



## A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE POST-REFORM STUDENT MOVEMENT ESCALATION (1999-2024) IN THE PARADIGM OF KARL MARX'S CLASS THEORY

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### Abstract

The student movement has always emerged as a disruptive force in every episode of the history of the Indonesian national movement. It often emerges as a response to a condition (problem and crisis). The pattern of the escalation of the student movement is certainly different in several contexts of events in Indonesia every era. This article will more specifically discuss the pattern and escalation of the student movement in the post-reform context. The author takes the periodization between 1999-2024 as the limit of analysis. This is because during this period, there were several major events and unique phenomena that occurred related to how the pattern of the re-establishment of the escalation of the student movement after the 1998 reformation. The author will also discuss the phenomenon of student movement escalation using a class perspective (Karl Marx). In the process of preparing this article, the author used the literature study research method (library research). Desk research limits research activities to library collections without the need for field research. There are several findings from the process of unraveling the direction and results achieved by the student movement in the post-1998 Reformation period that the author found including; the phenomenon of bourgeois activism, the failure of efforts to elaborate the structural basis by movement actors, the urgency to translate an empowered and sovereign student movement, to the need to form an organic movement node by involving cross-sectors to achieve a people's movement that is not exclusive. Through the following contribution, the author hopes that today's students will no longer lose their identity as academic elites as well as social control and value guardians.

**Key words:** *Student Movement, Post Reformation, Class Theory, Karl Marx*

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## INTRODUCTION

The long history of Indonesia as a nation (as well as) a country, has never been separated from the ink strokes of movements carried out by intellectual groups, among which the most striking is the student group. As part of the "intellectual elite", it is a necessity that students are always endowed with an "awareness of the conditions" that are happening. Furthermore, in a space that is also often claimed as the "Crater of Candradimuka/*Kawah Candradimuka*" for the struggle of thoughts and ideas; in this case in universities / campuses, this awareness is then translated more conceptually into study clubs, organizations, movement nodes or other discourse forums that continuously discuss various conditions, problems, and how to participate in creating conditions or solving existing problems.

The pattern described above, in fact, also colored the world of the Indonesian National Movement. Awareness of the conditions (colonized, shackled, crushed by regime authoritarianism, persecution of citizens' rights) that have occurred since the colonialism period until the end of the new order has become the initial foundation of the awareness of the (in short: Student Movement) as a whole. These anxieties then culminated into progressive discourses to challenge the existing domination and status quo (colonizers and authoritarian government). The birth and then proliferation of various organs of the national movement in the early 20th century, the emergence of youth groups that became the embryo of the 1928 Youth Pledge (*Sumpah Pemuda 1928*), the Menteng Youth Group 31 (*Pemuda Menteng 31*) and the Proclamation of Independence on August 17, 1945, the Class of 1965 and the end of the Soekarno regime, The Class of 1974 and the outbreak of the Catastrophe of January 15, 1974 (*Malari 74*) to reject the entry of foreign capital, until the Class of 1998 which also marked the end of the Soeharto regime, all of which at least prove that the "intellectual elite" movement, in this case represented by the student entity, is not a figment or a fairy tale.

Entering the next period (in this case talking about the post-Reformation period in 1998), the conditions (times) were very different. But just like a thesis that also carries a natural antithesis, the condition of the nation

is also the same. The post-reform era is symbolized as an era of democratization in Indonesia. Democracy in this case comes as a new thesis that also brings its antithesis. This antithesis will then also be culminated into narratives that will then question the condition of the Indonesian state as an ideal democracy. This dialectical process will continue until the synthesis between the expectations of an ideal democratic state meets at a point of compromise with the maximum conditions that can be achieved.

Furthermore, the life of the nation and state after the 1998 Reformation cannot be separated from the student movement. The heroic story of the people's movement, one of which was initiated by students and culminated in the successful ouster of Soeharto and his cronies, did not necessarily put the role of the student movement in the final sequel in the long stage of history. This is what will be interesting to analyze how the student movement will speak in the realm of the life of the nation and state after the 1998 reformation. With the changing times and conditions, will the spirit of this intellectual elite movement still be the foundation and main engine of the people's movement in creating an ideal life order in various fields of life? Or will the conditions be very different? It is interesting to analyze.

This research aims to unravel the direction and results achieved by the student movement in the post-1998 Reformation period. This paper also specifically uses Karl Marx's Class Theory as an analytical knife that will be used to skin the presence or absence of the influence of relations between structural bases and supra structures that will affect the nature of the student movement after the 1998 Reformation. This will then prove the difference between the post-reform student movement and the previous period both in terms of direction and the results of the escalation that was built.

## METHODOLOGY

This research adopts the literature study method (library research) which focuses on in-depth analysis of various written documents (Zed, 2008). The main data sources in this research include Karl Marx's primary works relevant to the concept of class and social change, as well as secondary sources in

the form of contemporaneous mass media coverage (newspapers or articles) that document and review the escalation of the 1998-2024 post-reform student movement. The data analysis technique used is qualitative content analysis with a hermeneutic approach. The process involved critical reading and interpretation of selected texts to identify patterns, trends and arguments related to the student movement and its relevance to Marx's class theory. The steps of analysis included: (1) collection and selection of relevant data, (2) mapping of key concepts from Marx's class theory in the context of the student movement, (3) interpretation of the historical and socio-political context behind the media coverage, and (4) synthesis of findings to produce a comprehensive understanding of the escalation of the student movement from a Marxist perspective.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### 1. *Reformasi 1998: The Final Sequel to the Role of the Student Movement on the Stage of Indonesian History?*

May 21, 1998 seems to have succeeded in becoming a milestone in the people's movement for the downfall of a government regime, marked by the official resignation of President Soeharto (as the main figure of the Indonesian government regime for approximately 32 years) after a series of protests expressed by various elements throughout the country. In short, this movement gained momentum when the Asian monetary crisis also spread to Indonesia since mid-1997. On the other hand, Soeharto was re-elected as President of Indonesia by the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia for the seventh time, with B.J Habibie as Vice President. However, a number of parties, including the student movement, demanded reforms (changes for refreshment and improvement) in the Indonesian government system (Supriyanto, 2022).

The 1998 Reformasi event holistically seemed to be the culmination of a vulgar skinning of the economic, political, legal, and social crises that hit Indonesia at the end of President Soeharto's reign. The multidimensional crises included poverty, unemployment, and high inflation because of the 1997 economic crisis (Rajab, 2022). As an overview, the 1997 economic crisis hit Indonesia brutally, plunging the country into

the abyss of recession and drastic inflation. In September 1997, inflation peaked at 78% (one of the highest inflation rates in the country's history). This condition directly had a devastating impact on the lives of the Indonesian people, especially those on low incomes, such as a decrease in purchasing power (the plummeting value of the rupiah against the US dollar made prices of basic necessities soar, people had difficulty buying food, clothing, and other basic needs), poverty (the number of poor people increased rapidly, many families lost their jobs and livelihoods, plunging them into extreme poverty), hunger (in some areas, people experienced hunger due to difficulties in obtaining food), riots in various regions due to public frustration and anger at the state's failure to resolve the crisis, and finally the health crisis as a domino effect of the economic crisis characterized by limited access to medicines and health services (Aprilia & Swastika, 2014).

As the basic structure of society (to quote Marx's class theory), economic instability in Indonesia quickly ignited and affected other essential structures (superstructure, including political, legal and governmental conditions) (Marx & Engels, 1973). One of the symptoms that quickly emerged was the existence of a social crisis in the community which would later lead to the eruption of the 1998 Reformation. Some illustrations of the existence of a social crisis in society are shown by the existence of social tensions where the community is divided due to the crisis, a sense of distrust of the government and political elites emerges, people are hit by anxiety and fear of an uncertain future, many small and medium-sized businesses go out of business, unemployment increases rapidly, and many Indonesians choose to go abroad to find better jobs.

The economic crisis described above was only a trigger, an igniter, or in a more extreme phrase a "*casus belli*", i.e. a situation, an incident, a condition that triggers a war (in this context a major event, the 1998 Reformation). Some other conditions that seemed to raise the embers of the multidimensional crisis at that time included the limitations of democracy and civil liberties, repression of activists and the

media and strict control of information, the increasingly widespread and vulgar practice of *KKN* (Corruption, Collusion, Nepotism), the abuse of power by officials and cronies of President Soeharto, to human rights violations (kidnapping, torture, and massacres of activists and civil society) (Wardhani & Ariyani, 2022).

Departing from the standing problems above, the discourse to immediately overthrow President Soeharto's regime is getting stronger. Various movement nodes immediately formed consolidations to increase the escalation of the people's movement (people power). In this case, the intellectual movement portion of the students became one of the central poles that helped spread the discourse and ideas of overthrowing the Soeharto regime (Hermawan, 2018). Starting from the smallest pockets (campus club studies, student organizations such as *DEMA*, *BEM*, student associations to extra-campus organizations), this movement expanded into inter-campus and cross-regional student networks which at the same time also intertwined with other movement nodes (such as labor unions, media, NGOs and other civil society networks) (Mardianti, 2022).

The various narratives of the movement nodes at that time crystallized into several points which became known as the 1998 Reformasi agenda. The main points of the 1998 Reformasi demands that became the main focus of the people's movement included; Resignation of President Soeharto. The main demand of the people was the resignation of President Soeharto who had been in power for approximately 32 years. The people wanted a change in leadership and a more democratic system of government; Enforcement of the Rule of Law. The people demanded the enforcement of the rule of law and the eradication of corruption, collusion and nepotism (*KKN*), which had become rampant during President Soeharto's administration. This demand was based on disappointment with the unfair and independent legal system, as well as the rampant *KKN* practices that harmed the people; Political Reform. The people want political reforms to create a more open, fair, and participatory democratic system. These demands include reforming the electoral system, strengthening the role of the House of Representatives (*DPR*), and limiting the term of office of the president; Human Rights Enforcement. The public demands the

resolution of past human rights violations and the consistent enforcement of human rights. This demand is based on the many cases of human rights violations that occurred during President Soeharto's administration, such as abductions, torture, and killings of activists and civil society; Regional Autonomy. The people want greater regional autonomy to give greater authority to the regions in managing their own resources and affairs. This demand is based on the development imbalance between the center and the regions, as well as the desire to strengthen community participation in regional development (Rustamana dkk., 2023).

The student movement node at that time can be likened to (without meaning to hyperbole) the "Fire of Revolution" towards the ideal democratic state order. The student movement node played a vital role in triggering and ushering in the 1998 Reformation. The student movement truly became the agent of change that galvanized the regime (Akbar, 2016). There are several key roles that show how influential the student movement was in the birth of the 1998 Reformation, including; The student movement became the pioneer of demonstrations and mass actions, demanding political change and reform. Their actions began on a small scale, but later developed into a massive national movement (as explained above how students escalated from the smallest node on campus); Political education to the dissemination of information and ideas. Students utilized various media, such as pamphlets, posters, and friendship networks, to spread information and ideas about democracy, human rights, and criticism of the regime; A unifying node. The student movement succeeded in uniting various elements of society, such as labor, activists, and civil society, in a common struggle to achieve reform; Symbol of the spirit of resistance. Students' courage and idealism symbolized the spirit of resistance against oppression and authoritarianism. They inspired many people to rise up and fight for their rights; Catalyst for reform. The continuous pressure and demands from the student movement forced the government to carry out political reforms and open democratic space.

The 1998 Reformation era, which marked the transition of government and the succession of national leadership in Indonesia, was officially over on May 21, 1998, when President Soeharto resigned and was replaced

by B.J Habibie (Suparno, 2012). This also raises new questions about the landing position of the student movement node. Of course, when times have changed, the role and orientation of the movement must also be transformed dynamically according to the spirit of the times. The student movement has truly entered a new phase in its journey. Their position is no longer just at the forefront of demonstrations and demands for reform, but has shifted to more complex and diverse roles, namely guarding the reform agenda so that it remains on the right track and corridor. The next sub-chapter will analyze in more depth the position and escalation of the student movement after the reformation (1999-2024). Is the 1998 Reformasi really the final chapter of the student movement in the struggle of national history, or is there still a new chapter?

## **2. The Post-Reformation Realm: Political Moments, Mushrooming of Student Movement Nodes, Various Movement Escalations**

After the 1998 Reformation, the democratic life of Indonesia entered a new phase. The first post-reform legislative elections were held in 1999 to elect legislative members (DPR and DPD). The results of these legislative elections (MPR) then elected the President and Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia with Abdurrahman Wahid and Megawati Soekarnoputri being elected president and vice president. This was also the last presidential and vice-presidential election process carried out through a deliberation scheme in the MPR before the 1945 Constitution amendment process that changed the rules for direct presidential and vice presidential elections in general elections (Erlina, 2023). In the following democratic events; namely in 2004, 2009, 2014, 2019 to 2024, the election of the President and Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia was officially carried out directly through general elections with a one man one vote scheme (Palenewen & Yanur, 2022).

The implementation of periodic and consistent elections (in terms of implementation) on the one hand is an indicator of the stability of the democratic system in Indonesia (procedurally). But on the other hand, this condition does not mean that there are no democratic problems (substantively). Symptoms of new post-reform

problems began to emerge along with the realization that several reform agendas were not carried out as they should. This then gave birth to various responses, one of which was from the nodes of the student movement which was again looking for and trying to find its momentum. The re-emergence of the student movement is marked by the proliferation of various alliances, coordination, and consolidation of students in various regions (Supriyanto, 2022).

In April 2005, an alliance/network of Student Executive (*BEM*) was formed, initiated by several campuses from regional alliances, including *LIMA-JAYA* (*Lingkar Mahasiswa Jakarta Raya*), *LIMA-BARA* (*Lingkar Mahasiswa Bandung Raya*), *LIMA-MIRA* (*Lingkar Mahasiswa Minang Raya*), *LIMA-SUMA* (*Lingkar Mahasiswa Surabaya dan Madura*). These alliances were a collection of formal BEMs on campus and then gathered in Yogyakarta and agreed to form *LIMA-NUSA* (*Lingkar Mahasiswa Nusantara*) which was the forerunner of *BEM Nusantara*. After the meeting in Yogyakarta, *BEMs* from Sumatra, Kalimantan, and Eastern Indonesia joined and merged into an alliance called *BEM Nusantara* (Ira, 2022). 3 years later, in December 2007, students from 37 universities established *BEM Seluruh Indonesia* (*BEM SI*) in Bogor with its Central Presidium Coordinator, *BEM KM UGM*. *BEM SI* consists of ex officio Presidium members / Territorial Coordinators, who oversee 11 regions, from Jakarta to Papua. The emergence of these two major student alliance nodes then became the embryo for the emergence and proliferation of more varied student alliance nodes (even followed by the emergence of student organization alliances based on more specific scientific clumps) (Dipna, 2022).

Along with the proliferation of various student alliances that were born, it is also directly proportional to the emergence of various escalations of student movements questioning various national issues and problems, including: The student movement emerged in the first period of President Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono with the Seven People's Demands (*Tugu Rakyat*) in May 2008 at the State Palace. The demands asked the government to nationalize the nation's strategic assets, realize quality and equitable education, resolve the *BLBI* case and corruption of Soeharto and his cronies, and environmental issues due to Lapindo mud. The

next escalation of the movement was the demands of the People's Assembly in 2014 when President Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla were just taking the helm. The student alliance brought demands for the problems that occurred in Indonesia, one of which was the increase in fuel (Novianto, 2016).

Student actions then occurred in 2019 under the title *#ReformasiDikorupsi* with several demands including; Urging a delay in re-discussing problematic articles in the Criminal Code (*RKUHP*), urging the government and *DPR* to revise the *RUU KPK* that has just been passed and rejecting all forms of weakening efforts to eradicate corruption in Indonesia, demanding the state to investigate and prosecute the elites responsible for environmental damage in several regions in Indonesia, reject problematic articles in the Manpower Bill (*RUU Ketenagakerjaan*) that are not in favor of workers, reject problematic articles in the Land Bill (*RUU Pertanahan*) which are a form of betrayal of the spirit of agrarian reform, urge the passage of the Elimination of Sexual Violence Bill (*RUU Penghapusan Kekerasan Seksual*), encourage substantial democratization in Indonesia and stop the arrest of activists in various sectors. Furthermore, there is also an action to reject the Omnibus Law (*UU Cipta Kerja*) in 2020 with the title *#MosiTidakPercaya* which is considered to have an impact on all lines, such as environmental problems, to ignore the welfare of workers (Azura dkk., 2024). Most recently, the political moment and the democratic party in 2024 also became one of the stages for the re-airing of various student movement nodes with various actions carried out to give a red card to the statesmanship of the Indonesia Republic President and state officials for siding with one group, indications of violations of the constitution that were vulgarly practiced in the Constitutional Court (*Mahkamah Konstitusi*) to the practice of abuse of power carried out by formal state institutions in various sectors. Even in the moment of escalation in 2024, the nodes of the intellectual movement led by professors from various campuses also enlivened and affirmed the escalation of the student movement that emerged with the title *#PeringatanDarurat* (Puspitasari, 2024).

Karl Marx with his class theory can help to deeply understand the phenomenon of the

escalation of the post-reform student movement (1999-2024). The in-depth understanding referred to is the subjective interpretation and understanding of the meaning behind the social actions that have been written above (the motivations, goals, and awareness that drive the emergence of various student movement nodes and the escalation of their demands in relation to the class structure and post-reform power dynamics. In Marx's perspective, capitalist society is characterized by class antagonism between the bourgeoisie (owners of capital) and the proletariat (workers). Although students structurally do not directly occupy the position of the proletariat in the production scheme, they can be understood as a group of intellectuals who have the potential to develop a critical awareness of the injustice and oppression that may arise from the capitalist system and its accompanying power practices.

The emergence of various nodes of the post-reform student movement, such as BEM Nusantara and BEM SI, can be interpreted as a manifestation of the emerging awareness of structural problems that have not been fully resolved by the reform agenda. The issues they raised, ranging from corruption, economic injustice (fuel increase, Omnibus Law), environmental damage (Lapindo Mud), to the weakening of anti-corruption institutions (revision of the KPK Law), can be seen as a critique of practices that perpetuate inequality and the domination of certain groups in society.

The escalation of movements with demands that are increasingly widespread and involve various national issues shows a deep understanding of the interconnections between various social, economic, and political issues. Actions such as Tugu Rakyat, Sidang Rakyat, *#ReformasiDikorupsi*, Tolak Omnibus Law, to the *#PeringatanDarurat* movement on the 2024 elections, show the articulation of interests that go beyond the sectoral interests of students alone. This can be interpreted as the potential for the emergence of class consciousness in a broader sense, where students identify themselves as part of a group of people who are marginalized or disadvantaged by unjust policies.

Furthermore, political moments such as elections and crucial issues such as law revisions or allegations of electoral fraud become "political moments" that trigger movement intensification. In a Marxist

framework, these moments can be seen as “contradictions” in the system that open space for collective action. Students, with their position as a group of intellectuals who are relatively independent from the state apparatus and direct economic interests, have the potential to become agents of change by voicing criticism and demanding accountability from the rulers.

### **3. The Missing Discourse of the Post-Reformation Student Movement: Bases and Superstructures and Their Implications for the Success of Movement Escalation**

After the previous sub-chapter discussed about how the dynamics of politics-democracy, as well as the re-awakening of the consolidation and escalation of the student movement after the Reformation in 1998. In this second section, the author tries to invite readers to examine a series of phenomena that occurred. This analysis boils down to one question: why was the series of escalations unable to create a big explosion that could even change the political order in Indonesia? Is there something missing from the series of movement escalations built by students? (Prasetyo, 2017).

Some of the escalations of the student movement have not lost their position and characteristics as a militant and radical movement. This can be seen from the pattern of the movement that is shown with various studies that are the basis for the footing. However, if analyzed in more depth and detail, there are several paradoxical phenomena that are counter revolutionary with the grand design of the movement that was raised by not maximally involving the people's movement. This is what distinguishes the escalation of the post-reform movement from the various escalations of the pre-reform movement with the many knots (outside the student knot) participating in the existing movement. In short, there seems to be a phenomenon of exclusivity of the student movement with the formation of a firewall that separates it from the overall people's movement (whether intentional or not, conscious or not).

Furthermore, there is an impression that the movement built by students is regressive. The nodes of the student movement seem to fail to see who are the friends that must be embraced and who are the enemies that

must be fought (based on the author's analysis). This then becomes a gap that is successfully exploited by those who do not want the escalation of the student movement to grow by carrying out various strategies that divide, divert focus and operate the nodes that are trying to be built. Evidence of this phenomenon is the existence of various ordered movements, the closeness of movement activists to pro-regime parties that are too close, to the proliferation of various alliances that are practically opportunistic and tend to be partisan in movement. One of the peaks was the breakup of various student movement alliances structurally with the emergence of factions within them (*BEM SI, BEMNUS*, etc.) which further fostered the disorientation of the movement that was built. This was then exacerbated by the emergence of the Student Party entity in 2022, which seemed to further blur the orientation of the student movement (whether it is still in the corridor of an extraparlimentary moral movement or has actually turned into a practical / parliamentary political movement) (Fadilla, 2022).

The post-reform student movement (especially in the 2019 escalation) is merely bourgeois activism (Mudhoffir & Qurrataa'yun, 2024). This argument is not without reason. The organizing style of the student movement, especially in the post-reform context, has not been class-based, and has only formed NGOs that soften the demands for change. The opposition between extreme poles was not built, so the end of the movement was predictable (with the rampant transactional practices of the movement, intelligence operations, etc.). The challenges in the post-reform era are very different from the pre-reform era. The student movement must be skillful in translating the common enemy that becomes the punching point of the movement. Without intending hyperbole, the meaning of bourgeois activism in question can be interpreted as a form that the student elite, who should be the motor of the movement, often fall into the abyss of “comfort” deliberately created by the superstructure holders. This has become one of the main reasons for the “sluggishness” of the post-reform student movement. In the phenomenon of bourgeois activism, the student movement often blames the rulers and the state but contradicts the demands that expect the rulers to be kind. In this sensitive paradox,

transactional practices often occur, which again weaken the escalation of the movement being built (Mukhaer, 2021).

It is interesting to analyze the above phenomenon using Marx's "Class Theory" as an analytical knife, especially in analyzing the symptoms of the movement bourgeoisie that are infecting the mentality of student activists (bourgeois activism). The discourse on class should not be ruled out in the context of the escalation of popular movements. Moreover, historically, various people's movements in Indonesia have successfully exploded with the strengthening of economic issues (call it the state economic crisis in 1965, 1974 to 1998 which seemed to be the oil that enlarged the fire of the people's movement). This context is also what, according to the author's simple analysis, did not happen in the post-reform period, which has implications for not peaking the various escalations of the people's movement that were built (take for example the escalation of the 2019, 2020 and 2024 demonstrations, the rupiah exchange rate is still on the track, there is no increase in the price of basic commodities, inflation, and other extreme economic problems). (Marx & Engels, 1973).

As according to Marx, human history is a history of class struggle, where the ruling class (bourgeoisie) exploits the working class (proletariat). Furthermore, in Karl Marx's class theory, the base and superstructure are two key elements that are interrelated and form the structure of society. Marx maintained that it is the economic base that determines the superstructure of society. The base refers to the material mode of production, i.e. how society produces goods and services. This base consists of the means of production, the relations of production, and the forces of production. The superstructure, on the other hand, refers to the non-material aspects of society, such as ideology, politics, law, religion, and culture (Marx & Engels, 1973).

Furthermore, the base has a decisive influence on the superstructure. That is, the material mode of production of society determines how the non-material aspects of society take shape. For example, in a capitalist society, where the means of production are owned by the bourgeois class, the dominant ideology will tend to favor the capitalist system and the interests of the bourgeois class. Laws and politics will also be designed to protect the

rights of the bourgeois class and keep the capitalist system running. However, the superstructure can also have an influence on the base. Ideology, for example, can motivate people to change the mode of material production. Politics and law can also be used to impose changes to the material mode of production. The relationship between the base and the superstructure is dialectical, meaning that these two elements are intertwined and influence each other. Changes in the base will eventually lead to changes in the superstructure, and vice versa (Marx & Engels, 1973).

In the context of the formation of the escalation of the post-reform student movement, it seems that there is not much of a focal point for movement actors to elaborate on this structural basis aspect. As a form of "celebration" of the achievement of reform, it should be a freer space for student movement activists to be able to reconstruct how to build a more organic, inclusive, holistic and simultaneous escalation of the student movement and people's movement. The mentality of bourgeois activism must first be kept away from the hearts of the movement actors. Because in a state that seems "capitalistic", often the bourgeoisie counter various activism activities no longer with repressive efforts (pointed at the muzzle of a gun, stepped on by boots, or interrogated in intelligence barracks), but with something "more attractive" to movement actors with the aim that a movement escalation can be thwarted or even "bought". This is as Ariel Heryanto says in his article entitled Post-New Order Phenomena that "what now paralyzes student activism is not the tear gas spray of police, but the perfume of Paris. The endurance of human rights fighters is no longer tested in the interrogation room of the military headquarters or police station. But in plazas, coffee shops, discotheques and career competition (Heryanto, 1995).

Next, translating and realizing an empowered and sovereign student movement is also a checking point that inevitably must be taken. This will be a safety net so that the nodes of the student movement (whether it is BEM, alliance, association, etc.) cannot be bought or operated by any element (especially the enemies of the movement). Organ independence can be manifested in organizational programs that are sustainable

and primarily oriented towards economic aspects. And the last is the effort to form an organic movement node (not ceremonial, momentual or partisan) merging with various other civil society nodes. The meaning of the formation of this organic movement node is not only to consolidate the movement only in the circle of academic elites (students) and only if there are certain issues (especially political issues), but organizing steps must be carried out with clear strategies and tactics starting from efforts to empower the community, especially in economic terms. This aims to build a strong movement base (in line with Marx's theory). That if the structural base of society is strong (and empowered), an organic movement will automatically form and can become a natural antithesis to escape the transactional movement bourgeoisie (Marx & Engels, 1973).

## CONCLUSION

The student movement will always color every side of the history of the Indonesian Nation. However, the presence of this academic node must of course adjust to the spirit of the times. In the context of the people's movement, the student movement node also continues to transform dynamically to adjust to the needs of the times. In the gap found by the author, especially in the context of why the student movement after the 1998 Reformation did not seem to reach its climactic position, one of them is because there is a discourse that is not elaborated in a sustainable manner. This is exacerbated by the rise of symptoms of bourgeois activism, disorientation of the student movement nodes to the unconsolidation of movement nodes that are factioned into (exclusive) groups. Quoting Marx, if in the student movement one of the goals is to influence state issues (politics, law, etc.) which is the superstructure, it means that the base must be properly elaborated and empowered by the nodes of the student movement. Because it is the economic base that determines the superstructure of society.

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