Kajian Jurnalisme
Volume 07 No. 01 July 2023
https://doi.org/10.24198/jkj.v7i1.46588

Democracy on Social Media: The Analysis of the New Criminal Code Ratification Polemic on Twitter

Ratih Anbarini[1], Aceng Abdullah[2], Nuryah Asri Sjafirah[3]
[1,2,3]Faculty of Communication Sciences, Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung, Indonesia

Abstract

The new Criminal Code (Kitab Undang-undang Hukum Pidana/KUHP) passage on December 6, 2022, sparked a significant conversation on Twitter, with pro and con responses making it a trending topic. Among these responses, certain influential actors disseminated messages that had the potential to shape public opinion, even if the information was not always accurate. This research utilizes social network theory to map the conversations surrounding netizens' reactions to the new Criminal Code ratification on social media platforms. The study employs descriptive social network analysis methods to analyze three key variables: network structure, groups, and actors. Data was collected using NodeXL Pro between December 6 to December 10, 2022. The findings revealed that although the network consisted of 25,245 actors and 59,396 relationships, the level of interconnectivity among actors was relatively loose, indicating weaker and mostly one-way relationships. Furthermore, influential actors came from diverse backgrounds and profiles. This research confirms the ability of social media platforms to connect individuals without physical face-to-face interactions. At the group level, discussions regarding the new Criminal Code were divided into various topics, highlighting different perspectives and opinions. The presence of diverse actors reflects the inclusive nature of the network, exemplifying the concept of digital opinion movements and the emergence of digital public spaces. Although the public protests did not change the government's decision, the conversations among netizens regarding the new Criminal Code raised public awareness of national issues, a crucial aspect of digital democracy.

Keywords: communication network; digital protest; netizen conversation; social network analysis; the new criminal code polemic

Abstrak

Pengesahan Kitab Undang-undang Hukum Pidana (KUHP) baru pada 6 Desember 2022 meningkatkan percakapan di Twitter. Tanggapan pro dan kontra meramaikan perbincangan hingga menjadi trending topic. Dari beragam respon tersebut, terdapat aktor-aktor kunci yang menyebarkan pesan yang bisa jadi memengaruhi opini publik, meski informasi tersebut tidak benar. Penelitian ini bertujuan mengungkap peta percakapan mengenai respon warganet terhadap pengesahan KUHP baru di media sosial dengan menggunakan teori jaringan sosial. Metode dan teknik analisis data dalam penelitian ini adalah analisis jaringan sosial dan disajikan secara deskriptif. Ada tiga variabel yang dianalisis, yaitu struktur jaringan, kelompok, dan aktor. Data ditambang menggunakan NodeXL Pro periode 6 s.d. 10 Desember 2022. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan, meski terdiri atas 25.245 aktor dan 59.396 relasi, namun tingkat keterhubungan antar-aktor longgar. Artinya relasi tidak kuat dan hubungan yang terjadi lebih banyak bersifat satu arah. Di sisi lain, aktor-aktor yang berpengaruh berasal dari beragam profil. Temuan penelitian mengonfirmasi bahwa media sosial mampu mempertemukan antar-pengguna tanpa harus bertatap muka secara langsung. Pada level kelompok, perbincangan mengenai isu KUHP baru terbagi dalam topik yang berbeda menggambarkan aneka sudut pandang opini. Sementara aktor yang beragam menunjukkan jaringan bersifat inklusivitas dan hal ini mencirikan konsep gerakan opini digital, serta terbentuknya ruang publik digital. Meski pada akhirnya protes yang disampaikan publik tidak mengubah keputusan pemerintah, namun percakapan warganet terkait pengesahan KUHP baru telah membangkitkan kesadaran publik terhadap persoalan bangsa dan hal ini penting sebagai perwujudan demokrasi digital.

Kata kunci: *analisis jaringan sosial; jaringan komunikasi; polemik KUHP baru; percakapan warganet; protes digital*

Correspondence: Ratih Anbarini, S.I.Kom., Faculty of Communication Sciences Universitas Padjadjaran, Jl. Raya Bandung Sumedang KM.21, Hegarmanah, Kec. Jatinangor, Kabupaten Sumedang, Jawa Barat 45363, Email: ratih.anbarini@gmail.com

Submitted: April 2023**, Revised:** June 2023**, Accepted:** June 2023**, Published:** July 2023
ISSN: 2549-0559 (cetak), ISSN: 2549-1946 (online), Website: http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/kajian-jurnalisme

INTRODUCTION

The Internet and social media platforms have gained extensive popularity, reaching a broad audience and providing user-friendly interfaces. Its presence brings significant changes in various areas of life (Abdullah & Hidayat, 2018). It has become an open stage for discussion, ideological expression, knowledge dissemination, and sharing emotions and sentiments (Meel & Vishwakarma, 2020). Social media can reach millions and has excellent potential as a propaganda tool to limit debate and have enormous implications for democracy (Iosifidis & Wheeler, 2015). People can freely express opinions through social media, including dissatisfaction with political issues or government policies. Through social media, democracy grows in the virtual realm (Juditha, 2016).

Over time, the spread of information on social media has led to a trend where social media has become a place to share and receive information and news (Aisyah et al., 2022). Not surprisingly, the presence of social media is followed by the rise of digital opinion (Barisione & Ceron, 2017). Digital opinion refers to the expression of citizens in the digital world through comments or posts on social media platforms. People's opinions are generally spontaneous and disorganized. Social media users express their opinions about the various events they follow in the media. Public opinion on social media is generally homogeneous, supporting and criticizing an issue or policy. Social media users spontaneously express opinions or praise or criticize specific policies. This form of digital opinion is very diverse and commonly done, such as posting, creating memes, and commenting on the opinions of fellow social media users (Ali & Eriyanto, 2021).

Among existing social media, Twitter is a popular platform widely used to launch protests because it is considered more effective and faster in disseminating information and content (Papacharissi & Oliveira, 2012). Previous studies have shown that Twitter was chosen for its ability to manage complex organizations and facilitate effective coordination of mass protests. While Twitter is sporadic and ephemeral, it facilitates collecting information collectively and allows for greater individual participation in a protest (Earl & Kimport, 2011). Twitter also allows users to organize their aspirations in a particular category or theme through hashtags that facilitate conversations related to these critical themes (Sitorus, 2022).

In Indonesia, Twitter users use the platform to express their opinions and attitudes on an issue. For some time, the topic of the new Criminal Code (Kitab Undang-undang Hukum Pidana/KUHP) and the Draft of the Criminal Code (Rancangan KUHP/RKUHP) has been a hot topic on Twitter. For example, when students voiced opposition to RKHUP through the #GejayanMemanggil and #HidupMahasiswa movements in September 2019. There is also #SemuaBisaKena that was trending in September 2019 and continued in July 2022. In December 2022, the public was again busy discussing the topic. The people rejected the passage of the new Criminal Code because they considered that there were still problematic articles, such as articles on insults to government institutions, fines, death sentences, and protests (Shafira & Wibowo, 2022).

Meanwhile, the government argues that the new Criminal Code is a milestone for the independence of criminal law in Indonesia. Indonesians should be proud because they have Criminal Code products (Rico, 2022). The lively discussion on Twitter was seen during the passage of the new Criminal Code by the House of Representatives (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat/DPR) on December 6, 2022, with the keyword "KUHP" ranking second in trending topics, as seen in Figure 1.

Volume 07 No. 01 July 2023
https://doi.org/10.24198/jkj.v7i1.46588

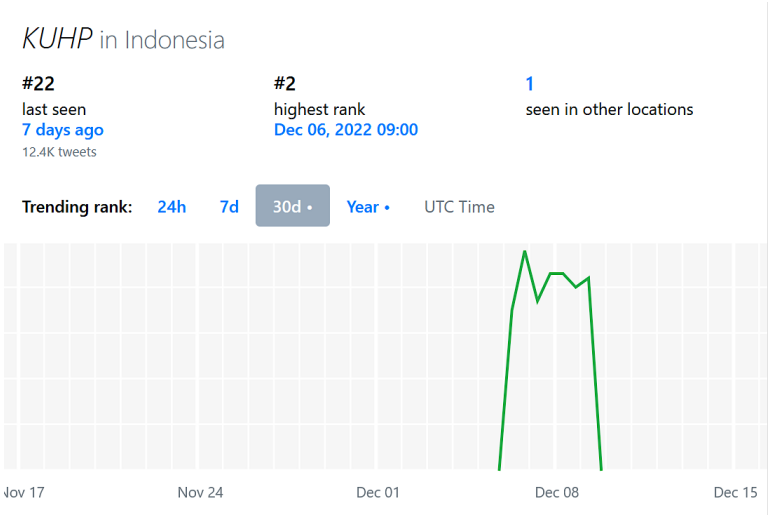

Figure 1. Conversation of Criminal Code Issues on Twitter
Source: getdaytrends.com, access December 16, 2022

Twitter has a significant influence as an effective medium for digital campaigns and activism. Tweets on Twitter, directly and indirectly, affect public opinion perception (Gaisbauer et al., 2021). In today's post-truth era, the challenge for the government is control over false information, misinformation, disinformation, and malinformation, including those related to the Criminal Code on social media. People trust social media more even though they realize its accuracy is not guaranteed. Especially in fierce political competition, messages full of criticism and negative accusations against different political groups are preferable. It can lead to harsh criticism not based on increasingly popular facts and spread quickly without regard to social, economic, and political boundaries (Susanto, 2017).

Again, social media has become a helpful platform for raising awareness of various issues, and Twitter is a valuable platform for listening to public views and opinions on various topics in real-time (Ahmed et al., 2020). Olubunmi's (2015) research explains that social media has proven effective as an effective tool and mobilizes networks. Ordinary people have relied on social media to mobilize protests and fight against governments in different parts of the world. In the topic of the new Criminal Code, community movements mobilized through social media occurred in the case of demonstrations against the Criminal Code Bill known as #GejayanMemanggil (Fuadi, 2020) and #HidupMahasiswa (Hasna, 2022).

Because of the power of social media, it is essential to understand the drivers of netizen discussions around the new Criminal Code and to gain insight into the main topics discussed (Ahmed et al., 2020). In addition, in conversations on Twitter, key actors spread messages that may influence public opinion, whether positive or negative. For this reason, this study aims to uncover a conversation map regarding netizens' response to the passage of the new Criminal Code on social media using the social network theory proposed by Borgatti and Halgin (2011); Borgatti and Ofem (2010). In the study of communication science, social networks are often called communication networks.

Communication networks, in their development, have been transformed into a theory. Network theory describes how mechanisms and processes in the interaction of tissue structures affect the results obtained by individuals and groups. Following the concepts proposed by previous researchers, network theory focuses on the implications of network variables, such as the degree of connectedness and central position (Borgatti & Halgin, 2011). A network is a group of relationships between social entities or individuals. This definition emphasizes two

essential elements in network analysis: the entities or actors involved in the network and the relationships established between them (Eriyanto, 2022).

In addition to actors and relationships, there are other elements in the structure of communication networks, namely components, cliques, bridges, hubs, cutpoints, and isolates. A component is a grouping of actors who have at least one link in a network. Cliques are a tighter group of actors characterized by complete and maximum inter-actor relationships. Bridges are links that connect two separate groups in a network. Hubs refer to the actors who have the most connections in the network. Cutpoints are actors who become the glue of the network. With the presence of these actors, the network will stay intact. Isolates have no links with other actors in the network (Borgatti et al., 2013).

Why is this issue important to research? Debates on social media regarding the issue of the Criminal Code are often accompanied by misguided narratives, misunderstandings in articles, and baseless accusations (Ramadhan & Setuningsih, 2022; Yahmin, 2022). In the digital public sphere, tweets from influential users play the same role as opinion leaders in the real world when they shape the flow of information. Information from mass media does not directly reach the intended audience but through the intermediary of influential users who process and disseminate the information to the public. These users have specific characteristics influencing people's decision-making and behavior (Sumartias et al., 2023).

Therefore, analyzing Twitter trends requires considering these influential users' roles to understand their functions, communication patterns, and influence on others. Social media consists of online communication networks defined as user relationships that form specific patterns and characteristics. It can be explained through the study of communication networks. An issue on Twitter can be seen through network patterns and actors who use the issue (Bakry & Kusmayadi, 2021).

This study analyzed three variables: network structure, groups, and actors. Network structure consists of size, density, reciprocity, diameter, and distance. The group variables to be measured is component. At the same time, actor variables are measured by degree centrality, betweenness centrality, closeness centrality, and eigenvector centrality.

Research highlighting the RKUHP controversy on social media has been limited to sentiment analysis. Sentiment analysis detects positive or negative sentiments in the text (Safitri et al., 2021). Research by Cahyaningrum et al. (2020) said, from the filter of 807 tweets, only 8.05 percent of tweets with positive sentiment. In comparison, tweets with negative sentiment are 43 percent, and neutral is 49 percent. In line with these findings, a study conducted by Ihsan (2021) concluded that people tend to give negative and neutral sentiments rather than optimistic about the RKUHP. Similarly, Diba (2019) resulted in findings from data collection by scrapping using the Twitter API from 24 to September 27, 2019; 3,561 data were obtained—a total of 1,078 positive tweets and 2,483 negative tweets.

Those studies did not analyze the network structure in a conversation over a particular issue. By understanding a network's structure, researchers can find out how strong the network is that occurs in a conversation. This research can answer the shortcomings of the studies above. The originality of this research is found in the topic of the new Criminal Code ratification, which has never been studied before using social network analysis (SNA). Thus, this research will complement studies in the field of communication science on social networking methods that dissect social media conversations about the issue of the new Criminal Code.

So far, research using the SNA method on issues related to public policy has only been found in the following studies. First, research by Utami et al. (2021) analyzed network structure and actors in conversations on social media with #BatalkanOmnibusLaw keywords. Analysis

Volume 07 No. 01 July 2023
https://doi.org/10.24198/jkj.v7i1.46588

and data retrieval were performed using Netlytic's website and Gephi software. The results showed that there was no density of interaction in the network. While the value of centrality is relatively high, meaning the interaction is centralized on several actors. It means the hashtag #BatalkanOmnibusLaw successfully encouraged Twitter users to express their digital opinions against the Omnibus Law policy and inform other users more broadly about the issue.

Second, research by Aisyah et al. (2022) analyzes social networks and the role of the press in disseminating information regarding the Community Activity Restriction Enforcement (PPKM) policy. This study collaborates graph theory and information integration theory as a basis for thinking. The research found that the role of the press as a disseminator of information has been carried out according to its function, despite not being a central actor in the leading network. This study also explains that the theory of information integration can not only be implemented in the real world but can be applied in cyberspace by showing the network formed on social media that is a place for people to socialize today.

Third, Ramadhani and Arianto's (2022) research examines conversations about the TPKS Bill on Twitter by examining the network structure and the direction of opinions formed. Using NodeXL and R software, data mining from December 13, 2021, to January 18, 2022, resulted in 15,159 actors and 33,308 relationships. @dpr_ri is an essential actor in the TPKS Bill network because it has high centrality in several aspects of assessment. The growing opinion in the TPKS Bill network is positive because most people support the passage of the TPKS Bill. The supporting cluster is also more compact than the repellent cluster in the network formed.

From several studies above, this study will complement it by analyzing the network structure in social media conversations regarding the issue of the new Criminal Code, which increased in discussion on the ratification of RKHUP on December 6, 2022. As shown in Figure 2, the conversation on the first day of data mining with the keyword "KUHP" on the NodeXL software recorded 15,323 tweets. The next day, the conversation escalated with the suicide bombing in Bandung and a message on the perpetrator's motorcycle criticizing the new Criminal Code. The conversation gradually dropped in the following days, although the number still reached thousands of tweets.

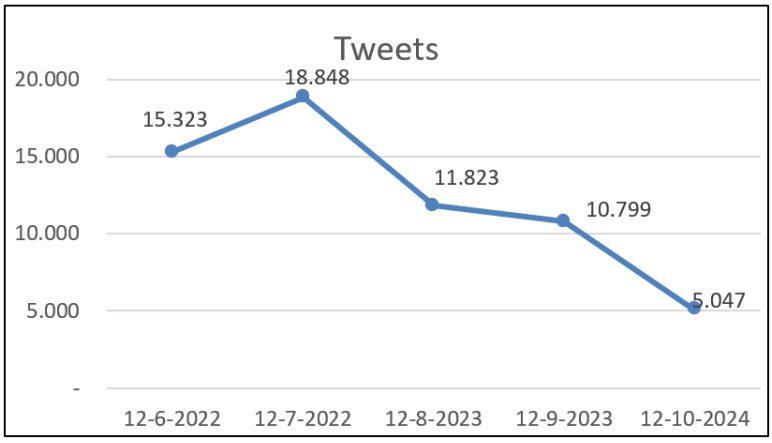

Figure 2. Number of Posts with the Keyword "KUHP"
Source: Processed from NodeXL Pro data mining

Social media is increasingly becoming a home for civil society, a place for knowledge sharing, public discussion, debate, and opposition. As a public space, social media conversations are just as important to document as any other large public gathering. Maps of public social media discussion networks in services like Twitter can provide insight into the role of social media in our society (Smith et al., 2014). The results of this study can be helpful in problem

mapping needs for the government and other stakeholders regarding the issue of the new Criminal Code. The government has three years to socialize the new Criminal Code. This opportunity can be used to explain articles that are still controversial in the community to rectify public perceptions (Medistiara, 2022; Nugraheny, 2022).

Based on this background, the question of this research is what is the network structure in the conversation of netizens regarding the passage of the new Criminal Code? Another question is who and how are the central actors mobilizing opinion on Twitter? The argument from this study is that in the process of debate, there is a flow of communication that occurs in the Twitter network, and there are actors who play a role in mobilizing opinions so that discussions on the issue of the new Criminal Code become trending.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses a method of analyzing communication networks on social media with a descriptive research type to identify the network structure and relationships of the main actors who participate in discussions on the issue of the Criminal Code ratification on Twitter with specific keywords (Eriyanto, 2021, 2022). This method examines the relationship among actors (social media users or accounts) in a particular social structure. Through this method, it will be illustrated how the network structure of social media users is related to the issue of the Criminal Code ratification on social media. The data analyzed in this study were tweets on Twitter that used the keyword "KUHP." Data mining is carried out using NodeXL Pro software. Data began to be collected from December 6, 2022, or when the Criminal Code was passed by the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, until December 10, 2022, when the conversations' intensity gradually decreased.

The process includes two stages. First, take social media conversation data with the keyword "Criminal Code." Researchers conduct data mining by using advanced search features to get specific keywords as needed. Since data collection is carried out daily with a maximum of 18 thousand data in one mining, the researcher uses the following search code: "KUHP since:2022-12-06 until:2022-12-07". The search code was used to mine data with the keyword "KUHP" throughout December 6, 2022. After obtaining data on that date, researchers conducted data mining for the next period with the search code "KUHP since:2022-12-07 until 2022-12-08. Thus, on until the December 10, 2022, search is carried out.

Table 1. Social Network Analysis Level

Level	Type	Definition
System	Density	The density of relationships between actors (nodes) in the network
	Diameter	The farthest distance between one actor (social media account) and another actor in a network
	Distance	Average distance between actors (social media accounts) and other actors
Groups	Component	Grouping of actors who have at least one link in the network
Actors	Betweenness Centrality	Measures the position of an actor as a network mediator
	Closeness Centrality	Describes closeness among nodes or between one actor and another
	Degree Centrality	Shows the popularity of actors within the social network
	Eigenvector Centrality	The importance of an individual on account of their involvement in several network groups

Source: (Eriyanto, 2022; Zempi & Rahayu, 2019)

Volume 07 No. 01 July 2023
https://doi.org/10.24198/jkj.v7i1.46588

The data successfully retrieved is in an excel file and automatically creates an edge list format. In data with this format, actor relationships are presented in two columns, vertex 1 and vertex 2, where the vertex is the name of the social media account. The resulting data is then sorted manually to delete tweets that are not related to the issue of the new Criminal Code.

This study uses a complete network design, and three levels are analyzed: systems (network structure), groups, and actors. At the system level, measured density, which measures the density of relationships between actors (nodes) in the network; diameter, which measures the farthest distance between one actor and another actor in a network, distance, which measures the average distance between an actor and another actor. At the group level, measurements are made for components. Meanwhile, at the actor level, four types are measured: betweenness centrality, closeness centrality, degree centrality, and eigenvector centrality (Eriyanto, 2021). Furthermore, network visualization was performed using Gephi software version 0.9.7.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This study aims to discover the conversation map of the new Criminal Code issue discussed by Twitter netizens from 6 to December 10, 2022. Data collected during this period amounted to 61,840 tweets. The data is manually filtered to delete irrelevant tweets, for example, spam posts. In the end, the data included for analysis were 59,396 tweets. This section presents data from network analysis results for the keyword "KUHP" on Twitter using NodeXL Pro software and visualization using Gephi.

Network Structure

Network structure relates to the general description of social networks on a particular topic of conversation on social media (Eriyanto, 2021). The analysis of tweets for the keyword "KUHP" resulted in visualization, as shown in Figure 3—visualization using Gephi software with Yifan Hu algorithm.

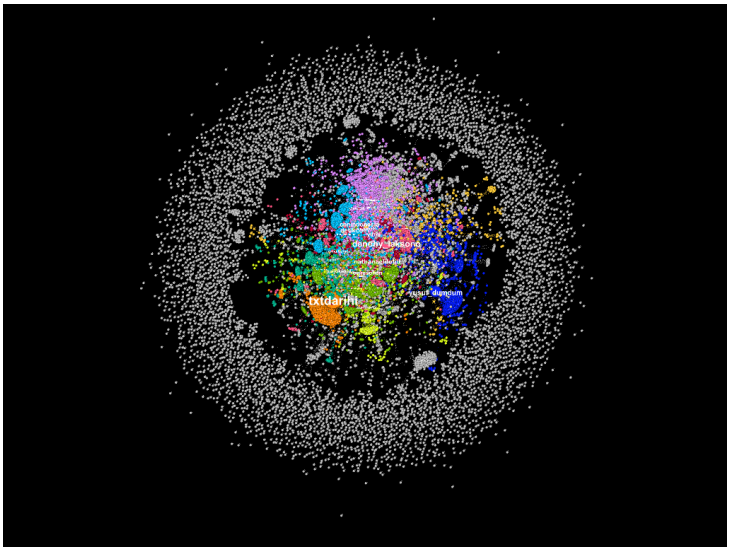

Figure 3. Network Visualization of the Keyword "KUHP" with Gephi (N = 59.396)
Source: Processed by Researchers, 2023

The visualization above illustrates the network structure of the analysis results from the NodeXL Pro software. There are 25,245 actors involved in conversations on the issue of the new Criminal Code, with a total of 59,396 relations. The network also has 15,996 isolated actors. The density of the network reaches a value of 15. It means that each actor can be reached by

other actors in as many as 15 steps. The average distance is 4.3, meaning the distance between one actor and another is 4.3 steps. While the density is 0.00005, the measurement value of the structure of the new Criminal Code conversation network can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2. Conversation Network Structure of the New Criminal Code from 6 to December 10, 2022

Scale	Score	Scale	Score
Vertices	25245	Minimum Out-Degree	0
Unique Edges	37495	Maximum Out-Degree	64
Edges With Duplicates	21901	Average Out-Degree	1.669
Total Edges	59396	Median Out-Degree	1.000
Self-Loops	15996	Minimum Betweenness Centrality	0.000
Reciprocated Vertex Pair Ratio	0.00639664804469274	Maximum Betweenness Centrality	60113690.930
Reciprocated Edge Ratio	0.0127119820144883	Average Betweenness Centrality	48477.031
Connected Components	5087	Median Betweenness Centrality	0.000
Single-Vertex Connected Components	4596	Minimum Closeness Centrality	0.000
Maximum Vertices in a Connected Component	19001	Maximum Closeness Centrality	0.258
Maximum Edges in a Connected Component	46046	Average Closeness Centrality	0.131
Maximum Geodesic Distance (Diameter)	15	Median Closeness Centrality	0.173
Average Geodesic Distance	4.388802	Minimum PageRank	0.000
Graph Density	0.0000565351647029763	Maximum PageRank	0.008
Modularity	0.497206	Average PageRank	0.000
Minimum In-Degree	0	Median PageRank	0.000
Maximum In-Degree	1819	Minimum Clustering Coefficient	0.000
Average In-Degree	1.669	Maximum Clustering Coefficient	1.000
Median In-Degree	0.000	Average Clustering Coefficient	0.040
		Median Clustering Coefficient	0.000

Source: Processed by Researchers, 2023

Groups

The modularity of this network is 0.497206. This value leads to the number 0, which means low modularity, indicating the emergence of many related groups (components) in the conversation. Using the Clauset-Newman-Moore algorithm in the NodeXL Pro software, there are as many as 5,182 groups in this new Criminal Code conversation network. Here, the researcher presents the ten groups with the most prominent actors and links. As shown in Table 3, the first cluster consists of 3,902 actors with 7,254 relations among actors—the second cluster with 3,129 actors and 10,150 relations, and so on.

Volume 07 No. 01 July 2023
https://doi.org/10.24198/jkj.v7i1.46588

Table 3. New Criminal Code Conversation Network Component

Component	Vertices	Edges
G1	3902	7254
G2	3129	10150
G3	1856	3290
G4	1724	5600
G5	1663	1782
G6	1098	1199
G7	683	783
G8	626	748
G9	610	715
G10	595	675

Source: Processed by Researchers, 2023

Using the NodeXL Pro software, component grouping is visualized in Figure 4.

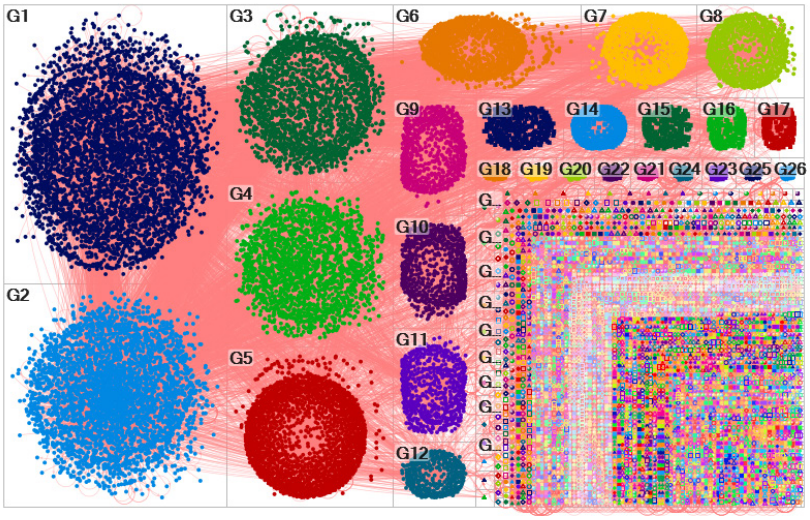

Figure 4. Visualization of Conversation Clusters on New Criminal Code Issues (N = 59.396)
Source: Processed by Researchers, 2023

Following the form and structure of the Twitter network, as Smith et al. (2014) stated, overall, the component above resembles the form of a community network because many user groups are discussing the issue of the new Criminal Code. Community networks provide a source of information and subjects, sparking many conversations, each developing its audience and community. It can portray diverse viewpoints on a subject based on its relevance to different audiences, revealing diverse opinions and perspectives on social media topics (Smith et al., 2014).

NodeXL groups users into different groups based on mentions. A community cluster shows that many users talk to each other in multiple groups. From the image above, it is also interesting to listen to influential users (indicated by a larger circle) scattered around the network, which shows that the topic brings various influential actors (Ahmed et al., 2020).

In Figure 4, there are five major groups which, after analysis, can be defined as groups disseminating information. However, each cluster has its characteristics in terms of messaging. As shown in Table 4, cluster 1 (G1) is marked by a tweet about criticism of the government about one of the articles in the Criminal Code. Cluster 2 (G2) tweeted about forcing the passage

of the Criminal Code despite public opposition. Cluster 3 (G3) focuses on headlines about the statement of the United States Ambassador on the Criminal Code. While cluster 4 (G4) uploaded suicide bombing events associated with the Criminal Code, cluster 5 (G5) only posted one interjection expressing shock accompanied by a link to news from one mass media containing the UN's response to the new Criminal Code.

Table 4. Tweets with the Highest Engagement in the Cluster

Original and Translated Tweets	Link	Cluster	Engagement
Salah satu pasal di KUHP baru tentang larangan menyebarkan paham SELAIN Pancasila. One of the articles in the new Criminal Code is about the prohibition of spreading ideas OTHER THAN Pancasila. *Tapi hanya menyebut KOMUNISME. Tak menyebut KAPITALISME. Ideologi yang juga bertentangan dengan Pancasila, tapi dianut, diamalkan, disembah dan menjadi landasan ekonomi NKRI.* However, it only mentions COMMUNISM. No mention of CAPITALISM. An ideology that is also contrary to Pancasila but is embraced, practiced, worshipped, and becomes the economic foundation of the Republic of Indonesia. *Munafik. Hipokrit.* Hypocrite. Hypocrisy.	https://t.co/kCSeD1iouC	G1	1,324 Retweets 75 Quotes 3,269 Likes 64 Bookmarks
Di tengah penolakan publik, DPR dan pemerintah mengesahkan KUHP yang sarat pelindungan bagi penguasa. Amid public rejection, DPR and the government passed a Criminal Code full of protection for the ruler. *Simak edisi terbaru #KoranTempo, klik https://t.co/JSPrmxFxEM* Check out the latest edition of #KoranTempo; click https://t.co/JSPrmxFxEM	https://t.co/YokeFL7XjU	G2	460 Retweets 25 Quotes 979 Likes 9 Bookmarks
Dubes AS Sebut Ancaman Kriminalisasi UU KUHP Bisa Buat Investor Lari US Ambassador Says Threat of Criminalization of Criminal Code Law Can Make Investors Run	https://t.co/eEHK7iIRS5	G3	199 Retweets 39 Quotes 783 Likes 11 Bookmarks
Pesan Teroris Bom Bunuh Diri Terrorist Message Suicide Bombing *"KUHP Hukum Syirik/Kafir Perangi Para Penegak Hukum Setan. QS 9:29"* "The Criminal Code of Shirk/Kafir Law fights Satan's law enforcers. QS 9:29" *QS At-Taubah ayat 29* At-Taubah verse 29 *Ayat ini memang sering disalahgunakan oleh para teroris unt melakukan aksi terorisme* Terrorists often misuse this verse to commit acts of terrorism	https://t.co/UcVwPD2MJy	G4	378 Retweets 40 Quotes 1,685 Likes 66 Bookmarks
WADUH!! *https://cnbcindonesia.com/news/20221209075253-4-395193/alert-pbb-tegur-keras-ri-soal-kuhp/amp #BeritaHI* OOPS!! https://cnbcindonesia.com/news/20221209075253-4-395193/alert-pbb-tegur-keras-ri-soal-kuhp/amp #BeritaHI	https://t.co/AStXGehMgh	G5	2,428 Retweets 801 Quotes 11.7K Likes 416 Bookmarks

Source: Processed by Researchers, 2023

Volume 07 No. 01 July 2023
https://doi.org/10.24198/jkj.v7i1.46588

Actors

At this level, the ten most influential actors in the new Criminal Code conversation network are presented through the value of high degree centrality, high betweenness centrality, high closeness centrality, and high eigenvector centrality.

Table 5. 10 Most Influential Actors by Score of Centrality

Degree Centrality		Betweenness Centrality		Closeness Centrality		Eigenvector Centrality	
Actor	Score	Actor	Score	Actor	Score	Actor	Score
@txtdarihi	1820	@txtdarihi	60113690.930477	@poljokesid	0,232	@txtdarihi	0.543
@dandhy_ laksono	1258	@dandhy_ laksono	38991459.05263	@yusuf_ dumdum	0,234	@dandhy_ laksono	0.189
@yusuf_ dumdum	1045	@yusuf_ dumdum	37977316.596948	@sam_ardi	0,235	@ nathanaeldotid	0.147
@detikcom	943	@detikcom	33733597.794665	@txtdarihi	0,243	@detikcom	0.132
@ nathanaeldotid	942	@ cnnindonesia	30560751.124616	@ylbhi	0,243	@cnnindonesia	0.130
@ cnnindonesia	883	@ nathanaeldotid	29244073.488501	@evimsofian	0,244	@evimsofian	0.126
@ylbhi	844	@ylbhi	26826499.929767	@dandhy_ laksono	0.245	@ylbhi	0.115
@evimsofian	809	@evimsofian	23958864.852551	@ nathanaeldotid	0.247	@poljokesid	0.109
@poljokesid	731	@sam_ardi	20831205.805961	@ cnnindonesia	0.249	@ismailfahmi	0.078
@sam_ardi	670	@poljokesid	18953186.219876	@detikcom	0.253	@korantempo	0.075

Source: NodeXL Pro Analysis, 2023

Based on the results, there are ten actors with the highest level of degree centrality, as stated in Table 4. The ten actors are divided into several account categories: personal accounts, namely @dhandy_laksono, @yusuf_dumdum, @evimsofian, @nathanaeldotid, and @sam_ardi. In some tweets, they criticized articles considered problematic from their respective points of view. Actor @dandhy_laksono, for example, highlighted the article prohibiting spreading ideas other than Pancasila. The @evimsofian actor, a journalist, questioned the fake news article in the new Criminal Code, which she considered arbitrary. There are also institutional accounts, such as @txtdarihi, @poljokesid, and @ylbhi. News portal accounts, such as @detikcom and @cnnindonesia, post the news links they generate and provoke interaction from Twitter users. These popular accounts indicate that they are critical actors in the network. These actors hold various positions, where some act as reference sources, conversation materials, and as pioneers or initiators of discussions on articles in the new Criminal Code.

Those ten actors also rank highest on betweenness centrality. It shows that these actors become accounts that have many relationships with other accounts and become a liaison for other actors in the network—Borgatti et al. (2013) stated that the most critical centrality is betweenness centrality. The reason is that this position connects groups on the network, and actors can control information. Actors can withhold information that reaches them without passing it on to other actors.

Researchers deliberately took scores for the ten influential actors above in the closeness centrality, sorted by the lowest score. The lower score of the closeness centrality, the closer actor is to other actors. The closeness centrality is the opposite of the degree centrality (Eriyanto, 2022). A small number indicates that an actor can contact other actors in the network at several

stages or steps. Actors with high closeness centrality mean the actor has a short distance from other actors in the network (Eriyanto, 2021). Researchers did not analyze actors with a closeness centrality score of 0.000 because the actors in that position were not influential.

Closeness centrality measures the speed at which actors can reach all other actors in the network, either directly or indirectly, through other actors as intermediaries. Actors at the center of the network tend to have a higher closeness centrality score than actors at the network's periphery (Eriyanto, 2022). The @poljokesid account is an actor with high closeness centrality with a score of 0.232 or the lowest among other accounts.

Meanwhile, in eigenvector centrality, which describes how qualified an account is, @txtdarihi is the actor with the highest score, followed by @dandhy_laksono and @nathanaeldotid, personal accounts. @txtdarihi is an account that posts the latest information about domestic and international casually with more than 150.000 followers. This kind of information packaging matches the profile of Twitter users, with the majority in the age range of 16-24 years, 42 percent, followed by 36 percent of 23-34 years old, and 35-44 years old, 18 percent (Rizal, 2019), thus attracting other popular actors to retweet.

Discussion

This research shows the communication network of Twitter netizens in response to the passage of the new Criminal Code. The system-level analysis shows this network has a relatively low density and reciprocity value (close to 0). It shows the lack of interaction between one actor and another. In addition, the conversations that occur are also more in the form of one-way conversations. Retweets dominate relationships between actors in whole networks as well as groups. Some actors mention and reply but are not responded to by other actors, so the conversation goes in the same direction. Digital activism that is limited to retweeting is often associated with the term slacktivism. According to Juniarto (2016), slacktivism is an online activity that does not directly influence sociopolitical change. Examples of slacktivism include giving "likes" (or retweets on Twitter) or signing online petitions that do not result in any real change in reality.

However, slacktivism is also considered a form of increasing public concern and awareness about an issue to encourage change, especially in government and political matters (Arianto, 2017). People with awareness retweet as a form of support for the uploaded tweet. The activism reflects that social media is becoming a space of political and democratic articulation for the public in virtual space.

Another interesting finding was that the actors involved in conversations about the new Criminal Code came from various profiles. Some are on behalf of individuals (@dhandy_laksono, @yusuf_dumdum, @evimsofian, @nathanaeldotid, and @sam_ardi), institutions/influencers (@txtdarihi, @poljokesid, and @ylbhi), and mass media (@detikcom and @cnnindonesia). The variety of these actors explains the uniqueness of social media, which can share types of information and allow interaction between users without having to meet face to face. Not only that, but social media also facilitates the formation of discussion forums that bring together netizens from various places and different backgrounds (Sutan et al., 2021).

The research shows communication networks in polemical conversations over the new Criminal Code ratification on Twitter. Behind the dense discussion, some actors play an important role until the messages they upload form communication networks. In social networks, there are actors, relationships (links), and forms of relationships (Eriyanto, 2021). It explains the uniqueness of social media that can share types of information and allows interaction between users without having to meet face to face. Besides that, social media also

Volume 07 No. 01 July 2023
https://doi.org/10.24198/jkj.v7i1.46588

facilitates the formation of discussion forums that bring together netizens from various places and backgrounds (Sutan et al., 2021).

The diversity of actors also shows the inclusivity of the network. It means expressing opinions in conversations is not organized by a particular group. It is one of the main characteristics of the digital opinion movement proposed by Barisione and Ceron (2017). The concept of this movement is different from traditional social movements that generally have collectivity and clear goals to be achieved. In contrast, the opinion movement is bound by attention to the same issue. Netizens expressed their opinions on the same topic because they considered that they were free to express their opinions in this space. This phenomenon gave rise to digital public space, a medium to discuss issues around social media users. It is characterized by unlimited participation and dominated by multi-actor conversations from various social backgrounds (Dewantara & Widhyharto, 2016).

Previous studies said social movement activists used social media to promote their criticisms and protests (Hwang & Kim, 2015). Social media is also a popular and effective place for activists to conduct online protests and interact socially (Carty, 2014). Protests are essential to a democratic system because they allow citizens to voice their demands and dissatisfaction with government policies and actions. People's awareness of their rights has increased in recent years, leading to increased protests worldwide for various purposes. Social media and technological advancements helped exchange information and ideas between people worldwide (Neogi et al., 2021). As a result, the functioning of democracy has become increasingly stable. Now, society can raise specific issues on a larger scale (Sumartias et al., 2023).

The results of the analysis also showed that there was no polarization in the network. The network that is formed is the community network. It happened because the discussion of the issue of the new Criminal Code was divided into several major topics in many groups or clusters. Of the five major clusters studied, most conversations led to rejection and criticism of the new Criminal Code.

In addition, another finding is that there is no government element as an influential actor based on the analysis of centralization in the network. The rejection movement by other actors seems too high, and government socialization about the new Criminal Code did not get enough attention from netizens. The findings confirm previous research that says most government agencies still view social media as a complementary channel for disseminating information rather than a tool to facilitate public participation. Although government social media accounts are used to post information about policies and regulations, they rarely utilize participatory strategies to encourage community-government cooperation and active participation (Neely & Collins, 2018; Wukich, 2016). Interactive communication through government social media still needs to be more superficial, such as limited comments and inadequate dialogue (Tang et al., 2015).

In the end, the protest movement rejected the passage of the new Criminal Code on social media and did not make the government revise the decision. Although this movement is massive and trending the political and economic interests of the elite group are stronger. As stated by Castells (2011), the power network constructed around the state and the political system plays a fundamental role in the overall networking of power. It also happens, for example, in the rejection of the passage of the Job Creation Law and the insistence on the passage of the draft Sexual Violence Criminal Law. However, netizens' conversations regarding the passage of the new Criminal Code have raised public awareness of the nation's problems, which is essential as a manifestation of digital democracy.

CONCLUSION

This research shows the structure of the network, key actors, and their roles in the network, as well as the shape of the network in the groups/components in conversations about the issue of the new Criminal Code on Twitter. The network structure could be more cohesive because the average distance between actors requires more than 1 step. Meanwhile, despite discussing one common issue: the polemic of the new Criminal Code, network groups discuss various topics. Actors from the government who have not been seen on the network need attention, given that the narrative of public criticism and rejection of the new Criminal Code continues to surface. The high level of rejection overcame the positive discourse built to clarify disinformation on articles that were considered problematic. Future research can analyze this issue. In addition, the study was limited to social network analysis and did not analyze the discourse behind the conversations of key actors. For this reason, researchers recommend further studies to examine the discourse on tweets to understand existing discussions on the issue of the new Criminal Code.

Social media has become increasingly popular for the public to convey various criticisms of government policies. The protests that resonated on social media have become a new form of democracy by utilizing virtual space. However, this online activism is not a substitute for real-world activism. The two complement each other's unfillable space. Further action is needed to realize the desired change. On the other hand, the power of social media needs to be utilized by the government in accommodating the space for deliberative participation to maintain public trust.

REFERENCES

Abdullah, A., & Hidayat, D. R. (2018). Internet and prostitution activities. *Journal of Physics: Conference Series*, *1114*(1), 1–4. https://doi.org/10.1088/1742-6596/1114/1/012060

Ahmed, W., Vidal-Alaball, J., Segui, F. L., & Moreno-Sánchez, P. A. (2020). A social network analysis of tweets related to masks during the COVID-19 pandemic. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, *17*(21), 1–9. https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph17218235

Aisyah, P. N., Nusantara, G., & Sjafirah, N. A. (2022). Analisis jejaring sosial peran pers dalam penyebaran informasi terkait kebijakan PPKM. *Jurnal Komunikasi Global*, *11*(1), 43–65. https://doi.org/10.24815/jkg.v11i1.24555

Ali, D. J., & Eriyanto. (2021). Political polarization and selective exposure of social media users in Indonesia. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, *24*(3), 268–283. https://doi.org/10.22146/JSP.58199

Arianto, B. (2017). Menakar peran relawan politik pasca kontestasi presidensial 2014. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, *20*(1), 50–68. https://doi.org/10.22146/jsp.18000

Bakry, G. N., & Kusmayadi, I. M. (2021). Peran pers sebagai aktor gerakan digital tagar #SolidaritasUntukNTT di Twitter. *Jurnal Kajian Jurnalisme*, *5*(1), 98–114. https://doi.org/10.24198/jkj.v5i1.33458

Barisione, M., & Ceron, A. (2017). A digital movement of opinion? Contesting Austerity through social media. In *Social Media and European Politics* (Issue June). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-59890-5

Borgatti, S. P., Everett, M. G., & Johnson, J. C. (2013). *Analyzing social network* (J. Seaman (ed.)). SAGE Publications.

Borgatti, S. P., & Halgin, D. S. (2011). On network theory. *Organization Science*, *22*(5), 1168–1181. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2260993

Borgatti, S. P., & Ofem, B. (2010). Overview: Social network theory and analysis. In A. J. Daly (Ed.), *The Ties of Change: Social Network Theory and Application in Education* (pp. 17–30). Harvard University Press.

Cahyaningrum, N. I., Fatima, D. W. Y., Kusuma, W. A., Ramadhani, S. A., Destanto, M. R., & Nooraeni, R. (2020). Analysis of user sentiment of Twitter to draft KUHP. *Jurnal Matematika, Statistika Dan Komputasi*, *16*(3), 273–286. https://doi.org/10.20956/jmsk.v16i3.8239

Carty, V. (2014). Arab spring in Tunisia and Egypt: The impact of new media on contemporary social movements and challenges for social movement theory. *International Journal of Contemporary Sociology*, *51*(1), 51–80. https://digitalcommons.chapman.edu/sociology_articles/12/

Castells, M. (2011). A network theory of power. *International Journal of Communication*, *5*, 773–787. https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/1136/553

Dewantara, R. W., & Widhyharto, D. S. (2016). Aktivisme dan kesukarelawanan dalam media sosial Komunitas Kaum Muda Yogyakarta. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, *19*(1), 40–52. https://doi.org/10.22146/jsp.10855

Diba, S. F. (2019). *Implementasi metode Naive Bayes Classifier dalam analisis sentimen pada opini masyarakat terhadap RKUHP* [Universitas Islam Indonesia]. https://dspace.uii.ac.id/handle/123456789/20258

Earl, J., & Kimport, K. (2011). *Digitally enabled social change: Activism in the internet age*. The MIT Press.

Eriyanto. (2021). *Analisis jaringan media sosial: Dasar-dasar dan aplikasi metode jaringan sosial untuk membedah percakapan media sosial*. Kencana.

Eriyanto. (2022). *Analisis jaringan komunikasi: Strategi baru dalam penelitian ilmu komunikasi dan ilmu sosial lainnya*. Prenadamedia Grup.

Fuadi, A. (2020). Social media power for protest in Indonesia: The Yogyakarta's #gejayanmemanggil case study. *Jurnal Studi Komunikasi (Indonesian Journal of Communications Studies)*, *4*(3), 541–552. https://doi.org/10.25139/jsk.v4i3.2438

Gaisbauer, F., Pournaki, A., Banisch, S., & Olbrich, E. (2021). Ideological differences in engagement in public debate on Twitter. *PLoS ONE*, *16*(3), 1–18. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0249241

Hasna, S. (2022). *Peran opinion leaders sebagai gatekeepers: Social network analysis penolakan RUU KUHP di Twitter #HidupMahasiswa 2019* [Universitas Gadjah Mada]. https://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/penelitian/detail/211308

Hwang, H., & Kim, K. O. (2015). Social media as a tool for social movements: The effect of social media use and social capital on intention to participate in social movements. *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, *39*(5), 478–488. https://doi.org/10.1111/ijcs.12221

Ihsan, I. (2021). Sentiment analysis RKUHP pada Twitter menggunakan metode support vector machine. *E-Proceeding of Engineering*, *8*(2), 3520–3536. https://openlibrarypublications.telkomuniversity.ac.id/index.php/engineering/article/view/14735

Iosifidis, P., & Wheeler, M. (2015). The public sphere and network democracy: Social movements and political change? *Global Media Journal*, *13*(25), 1–17. https://www.globalmediajournal.com/open-access/the-public-sphere-and-network-democracy-social-movements-and-political-change.pdf

Juditha, C. (2016). Demokrasi di media sosial: Kasus polemik Rancangan Undang-Undang pemilihan kepala daerah. *Jurnal Penelitian Komunikasi Dan Pembangunan*, *17*(1), 1–16.

https://doi.org/10.31346/jpikom.v17i1.1354
Juniarto, D. (2016). Menyoal demokrasi digital di Indonesia. *Jurnal Dialog Kebijakan Publik*, *22*, 28–35.
Medistiara, Y. (2022). *Kejagung siap beri pendampingan hukum jika KUHP digugat ke MK*. Detiknews. https://news.detik.com/berita/d-6472228/kejagung-siap-beri-pendampingan-hukum-jika-kuhp-digugat-ke-mk
Meel, P., & Vishwakarma, D. K. (2020). Fake news, rumor, information pollution in social media and web: A contemporary survey of state-of-the-arts, challenges and opportunities. *Expert Systems with Applications*, *153*, 112986. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.eswa.2019.112986
Neely, S. R., & Collins, M. (2018). Social media and crisis communications: A survey of local governments in Florida. *Journal of Homeland Security and Emergency Management*, *15*(1), 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1515/jhsem-2016-0067
Neogi, A. S., Garg, K. A., Mishra, R. K., & Dwivedi, Y. K. (2021). Sentiment analysis and classification of Indian farmers' protest using Twitter data. *International Journal of Information Management Data Insights*, *1*(2), 100019. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jjimei.2021.100019
Nugraheny, D. E. (2022). *KUHP hasil revisi tak langsung berlaku ada waktu 3 tahun untuk sosialisasi*. Kompas.Com. https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2022/12/07/10104931/kuhp-hasil-revisi-tak-langsung-berlaku-ada-waktu-3-tahun-untuk-sosialisasi
Olubunmi, A. P. (2015). The ambiguous power of social media: Hegemony or resistance ? *New Media and Mass Communication*, *33*, 1–10. https://iiste.org/Journals/index.php/NMMC/article/view/19213
Papacharissi, Z., & Oliveira, M. de F. (2012). Affective news and networked publics: The rhythms of news storytelling on #Egypt. *Journal of Communication*, *62*(2), 266–282. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2012.01630.x
Ramadhan, A., & Setuningsih, N. (2022). *Mahfud MD tegaskan pasal penghinaan presiden bukan untuk lindungi Jokowi*. Kompas.Com. https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2022/12/15/16593941/mahfud-md-tegaskan-pasal-penghinaan-presiden-bukan-untuk-lindungi-jokowi
Ramadhani, A., & Arianto, I. D. (2022). Digital activism rancangan Undang-Undang tindak pidana kekerasan seksual. *Jurnal PIKMA: Publikasi Media Dan Cinema*, *5*(1), 68–102. https://jurnal.amikom.ac.id/index.php/pikma/article/view/848
Rico, J. (2022). *Indonesia patut bangga miliki KUHP sendiri*. InfoPublik. https://www.infopublik.id/kategori/nasional-politik-hukum/691977/indonesia-patut-bangga-memiliki-kuhp-sendiri
Rizal, A. (2019). *Pengguna Twitter di Indonesia paling banyak pria daripada perempuan*. Grid.Id. https://infokomputer.grid.id/read/121705568/pengguna-twitter-di-indonesia-paling-banyak-pria-daripada-perempuan?page=all
Safitri, R., Alfira, N., Tamitiadini, D., Febriani, N. S., & Dewi, W. W. A. (2021). *Analisis sentimen: Metode alternatif penelitian big data*. UB Press.
Shafira, I. D., & Wibowo, E. A. (2022). *Hari ini RKUHP disahkan, ini pasal yang masih jadi sorotan*. Tempo.Co. https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1664939/hari-ini-rkuhp-disahkan-ini-pasal-yang-masih-jadi-sorotan
Sitorus, A. M. H. (2022). Social Network Analysis (SNA) tentang protes digital di Twitter: Studi pada tagar #CabutPermenJHT56Tahun. *Sosioglobal: Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Penelitian Sosiologi*, *7*(1), 82–94. https://doi.org/10.24198/jsg.v7i1.38611
Smith, M. a, Rainie, L., Himelboim, I., & Shneiderman, B. (2014). Mapping Twitter topic

Volume 07 No. 01 July 2023
https://doi.org/10.24198/jkj.v7i1.46588

networks: From polarized crowds to community clusters. *The Pew Research Center*, *February 20*, 1–57. https://www.pewresearch.org/internet/2014/02/20/mapping-twitter-topic-networks-from-polarized-crowds-to-community-clusters/

Sumartias, S., Pulubuhu, D. A. T., Sudarmono, S., Noorlistyo Adi, A., & Ratnasari, E. (2023). Democracy in the Indonesian digital public sphere: Social network analysis of Twitter users' sesponses to the issue of nationalism knowledge test at the corruption eradication commission (TWK-KPK). *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, *26*(3), 240–257. https://doi.org/10.22146/jsp.70896

Susanto, E. H. (2017). Media sosial sebagai pendukung jaringan komunikasi politik. *Jurnal ASPIKOM*, *3*(3), 379–398. https://doi.org/10.24329/aspikom.v3i3.123

Sutan, A. J., Nurmandi, A., Mutiarin, D., & Salahudin, S. (2021). Using social media as tools of social movement and social protest in omnibus law of job creation bill policy-making process in Indonesia. In T. Antipova (Ed.), *Advances in Intelligent Systems and Computing* (pp. 261–274). Springer Nature Switzerland. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-71782-7_24

Tang, Z., Zhang, L., Xu, F., & Vo, H. (2015). Examining the role of social media in California's drought risk management in 2014. *Natural Hazards*, *79*(1), 171–193. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11069-015-1835-2

Utami, S. R., Safitri, R. N., & Kuncoroyakti, Y. A. (2021). Network analysis and actors #CancelOmnibusLaw on Twitter social media using Social Network Analysis (SNA). *Journal of Media and Communication Science*, *4*(3), 135–148. https://doi.org/10.29303/jcommsci.v4i3.111

Wukich, C. (2016). Government social media messages across disaster phases. *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management*, *24*(4), 230–243. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-5973.12119

Yahmin, Z. (2022). *Bantah PBB, pemerintah tegaskan KUHP tidak bertentangan dengan HAM*. RilisID. https://m.rilis.id/Nasional/Berita/Bantah-PBB-Pemerintah-Tegaskan-KUHP-Tidak-Bertentangan-dengan-HAM-jKT8ne9

Zempi, C. N., & Rahayu. (2019). Social media in the anticorruption movement: Social Network Analysis on the refusal of the "Koruptor Boleh Nyaleg" decision on Twitter. *Jurnal Komunikasi Indonesia*, *8*(2), 92–103. https://doi.org/10.7454/jki.v8i2.11195