception that Makassar was distinct from Jakarta. Makassar is a suburb. To be reported by the media, their demonstrations must be large, loud, and violent. As Altbach stated, they must draw the attention of the national media (Lauscher, 2019: 311).

#### **4. Conclusion**

First, throughout 2009 and 2020, the Makassar student population increased as a disruptive force that seeks to respond, struggle, and negotiate against governmental policies. Students in Makassar take action because they are dissatisfied with the state, which they view as a burden on the populace due to its increasing fuel prices, weakening of the KPK, commercialization of education, unfair treatment of workers and the populace, and dominance by capitalism and neoliberalism.

The Makassar student movement's philosophy was developed gradually via varied training and informal education through student activities. Gradually, the process of constructing student ideology transforms into the core ideals of critical negative thinking. Ideologically, Makassar students have positioned themselves as

distinct, independent, and even opposed to the hegemonic ideology of the state, based on this ideal.

Students in Makassar believe that discourse, consultation, and political contact with the parliament, political parties, government, and other political institutions have reached a stalemate. Therefore, the demonstration is viewed as an alternate means of expressing the people's obstructed interests. Dialogue, discussion, and negotiation will be effective if big, radical, and violent demonstrations precede them. Because the highway is a key, symbolic, and easily accessible location for city and state capitalism, Makassar students always utilise it as a strategic location for protests. The highway is a circuit of capital flow and an extraction of capitalism, where the economy and power reside. The roadway became a location for demonstrations because the theatrical style proved persuasive to the media, the general public, and the Jakarta government.

Students recognise they are on the outside of the national political setting, where politicians in Jakarta do not consider such political viewpoints. In order for Jakarta to hear their aspirations, Makassar students must speak with volume, intensity, and vigour. They stated, "We are far from Jakarta," therefore they must speak loudly so that Jakarta may hear them.

The pattern of violent demonstrations by Makassar students mirrors the editorial politics of the mainstream media. It attempts to reveal the demands and protests of Makassar students if the demonstration is conducted aggressively, radically, anarchically, and with cruel acts (burning used tyres, shutting roads, seizing public cars, pelting police officers with stones and fire bombs, etc.).

The student movement is also culturally built on strong ethnic values where local values combine with the significance of the action, and ideologically such that it develops a harsh behaviour formulation, is sensitive to challenges, is durable, creates strong group unity, and is risk-taking. The social articulation of the Makassar student movement differentiates it from previous student movements.

Second, Makassar students resist state policies through collective action or the group approach. Collective action promotes the formation of crowds and enhances suggestibility, resulting in a student movement that is solid, coherent, intricate, and filled with emotion. Students in Makassar are constantly conscious of the dramatic component of a demonstration intended to sway public opinion.

The Makassar student movement consisted of student groups from both intra- and extra-campus organisations, as well as anomie coalition groups that formed in response to the problems being addressed and the realities facing students. The majority of student demonstrations in Makassar arose as a result of the operations of student organisations and coalitions of anomie groups, which have been the main force behind student action on an ongoing basis. From this perspective, the dynamics, motivation, and organisation of the Makassar student movement evolve consistently and persistently.

Thirdly, the Makassar student movement has theoretically disturbed state hegemony, and historically, the student movement has always provided the public

sphere a distinct meaning as a symbol of democracy. Students are constantly in a public arena that prioritises the equality of its members, therefore they are never subject to state dominance and are always in opposition to it.

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