



CONSTRUCTING OLIGARCHIC POWER: ONLINE MEDIA NARRATIVES AND DEMOCRATIC DISCOURSE IN INDONESIA DURING JOKO WIDODO'S PRESIDENCY

Moch. Rifqi Mei Redha^{1,2}
Dian Suluh Kusuma Dewi²
Paisal Akbar³
Muhammad Younus⁴
Ibrahim Miguel⁵

¹Department of Government Affairs and Administration, Jusuf Kalla School of Government, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Yogyakarta, Indonesia and Department of Government Science, Universitas Muhammadiyah Ponorogo, East Java, Indonesia

²Department of Government Science, Universitas Muhammadiyah Ponorogo, East Java, Indonesia

³Department of Government Science, Universitas Mulawarman, Samarinda, Indonesia

⁴Department of Product Research and Software Development, PL Logistics Pvt Ltd, Karachi, Pakistan

⁵Department of Political Science, College of Arts and Sciences, Mindanao State University - Tawi-Tawi College of Technology and Oceanography, Tawi-Tawi, Philippines

Corresponding Author: mochrifqi1505@gmail.com

Article Info

Keyword:
Political oligarchy;
Media framing;
Indonesian
democracy; Political
elite; Jokowi
administration

Kata Kunci:

Oligarki politik;
Pembingkai media;
Demokrasi Indonesia;
Elit Politik;
Pemerintahan Jokowi

Abstract: This study examines how Indonesian online media frame oligarchic practices during Joko Widodo's presidency and how these representations shape understandings of democracy. This method uses qualitative data collected from 40 national news articles published between 2020 and 2024 using NCapture, into pro-government, neutral, and critical media. The study used NVivo 12 Plus, including cluster analysis, text queries, and crosstabs. The findings show that media discourse primarily portrays oligarchy through themes of concentrated political power, restricted public participation, and the preservation of existing power structures. In contrast, issues of economic inequality and political corruption receive less attention. These framing patterns suggest that oligarchy is often presented as a matter of political governance and stability rather than a structural challenge to democratic accountability. This study contributes to the literature on media framing and democratic governance by demonstrating how online media normalize elite power relations through narratives of political stability and development.

Abstrak: Studi ini meneliti bagaimana media daring di Indonesia membingkai praktik oligarki selama masa kepresidenan Joko Widodo, serta bagaimana representasi tersebut membentuk pemahaman tentang demokrasi. Metode ini menggunakan data kualitatif yang dikumpulkan dari 40 artikel berita nasional yang diterbitkan antara tahun 2020 dan 2024 menggunakan NCapture, kemudian dikelompokkan menjadi media pro-pemerintah, netral, dan kritis. Studi ini menggunakan NVivo 12 Plus, termasuk analisis kluster, kueri teks, dan tabel silang. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa wacana media terutama menggambarkan oligarki melalui tema-tema konsentrasi kekuasaan politik, pembatasan partisipasi publik, dan pelestarian struktur kekuasaan yang sudah ada. Sebaliknya, isu-isu ketidaksetaraan ekonomi dan korupsi politik kurang mendapat perhatian. Pola pembingkai ini menunjukkan bahwa oligarki sering kali disajikan sebagai

masalah tata kelola dan stabilitas politik, bukan sebagai tantangan struktural terhadap akuntabilitas demokrasi. Studi ini berkontribusi pada literatur tentang pemingkaian media dan tata kelola demokrasi dengan menunjukkan bagaimana media daring menormalisasi hubungan kekuasaan elit melalui narasi stabilitas dan pembangunan politik.

Article History: Received 12-May-2026, Revised 15-June-2026, Accepted: 20-June-2026

INTRODUCTION

This study examines how Indonesian online media frame oligarchic practices during Joko Widodo's presidency and how these representations shape understandings of democracy. In this case, a very powerful and influential group in politics is known as an oligarchy. In a country that adheres to a democratic system of government, the constitutional order depends on the ability to control, and sometimes limit, the tendency toward the consolidation of power by state leaders and their agents; more importantly, it must survive for many years (Nikulin, 2023). One of my main arguments is that very wealthy stakeholders have succeeded in promoting hegemonic interpretations and domination of constitutional provisions and related constitutional discourse, leading to oligarchic tendencies (Arlen & Rossi, 2021). This is especially true in the context of increasing material inequality. Hegemonic interpretations and discussions seek to legitimize illiberal public policies by weakening emancipatory narratives and counter-discussions in the public sphere. Therefore, the crisis of democratic representation and its relationship to constitutional design exhibits both ideational and materialist aspects (Lazega, 2020).

Oligarchs support, reinforce, and defend their constitutional interpretations and discourse. Consequently, in electoral democracies, ruling oligarchs maintain the logic of unlimited wealth accumulation through state policy agendas (Nikulin, 2023). Oligarchs have the power to implement their policy preferences through mechanisms that are difficult for the general public to understand and unrelated to the electoral process (Araya-Valenzuela, 2023). Good survey data on the ultra-rich is difficult to obtain, making this subject seemingly inaccessible to social scientists focused specifically on studying the wealthy (Nikulin, 2023). However, although the preferences of the rich and ultra-rich may be somewhat correlated, the two groups should not be confused (Papanikos, 2022). In short, the damage to democracy's equality is real. However, it is difficult to accurately measure whether we view the wealthy as a group that enjoys superior organization and access or as a small group of leaders who use their power to influence the political process (Arlen & Rossi, 2021).

In this study, the term "oligarchy" lacks a clear and deliberate normative motivation, so it refers to any extremely wealthy individual who regularly uses their power to influence the public sphere and state-society. market relations (SS Regilme, 2024). "Oligarchs" also refer to those who use their wealth to influence public policy, the media, and other socio-economic factors institutions (Arlen & Rossi, 2021). This research agenda illustrates the concept of "oligarchy" by emphasizing the behavior patterns of superpowers in public without explicit normative assessments. The focus of this research is explanation, not normative theory. It systematically analyzes how and under what conditions these individuals influence the structure and governance of society. This method enables a thorough analysis of the tactics leaders use to strengthen their power. Rather than assessing their actions ethically, they concentrate on explaining and understanding their significant influence on state-society-market relations (SSF Regulation, 2023).

“Constructing Oligarchic Power: Online Media Narratives and Democratic Discourse in Indonesia During Joko Widodo's Presidency”

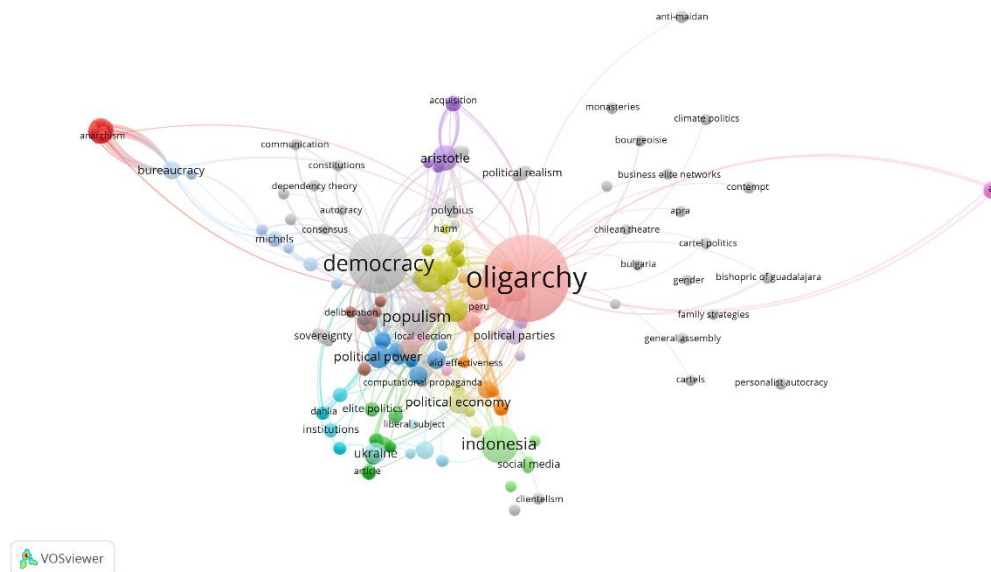


Fig. 1. Research Trends on Oligarchy Issues in Indonesia Based on Scopus Data 2019-2025

Source: Data processed by researchers

Figure 1 shows that research on oligarchy and democracy is an interesting topic that warrants further attention in the Scopus database. Indonesia has become a country that has received extensive research on oligarchic practices. Jokowi's popularity and character, amid Indonesian political trends, mean he lacks an independent political vehicle and organization capable of dismantling the interests of the old oligarchs who have adapted to democracy (Putri, 2024). This is evident in the challenges Jokowi faces in implementing his policies, which could significantly alter the allocation of state resources. Because they are perceived as disrupting old "interests" in various sectors, this poses a danger to the oligarchy. Oligarchic circles persist despite efforts to transform Indonesia's system of government from a dictatorship to a democracy (Tsereteli, 2023). Oligarchs in Indonesia recognize opportunities for change in the system of government, enabling them to engage with and adapt to democracy and its various aspects. This confirms that, as a political system and process, eradicating oligarchy requires objective structural analysis. At the beginning of the reform, the best opportunity to restore the nature of government without oligarchic intervention was missed (KPA, 2024).

In this sector, Jokowi's oligarchic system has yielded various outcomes, including weak, deliberately simplified regulations that allow the oligarchy to operate smoothly (Suryakusuma, 2024). Official laws are designed to protect the environment and community rights, but they are often weak or poorly implemented, enabling detrimental exploitation. There are many layers of relationships between economic and political power, and oligarchy in Indonesian politics is particularly complex, especially during the Joko Widodo administration (Nurdin & Aulia, 2024). In addition to controlling economic resources, Indonesian oligarchs play a significant role in shaping national policy. Initially, Jokowi was considered a man who emerged from the oligarchy (Putri, 2024). His background as a small businessman and former mayor of Solo enabled Jokowi to present a political narrative closer to the people. However, Jokowi faced difficulties in building political alliances during his term. Jokowi had to embrace major parties dominated by businesspeople and old political elites to gain support in elections and parliament. This is especially true for opposition supported by oligarchic networks (Nurdin & Aulia, 2024).

Thus, the issue of oligarchy has become an increasingly heated topic of public discussion during President Joko Widodo's administration (Arlen & Rossi, 2021). With an infrastructure development agenda and concern for the common people, Jokowi is known as a populist figure from outside the conventional elite (Tsereteli, 2023). However, over time, criticism has emerged that the interests of large capitalist groups are increasingly aligning with development policies and the government's political agenda, particularly in the areas of natural resources, infrastructure, and strategic investment (Papanikos, 2022).

In this regard, public perception of the relationship between the state and oligarchy is heavily influenced by media perspectives. Media not only convey information; they also produce meaning through story selection, agenda-setting, and framing (Suryakusuma, 2024). Whether the issue of oligarchy is seen as a structural problem of democracy, as a normal political dynamic, or even normalized as part of development can all be influenced by differences in media ownership, ideological orientation, and economic interests (Papanikos, 2022). The media often present varying perspectives on President Jokowi's administration, with some focusing on progress and political stability. In contrast, others criticize the closer ties between the economic and ruling elites. This dissonance in narratives suggests that the media are not neutral; rather, they are engaged in the debate about oligarchy and democracy (Tsereteli, 2023).

Although there is an increasing body of literature on oligarchy in Indonesia, most studies focus on political-economic frameworks, elite networks, patronage, and the impact of business entities on government (Suryakusuma, 2024). Although these studies have enhanced our understanding of oligarchic power, they have largely overlooked its social construction and representation in media narratives. The current study primarily focuses on oligarchy as an institutional or structural phenomenon, thereby neglecting its discursive aspects. As a result, insufficient attention has been paid to how online media influences public perceptions of elite power, democratic administration, and political legitimacy.

According to this study, oligarchy is defined as the concentration of financial and political power in the hands of a small number of individuals who can influence public policy and state institutions (Putri, 2024). In addition to material control over political and financial resources, oligarchic power also refers to the capacity to influence public opinion and legitimacy (Arlen & Rossi, 2021). Media narratives are viewed as interpretive stories that provide audiences with a representation of political events and players. While democratic backsliding denotes the progressive erosion of democratic accountability, popular engagement, and institutional monitoring of power, political elites are individuals with substantial political, economic, or institutional influence (Nurdin & Aulia, 2024).

Joko Widodo's presidency presents a compelling case for reconsidering oligarchic rule in modern-day Indonesia (Nikulin, 2023). Jokowi's administration has been linked to discussions concerning coalition growth, dynasty politics, elite consolidation, and democratic regression since it was first praised as a political outsider and reform-focused leader (Suryakusuma, 2024). The relationship between growth, political stability, and elite power has given rise to conflicting narratives in response to these changes. Therefore, this study addresses this important gap by examining how online media construct narratives about oligarchic power and how these narratives contribute to broader democratic discourse in Indonesia during Joko Widodo's presidency.

Based on this, the author aims to examine the Indonesian media's perspective on Jokowi's oligarchic practices. Over time, oligarchs have become increasingly capable of acquiring public resources through intervention in the formation of laws and regulations. Consequently, efforts to prevent oligarchy from developing in Indonesian politics have become increasingly

complex. Public participation can also be used to pressure oligarchs in power within the government. Public pressure aims to provide a different perspective on the public interest in policymaking (Papanikos, 2022). This research can provide insights for future research on oligarchic practices in Indonesia, drawing on the mass media. Based on this background, the study addresses the following research question: “How do Indonesian online media construct and frame oligarchic practices during Joko Widodo's presidency and their implications for democratic governance in Indonesia?”

LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Elite Oligarchy Practices in Democratic Countries

Elite is a term often overused to describe people who have the power to make changes that ordinary citizens or individuals cannot (Susca, 2023). Usually, when people talk about differences among certain elite groups, such as “oligarchs,” they ignore the analytical aspects of those differences (SSF Regulation, 2023). When we talk about the ruling elite at the top of a society or state, we must be prepared to question the source of their power (Kosovo, 2022). Not all elites have identical sources of power. While this is a simple observation, it has significant value (Novak, 2024).

Although a country officially adheres to a democratic system, oligarchy is an anomaly in which a small group of people, usually the wealthy or powerful, holds political power (Arlen & Rossi, 2021). Oligarchic groups in this system use their wealth and power to control the political process, create policies that benefit themselves, and maintain the current state of affairs (Wijayanto et al., 2024). These oligarchic practices can undermine fundamental democratic values such as equality, justice, and public participation. As a result, society can lose trust in government, weaken democratic institutions, and increase social and economic inequality (Lazega, 2020).

From economic power held by a few conglomerates to political power held by family dynasties or certain elite groups, oligarchies can take many forms (Benz et al., 2024). They can maintain their power by funding political campaigns, lobbying behind the scenes, or even colluding and corrupting. Therefore, the public interest is neglected, and the voice of the people is often not heard (Kosovo, 2022). In Indonesia, “oligarchy” refers to political party oligarchies, dynasties, and socio-political oligarchies. Oligarchies are often seen as the cause of destruction, human rights violations, or corrupt policies.

In democratic countries, oligarchic practices often operate covertly through a combination of business interests and political power. As Arlen & Rossi (2021) show Public policy in the United States is more likely to follow the preferences of economic elites than the voices of ordinary citizens. These findings suggest that, because influential groups still dominate decision-making, procedural democracy does not always guarantee substantive democracy. However, oligarchies exhibit adaptive patterns in developing and post-authoritarian countries. After democratic transitions, the old elites do not disappear. Instead, they reorganize themselves through political parties, patronage networks, and state institutions (Lazega, 2020). Democracy, in fact, has become a new platform for oligarchies to gain legitimacy and support for their interests.

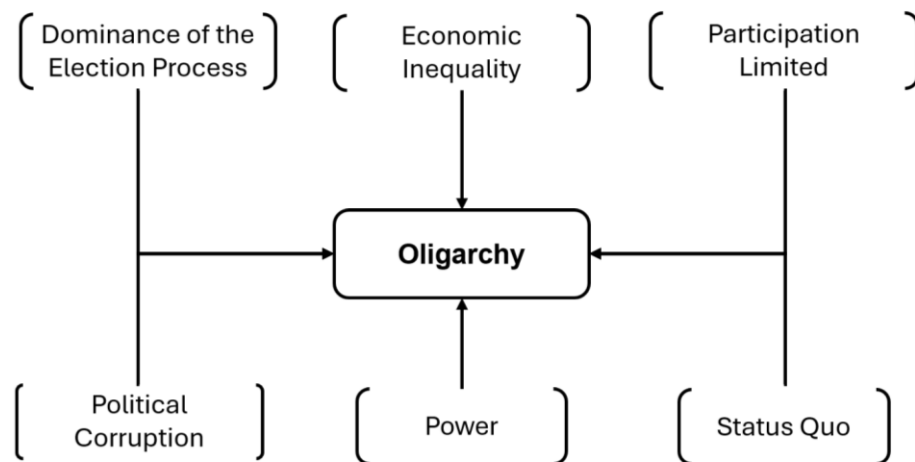


Fig. 2. Theoretical Framework from Oligarchy

Source: Adaptation by Winters (2011)

According to Figure 2, the theoretical framework places oligarchy as the main variable, which is formed by six structural indicators: electoral dominance, economic inequality, limited participation, political corruption, power, and the status quo. This model shows that oligarchy in democratic countries results from the systemic consolidation of political and economic power (Winters, 2011). In this context, Indonesia's oligarchy remains strong after the reforms, albeit with a more fragmented pattern. Investment policies, development direction, and natural resource regulations are determined by business and political elites (Wijayanto et al., 2024). Although electoral democracy does not significantly reduce economic dominance, it provides legitimacy.

B. Oligarchic Practices During the Joko Widodo Administration

In the era of globalization, multinational corporations have become major players. This can place national governments under the transactional control of global capitalist corporations (Atmoko, 2024). As corporations determine legal products for their own interests, the distinction between the public and private sectors blurs. As Jokowi leaves his presidency, he inherits a fragmented state, political landscape, and civil rights landscape (Luwarso, 2024). During Jokowi's ten-year presidency, his policies focused primarily on economic development, though some critics argue they have eroded democratic institutions (Setiawa, 2022). Over the past decade, he has evolved from a foreign politician to a prominent figure in the political elite, who has seen Indonesia's democracy decline. The shift in Jokowi's "character" and his political dynasty are two of the most prominent features of his legacy and will likely continue to shape Indonesia's political landscape for years to come (Wirayudha, 2020).

As a result of Jokowi's manipulative political tactics, supported by cronies from the ruling elite and the businesspeople around him, Indonesia's political oligarchy has increasingly become an unchecked political force (Winarko, 2023). All political agreements and policies are merely matters of self-interest. In this scenario, worst, one percent oligarchy controls 90% of the economy and wealth of a country, and most of its population lives in poverty (Mubarak, 2024). Why can an oligarchy grow from a corrupted democracy? Because their control over the budget allows the government to buy loyalty, manipulate information, abuse bureaucracy, and control the system's power (Setiawa, 2022). All of these controls can be used to make decisions that

appear legalistic, participatory, and democratic. In the past ten years, there have been the drafting and ratification of the National Capital City Law, the Omnibus Law on Job Creation, the revision of the Corruption Eradication Commission Law, the Mineral and Coal Mining Law, the revision of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) and Indonesian National Police (Polri) Law, and others (Nurdin & Aulia, 2024).

In this regard, because his background does not come from the political or military elite, President Joko Widodo's (Jokowi) administration is often positioned as the antithesis of oligarchy (Setiawa, 2022). By emphasizing infrastructure development and social welfare, Jokowi emerged from electoral democracy as a populist leader close to the people (Atmoko, 2024). However, several studies indicate that Jokowi's leadership is not entirely free from oligarchic influence, but instead demonstrates a new pattern of adaptation between political power and the economic elite (Luwarso, 2024).

Furthermore, the dynamics of political coalitions demonstrate Jokowi's oligarchic practices. Jokowi formed a large coalition involving almost all parliamentary parties to ensure government stability. This strategy complicates the opposition and strengthens the power of party elites in shaping policy and positions. Media influence is an additional aspect of oligarchic practices (Luwarso, 2024). Powerful politicians or conglomerates own most mainstream media outlets. This influences news coverage, which focuses on government policies and criticism of the oligarchy. The media often portrays stories of progress and stability as recognition of economic dominance rather than as a dismantling of the structural relationship between the state and capital (Atmoko, 2024). In this situation, Jokowi cannot be considered the sole creator of the oligarchy; rather, he is part of a political structure that allows the economic oligarchy to maintain its influence through democratic mechanisms. Winters calls this pattern an electoral oligarchy, where elections and procedural democracy remain in place, but the distribution of material power remains unequal (Mubarak, 2024).

This research uses normative theory, as described by Subiakto (2015), which provides the basis for the operation of mass media. In some countries, normative theory concerns an ideal democratic broadcasting system, embodied in applicable law. Normative media theory describes how a media system can, in theory, control the government, leaders, and the public.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study employed a qualitative descriptive method. Qualitative research examines the natural conditions of a location, with the researcher as the primary instrument. This study analyzes media perceptions of Jokowi's oligarchic practices during his tenure as Indonesian president. This study examines media perceptions of oligarchic practices during President Joko Widodo's administration. News narratives, the framing of the oligarchic issue, the actors featured, and the main themes of online news stories are the primary topics of analysis (Siregar, 2024).

This study employed Qualitative Data Software Analysis (QDSA), utilizing Nvivo 12 Plus as the analysis tool. Data were collected through the NCapture tool as a documentation technique (Xia et al., 2024). The information in this study came from journals and online news sources discussing Jokowi's oligarchy and other oligarchic practices in Indonesia (Rohmadi, 2024). Data were collected from 40 national online news articles from 2020 to 2024 that used the keywords "Jokowi", "oligarchy", and "economic elite". Media were selected purposively based on their editorial bias towards the government. This category consisted of media that tended to be pro-government (such as Detik.com), media with a neutral position (such as Kompas.com and CNN Indonesia), and media that were more critical or anti-government (such as Tempo.co). This

“Constructing Oligarchic Power: Online Media Narratives and Democratic Discourse in Indonesia During Joko Widodo's Presidency”

method was used to obtain different reporting perspectives while reducing framing bias in discourse analysis. Thus, this approach allows for a more comprehensive exploration of oligarchy discourse by comparing narrative constructions across media orientations.

In line with qualitative media research, the 40 news pieces were selected based on the information-richness principle rather than statistical representativeness. New articles were included throughout the coding process until no significantly novel themes, narratives, or discursive patterns about oligarchic power surfaced. Thematic saturation was reached around the fortieth article, as new content mostly replicated previously recognized categories and interpretations.

In accordance with a qualitative methodology, the number of articles was chosen to achieve in-depth discourse analysis rather than for statistical generalization. The following criteria were used to select articles: (1) news that specifically discusses President Joko Widodo in relation to oligarchy, power dynamics, economic elites, or national strategic policies; (2) opinion pieces, political analyses, or investigative reports that include interpretive narratives; and (3) publications from widely read national online media. The selection process used a purposive sampling technique. As for the exclusion criteria, stories that were frequently instructive, duplicated news, or were unrelated to the oligarchy issue were not included (Hamid, 2024).

This study utilizes the digital space of Indonesian online media. The research location is virtual, namely, national news platforms available online. This study aims to discover how the media frames oligarchic practices in Indonesian democracy and to understand the extent to which media discourse reflects the relationship between political power and economic elites. This study is important because the media plays a crucial strategic role in shaping public opinion and supporting government policies (Siregar, 2024).

The 2020–2024 timeframe was selected because it coincided with the political consolidation period of Jokowi's second term, characterized by the fortification of political alliances, the implementation of national strategic plans, and a rise in public discussion about the connection between the political and economic elites (Siregar, 2024). Purposively chosen to reflect editorial inclinations, the examined media included neutral, critical, and comparatively pro-government outlets to limit bias from a single viewpoint and provide a range of news framings (Rohmadi, 2024).

In qualitative research based on media analysis, the quantity of articles is still sufficient to satisfy credibility requirements if the decision is based on representativeness by theme and theoretical saturation rather than solely on quantitative measurements (Hamid, 2024). Furthermore, the obtained data was processed using cluster analysis, cluster analysis, and text research features available in NVivo 12 Plus (Xia et al., 2024). Crosstab queries will see how the campaign content nodes (classifications) relate to the accounts or hashtags used as data sources, and word clouds to find out which words are most frequently used and used during the dissemination of information (Siregar, 2024).



Fig. 3. Process Analysis

Source: Image processed by researcher

Based on Figure 3, to enhance the credibility of the research results, source triangulation techniques were used, involving comparison of narratives across media and thematic cross-checking between NVivo nodes. In online media, the emerging themes were considered

representative of oligarchic discourse because the repeated coding process had reached saturation. To maintain transparency and replicability of the research, an audit trail was also conducted by documenting all stages of the analysis (Rohmadi, 2024).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A. Media Framing Patterns of Oligarchic Practices in the Jokowi Administration

In the long term, Indonesia, as a state based on the rule of law, must become a reality rather than remain an ideal. The fundamental identity of a particular political order is shaped by its constitutional framework. It informs people about the country's history, helps them understand current challenges, and serves as a guide for addressing governance issues (Report, 2024). Constitutional order depends on the ability to control and sometimes limit the tendency to consolidate the power of state leaders and their agents. More importantly, such an order may not last long. With a constitutional framework that never changes, rules and regulations must apply to everyone throughout the state (Pereira, 2023).

During the political shift in Indonesia, there was a shift from a patrimonial administrative state to a patrimonial oligarchy, where businesses had an advantage over the political elite and the state-based bureaucracy to a patrimonial oligarchy, where businesses had an economic base independent of the state apparatus, but access to the state remained the primary means of generating wealth (Hamid, 2024). Compared to patrimonial administrative systems, patrimonial oligarchic states are more likely to result in corruption and poor governance (Report, 2024). In such a system of government, “a group of people with an economic base outside the state robs the state of certain resources.” (Regime, 2023). However, some academics have long considered that the business class can exert pressure for governance reform in Indonesia, suggesting that businesses, especially in sectors less dependent on the state, can be a source of pressure to support regularization (Hamid, 2024).

At the height of the New Order, he predicted that it might eventually be “in the interest of the capitalist class, in Indonesia, as elsewhere, to sanctify ownership and, to a greater extent, to regulate the process of accumulation within a legal and predictable framework.” (Haryanto & Mahsun, 2024). Rent-seeking patterns in Indonesia have not only changed over time but also geographically at the subnational level (Muslimin & Putri, 2021). At this level, a variety of local regimes exist, characterized by very different combinations of the relative power of the state and business and the degree of particularism versus regularization in state administration (Novianto & Wulansari, 2023).

Novianto & Wulansari (2023) demonstrates that oligarchy, as a system of power relations, can be challenged, challenging the belief that oligarchy in a democracy is unchallenged. This case study in Pati Regency demonstrates that grassroots resistance, albeit sporadic, can challenge oligarchy. In contrast to Pereira (2023) In the Philippines, the competitive-client dynamics among oligarchic families serve as a balancing force, especially during election cycles, as factions fear that reforms could limit their future access to state resources or exclude them from power.

According to the word cloud visualization (Figure 4), the most frequently used words are "Jokowi," "oligarchy," "power," "government," "party," "people," "system," "interest," "cabinet," "coalition," "election," and "democracy." This distribution of terms suggests that the media primarily view oligarchy through the lens of political power relations rather than as a structural economic issue.

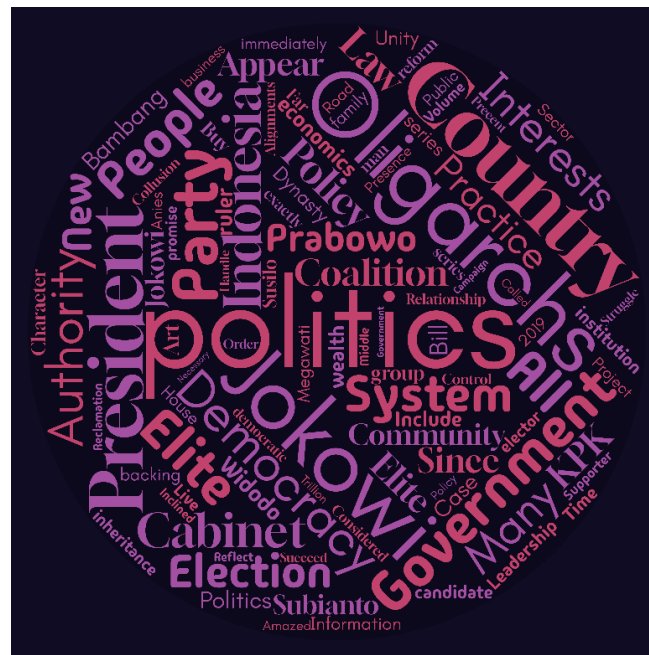


Fig. 4. Frequency of the Issue Word Jokowi Oligarchy in Online Media

Source: Processed by the author via NVivo 12 Plus

In this case, the emergence of the term "Jokowi" as the focal point of the story shows that the media humanizes the practice of oligarchy that surrounds the president, making the problem of oligarchy more often described as a component of the leadership of one person rather than as a result of a larger political-economic system. This pattern exemplifies actor-centered framing because Jokowi is positioned as the central axis of oligarchic dynamics. Furthermore, the high frequency of the phrases "power," "government," and "system" suggests that news coverage emphasizes oligarchy as a phenomenon of state authority. However, rather than portraying it as a fundamental critique of the unequal allocation of power, the media typically frames it in terms of political governance and government stability (Wijayanto et al., 2024). This implies a normative framing in which oligarchy is viewed not as a deviation from democracy but rather as a component of the "system mechanism." (Fedirko, 2021).

Furthermore, the phrases "party," "coalition," "cabinet," and "election" indicate that oligarchic activity is defined through the dynamics of electoral politics and elite alliances. The media typically associate oligarchy with cabinet formation, inter-party compromise, and tactics to maintain power (Harto et al., 2026). This pattern confirms the notion of electoral oligarchy, a condition in which economic and political elites exploit democratic institutions to perpetuate their authority (Pereira, 2023). Meanwhile, the emergence of the word "people" indicates that although these figures remain in the narrative, their role is usually symbolic (Hamid, 2024). People appear more often as objects of policy legitimacy rather than as subjects with political bargaining power. This illustrates a populist-developmental framework in which public interests are used to justify oligarchic policies. Furthermore, although the phrases "interests," "wealth," and "control" are less common than "politics," their prevalence indicates that the media recognizes the interests of economic elites. However, its frequency is lower than that of the term "government," suggesting that the financial component of oligarchy has been less thoroughly studied (Haryanto & Mahsun, 2024).

Overall, the word cloud shows that the media focuses more on oligarchy as a practical political phenomenon, such as coalitions, cabinets, and elections, rather than on structural issues of democracy. Unlike systemic critiques of wealth concentration and capital influence, the media

tends to frame Jokowi's oligarchy's actions through narratives of government stability and elite power dynamics (Rezim, 2023). From this perspective, the media's role is more to convey the stories of the elites than to reveal the power relations between the government and the oligarchs. Consequently, their critical role as observers is limited.

B. Interpreting Media Narratives of Oligarchic Power and Democratic Governance

Based on NVivo 12 Plus data processing, six main dimensions of oligarchic practices in media narratives were identified: electoral dominance, economic inequality, limited participation, political corruption, power, and the status quo. Thematic quantification results show variations in intensity across each dimension.

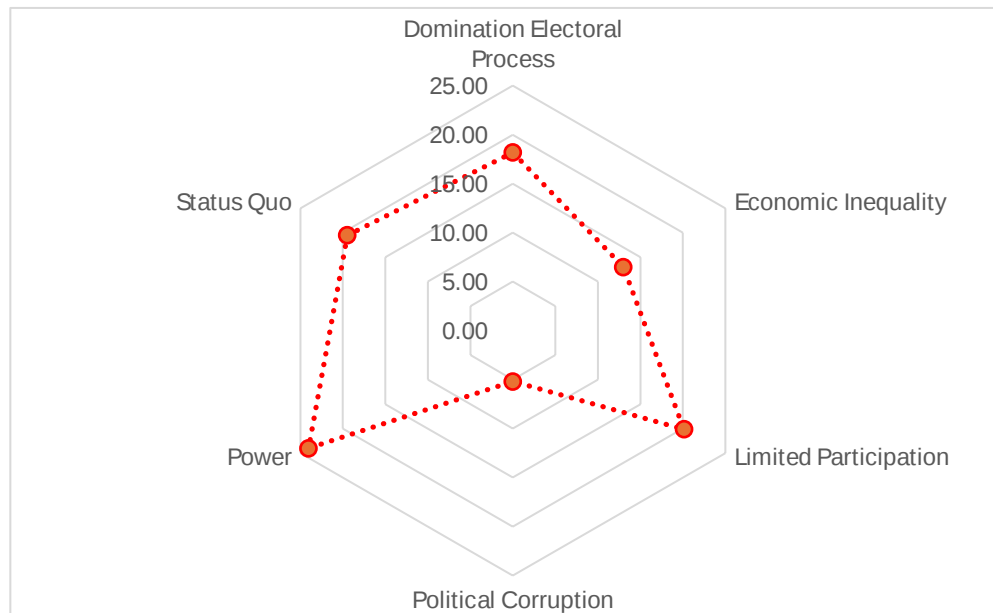


Fig. 5. Crosstab Query of Jokowi's Oligarchy practices based on Indicators

Source: Processed by the author via NVivo 12 Plus

Table 1. Value of Jokowi's Oligarchy practices based on Indicators

	Dominance of the Election Process	Economic Inequality	Participation Limited	Political Corruption	Power	Status Quo
Joko Widodo (Jokowi)	18.18%	12.99%	20.13%	5.19%	24.03%	19.48%

Source: Processed by the author via NVivo 12 Plus

Figure 5 illustrates that all these areas have different slope directions. The indicator area with the dominant slope is the power direction, with an average of 24.03%, followed by limited participation at 20.13%. This is because oligarchy is characterized by excessive power wielded by a small number of groups. In this case, economic and political power is held by a small group of individuals or families, who control most of the important decisions in society or the country, so that the elite group can only make important decisions and influence existing choices, which are not accessible or influenced by the majority of members or staff of the organization (Hamid, 2024). Then, in Figure 5 and Table 1, the status quo (Muslimin & Putri, 2021) has the third widest slope direction at 19.48%; this indicates that Jokowi tends to maintain the situation and reject changes that could threaten their position or power, causing social and political stagnation

(Novianto & Wulansari, 2023). Followed by the dominance of the election process at 18.18%, economic inequality at 12.99%, and political corruption at 5.19%.

With the highest percentage of 24.03%, the power dimension indicates that the media most frequently associates Jokowi's oligarchy with power structures. This suggests that oligarchy is primarily perceived as a political phenomenon in which elite groups play a significant role in national decision-making (Hamid, 2024). The elite's material power is used to influence official government institutions. Winters (2013) The theory of oligarchy, which holds that oligarchic actors seek to influence political institutions that uphold and perpetuate their interests, as well as preserve wealth, is consistent with this pattern. Media narratives under Joko Widodo's presidency often associated oligarchy with elite negotiating, cabinet nominations, political coalitions, and strategic policymaking. As a result, political control and access to decision-making processes are the main ways that oligarchic power is expressed (Pereira, 2023). This dimension's prominence indicates that media discourse acknowledges the essential feature of modern oligarchic governance, the concentration of power among political and economic elites.

Furthermore, the 20.13% participation rate indicates that the public is not highly involved in the strategic policy process. The media portrays the people more as objects of development legitimacy than as active political subjects (Hermawan, 2024). Instead of showing citizens as active participants in policymaking, media narratives usually depict them as recipients of development projects. This result is consistent with broader claims in the literature on democratic decline, which contend that meaningful public engagement and accountability gradually deteriorate rather than elections being eliminated. Opportunities for citizen influence are becoming more limited as elite actors dominate political discourse (Muslimin & Putri, 2021).

Furthermore, the status quo, at 19.48%, demonstrates the persistence of elite power. Although political stability favors certain groups, the media portrays it as something to be maintained (Wijayanto et al., 2024). This suggests that the primary goal of democracy is to maintain a balance of power rather than to implement structural change (Fedirko, 2021). As evidence of the existence of an electoral oligarchy, the dominance of the electoral process reached 18.18%. Although elections are considered a formal competition, certain groups hold control through political coalitions, campaign funding, and media access. This suggests that even though procedural democracy still exists, the distribution of power remains unfair (Haryanto & Mahsun, 2024).

Meanwhile, economic inequality stood at 12.99%, suggesting that the media focused more on the financial aspects of oligarchy than its political ones. This lack of attention shows the media's tendency to portray oligarchy as a power issue rather than a social justice and wealth distribution issue (Hermawan, 2024).

Furthermore, political corruption reached the lowest level at 5.19 percent. This indicates that oligarchic practices are rarely explicitly linked to corruption (Haryanto & Mahsun, 2024). This suggests that the issue of oligarchy has been depoliticized, with relations between elites portrayed as cooperation for progress rather than a potential abuse of power. This pattern is consistent with Herman and Chomsky's (1988) propaganda theory, as presented in Fachrudin (2023), which states that the media tends to soften criticism of the economic-political elite. Political corruption's comparatively low visibility (5.19%) is also significant. This pattern implies that media narratives prefer to frame oligarchy through the language of governance, development, and political stability rather than through overt accusations of corruption, suggesting the absence of wrongdoing. By portraying political-economic ties as essential to the success of policies and the advancement of the country, such framing may help to normalize elite power. This result is consistent with media framing theory, which highlights that the media

actively shape interpretations by emphasizing some aspects of political processes while downplaying others, rather than just reporting reality.

Differences in media orientations are also shown through a comparative study. Oligarchy is frequently portrayed by critical media outlets as a systemic threat to democracy, highlighting elite dominance, democratic regression, and unequal access to political power. Pro-government media, on the other hand, more often depict coalition building and elite cooperation as essential tools for upholding political stability and advancing national development goals. While reporting on oligarchic concerns, neutral media typically take a moderate stance and refrain from making strong normative judgments. These variations show how editorial orientations and ideological stances shape myths of oligarchic power that are not politically neutral.

Overall, the radar map shows that oligarchy under Jokowi is portrayed more as an accumulation of power and a reduction in public participation than as economic inequality or political corruption. The media obscures the structural dimensions of injustice by framing oligarchic practices within a narrative of government stability and national development. These results support Widoyoko's (2016) argument The Indonesian oligarchy did not disappear after the reforms; rather, it adapted to democracy. Although Jokowi is portrayed as a populist, he operates within a system that allows rulers to maintain their power through political coalitions and electoral legitimacy (Wijayanto et al., 2024).

Pramono et al. (2026) shows that oligarchic dominance is reproduced through weak institutional constraints, fragmented accountability mechanisms, and limited public oversight, but can be systematically curtailed through strengthened regulatory frameworks, credible law enforcement, and expanded participatory governance. The case study of contemporary Thailand in Rhoden (2015) shows what oligarchy or oligarchy under a military regime really means and the potential impact on national politics of an oligarchy based on material wealth. Tambunan (2023a) asserts that the policymaking process in Indonesia is characterized by 'empty rituals' rather than a genuine political process, due to the oligarchic nature of Indonesian politics. This shows that the persistence of oligarchic cartels is clearly visible in the legislative process of Election Law 7/2017. It shows that Indonesian oligarchs have hijacked parliament's democratic policymaking process, finding ways to achieve consensus on passing bills and thus avoid complex disputes, thereby dictating policy for their economic and political gain.

These results imply that internet media are crucial in creating the public legitimacy of oligarchic authority from the standpoint of democratic discourse. Oligarchic practices are easier to legitimize within democratic institutions when media narratives prioritize stability, progress, and good governance over accountability, inequality, and corruption (Pramono et al., 2026). Because of this, democracy risks becoming more procedural while substantive values such as accountability, representation, and participation are neglected (V. R. Hadiz & Robison, 2013). The results thus lend credence to claims that the collapse of democracy in modern Indonesia is associated not just with institutional dynamics but also with discursive processes that legitimize and perpetuate elite control in the public domain (Winters, 2013).

C. Oligarchic Practices and Their Impact on the Quality of Democracy in Indonesia

In this regard, the people and their role in government are crucial. A government will lack centralized power, oligarchy, and all the mechanisms of government if there is no role for the people within it (Tambunan, 2023b). As a result, the government is more likely to misuse power. Therefore, in the next stage, an understanding of the division of power is needed to balance and monitor the government's performance as an institution (Hermawan, 2024). The checks-and-

balances mechanism was introduced into the Constitution to address this issue (Wijayanto et al., 2024).

The principle of checks and balances, which means state institutions monitor and balance each other, reflects the division of power mentioned above (Muslimin & Putri, 2021). However, checks and balances are only used when the state can reach an agreement and negotiate. The imperfect principle of checks and balances has caused some legal products that should be philosophically useful to become tools for creating legal conflicts (SSF Regulation, 2023). Local oligarchies emerge when decentralization occurs, releasing power relations suppressed by centralization. Ruthless local oligarchs seek to accumulate as much money as possible by aligning with political gangsters, businesspeople, and bureaucrats who seek their own interests (Widoyoko, 2016). They believe that economic power influences political decisions (Fedirko, 2021). Some signs of oligarchy include the dominance of a few parties in the government, the limitations on the people's participation in decision-making, and the extraordinary power of elite groups to establish policies that benefit their interests. This system is officially democratic, but only a few families or individuals own vital resources. As a result, there is an imbalance of power and more restrictions on public participation (Haryanto & Mahsun, 2024).

Although elections are still conducted formally in an oligarchic system, the public can control the electoral process in various ways, such as shaping the number of candidates, shaping media coverage of certain candidates, or influencing the institutions that regulate elections (SSF Regulation, 2023). Voters have no real choice, and the people's voice is diminished because only a small elite controls the electoral process. As a result, despite the electoral process, there is no freedom and diversity in political choices, which strengthens the country's oligarchic structure (Umam, 2019).

Only a few individuals or elite groups can make important policy decisions. The majority of the population lacks access to direct participation in these processes because political, economic, or power factors are concentrated in certain groups (Fedirko, 2021). As a result, public participation is minimal and often disproportionate to the power held by oligarchic groups, ultimately leading to inequality in the distribution of opportunities and power (Fachrudin, 2023).

Although Indonesia has undergone several stages of reform to make its democratic system more inclusive and implement political transitions such as decentralization of power and more open elections, oligarchic and dynastic politics remain dominant phenomena in politics (Fachrudin, 2023; Hermawan, 2024). Expected to end authoritarianism, powerful elite groups still dominate the Reformation era. This occurs because the New Order oligarchy, initially dependent on Suharto, adapted by leveraging the political power of parties to maintain its influence. They can influence political parties, the media, and the electoral process by using their wealth and networks to maintain their power (Fedirko, 2021).

The oligarchy's need to control political parties stems from parties' ability to select legislative candidates in general elections, who will then occupy government positions and have the authority to create public policies that affect the oligarchs' lives (Widoyoko, 2016). Local and national oligarchs often work together to determine election outcomes. Oligarchs use political parties as a primary tool to select candidates who will benefit their interests. In many cases, dynastic politics emerges as one manifestation of this oligarchy, in which family and kinship ties significantly influence candidate nominations (Haryanto & Mahsun, 2024).

According to this study, several indicators, including power and limited participation, significantly influence oligarchic practices in Indonesia because power controls various aspects of government. Through an analysis of available data and literature, this study provides in-depth

information on oligarchic practices circulating in online media and identifies key indicators of their presence. Future research on oligarchic practices in countries with democratic systems can be built on the findings of this study. The conclusions of this study are significant for policymakers, government organizations, practitioners, and the general public in Indonesia, who can monitor oligarchic practices. This report suggests several areas for improvement, including maintaining the country's political stability, monitoring government performance, and serving as a counterbalance to the country's politics. According to this paper, the public can continue to monitor the development of government policies and regulations to provide oversight and prevent violations and oligarchic practices.

D. Implications of Oligarchic Practices on the Quality of Democracy and the Role of the Media

NVivo's analysis shows that oligarchic practices during President Joko Widodo's administration have significantly impacted Indonesian democracy. This is particularly true of power distribution, public participation, and media control. The power dimension dominates at 24.03 percent, followed by limited involvement (20.13%) and the status quo (19.48%), suggesting that democracy serves as a means of elite legitimacy rather than popular representation.

The results show that narratives of power concentration, low public participation, and the maintenance of preexisting political arrangements are the main ways that oligarchic activities during Joko Widodo's presidency are portrayed. The predominance of the power dimension (24.03%) indicates that online media primarily portray oligarchy as a problem of elite influence over governance procedures and political authority. (Winters, 2011) The theory of oligarchy, which contends that oligarchic actors aim to maintain and increase their material and political dominance through control of institutions and decision-making processes, is supported by this study. Political and economic elites continue to hold key positions within Indonesia's democratic system, as seen by the prevalence of power-related narratives Crouch (2004) in Redha et al. (2024) .

The notable prevalence of status quo preservation (19.48%) and restricted involvement (20.13%) further implies that elite interests, rather than widespread public participation, are increasingly influencing democratic processes. These results are consistent with Robison (2013) contention that Indonesia's democratic transition allowed oligarchic structures to adapt inside democratic institutions rather than destroy them. Political parties, state institutions, corporate networks, and policy coalitions are just a few of how political and economic actors continue to shape governance, as evidenced by the survival of elite-centered narratives (Pramono et al., 2026). Democratic reforms have frequently created new ways for elite interests to be upheld and legitimized rather than taking the place of oligarchic rule (Hilman et al., 2024).

It's interesting to note that power concentration and participation difficulties are more common than political corruption (5.19%). This shows that media narratives tend to define oligarchic authority through discourses of governance, political stability, and development rather than through overt accusations of corruption, but it does not necessarily mean that corruption has become less (Fedirko, 2021). This pattern shows the logic of media framing, which emphasizes some aspects of political reality while ignoring others (Pereira, 2023). As a result, Hadiz & Robison (2013) The public's focus shifts to political administration and policy results, which may mask the structural injustices that support oligarchic power.

Additionally, the comparison study shows variations in narrative creation across media types. By emphasizing elite dominance, political dynasties, conflicts of interest, and diminishing accountability, critical media outlets, especially Tempo.co tend to present oligarchic power as a structural threat to democracy (Fachrudin, 2023). On the other hand, pro-government publications like Detik.com more often present coalition-building and elite cooperation as essential to political stability and national advancement. By presenting opposing perspectives from both governmental and non-governmental players, Kompas.com and CNN Indonesia typically occupy an intermediate position. These variations show that media outlets actively create conflicting views of the relationship between elite power and democratic government rather than just disseminating information (Haryanto & Mahsun, 2024).

This practice in Indonesia demonstrates the continuation of oligarchy after the reformation. According to Haryanto & Mahsun (2024) The old rulers were not removed; instead, they adapted to democracy through networks consisting of the media, bureaucracy, and political parties. Despite posing as a populist leader, Jokowi operates within an oligarchic environment (V. Hadiz et al., 2004). This pattern combines development policies dependent on large capital with populist rhetoric (Rhoden, 2015).

The results also show how important online media are in forming democratic discourse. Media outlets shape how people perceive the legitimacy of elite authority and assess the strength of democracy by highlighting specific narratives and interpretations. Elite influence may become commonplace in public discourse when oligarchic behaviors are portrayed primarily through narratives of stability and development (V. R. Hadiz & Robison, 2006). On the other hand, oligarchic activities are more likely to be seen as threats to democratic governance when the media highlights accountability, involvement, and power consolidation (Robison, 2013). As a result, the media play a crucial role in shaping the public's perception of democracy in modern Indonesia, in addition to serving as information producers (Fedirko, 2021).

Overall, the analysis indicates that oligarchic authority in Indonesia has adapted to modern political circumstances rather than declining under democratic rule. According to V. R. Hadiz & Robison (2014); Robison (2012) Oligarchic actors still exert significant influence through public discourse, economic resources, and political institutions. Therefore, enhancing democratic accountability requires not only institutional reforms but also greater media autonomy and greater public involvement in political decision-making.

A further implication of this situation is the weakening of substantive democracy. Elections continue to take place, but they do not significantly alter the distribution of power. Citizen participation becomes symbolic, while public policy is increasingly influenced by the interests of the political-economic elite (Wijayanto et al., 2024). Democracy ultimately functions as a tool for oligarchic legitimacy, rather than a mechanism for popular control over the state (Fedirko, 2021). Therefore, to strengthen Indonesian democracy, structural changes are needed, including enforcing transparency in political funding, reducing conflicts of interest, and increasing media independence. Without these measures, oligarchic actions will continue to be internalized, and the media's role will remain focused on reproducing elite discourse rather than serving as an agent of social change.

CONCLUSION

This study shows that oligarchic practices under President Joko Widodo's administration are strongly reflected in online media narratives, particularly through indicators of power (24.03%), limited participation (20.13%), and dominance of the status quo (19.48%). These findings indicate that elite concentration of power remains a key characteristic of

Indonesian democracy, followed by limited public involvement and a tendency to maintain a political order that benefits certain groups. Furthermore, indicators of electoral process dominance (18.18%), economic inequality (12.99%), and political corruption (5.19%) further reinforce the notion that electoral democracy mechanisms have not fully limited oligarchic influence. The integration of personal interests and state power within the framework of oligarchic capitalism explains how political and business elites can consolidate their influence through formal democratic institutions. Therefore, strengthening the role of civil society and public collaboration is crucial in overseeing government performance and maintaining the quality of democracy. Without these structural reforms, Indonesian democracy risks remaining merely procedural, while oligarchic practices become increasingly institutionalized through formal political mechanisms.

This study cannot fully describe the dynamics of oligarchy from the perspectives of policy actors and the public because it relies solely on online media data. Furthermore, the method, based on text analysis and the limited data, does not allow for a comprehensive analysis of power relations at the level of policy practice. To obtain a more comprehensive picture, future research should combine qualitative approaches with in-depth interviews, policy analysis, and quantitative data. Cross-national comparative studies are crucial for understanding how oligarchic practices differ across democratic systems and for developing more transparent, inclusive, and equitable governance methods.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to appreciate the editor for allowing us to publish this article. I would also like to thank the reviewer for giving us significant comments and suggestions. The authors also appreciate the valuable comments and suggestions from the anonymous reviewers, which helped improve the quality of this manuscript.

REFERENCE

- Araya-Valenzuela, R. (2023). Oligarquía, poder material y recursos de poder en Chile, 2010-2020. *Atenea (Concepción)*, (527), 237–261. <https://doi.org/10.29393/at527-10opra10010>
- Arlen, G., & Rossi, E. (2021). Must Realists Be Pessimists about Democracy? Responding to Epistemic and Oligarchic Challenges. *Moral Philosophy and Politics*, 8(1), 27–49. <https://doi.org/10.1515/mopp-2019-0060>
- Atmoko, A. F. (2024). *Jelang akhir kekuasaan Jokowi: 2 warisan kontroversial yang memengaruhi lanskap politik Indonesia*. The Conversation.
- Benz, P., Araujo, P., Legentilhomme, G., Mach, A., Piguet, S., Strebel, M. A., & Widmer, E. (2024). The Swiss Patrician Families between Decline and Persistence: Power Positions and Kinship Ties (1890-1957). *Social Science History*, 48(2), 331–360. <https://doi.org/10.1017/ssh.2024.6>
- Fachrudin, A. (2023). *Oligarki Demokrasi & Konglomerasi Media Massa*.
- Fedirko, T. (2021). Liberalism in fragments: oligarchy and the liberal subject in Ukrainian news journalism. *Social Anthropology*, 29(2), 471–489. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1469-8676.13063>
- Hadiz, V., Hadiz, V. R., & Robison, R. (2004). *Reorganising Power in Indonesia*. Routledge.
- Hadiz, V. R., & Robison, R. (2006). *Neo-liberal Reforms and Illiberal Consolidations: The Indonesian Paradox* (p. 22). Routledge.
- Hadiz, V. R., & Robison, R. (2013). The Political Economy of Oligarchy and the Reorganization of Power in Indonesia. *Indonesia*, (96), 35–57. <https://doi.org/10.5728/indonesia.96.0033>

- Hadiz, V. R., & Robison, R. (2014). President Jokowi vs oligarchy. *New Mandala*, 10.
- Hamid, U. (2024). False Hope and Broken Promises: Jokowi 's Human Rights Agenda – A Commentary Current Debates. *International Quarterly for Asian Studies*, 55(2), 155–172. <https://doi.org/10.11588/iqas.2024.2.27206>
- Harto, U. S., Diniyanto, A., Death, C. H., & Sany, I. (2026). Conflict Resolution of Political Parties in The Coalition Nominating Presidential / Vice Presidential Candidates in Indonesia in 2024. *Jurnal Studi Pemerintahan*, 17(1), 157–186.
- Haryanto, & Mahsun, M. (2024). Business and Politics in Urban Indonesia: Patrimonialism, Oligarchy and the State in Two Towns. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, (October). <https://doi.org/10.1177/18681034241264574>
- Hermawan, A. (2024). The Taliban Are Coming! How Intra-Oligarchic Conflict Proliferates Computational Propaganda in Indonesia. *Critical Asian Studies*, 652–677. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2024.2397632>
- Hilman, Y. A., Redha, M. R. M., Wibowo, P. A., Nugroho, D. E. N., & Ramadhani, M. R. (2024). *Analisis Kebutuhan Sumber Daya Manusia Pada Pemerintahan Desa Kaponan, Kecamatan Mlarak, Kabupaten Ponorogo*. 6(1), 12–16.
- Kosová, K. (2022). Wealth defence strategies of Bulgarian Oligarchs in the 1990s. *Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea*, 22(3), 361–379. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683857.2022.2057636>
- KPA. (2024). *Rezim Oligarki “Jokowi” Perusak Demokrasi, Gagal Sejahterakan Rakyat, Bangun Kekuatan Politik Progresif & Rebut Kedaulatan Rakyat*. Konsorsum Pembaruan Agraria.
- Lazega, E. (2020). L’usage dramaturgique de la culture juridique dans la construction d’une juridiction transnationale. *Droit et Société*, N° 105(2), 325–341. <https://doi.org/10.3917/drs1.105.0325>
- Luwarso, L. (2024). *Melawan Politik Oligarki Jokowi*. Teropong Senayan.Com.
- Mubarak, H. (2024). *Ancaman terbesar bagi demokrasi Indonesia bukan Prabowo, melainkan oligarki*. The Conversation.
- Muslimin, J. M., & Putri, N. A. (2021). Politico-Legal Review of the Revised-Bill of the Corruption Eradication Commission and Omnibus Law. *Jurnal Media Hukum*, 28(2), 165–183. <https://doi.org/10.18196/jmh.v28i2.11403>
- Nascimento, D. (2024). From Rights to Revolutions: on the rise of oligarchies and democracies in Aristotle’s political thought. *Revista Archai*, (34), 1–28. https://doi.org/10.14195/1984-249X_34_33
- Nikulin. (2023). Oligarchy and leader are twin brothers*. *RUDN Journal of Sociology*, 23(1), 180–187. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2313-2272-2023-23-1-180-187>
- Novák, M. (2024). Why are Democracy and oligarchy the Most Important ‘constitutions’ in aristotle’s view and How Do they Fundamentally Differ? *Sociologicky Casopis*, 60(2), 187–211. <https://doi.org/10.13060/CSR.2023.033>
- Novianto, A., & Wulansari, A. D. (2023). Responding to Elite Consolidation: the Anti-Cement-Factory Movement Resisting Oligarchy in an Indonesian Local Election. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, 26(3), 298–310. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jsp.50591>
- Nurdin, S., & Aulia, A. (2024). *Ekonom Beberkan Warisan Sistem Oligarki di 10 Tahun Kepemimpinan Jokowi*. Viva News % Insight.
- Papanikos, G. T. (2022). The Bright Future of Democracy is in Education. *Athens Journal of Education*, 9(2), 353–364. <https://doi.org/10.30958/AJE.9-2-10>
- Pereira, R. (2023). Do hegemónico ao total: algumas leituras prescientes da nova ordem de comunicação e dominação. *Estudos Em Comunicacao*, 1(37), 61–78. <https://doi.org/10.25768/1646-4974n37v1a06>
- Pramono, M. F., Jasmine, A. N., Naz, S., Manaf, H. A., & Mutiarin, D. (2026). *Repositioning Oligarchy and Democratic Governance: Institutional Reform in Indonesia*. 14(1), 123–150. <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v14i1.2516> Copyright
- Putri, I. A. E. (2024). *Kekuasaan Politik Indonesia: Oligarki di Balik Bayang-Bayang Demokrasi Jokowi*. Kumparan.Com.
- Redha, M. R. M., Suswanta, S., & Al-Hamdi, R. (2024). Analysis Of Media Report Framing On

- Jokowi Dynasty Politics In The 2024 Presidential Election. *Politik Indonesia: Indonesian Political Science Review*, 9(2), 124–141. <https://doi.org/10.15294/jpi.v9i2.10003>
- Regilme, S. S. (2024). Europe's Super-Rich: Towards Oligarchic Constitutional Order. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.13702>
- Regilme, S. S. F. (2023). Constitutional Order in Oligarchic Democracies: Neoliberal Rights versus Socio-Economic Rights. *Law, Culture and the Humanities*, 19(1), 126–143. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1743872119854142>
- Rhoden, T. F. (2015). *Oligarchy in Thailand?* 3–25. <https://doi.org/10.1177/186810341503400101>
- Robison, R. (2012). Interpreting the Politics of Southeast Asia. In *Routledge Handbook of Southeast Asian Politics* (p. 18). Routledge.
- Robison, R. (2013). Class, capital and the state in New Order Indonesia. In *Southeast Asia (Routledge Revivals)* (p. 41). Routledge.
- Rohmadi, R., Bagaskara, D. Y., & Hikmah, U. F. (2024). The SWOT Analysis of Halal Industry in Indonesia: NVIVO Study and Literature Review. *Al-Muamalat: Jurnal Ekonomi Syariah*, 11(1), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.15575/am.v11i1.33586>
- Setiawa, A. (2022). *Fenomena Oligarki Elit Politik di Indonesia*. Universitas Muhammadiyah Jakarta.
- Siregar, N. S. & H. (2024). *Assessing Character Education in Higher Education: A Qualitative Case Study Utilizing NVivo for Data Analysis*. 3(1), 964–5387.
- Subiakto, H. (2015). *Komunikasi Politik, Media, dan Demokrasi*. Prenada Media.
- Suryakusuma, J. (2024). *Selamat tinggal Jokowi, Selamat datang Mulyono di Masa Oligarki dan Dinasti*. Voic of Voiceless.
- Susca, E. (2023). Not just political parties: Robert Michels as a critic of mainstream economics. *Frontiers in Sociology*, 8. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fsoc.2023.1196264>
- Tambunan, D. (2023a). *The intervention of oligarchy in the Indonesian legislative process*. 8(2), 637–653. <https://doi.org/10.1177/20578911231159395>
- Tambunan, D. (2023b). *The intervention of oligarchy in the Indonesian legislative process*. *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics*, 8(2), 637–653. <https://doi.org/10.1177/20578911231159395>
- Tsereteli, N. (2023). Constructing the Pyramid of Influence: Informal Institutions as Building Blocks of Judicial Oligarchy in Georgia. *German Law Journal*, 24(8), 1469–1487. <https://doi.org/10.1017/glj.2023.74>
- Umam, A. K. (2019). Lemahnya Komitmen Antikorupsi Presiden di Antara Ekspektasi Pembangunan Ekonomi dan Tekanan Oligarki. *Jurnal Antikorupsi INTEGRITAS*, 5(2), 1–17.
- Widoyoko, J. D. (2016). Menimbang peluang Jokowi memberantas korupsi: Catatan untuk gerakan anti korupsi. *INTEGRITAS: Jurnal Antikorupsi*, 269–297.
- Wijayanto, Berenschot, W., Sastramidjaja, Y., & Ruijgrok, K. (2024). The Infrastructure of Domestic Influence Operations: Cyber Troops and Public Opinion Manipulation Through Social Media in Indonesia. *International Journal of Press/Politics*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/19401612241297832>
- Winarko, A. (2023). *Membangun Politik Dinasti dan Oligarki Ala Jokowi*. VOI.
- Winters, J. A. (2011). *Oligarchy*. Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Winters, J. A. (2013). Oligarchy and Democracy in Indonesia. *Indonesia*, (96), 11–33. <https://doi.org/10.5728/indonesia.96.0099>
- Wirayudha, R. (2020). *Oligarki Zaman Kuda Gigit Besi hingga Era Jokowi*. Historia.
- Xia, X., Indiran, L., Haiyat, U., Abdul, B., & Wang, Y. (2024). *Understanding Consumption Motivation In Confinement Centres Through In-Depth Interviews And Nvivo Analysis*. 30(5), 5119–5132. <https://doi.org/10.53555/kuey.v30i5.3762>