

Krisis ekonomi neoliberal di Abad ke-20 sekaligus pergeseran kapitalisme industrial ke pasca-industrial telah mereorganiasi secara menyeluruh perguruan tinggi di seluruh dunia, menjadikan kampus yang semakin industrial dan kapital yang semakin intelektual. Dicitrakan dengan orientasi umum *knowledge economy* dan penguatan tripatriit negara-pasar-institusi pendidikan tinggi, melalui pendekatan *new public management* dan *neo-institutionalism* dalam kerangka *Structural Adjustment Policies* (SAP). Agenda ini secara teknis terlembagakan dengan modeling *corporate university* atau Perguruan Tinggi Berbadan Hukum (PTN-BH)—teoritikus kritis menyebutnya sebagai *cognitif capitalism* dan *knowledge-academic capitalism*. Tujuan dari penelitian ini ialah untuk menganalisa dampak kapitalisme-neoliberal dalam konteks ekonomi-politik kebijakan pendidikan tinggi di PTN-BH UGM periode 2012-2020 terhadap kurikulum akademik, organisasi-gerakan mahasiswa sekaligus resistensi yang ada. Penelitian ini penting sebab kajian *mainstream* PTN-BH di Indonesia masih didominasi pendekatan normatif dan teknokratik-manajerial sehingga belum mampu mengkerangkai relasi kuasa dan pertarungan kepentingan ekonomi-politik yang ada secara kritis. Hasil analisa penelitian ini tidak hanya diposisikan sebagai kajian teoritis, tetapi juga analisa praksis dan alat perjuangan taktis. Melalui pendekatan ekonomi-politik Marxian dan paradigma ilmu sosial kritis—*critical empirism*, kerangka teori disusun dari penjelasan konsep kapitalisme kontemporer, restrukturalisasi sekaligus konsolidasi ulang pasar dengan negara di PTN-BH lalu berbagai resistensi gerakan sosial yang mengiringinya. *Status quo* sebagian akademisi mempercayai jika PTN-BH akan mewujudkan kemandirian kampus, berkualitas internasional, kompetitif, akuntabel, efisien dan efektif. Akan tetapi, juga banyak akademisi yang meyakini dampak buruk dari PTN-BH seperti komersialisasi-privatisasi layanan pendidikan, komodifikasi kerja akademik, *insularity*, *precarity*, proletariatisasi massal dan dehumanisasi—memicu berbagai bentuk perlawanan civitas akademika termasuk mahasiswa. Untuk itu penelitian ini menggunakan indikator komperhensif dampak kapitalisme pengetahuan-akademik yang telah dikembangkan Slaughter dan Rhoades (2004), Alex Callinicos (2004) dan Inaya Rakhmani (2019), respon gerakan sosial berbasis mobilisasi sumber daya (McCharty dan Zald, 1977) oleh organisasi-gerakan mahasiswa di *corporate university* (Fernandez, 2014) ditinjau dari perspektif alternatif-eklektik. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode diskriptif-kualitatif melalui studi kasus. Penelitian lapangan dimulai melalui *archival research*, *semi-structured interview* dan observasi partisipan. Peneliti juga terlibat secara integral dalam berbagai forum maupun gerakan anti-neoliberalisasi pendidikan tinggi. Adapun pemilihan informan mengkombinasikan teknik *snowball sampling* dan *purpose sampling*. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa PTN-BH UGM telah menyebabkan reduksi aktivisme mahasiswa karna kenaikan biaya kuliah, manufakturisasi kurikulum-metode pembelajaran dan depolitisasi-birokratitasi organisasi mahasiswa—fase krisis persimpangan ideologi dan orientasi kegiatan kemahasiswaan. Atas kondisi ini berbagai bentuk perlawanan dilakukan organisasi-gerakan mahasiswa yang secara umum menggunakan basis mobilisasi sumber daya, dalam tiga model utama yaitu (1) Pertarungan Wacana; (2) *Judicial Review*; dan (3) Massa Aksi-Okupasi. Namun, metode perlawanan ini hanya menghasilkan capaian parsial-temporal, terjadi hambatan secara internal seperti konflik personal, kegagalan masifikasi isu, regenerasi aktor-gerakan dan kajian, institusionalisasi alternatif kelembagaan, glorifikasi label mahasiswa, aksi terlokalisasi, *slacktivism* hingga fenomena *collective joy*. Dilain sisi secara eksternal, respon politik-birokrasi kampus melalui represi fisik maupun akademik, politik meja makan, taktik moralitas-bapakisme dan pemecahan basis massa ke dalam unit terkecil departemen/fakultas—telah efektif mengisolasi dan mengakhiri perlawanan organisasi-gerakan mahasiswa. Dalam kondisi serupa, dibanyak negara alternatif telah dijalankan dan membuka peluang organisasi-gerakan mahasiswa di Indonesia untuk memperbaharui metode-taktik aksi perjuangan.

Keyword : *PTN-BH, neoliberalisasi-kapitalisme pendidikan, gerakan mahasiswa, mobilisasi sumber daya*

The neoliberal economic crisis in the 20th century and the shift of industrial to post-industrial capitalism have completely reorganized universities around the world, making universities more industrial and capital increasingly intellectual. It is characterized by a general knowledge-economy orientation and a tripartite strengthening of the state-market-institution of higher education through New Public Management and neo-institutionalism approaches within the framework of Structural Adjustment Policies (SAP). This plan is technically institutionalized by modeling a corporate university or Legal Entity Higher Education (PTN-BH)—critical theorists call it cognitive capitalism and knowledge-academic capitalism. This research aims to analyze the impact of neoliberal capitalism in the political economy context of higher education policies at PTN-BH UGM for the period 2012-2020 on the academic curriculum, student organizations, and existing resistance. This research is necessary because normative and technocratic-managerial approaches still dominate the mainstream study of PTN-BH in Indonesia, so it has not critically framed power relations and the struggle for economic-political interests. This research analysis result is a theoretical study and a practical analysis, and a tactical battle tool. Through the Marxian-political economy approach and the critical social science paradigm — critical empiricism, the theoretical framework is compiled from the explanation of the contemporary capitalism concept, restructuring, and reconsolidating the market with the state in PTN-BH and the various social movements that accompany it. Status quo some academics believe that PTN-BH will create campus independence, international quality, competitiveness, accountability, efficiency, and effectiveness. However, many scholars believe in the negative effects of PTN-BH, such as the commercialization-privatization of educational services, the commodification of academic work, insularity, precarity, mass proletarianization, and dehumanization—triggering various forms of resistance from the academic community, including students. For this reason, this study uses comprehensive indicators of the impact of knowledge-academic capitalism that have been developed by Slaughter and Rhoades (2004), Alex Callinicos (2006) and Inaya Rakhmani (2019), the response of resource mobilization-based social movements (McCharty and Zald, 1977) by organizations of student movements at corporate universities (Fernandez, 2014) are viewed from an alternative-eclectic perspective. This research uses the descriptive-qualitative method through case studies. Field research was started through archival research, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation. Researchers are also integrally involved in various forums and anti-neo-liberalization movements of higher education. The selection of informants combines snowball sampling techniques and purposive sampling. This study found that PTN-BH UGM has caused a reduction in student activism due to higher tuition fees, manufacturing of curriculum-learning methods, and depoliticization-bureaucracy of student organizations—the crisis phase of intersecting ideology and orientation of student activities. Due to this condition, various forms of resistance were carried out by student organizations that generally used the basis of resource mobilization in three main models, namely (1) Public Discourse; (2) Judicial Review; and (3) Mass Action-Occupancy. However, this resistance method only produces partial-temporal achievements, internal obstacles such as personal conflicts, failure to massify issues, regeneration of movement actors and studies, the institutionalization of institutional alternatives, and glorification of student labels, localized action, slacktivism to the phenomenon of collective joy. On the other hand, externally, the campus-bureaucratic political response through physical and academic repression, table politics, morality-patriotic tactics, and the splitting of the mass base into the smallest departments /faculties-has effectively isolated and ended resistance from student organizations. Under similar conditions, many alternative countries have been implemented and have opened up opportunities for student organizations in Indonesia to renew fighting action tactics.

Keyword: *PTN-BH, academic capitalism-neoliberalism, student movement, resource mobilization*