

## **DIGITIZATION OF OLIGARCHY: THE TRANSFORMATION OF POWER IN THE DIGITAL LANDSCAPE**

Eliza Meiyani<sup>1</sup>  
Rindi Kosasi<sup>2</sup>  
Muhammad Younus<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1,2,3</sup>Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta  
Jl. Brawijaya, Tamantirto, Kec. Kasihan, Kabupaten Bantul, Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

Correspondence Email: Elizameiyani19@gmail.com

Submitted: 9 January 2025, Reviewed: 15 October 2025, Published: 12 December 2025

### **ABSTRACT**

This study aims to investigate how oligarchy in power politics and economics affects people's welfare, especially in the context of the dominance of digital oligarchy and the challenges that arise in dealing with this inequality of power. Using qualitative research methods, data were collected through literature reviews from various validated journals, articles, websites, and mass media news. The findings of the study show that the dominance of major digital platforms by digital elites strengthens socio-economic inequality in Indonesia. Data evidence shows that platforms such as WhatsApp (90.9), Instagram (85.3), and Facebook (81.6) have high usage rates, allowing for information control and manipulation of public opinion. This exacerbates injustice, with the richest 1% of the population having an average wealth of more than 2000, while the poorest 50% of the population only have an average wealth of \$6.34. This study suggests increasing digital literacy, strict regulations, and diversifying information sources as strategic steps to reduce the dominance of digital oligarchs and ensure a more equitable distribution of power in the digital era.

**Keywords:** oligarchy; digital era; government; economy; power.

### **INTRODUCTION**

Oligarchy is a form of government in which power is concentrated in the hands of a small elite group, often characterized by their significant wealth and influence. As technology advances, the power structure and influence in society have undergone significant changes, with digital oligarchs becoming increasingly dominant. The advent of digital media and communication technologies has reconfigured access to information and social networks, leading to a shift in information and communicative power among networked individuals (Dutton, 2023). This digitalization has paradoxically democratized and centralized power, creating new opportunities for mass political participation while also allowing elite control over major digital platforms. Thus, oligarchs represent a complex and pervasive form of government in which economic and political forces are closely linked, often resulting in the strengthening of elite interests over the interests of the general public.

In Indonesia, digital oligarchs have emerged as a formidable force, exerting significant control over key digital platforms, technological infrastructure, and big data flows within the digital ecosystem. This phenomenon is deeply rooted in the country's political and economic landscape, where oligarchic influence has historically shaped the process of policymaking and media control. The digital revolution is further strengthening their

influence, as digital platforms become a critical power intersection between market logic, public authority, and citizens' rights, which require strong constitutional principles to protect personal data and democratic values (Tambunan, 2023). Overall, the digital oligarchy in Indonesia represents the complex interplay of political, economic, and technological factors that make up the nation's digital landscape, which requires vigilant regulatory oversight and strong democratic protections to mitigate their widespread influence (Simabura et al., 2022).

Mitrakhovich said digitalization has given rise to a "digital oligarchy," where a handful of political elites and big tech companies maintain control of major digital platforms and data (Mitrakhovich, 2023). They enter into agreements to maintain the status quo and minimize forces that may threaten their dominant position, both from an economic and political perspective. By mastering platforms and data, they have the power to regulate the flow of information, influence policy, and control markets, creating a difficult environment for new competitors or counter-systemic movements to thrive. The interaction between traditional power structures and modern technological advances characterizes oligarchic rules in the digital era. One of the oligarchs in the digital era is the dominance of big technology companies in the global digital market.

The most striking examples are the "Big Five" in the United States, namely Amazon, Apple, Google (Alphabet), Facebook (now Meta Platforms), and Microsoft. As in Zheng et al's (2021) research, empirical studies have shown that platforms such as Facebook and Twitter significantly shape social perceptions and public attention, as evidenced by their impact on political phenomena such as the Trump presidency (Zheng et al., 2021). Some previous studies that have studied oligarchy include: Fadillah and Zhenglin (2020) reviewed Ross Tapsell's book, which discussed the phenomenon of media oligarchy in Indonesia, showing that these oligarchic practices have taken over the media, with media owners having strong relationships with politicians who strengthen oligarchic practices (Fadillah & Zhenglin, 2020). Cameron (2021) explores how oligarchic modes of government in Latin America, where public officials manage the personal interests of the wealthy, threaten representative democracy. This article outlines the classical theory of oligarchy and uses the concept in contemporary comparative political theory to explain the dynamics of populism and the mode of oligarchic governance in Peru (Cameron, 2021).

Mitrakhovic (2023) discusses how digitalization affects democratic institutions and ideologies, as well as the evolution of mass participation in politics. The development of digital technology often results in unforeseen consequences in the relationship between elitism and mass politics (Mitrakhovich, 2023). Some previous research on oligarchy shows that oligarchic practices have taken over the media, revealing a strong relationship between media owners and politicians. An oligarchic mode of government in which public officials manage the personal interests of the wealthy threatens representative democracy and explains the dynamics of populism. In addition, digitalization affects democratic institutions and ideologies, with technological developments often resulting in unforeseen consequences in the relationship between elitism and mass politics.

In his research, Winters identified that the material power of the oligarchy played an important role in Indonesian politics, outnumbering other political forces such as the individual voice in democracy and the mobilization power of activists and workers (Jeffrey A. Winters, 2013). Therefore, this study will investigate how oligarchy in power and economic politics affects people's welfare, especially in the context of digital oligarchy dominance. The main focus of this research is to understand how the power of digital oligarchs controlling key digital technologies and platforms can affect the distribution of political power and economic sectors in Indonesia. In addition, this study also aims to explore the impact of the dominance of digital oligarchs on the welfare of society as a whole, as well as to identify the challenges that arise in dealing with this inequality of power.

### **Understanding Oligarchs**

Matthew Cameron (2021) defines oligarchy as a mode of government in which public office holders rule with a view to the personal interests of the rich. Oligarchy in a democratic regime is allowed when the mechanism of citizen representation and participation is weak (Cameron, 2021). Shelly Gottfried (2019) emphasizes that oligarchy is the result of a financialization process that began in the late 1990s and early 2000s, where large business groups transformed into oligarchic structures that utilize pyramidal ownership structures to combine financial and real control, and have a great influence on decision-making (Gottfried, 2019). Joseph Fishkin and William E. Forbath (2022) stated that oligarchy is a threat to constitutional democracy because the extreme concentration of economic and social power creates constitutional problems. They argue that oligarchs undermine the foundations of democracy by controlling vital economic and political forces (Fishkin & Forbath, 2022).

Jeffrey A. Winters, in his book entitled *Oligarchy*, places oligarchs in two dimensions. The first dimension, oligarchy, is built on the basis of the unlimited power of capital, so that it is able to control and dominate the nodes of power. The second dimension is that oligarchs operate within a systemically intriguing power framework (Jeffrey A. Winters, 2013). According to Winters, the oligarchic system first appeared in Indonesia in 1970, which Suharto built. To lead the oligarchy system he formed, Suharto acted like a Godfather who distributed Indonesia's natural wealth to certain groups, such as generals, ethnic Chinese business people, and indigenous groups.

Political oligarchy in Indonesia refers to the power that is concentrated in the hands of a few elite individuals or groups who have great wealth and strong political influence. In the digital era, this phenomenon is increasingly complex and evident in various aspects of political and economic life. The oligarchs have a powerful mass media and use it to strengthen their position in politics. The media is used as a propaganda tool and a means of control of public opinion, which reinforces oligarchic practices (Fadillah & Zhenglin, 2020). Oligarchs in Indonesia have a very dominant influence in politics, especially due to extreme wealth inequality. Oligarchs use their wealth to maintain and expand their political power (Jeffrey A. Winters, 2013). In Indonesia, oligarchs influence the course of the national constitution with great wealth, creating extreme political inequality. This has undermined the

Vol.11, No.2, 2025  
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v11i2.60676  
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

philosophical meaning of democracy, which is supposed to be carried out by and for the people (Suftyadi et al., 2023).

Oligarchs also have a great influence on Indonesia's economic system, firmly rooted in the nation's political and economic structure. The overall impact of oligarchs on Indonesia's economic system remains significant, with political dynasties and party oligarchs influencing candidate nominations and retaining power through undemocratic means, further entrenching their control over economic policies and resources (Mukti & Rodiyah, 2020). Oligarchs in Indonesia often have significant control over key economic resources, such as the mining, agribusiness, and media sectors. This allows them to influence economic and political policies for their own benefit (Jeffrey A. Winters, 2013).

### **Explaining the Digital Era**

Digitalization has profoundly changed the management and distribution of power, giving rise to a new form of digital oligarchy that leverages technology to maintain and expand its influence. This transformation is evident in the way digital platforms, such as Facebook and Twitter, have become powerful entities capable of controlling discourse in cyberspace, significantly influencing social perception and influence (Zheng et al., 2021). The digital era has brought major changes in various aspects of life, including politics and economics. Digitalization has affected how power is managed and distributed, creating a new form of digital oligarchy that leverages technology to maintain and expand its influence. This digital transformation is a global phenomenon, driven by the strategic integration of information and communication technology (ICT) into national priorities, which improves democratic procedures and socio-economic interactions (Khaustova, 2022).

The digital age has fundamentally changed the dynamics of power, allowing oligarchs and other powerful entities to consolidate their influence through control over data, information, and digital infrastructure. This shift is evident in the way power relations have evolved beyond national boundaries, with transnational structures and global digital platforms now dominating, thus disrupting the traditional power held by national elites (Ignatieva, 2022). The interaction between digitalization and political stability is complex, with digital technologies increasing and undermining the efficiency and stability of the political system (Shabrov et al., 2022).

The transparency and openness of public authorities have been significantly enhanced through digital platforms, which provide public information and online services, thereby increasing the accountability of public administration (Mynenko & Lyulyov, 2022). However, this transparency is double-edged, as digitalization also facilitates manipulative practices by political actors, who use targeted internet advertising and other digital tools to influence public opinion and promote certain political agendas (Svitla, 2023). Overall, the digital era has created a new paradigm of power, in which control over digital infrastructure and data is paramount, and its implications for democracy, personal identity, and social stability are profound and far-reaching (Balyakin et al., 2022).

*Impact of Power And Political Economy*

Digital oligarchs, often represented by Big Tech companies such as Google, Amazon, Facebook, Apple, and Microsoft, have significant power over the flow of information through their platforms, which include social media, search engines, and a variety of Internet-based services. These controls allow them to influence public opinion, consumer preferences, and political decisions in unprecedented ways. For example, the digitization of media content in Indonesia has allowed media owners to become richer and more politically powerful, with platforms such as Facebook and Twitter playing an important role in shaping public discourse and political agencies (Tapsell, Ross, 2017). Big tech companies, often referred to as Big Tech, have significant economic power that goes beyond traditional market influence, allowing them to dictate market conditions, set prices, and control access to technology and innovation. This dominance is evident in their ability to leverage large amounts of user data to maintain and expand their market position, creating a major barrier to entry for new competitors (Catalano, 2022).

The economic power of these companies is not only limited to their market activities but also extends to the political and social spheres, influencing public policy and social norms (Lindman et al., 2023). The distribution of wealth has become increasingly uneven with digitalization, where large tech companies are reaping huge profits while many workers and small businesses are left behind. This inequality creates social and political tensions. In addition, with abundant resources, digital oligarchs can influence public policy and regulation through lobbying, political donations, and strategic partnerships with governments. This influence extends to lobbying efforts, where resource-rich groups, particularly corporations, enjoy unfair advantages, thus undermining public trust in the democratic process (Davidson, 2017). The influence of digital oligarchs on public policies and regulations is diverse, requiring a comprehensive and adaptive regulatory strategy to ensure a balanced and democratic digital society.

## **METHODS**

The method used in this study is a qualitative research method. The research data was obtained from the results of a literature review by browsing various journals, articles, websites, and mass media news that had been validated to ensure their validity. This study uses the theory of oligarchy by Jeffrey Winters and Edward Aspinall. This theory provides in-depth insights into how power is concentrated in the hands of a handful of elites and how this affects the political and economic dynamics within a country.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### **Digitalization of the Economy**

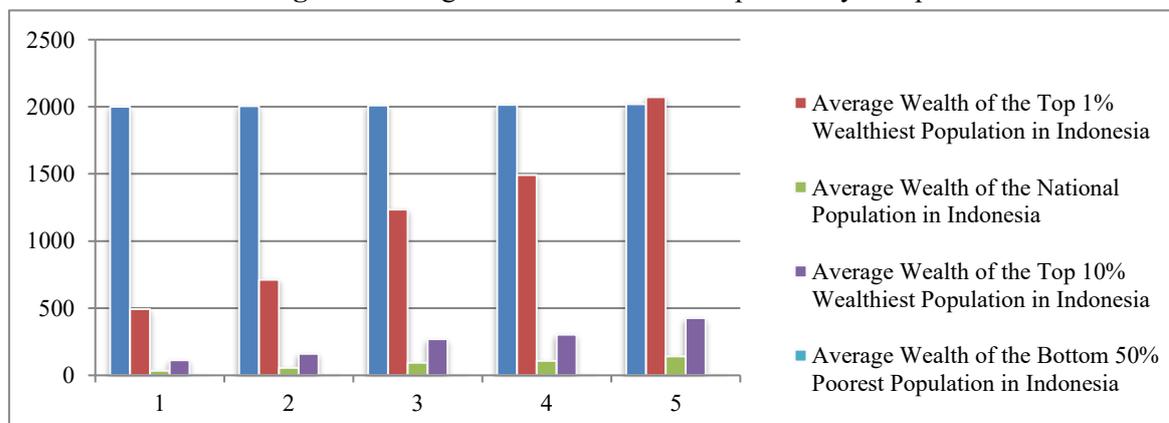
Economic digitalization has profoundly changed various aspects of society, creating opportunities and challenges, especially in the context of oligarchy in the digital era. The rapid spread of information and communication technology has led to the development of the digital economy, fundamentally changing business activities, transaction methods, and the level of relationships between economic entities (Lytvyn et al., 2022). In the digital era,

oligarchs not only control physical assets such as land and property, but also control large digital platforms such as e-commerce, social media, and financial technology. Massive investment in technological innovation allows them to monopolize the digital market and regulate the flow of information and data that is the foundation of the modern economy.

Their influence extends to vital sectors such as transportation, healthcare, and education through digital platforms that they own or control. With extensive access to user data, they can develop highly targeted and effective marketing strategies, further cementing their dominant position. In addition, with the support of often favorable regulations, they can create a high barrier to entry for potential competitors, maintaining their status quo of power. This not only increases economic inequality but also limits social mobility and economic opportunities for the wider group in society. The digitalization of the economy under the domination of oligarchs poses a major challenge to economic justice and democracy, given the great influence they have on public policy and political processes.

Oligarchs in Indonesia have a great influence on shaping digital economic policies, which strengthens their dominant position in the digital market (Novianto & Dessi Wulansari, 2023). According to Asrinaldi in his research, urban areas in Indonesia have much better access to digital technology compared to rural areas. This creates a digital divide that contributes to income inequality (Asrinaldi et al., 2022). Limited access to technology in rural areas hinders their participation in the digital economy, exacerbating wealth inequality. Large companies such as GoTo (Gojek and Tokopedia) and Bukalapak have dominated Indonesia's digital market. Their control over data and markets creates a digital monopoly that hinders the growth of small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) (Fadillah & Zhenglin, 2020). Many SMEs have difficulty adapting to the digital ecosystem due to limited digital literacy and access to technology. This hindered their growth in a digital economy dominated by large corporations (Hartanto et al., 2021). As a result, only a handful of people who own a majority stake in these companies benefit greatly, while workers and SMEs receive much smaller benefits (Tambunan, 2023).

**Figure 1.** Average Wealth of Indonesia's Population by Group



Source: [databoks.katadata.co.id](http://databoks.katadata.co.id)

Figure 1 shows the difference in the average wealth in Indonesia by population group, with categories consisting of the richest 1% of the population, the average wealth of the national population, the richest 10% of the population, and the poorest 50% of the population. From the graph, it can be seen that the richest 1% of the population has much higher wealth compared to other groups. The average wealth of the richest 1% of the population reaches more than 2000, while the average wealth of the national population and the richest 10% of the population is below it, and the poorest 50% of the population has the lowest wealth.

In the context of the digitalization of the oligarchy-controlled economy, this wealth disparity shows how economic power is concentrated in a handful of individuals who have control over digital technology and platforms. Digital oligarchs are able to leverage technology to expand their influence, improve business efficiency, and develop sophisticated marketing strategies. As a result, they can continue to add to their wealth rapidly, widening the economic gap with other groups of the population. Income inequality in Indonesia affects support for democratic institutions. Different views on income distribution are often influenced by political preferences and partisan biases, which can reduce public support for democracy. (Muhtadi & Warburton, 2020).

### **The Influence of Political Power in the Digital Era**

In Indonesia, the digitization of media has empowered oligarchs and citizens, creating a battleground for political influence and societal change. Oligarchy, which is essentially the domination of power by a handful of individuals or groups, is transforming the context of digital technology. In this era, the ability to collect big data and control algorithms is the main key to maintaining or expanding political influence. Digital oligarchs can use technology to manipulate public opinion, control the information presented to the public, and even influence the political process more discreetly compared to previous eras. This leads to the potential for increased inequality of political power, where those who master technology and information resources can strengthen their dominant position in political structures. Therefore, the influence of political forces in the digital era significantly strengthens the dynamics of oligarchy in new and unprecedented ways.

Oligarchs can leverage the credibility of information sources to influence public opinion and political decisions through social media (Aini, 2022). Research by Prasetyawan shows that social media is used by novice voters as a means of political learning, but they are often exposed to biased or false information spread by political elites to manipulate public opinion. Social media users can be affected by invalid or biased information circulating, which can lead them to certain political decisions (Prasetyawan, 2020). One of the influences of political elites and oligarchs is to remain dominant in determining the direction of information received by young voters, which can lead them to certain biases in the election of political candidates (Caesar Januar et al., 2022).

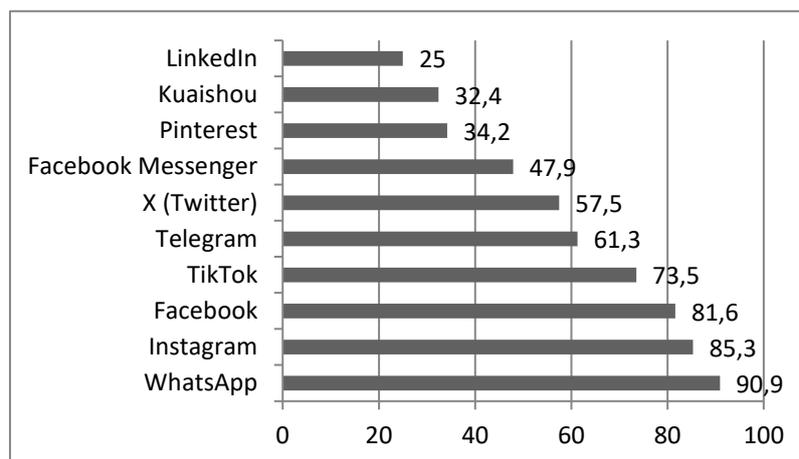
Adaptation to political change in the digital era, which is often influenced by digital oligarchs, shows complex and diverse dynamics. In the midst of the dominance of social

Vol.11, No.2, 2025  
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v11i2.60676  
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

media platforms such as WhatsApp, Instagram, and Facebook, the digital elite has great power to direct public opinion and influence the political process. The ability to access users' data broadly allows them to target political messages more effectively and personally. Political campaigns and fundraisers are increasingly relying on social media to reach potential voters and mobilize mass support quickly. Meanwhile, platforms such as Telegram and X (Twitter) are used by activists and political figures to spread information, build movements, and organize actions efficiently.

However, this adaptation also brings new challenges, including the risk of spreading disinformation and hoaxes that can damage the democratic process. Therefore, appropriate policies are needed to regulate the use of social media in the political context to remain transparent and responsible, as well as to increase people's digital literacy to be more critical in receiving information. This adaptation to political change in the digital era reflects how information oligarchs can manifest their power through the mastery of technology and social media, making narrative control and access to information key in modern political games.

**Figure 2.** Top 10 Most Used Social Media Apps by Internet Users in Indonesia (January 2024)



Source: [databoks.katadata.co.id](http://databoks.katadata.co.id)

As of January 2024, the ten most widely used social media applications by internet users in Indonesia reflect significant dynamics in the context of digital political power often associated with digital oligarchs. WhatsApp occupies the top position with a usage score of 90.9, followed by Instagram (85.3), Facebook (81.6), and TikTok (73.5). These apps not only serve as communication and entertainment platforms, but also as tools of political influence, where digital elites can disseminate information and influence public opinion quickly and widely. Telegram (61.3) and X (Twitter) (57.5) also play an important role, often used by political figures and activists for political campaigns and discussions. Facebook Messenger (47.9) and Pinterest (34.2) may have more limited uses in the context of direct politics, but still have the potential to be used for visual campaigns and personal communications.

Kuaishou (32.4), whose popularity continues to rise, could be a new channel for political influence, especially among younger generations who are increasingly connected to short video content. LinkedIn (25.0), although more focused on professional networking, can also serve as a platform for building a political image and a campaign of professionalism. In the digital age, where information oligarchs and control of digital platforms become real, the dominance of the use of these apps reflects how political power can manifest and consolidate through the mastery of technology and social media. Political influence in the digital age increasingly depends on the ability to control the narrative and access to the platforms most used by the public.

### **Control of Media and Information**

The transformation of the internet into the information environment has mixed implications for democracy, with increased opportunities for public debate but also significant disadvantages such as misinformation, surveillance capitalism, and the erosion of trust in democratic institutions (Gray et al., 2023). The algorithms that determine the dissemination of news are exclusive and profit-oriented, often prioritizing virality over quality, further consolidating the power of this digital oligarchy (Belu, 2022). Control over media and information in the digital age is often influenced by digital oligarchs, where a handful of individuals or large companies control the main platforms used by society to access information.

These digital oligarchs can determine what the public sees, reads, and discusses through algorithms they control, which often prioritize content that benefits them commercially or politically. With this mastery, they can direct public opinion, shape certain narratives, and even censor or suppress information that is not in line with their interests. In addition, they have enough resources to influence government regulations and policies related to media and technology, strengthening their position in the market. The effect is a large concentration of power in the hands of a few, threatening information plurality and press freedom, as well as enabling the manipulation of information for political or economic purposes. These digital oligarchs, with their vast strength, play a critical role in determining how information is disseminated and received in modern society. Thus, control over the media and information in the digital age is deeply rooted in the power held by a few dominant digital platforms, which shape public perception, influence the democratic process, and perpetuate existing power structures.

Facing control over media and information based on oligarchs in the digital era requires a multidimensional approach. One of them is by increasing digital literacy among the public so that individuals can recognize and evaluate information critically, reducing the impact of misinformation and hoaxes. Digital literacy is not only a component of professional and life competencies but also a determinant of subjective well-being. Understanding its impact on the well-being of young people can help tailor educational measures to improve digital competencies (Shikhgafizov et al., 2024). However, differences in digital literacy exist among different demographic groups, with older, less educated, lower-stakes users, and

Vol.11, No.2, 2025  
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v11i2.60676  
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

women often having lower digital literacy, which affects their ability to discern truth and react appropriately to online content (Ali & Qazi, 2022). Collectively, these efforts emphasize the importance of digital literacy in empowering individuals to critically analyze information, thereby reducing the spread and impact of misinformation and deception.

## CONCLUSION

Based on the results and discussions, it can be concluded that oligarchy in power and economic politics has a significant impact on people's welfare, especially in the context of digital oligarchy dominance. Data evidence shows that some major digital platforms, such as WhatsApp (90.9), Instagram (85.3), and Facebook (81.6), have high usage rates in Indonesia, allowing digital elites to manipulate information and influence public opinion at large. This inequality of power exacerbates socio-economic injustices, where the richest 1% of the population has much higher wealth than the rest of the population, with an average wealth of more than 2000, while the poorest 50% of the population only has an average wealth of \$6.34.

Challenges that arise in dealing with this inequality of power include the need to increase digital literacy to reduce the impact of misinformation and hoaxes, as well as strict regulations to ensure transparency and accountability in information management. In addition, diversification of information sources and support for independent media are key to reducing the dominance of digital oligarchs and ensuring a more equitable distribution of power in this digital era.

## REFERENCE

- Aini, S. N. (2022). PENGARUH KUALITAS PENDAPAT, KREDIBILITAS SUMBER, DAN INFORMASI DUA SISI PADA KEGUNAAN INFORMASI EWOM TERHADAP NIAT PEMBELIAN KONSUMEN DI MEDIA SOSIAL. *Competence: Journal of Management Studies*, 16(1), 16–23. <https://doi.org/10.21107/kompetensi.v16i1.14246>
- Ali, A., & Qazi, I. A. (2022). Digital Literacy and Vulnerability to Misinformation: Evidence from Facebook Users in Pakistan. *Journal of Quantitative Description: Digital Media*, 2. <https://doi.org/10.51685/jqd.2022.025>
- Asrinaldi, Y., M. A., & Karim, D. Z. A. (2022). Oligarchy in the Jokowi government and its influence on the implementation of legislative function in Indonesia. *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics*, 7(2), 189–203. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2057891121995564>
- Balyakin, A., Nurbina, M., & Taranenko, S. (2022). Some Features of Social Structures and Institutions Transformation in the Digital Age. *Journal of Digital Science*, 4(1), 30–42. [https://doi.org/10.33847/2686-8296.4.1\\_3](https://doi.org/10.33847/2686-8296.4.1_3)
- Belu, M. (2022). THE NEW PARADIGM OF COMMUNICATION. INFLUENCING THE ALGORITHM THAT CONTROLS THE SPREAD OF INFORMATION. *INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE "STRATEGIESXXI,"* 18(1), 466–473. <https://doi.org/10.53477/2971-8813-22-54>
- Caesar Januar, M., Ujang, U., & Hardika Legiani, W. (2022). PENGARUH PENGGUNAAN APLIKASI AKSI TERHADAP KEMAMPUAN LITERASI DIGITAL PESERTA DIDIK SEBAGAI WARGA DIGITAL. *Journal of Educational Learning and Innovation (ELIa)*, 2(2), 183–197. <https://doi.org/10.46229/elia.v2i2.425>

Vol.11, No.2, 2025  
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v11i2.60676  
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

- Cameron, M. A. (2021). The return of oligarchy? Threats to representative democracy in Latin America. *Third World Quarterly*, 42(4), 775–792. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2020.1865794>
- Catalano, D. (2022). Entrepreneurship and digital capitalism: An assessment of corporate power. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 46(6), 1315–1339. <https://doi.org/10.1093/cje/beac053>
- Davidson, S. (2017). Public affairs practice and lobbying inequality: Reform and regulation of the influence game. *Journal of Public Affairs*, 17(4), e1665. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pa.1665>
- Dutton, W. H. (2023). Introduction: Reconfiguring Informational and Communicative Power. In W. H. Dutton, *The Fifth Estate* (1st ed., pp. 1–16). Oxford University Press, New York. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190688363.003.0001>
- Fadillah, D., & Zhenglin, L. (2020). Media power in Indonesia: oligarch, citizens, and the digital revolutions. By Ross Tapsell, Lanham, MD, Rowman & Littlefield, 2018, 208 pp., \$120 (paperback), ISBN: 9781786600363. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 30(5), 386–387. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01292986.2020.1808690>
- Fishkin, J., & Forbath, W. E. (2022). *The Anti-Oligarchy Constitution: Reconstructing the Economic Foundations of American Democracy*. Harvard University Press. <https://doi.org/10.4159/9780674247413>
- Gottfried, S. (2019). Financialization and Oligarchization. In S. Gottfried, *Contemporary Oligarchies in Developed Democracies* (pp. 99–136). Springer International Publishing. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-14105-9\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-14105-9_4)
- Gray, J., Hutchinson, J., & Stilinovic, M. (2023). Democracy in the digital era. *Policy & Internet*, 15(2), 158–161. <https://doi.org/10.1002/poi3.349>
- Hartanto, M. P., Stephanie, & Alamsyah, D. P. (2021). The Digital Economy Growth in Indonesia through E-Commerce. *Proceedings of the International Conference on Industrial Engineering and Operations Management*, 1610–1615. <https://doi.org/10.46254/SA02.20210621>
- Ignatieva, O. (2022). Features of Power Relations in the Digital Age. *Политическая Концептология: Журнал Мегадисциплинарных Исследований*, 01, 140–148. <https://doi.org/10.18522/2218-5518.2022.1.140148>
- Jeffrey A. Winters. (2013). Oligarchy and Democracy in Indonesia. *Indonesia*, 96, 11. <https://doi.org/10.5728/indonesia.96.0099>
- Khaustova, M. (2022). Public policy in the context of the digitalization of society. International experience in implementing programs and digitization strategies. *Analytical and Comparative Jurisprudence*, 2, 209–216. <https://doi.org/10.24144/2788-6018.2022.02.40>
- Lindman, J., Makinen, J., & Kasanen, E. (2023). Big Tech’s power, political corporate social responsibility, and regulation. *Journal of Information Technology*, 38(2), 144–159. <https://doi.org/10.1177/02683962221113596>
- Lytvyn, L., Hryhoruk, A., Verbivska, L., Poprotsky, O., Medynska, T., & Pelekh, O. (2022). Entrepreneurship Transformation in the Context of the Digitization of Business Processes. *Postmodern Openings*, 13(2), 396–408. <https://doi.org/10.18662/po/13.2/461>
- Mitrakhovich, S. P. (2023). The Effects of Digitalization as Challenges to the Effectiveness of Democracy and “Mass Policy” at the Present Stage. *Humanities and Social Sciences. Bulletin of the Financial University*, 12(5), 57–62. <https://doi.org/10.26794/2226-7867-2022-12-5-57-62>
- Muhtadi, B., & Warburton, E. (2020). Inequality and Democratic Support in Indonesia. *Pacific Affairs*, 93(1), 31–58. <https://doi.org/10.5509/202093131>
- Mukti, H. H., & Rodiyah, R. (2020). Dynasty Politics in Indonesia: Tradition or Democracy? *Journal of Law and Legal Reform*, 1(3), 531–538. <https://doi.org/10.15294/jllr.v1i3.38090>

Vol.11, No.2, 2025  
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v11i2.60676  
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

- Mynenko, S., & Lyulyov, O. (2022). The Impact of Digitalization on the Transparency of Public Authorities. *Business Ethics and Leadership*, 6(2), 103–115. [https://doi.org/10.21272/bel.6\(2\).103-115.2022](https://doi.org/10.21272/bel.6(2).103-115.2022)
- Novianto, A., & Dessi Wulansari, A. (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. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jsp.50591>
- Prasetyawan, Y. Y. (2020). Pengalaman Informasi Pemilih Pemula Menggunakan Media Sosial sebagai Sarana Pembelajaran Politik dalam Menentukan Pilihan Calon Presiden. *Khazanah Al-Hikmah: Jurnal Ilmu Perpustakaan, Informasi, Dan Kearsipan*, 8(1), 21. <https://doi.org/10.24252/kah.v8i1a3>
- Shabrov, O. F., Komleva, V. V., Volodenkov, S. V., Gadzhiev, K. A., & Guliyev, I. A. (2022). State sustainability and stability in the digital age: Discussion materials. *Russia & World: Sc. Dialogue*, 2, 204–223. [https://doi.org/10.53658/RW2022-2-2\(4\)-204-223](https://doi.org/10.53658/RW2022-2-2(4)-204-223)
- Shikhgafizov, P. Sh., Konischeva, E. V., & Kotlyarov, S. A. (2024). Digital literacy impact on the subjective well-being of the region's young population. *Digital Sociology*, 6(4), 61–66. <https://doi.org/10.26425/2658-347X-2023-6-4-61-66>
- Simabura, C. H., Ernunsari, R., & Bartlett, C. (2022). *Oligarchs weaken Indonesia's fight against corruption*. <https://doi.org/10.54377/71cb-7e5e>
- Suftyadi, A. R., Heniarti, D. D., & Nu'man, A. H. (2023). Oligarchic Politics in the Context of a Democratic Rule of Law in Relation to the Principle of Expediency. *Journal of Legal Studies*, 32(46), 67–77. <https://doi.org/10.2478/jles-2023-0012>
- Svitla, V. (2023). PUBLIC OPINION AND POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF DIGITALIZATION: SPECIFICS AND VECTORS OF INTERACTION. *National Technical University of Ukraine Journal. Political Science. Sociology. Law*, 2(58), 92–98. [https://doi.org/10.20535/2308-5053.2023.2\(58\).285610](https://doi.org/10.20535/2308-5053.2023.2(58).285610)
- Tambunan, D. (2023). The intervention of oligarchy in the Indonesian legislative process. *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics*, 8(2), 637–653. <https://doi.org/10.1177/20578911231159395>
- Tapsell, R. (2017). *Media power in Indonesia: Oligarchs, citizens and the digital revolution*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Zheng, X., Wang, X., Li, Z., Jing, R., Xu, S., Wang, T., Li, L., Zhang, Z., Zhang, Q., Jiang, H., Guo, Z., Zhang, X., & Wang, F.-Y. (2021). Donald J. Trump's Presidency in Cyberspace: A Case Study of Social Perception and Social Influence in Digital Oligarchy Era. *IEEE Transactions on Computational Social Systems*, 8(2), 279–293. <https://doi.org/10.1109/TCSS.2021.3063167>