

The application of the right to freedom of expression in demonstration based on principles of a democratic state

Edi Sofwan ¹, Muhammad Sopiya ¹, Ali Masykur Fathurrahman ²

¹ Department of Law, Universitas Pamulang, Banten, Indonesia

² Department of Civic Education and Law, Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

ABSTRACT

Expressing opinions in demonstration is a right that has been guaranteed in the constitution and law. The arrangement is written in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Article 28E paragraph (3) and Law Number 9 of 1998 concerning the freedom to express opinion in public. A democratic country has a great respect for differences of opinion manifested in the form of demonstration. However, the freedom of demonstration is in the form of responsible freedom regulated in Article 6 of Law No. 9 of 1998. In this demonstration, the actions must respect the rights of others, so that no one is harmed by the demonstration. If someone is harmed, they must prioritize the principles of justice in accordance with applicable law. This study was conducted with a qualitative method approach, namely by using the type of normative research, by conducting a study of legislation (Statute approach). This study resulted that the demonstration arrangements regulated in the law must be respected by all parties, where the principle of legal protection is attached to demonstration participants and security forces to respect each other's democratic values in Indonesia. Furthermore, on the principle of right to freedom of expression in a democratic country, all citizens must have the same rights in any form of expression. If there is a party who is harmed, it must be resolved according to the applicable law, so that the Indonesian guarantee legal certainty from irresponsible parties to uphold democratic values, as well as freedom of opinion.

Article History:

Submitted : 29-09-2022

Revised : 01-10-2022

Accepted : 30-10-2022

Keywords:

freedom of opinion; demonstration; democratic state



Cite in APA ^{7th}:

Sofwan, E., Sopiya, M., & Fathurrahman, A. M. (2022). The application of the right to freedom of expression in demonstration based on principles of a democratic state. *Jurnal Civics: Media Kajian Kewarganegaraan*, 19(2), 310–319. <https://doi.org/10.21831/JC.V19I2.53464>

Introduction

The principles of democracy regulated is explained in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Article 1 Paragraph (2), that sovereignty is in the hands of the people and is implemented according to the Constitution. Democracy is identical to a person's freedom, but a freedom has limitations set by the state. In this case, the freedom can resemble in the form of a demonstration. The demonstration arrangement is explained in the constitution in Article 28E paragraph 3 that "Everyone has the right to freedom of association, assembly and expression". In other terms, "expressing opinions" has been regulated in Law Number 9 of 1998 concerning Freedom to Express Opinions in Public. We prefer to use 'conveying opinion' to 'issuing'.

Expressing opinions in the form of demonstrations is a familiar thing for democratic countries in the world, including Indonesia. Because demonstrations in a democratic country have received guarantees regulated in the constitution and laws (Aulianisa, et al, 2019), but the constitutional guarantee in freedom of expression of course cannot be misused for bad interest or violates the

ethics and norms that have been set by the nation's culture in Indonesia. Certainly, this way is in-charge to respect others and maintain mutual conduciveness in a good state.

There are still many things to note about the demonstration practice and more massive law enforcement, because legal protection for parties must be properly maintained and implemented in accordance with the legislation. As an example, legal protection for demonstrations, for example, has been regulated in Law Number 9 of 1998 concerning Freedom to Express Public Opinions contained in Article 5 point (b) which states that "Citizens who express opinions in public have the right to obtain legal protection". Legal protection for security forces has been regulated in the Regulation of the National Police Chief Number 7 of 2012 concerning Procedures for Providing Services, Security, and Handling of Public Opinion Cases. All parties are protected by law and guaranteed by the state.

According to Raharjo (2010), legal protection is "Providing protection for human rights that have been harmed by others and such protection is given to the community, so that they can enjoy all the rights granted by law or legal protection". Various legal remedies must be given by law enforcement officers to provide a sense of security, both mentally and physically from disturbances and various threats from any party.

The history of demonstrations in Indonesia includes the Revolutionary Government Rebellion of the Republic of Indonesia (PRRI), the disaster of January 15, 1974, the Free Aceh Movement, the Ratu Adil War Movement (APRA), the Free Papua Organization, the South Maluku Republic Movement (RMS), 1998 reform (Aijid, 2013), fuel price increase in 2004, rejection of the Criminal Code Bill, Rejection of the Omnibuslaw Act, 2022 fuel price increase, etc. This form of demonstration is mostly carried out with repressive actions by the police. Not a few people and students in various areas have been the victims, injured and some have even died (Muliadi, 2019).

The reformation era is a guarantee for the establishment of democracy. This can be seen from several significant changes in the arrangement of constitutional law in Indonesia, which can be seen in the context of democracy as stated in Article 1 paragraph 2 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, and Article 1 paragraph 3 of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which emphasizes that the Indonesia is a state law. The significant changes resulted from the amendments in the reformation era that guaranteed the protection of human rights as outlined in Article 28 of AI and its derivatives of Law No. 39 of 1999 on Human Rights, and Law No. 9 of 1998 concerning the freedom to express opinions in public. This is the result of reformation that guarantee democracy (Syamsir, 2015).

The democratic regulations in the constitution as a set of guarantees for all people as state sovereignty is in the hands of the people. The state and the government only carry out according to the mandate of the constitution and statutory regulations. The demonstration perpetrators must understand the ethics or procedures for conveying opinions in public, properly or correctly or in the legal term of responsible freedom, in order to avoid things that are not desirable for the occurrence of chaos (Syabela AR, 2017).

Method

This study was normative legal study with a statutory approach (Statute Approach). It is the basis of research to strengthen the phenomenon being studied, that was Constitutional Approach, especially the NRI 1945 Article 28E paragraph 3, Law Number 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights and Law Number 9 of 1998 concerning Freedom of Expressing Opinions in Public. The research materials used were primary legal materials and secondary legal materials. Primary legal materials were more identical in the study of the laws and regulations that surrounded them, while secondary legal materials were additional legal materials that supported and strengthened the primary legal materials, such as books and academic journals that examined the object being studied and other

data to complement this study. Data analysis was carried out qualitatively to produce descriptive analytical output.

Result and Discussion

Demonstration in Responsible and Respective Freedom of Expression

The definition of demonstration has 2 meanings. First, a statement of protest raised in a mass manner or demonstration. Second, demonstrations carried out by an institution or group, such as demonstrating teaching aids in school learning, etc. Demonstrations in terms of expressing opinions mean a form of expression of opinion in the form of demonstrations as a form of conveying opinions of citizens' rights to government policies (Sabela, 2017). Expressing opinions in public means expressing opinions in front of many people or other people, including places that can be visited or seen by everyone.

The history of demonstrations conducted before and during post-reformation continues to flow from time to time. Demonstrations in 1998 to demote the President Soeharto (Sirot, 2020), demonstrations against the fuel price increase in 2012, demonstrations against the Draft Criminal Code and Revision of the KPK Law in 2019, and demonstrations against the Job Creation Law in 2020, and demonstrations against the extension of the power of the President for the 3rd Period in 2022. The history of demonstrations carried out by the people throughout the post-reformation history still exists, with few, medium, and large numbers (Atmaja, 2020).

In Indonesia, demonstrations are often ended by acts of anarchism. It seems that Indonesian democracy has not yet reached its maturity (Hasse, 2012). If it is necessary to straighten, so that the demonstration culture becomes good without ending with anarchism, and it does not impact on things that are detrimental to all parties. Thus, it is necessary to emphasize the law on the protection of demonstrations in terms of freedom of expression in public. Anyone who violates the law will be subject to strict sanctions, both criminal and civil, including violations of human rights, whether ordinary human rights or severe human rights due to the loss of a person's life (Juliastuti, 2000). The legal process is firm and definite for anyone who commits a violation, whether committed by security forces or by civil society, it must be processed fairly and openly to the public. This requires firmness by law enforcement, whereby the judges must be brave and firm to ensure legal certainty in handling demonstration cases that cause injuries and even death of a person, in accordance with the applicable law.

In the efforts made by the Police in overcoming the obstacles to securing demonstrations in Indonesia, namely by referring to the Standard Operating Procedures and Permanent Procedures of the Indonesian National Police Number 1 of 2010 concerning Overcoming Anarchy, namely:

1. The pre-emptive effort is an initial action taken by the Police in giving an appeal and approaching the protest group, so that they demonstrate in an orderly manner. This is intended, so that the demonstration can run in an orderly manner and there are no things that harm the community and notify the relevant agencies in advance that will be the target of demonstrations and or demonstrations.
2. Preventive efforts are made by the Police in carrying out their duties in accordance with fixed procedures (Protap). This is so, because the Police and units in acting, are not seen as excessive by the community. The Police must be observant in looking at the possibilities that can occur in a demonstration to minimize the danger or threat from the impact of the demonstration and or demonstration, so that mass riots do not occur by one way, namely emptying the road.

3. Repressive efforts are the last action by the Police when demonstrations and/or demonstrations are out of control and lead to riots. In carrying out repressive actions, the Police must act in accordance with the *Protap* (fixed procedure). This action was taken because the situation was not conducive and it was no longer possible to prevent it so that the Police needed to take such action to anticipate that the impact of the riots would not spread, as regulated in Police Protap No. 1 of 2010 concerning Overcoming Anarchy.

Based on the Regulation of the National Police Chief No. 7 of 2012 Article 9 stipulates that in the implementation of public opinion submission by citizens, POLRI officials are obliged and responsible to: a) provide professional services; b) upholding human rights; c) respecting the principle of legality; d) respect the principle of the presumption of innocence; and e) provide security. Furthermore, for the submission of opinions in public which is carried out by violating the laws and regulations, the following actions can be taken (Aulianisa, 2019):

1. Carry out persuasive efforts, so that activities are carried out in an orderly manner and according to the rule of law.
2. Giving warnings to the masses of participants in the delivery of opinions in public to maintain security and order.
3. Give a warning to the person in-charge of the implementation of the delivery of opinions in public that his actions can be punished in accordance with the provisions of the legislation.
4. Stop and dissolve the activity of expressing opinions in public that violates the provisions of the legislation.
5. Disbanding the mass of participants in the delivery of opinions in public.
6. Take legal action against perpetrators of violations and anarchic acts.
7. Conduct searches and confiscation of evidence, and
8. Take other responsible police actions.
9. The importance of expressing opinions freely and responsibly as stated in Article 4 of Law Number 9 of 1998 concerning Freedom to Express Opinions in Public that the purpose of issuing opinions in public is:
 - a. Freedom to express opinions freely and responsibly is intended to realize responsible freedom as one of the implementations of human rights in accordance with Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.
 - b. Freedom to express opinions freely and responsibly is intended to realize consistent and continuous legal protection in guaranteeing freedom of expression.
 - c. Freedom to express opinions freely and responsibly is intended to create a conducive climate for the development of participation and creativity of every citizen as the embodiment of rights and responsibilities in democratic life.
 - d. Freedom to express opinions freely and responsibly is intended to place social responsibility in the life of society, nation, and state, without neglecting the interests of individuals or groups (Arif, 2021).

Based on previous provisions, everyone is free to express opinions but must be responsible. Besides, it is also necessary to regulate in issuing these opinions, because if they express opinions freely without accountability, it will cause negative things in society, such as demonstrations, parades, public meetings, or uncontrolled free pulpits that can lead to acts of destruction, looting, arson, mass clashes, injured victims, and even death (Sabila, 2019). Therefore, expressing opinions

freely and responsibly is the right and the obligation of every person in Indonesia. The legislation in regulating the freedom of expression is basically intended, so that expressing an opinion should be carried out freely and responsibly. Thus, the norms of society are still upheld to respect the rights of others. Therefore, we should be able to respect the freedom to express opinions that are carried out responsibly (Muliadi, 2019). Even though it has been regulated in laws and regulations, freedom of expression in Indonesia is still at an alarming level, where based on a survey conducted by the Indonesian Political Indicator on 11-21 February 2022, it was recorded that 62.9% of the public were afraid to express their opinion. In fact, according to the latest report by the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU), Indonesia is ranked 52nd in the world with a score of 6.71. According to the EIU, a country with a flawed democracy predicate has chronic problems such as government that is anti-criticism, low public participation, government performance that has not been optimal, and violations of civil and political rights (Pradana, 2022).

The freedom to express opinions in public has its limits. The intent is to regulate the freedom of expression. In accordance with Article 6 of Law No. 9 of 1998 is responsible freedom. It is explained that citizens who express opinions in public are obliged and responsible to:

1. Respect the rights and freedoms of others
2. Respect accepted moral rules
3. Complying with the laws and provisions of applicable laws and regulations
4. Maintain and respect public safety and order, and
5. Maintaining the integrity and unity of the nation.

In the Article, what is meant by this freedom is not to demonstrate freely but with responsibility. All actions that have an impact because of demonstrations can be accounted for by the participants of the demonstrations themselves. For instance, there is a damage to public facilities or private facilities belonging to the community. Thus, this responsibility for freedom needs to be jointly safeguarded, so that the aims and objectives of expressing opinions can be carried out properly, without any losses experienced by all parties, the state, the community, or the participants of the demonstration. Indonesia is a unitary state, so what is regulated in the constitution must put forward the values of unity and integrity in accordance with the contents of Article 1 Paragraph 1 of the 1945 Constitution (Muliadi, 2019).

The contents of Article 10 in Law Number 9 of 1998 concerning Freedom of Expressing Opinions in Public, explains that

1. Public opinion submission as referred to in Article 9 must be notified in writing to the National Police
2. The written notification as referred to in Paragraph (1) shall be submitted by the person in-charge, the leader or person in charge of the group
3. The notification as referred to in Paragraph (1) should have been received by the local Police at least 3 x 24 hours before the activity starts
4. The written notification as referred to in Paragraph (1) does not apply to scientific activities on campus and religious activities
5. The notification letter contains:
 - a. Purpose and objectives
 - b. Place, location and route

- c. Time and length
 - d. Forms of activity
 - e. Person in-charge (the responsible one)
 - f. Name and address of organization, group/individual
 - g. Props used
 - h. Number of participants
6. The person in-charge of the activity must be responsible, so that the activity is carried out in a safe, orderly, and peaceful manner (Syamsir, 2015).

In Article 10 Paragraph (3), there are restrictions on human rights, because it limits the freedom of expression limited by time, whereas the community is sometimes unpredictable when it will exercise the right to express its opinion, because it is better enough with a written report to the local police. The purpose of Article 10 is a good goal, so that the duration of the demonstration is not too late at night and can be carried out again the next day.

In exercising the right to freedom of expression, we must adhere to the principles of freedom and responsibility. 'Free' means that all our ideas, thoughts, or opinions, can be expressed freely without pressure from anyone. Being responsible means that our ideas, thoughts, or opinions must be based on common sense, good intentions, and applicable norms. Freedom of expression is needed, so that people can express their aspirations as a whole and not under pressure from any party. Freedom of expression in Indonesia was limited and even not allowed during the New Order. At the time, the authoritarian leadership made all activities to channel opinions become completely limited, but the limitation is now no longer enforced, the publics have a free-chanced opinion as they want both in the form of written opinion and demonstration (Tsomidis, 2022).

Principles of Democratic State in Guaranteeing Freedom of Expressing Opinions in Public in the Form of Demonstrations

The term democracy comes from the Greek, namely "demos" which means people and "kratos" means government, so democracy means the government of the people, or a government where the people hold the highest sovereignty, or the people are included in the government of the country. In terms of its function, democracy can be divided into two categories, namely direct and indirect democracy. In direct democracy, all citizens directly participate in the making of every regulation that will be enforced in a society (Suhendrik,2022).

Democracy has an important meaning for the people who use it, because it is the right of the people to determine the course of the government organization in accordance with their guaranteed will. Therefore, almost all meanings given to the term democracy always give an important position to the people, even though the operational implications in various countries are not the same in their respective ways (Novianti, 2016).

Indonesia is a state of law, and one of the characteristics of a state of law is the existence of freedom of opinion, freedom of organization, and the guarantee of the protection of human rights (Aksinudin, 2022). This is stated in the 1945 Constitution in Article 1 Paragraph (3) which reads "Indonesia is a state of law". All actions of the ruler and the people must be based on the law. Demonstrations are one of the rights of the people that have been protected by the state. Through demonstrations, people can channel their opinions to the intended party.

The enforcement of democracy in social life in a modern state is considered essential. The awareness of the western model of democracy in the founding fathers is extremely high, and this

awareness is concreted in the Articles of the state constitution (UUD 1945). As an illustration, Article 28 of the 1945 Constitution states that "The freedom of association and assembly, expressing thoughts verbally and in writing and so on, is stipulated by law". In Article 28E Number (3), it is stated that "Everyone has the right to freedom of association, assembly and expression". This shows that upholding democratic principles in the administration of the state is a constitutional mandate. Therefore, the government and other high state institutions must respect and facilitate it.

The Constitution (UUD NRI 1945) is very respectful and provides a proper place for people who want to demonstrate in public spaces. Demonstrations in public are constitutionally part of the realization of democracy. In the preamble "Considering", the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 9 of 1998 states that "The freedom of every citizen to express opinions in public is the embodiment of democracy in the life of society, nation and state". Chapter I (General Provisions) in the Article 1 point (3) states that "Demonstrations are activities carried out by one or more people to express their thoughts verbally, in writing, and so on in a demonstrative manner in public". Demonstrations are protected by law and are the embodiment of democracy (Fitriasari, 2022).

Freedom of speech is a freedom which refers to a right to speak freely without any acts of censorship or restrictions, but it does not include spreading hatred. Besides, it can also be identified with the term freedom of expression which is sometimes used to refer not only to freedom of oral speech, but to the act of seeking, receiving, and sharing any information or ideas. Although freedom of speech and freedom of expression are closely related to freedom, they are different and not related to the concept of freedom of thought or freedom of conscience (Notanubun PG, 2014).

Democracy and civil liberties in expressing opinions in public are two very important things for a country that adheres to a rule of law system. These civil liberties include (Sabela, 2017):

1. Freedom of thought
2. Freedom of expression (demonstration)
3. Freedom of assembly and association
4. Religious freedom
5. Press freedom

Freedom of expression must still respect moral rules, obey the laws and provisions of applicable laws and regulations, maintain the integrity of the nation's unity and integrity, and pay attention to procedures where elements of violence exclude in it, such as demonstrations that are not accompanied by arson, looting, or fights that often lead to riots. These negative behaviors are examples of violations of the human rights of others because they disturb public order and security. The state and government cooperate in regulating the ethics of expressing opinions to realize public order, national security, public morality, and guaranteeing the rights of the community.

According to the democratic principle of Aristotle's teachings, all humans are essentially the same, have the same freedom, and have the same rights and freedom that can only be enjoyed in a democratic country. In Aristotle's view, democracy is only for poor citizens. On the other hand, in a modern state, a democratic state is a state that involves all people in the administration of its government without distinguishing the status of its citizens.

The early history of democracy in Greece was very different from the application of its principles developed in the modern state. The life of a society with a democratic government under the Rule of Law outlines as follows:

1. The existence of constitutional protection with the government, that the constitution (in addition to guaranteeing individual rights), must also determine the procedural way to obtain protection of guaranteed rights.
2. The existence of an independent and impartial tribunal.
3. There are free elections.
4. There is freedom of expression.
5. The existence of freedom of association/organization and opposition, and
6. There is civic education.

Furthermore, another view was put forward, that the key elements of democracy are:

1. People's involvement in political decision making
2. Level of equal rights among citizens
3. The degree of freedom and independence granted to or maintained and owned by citizens
4. Representative system, and
5. Electoral system and majority rule (Suryana, 2022).

In a democracy, freedom of expression with a special place the right to vote does not mean much if it is not sufficiently informed about the ideas and programs of the opposition. The right to express opinions and to gather to discuss political issues are fundamental rights if the people are to be expected to vote critically and appropriately. The right to vote includes a right to information and freedom of expression, both orally and in writing.

Freedom of expression demands freedom of association and assembly; freedom of speech is meaningless without a mass of listeners. Therefore, freedom of speech is an appropriate area of human freedom. This field, first consists of the field of inner awareness, which demands freedom of conscience in the most perfect sense, freedom of thought and feeling, freedom to express opinions and feelings on all matters, which are practical or speculative, scientific, moral, or theological. Freedom to express or publish opinions seems to be classified under a different principle, because it is part of the behavior of individuals who think about others, but because human rights are as important as freedom of thought itself and tend to be based on the same reasons, so that they are inseparable.

Democracy is very dependent to the upholding of civil rights if these civil rights are not enforced by the state, then the country cannot be a democratic country. Democracy is known as a government system that prioritizes the voice of the people, and the people's opinion will return for the benefit of the people. Democratic government is a government that comes from the people, by the people, and for the people. However, only with freedom of opinion that a country can be a democratic country. Moreover, democracy is a part of the principles of the Civil Society concept to become a democracy with Good Governance and Clean Governance (Sofwan, 2018).

Indonesia's ratification of international conventions on civil and political rights as well as economic, social and cultural rights, had required Indonesia to apply the rules regarding these rights in its government. Freedom of expression is a part of civil and political rights that must get regulatory space in society. The implementation of freedom of expression is still not going well practical cases related to freedom of opinion. The issues that occur are no longer global issues, even national issues and issues of certain regions in Indonesia, yet freedom of expression is better than during the New Order.

During the New Order, there were no legal guarantees, and no regulations were established to express freedom of expression, so that civil society was easily arrested and banned and the media was always controlled by the government for media/people who expressed opinions but were not in line with the government's wishes. This is different from the reformation era which has issued regulations on freedom of expression which are regulated in the Constitution and Laws. Therefore, freedom of expression in the reformation era is far more democratic (Mardianti, 2022).

Furthermore, the state support for the freedom to express opinions in public in the form of demonstrations is guaranteed by law, and this is a characteristic of a democratic state. The values of democracy must be guided by the whole community, so that there are no excessive demonstrations that harm the state and many people. Democracy belongs to all the people. With demonstration, it is expected that a country can be better and what participants in the demonstrations say, the government must listen to the demands made to them, so that the democratic climate in Indonesia can go as expected.

Conclusion

Freedom to express opinions in public in the form of demonstrations is a public right that can be carried out to convey demands related to policies that are not in accordance with the wishes of the people. The implementation of freedom of expression does not mean freely, but it is necessary to pay attention to the rights of others, which is regulated in Article 6 of Law No. 9 of 1998 concerning freedom of expression, that a demonstration can express its aspirations by holding a responsible demonstration, not destroying public facilities or other community-owned facilities. In the implementation of handling demonstrations, of course, security forces also need to pay attention to regulations on handling demonstrations, both those regulated in the *Protap* and *Perkap*.

The Indonesian democracy in Article 1 Paragraph 2 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and the implementation of democracy as regulated in other laws, that the state guarantees the freedom of the people/human rights as regulated in Article 28 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, and on freedom/independence to express opinions in public. The freedom to express opinion was only made in the regulations after the reformation. During the Old Order and the New Order, it was not obtained regarding freedom of expression or demonstration. Freedom of expression was derived from the constitution Article 28E Paragraph 3 to become Law Number 9 of 1998 concerning Freedom to express opinions in public. In the principle of a democratic state, the right to freedom of expression in public is part of democratic values. Democracy guarantees the open access of the people to supervise their government, because the principle of democracy is of the people by the people and for the people. The principle of demonstration in democracy is certainly an effort to remind the government of the consequences of policies that are not in accordance with the wishes of the people and are detrimental to the people, so that the demonstration is a way to these aspirations that can be conveyed directly to influence the policies that have been made by the government.

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