

Identifying opinion leaders and narrative agency in the rejection omnibus law discourse

Hari Fitrianto^{*)}, Fahrul Muzaqqi

Faculty of Social and Political Science, Universitas Airlangga

Dharmawangsa Dalam Street, Surabaya, Indonesia

Email: hari.fitrianto@fisip.unair.ac.id, Phone: +62812350546

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Abstract As a social media platform, Twitter can become an arena for civil citizens to contest the state discourse. The rejection of the Omnibus Law Bill proves the legitimacy of the massive resistance and mass mobilisation to reject policy products that contradict the public interest. This research was meant to provide a social media analysis of the issues of the plan of legitimation of the Omnibus Law Bill by employing two analysis methods: social network analysis and descriptive qualitative method. Twitter interactions during the Omnibus Law Bill rejection era were dominated by civil actors. The primary activity on Twitter was not only civil movements but also confronting individuals who could help to form public ideas. Within the agency's narrative framework, Twitter interactions related to *Omnibus Law Bill* are communal and social endeavours as part of participation in digital activism. Other dictions were also visible within various hashtags constructed to assert the agent's political position. Various content and digital media platform were produced as the media for transferring information and knowledge. They were put for the best use in a beautiful package. By opinion leaders' agency, the narrative built by the State can be contested to influence others.

Keywords: social media analysis; omnibus law; narrative agency; twitter

INTRODUCTION

Many have commended social media for their potential to promote civic involvement. The decline in citizen participation in politics is becoming one of the most difficult obstacles faced by democracy in the western hemisphere (Dahlgren, 2009). Social media potential has given hopes of re-emerging extra-parliamentarian political participation, i.e., participation beyond the rights and obligation of liberal citizenship (e.g., voting) and thus, could strengthen the democratic accountability at national or international levels (e.g., van Laer & van Aelst, 2010; Castells, 2015). These reports have emphasised new opportunities for bottom-up, self-organising engagement, such as direct democracy, as well as for circumventing mainstream media gatekeepers and taking direct action to solve.

^{*)} Corresponding Author

Meanwhile, sceptics have pointed to the obstacles that social media bring to extra-parliamentary political engagement. Some stories have emphasised the dominance of economic interests, individualisation, non-committal participation – or ‘clicktivism’ – as well as security and censorship (Gladwell, 2010; Juris, 2012; Dahlgren, 2013; Uldam, 2016). Social media has also evolved into a powerful instrument for activists and social movements (Carty, 2014). The Arab Spring (Hussain & Howard P. N., 2013), Occupy Wall Street (Hammond, 2019), Iran’s Green Movement (Ansari, 2012), and the Keystone XL pipeline movement were a few high-profile instances (Hodges & Stocking, 2016).

In the Indonesian context, two important events mark the success of activism in the digital sphere. Lim (2013) describes two crucial events of the relationship between social media and public pressure in promoting justice. The first event, a movement initiated via Facebook, was support for two commissioners of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK). It was known for the Lizard versus Crocodile (Cicak versus Buaya) case. Another was the Coin for Prita movement. These two events became markers of participatory culture and civic engagement which were considered the success of the collective movement on social media in the early 2000s in Indonesia. The first case, Lizard versus Crocodile, began in April 2009 when Susno Duadji, who was Head of the National Police’s Criminal Investigation Agency, had his phone conversation recorded as one of the steps in investigating a corruption case. Susno Duadji’s anger was evident when he held a press conference. This moment sparked the Lizard versus Crocodile incident through his phrasing when comparing the KPK and Polri (Indonesian National Police) institutions.

In retaliation, two commissioners, Chandra Hamzah and Bibit Samad Riyanto, who was decommissioned in July 2009, were arrested on extortion and bribery charges. Both denied these accusations and said it was a way to weaken the KPK. Most Indonesians consider these accusations bogus; some showed their support through online campaigns. The following month, July 2009, after intensive coverage of the KPK case by the Indonesian media, a Facebook group to support Chandra Hamzah and Bibit Samad Riyanto emerged. The group was called “1,000,000 Facebookers Support Chandra Hamzah and Bibit Samad Riyanto.” In just months, this support has exceeded 1 million members who support the two commissioners. On YouTube social media, several campaigns were initiated as a form of support. Three videos of rap songs in Javanese were launched, and ringtones were considered an effective way to distribute them for free. Online cartoons, comics and posters depicting the two figures, the lizard and crocodile, also emerged. The support raised by Indonesia Corruption Watch also spread offline, where 5,000 Facebookers protested on the streets of Jakarta to show their support for Bibit and Samad. At the end of 2009,

several demonstrations took place in several cities. Due to this pressure, the demands made by Bibit and Chandra were officially dropped.

The second case is Coins for Prita. This case began when Prita Mulyasari was fined by the Tangerang High Court for defamation charges at the Jakarta Omni International Hospital. The fine was approximately USD 13k. The defamation accusations came from Prita's complaint via email to her friends and relatives about the poor service rendered by the hospital. For her actions, Prita was charged with violating the Internet and Electronic Transaction Law (UU ITE). This indictment led to Prita being arrested in May 2009 after being detained for three weeks.

This case received media attention and quickly spread in online media. The bloggers became triggered and protested against the prison sentence just because of a complaint via email. This public pressure resulted in Prita being acquitted of all charges and criminal penalties. Not satisfied with this result, one of the doctors demanded Prita's release. The court then sentenced him to a fine and six months in prison. The bloggers focusing on this issue are demographically the older generation and cannot reach the younger generation because the most widely used social media is Facebook. On this site created by Mark Zuckerberg, a campaign was launched to donate a dime to pay the fine imposed on Prita. In a short time, this campaign gathered much support. Posters were created and shared online: some Facebookers changed their profile pictures to show support, and several videos on YouTube showed support for Prita.

Apart from that, several mainstream media highlighted and played a vital role in popularising this case. The intensity of the case's broadcast on television impacted the number of fans on a Facebook page called "Coins for Prita," which increased drastically. Not only in the online sphere but in the real world, the "Coin for Prita" movement was also launched in Jakarta and later several other big cities such as Bandung, Surabaya, Yogyakarta, and others. In less than ten days (5 to 14 December 2009), donations have reached more than 800 million. This donation surpassed the fine that was imposed on Prita. Students who were studying in the Netherlands also contributed to this campaign. Some donations were channelled by bank transfer or sent directly to the prison.

On 29 December 2009, the court reached a verdict. Prita was found not guilty. Therefore, the collected donation was then repurposed to help other women who were also experiencing cases like Prita. According to Lim's analysis, the participatory culture can be transformed into public engagement on platforms like Facebook. This kind of condition is possible in terms of infrastructure because Facebook can promote transparency radically and spread issues across various connected networks. Facebook is a platform and structure that provides better access to information and opportunities that conventional media cannot provide.

Recently, Twitter has become a powerful platform for the public to voice their opinions regarding public policies. Twitter is an effective platform for igniting discourse because Twitter can provide real-time updates about what is happening in the world in the most simple and efficient way. It can be considered better than other social media platforms in terms of spreading information across different conversation networks resulting in public engagement (Papacharissi & de Fatima Oliveira, 2012).

Twitter has also proven effective in organising social mass movements (Conway et al., 2015); Parmelee, 2014). Apart from being a platform of collective actions (Bimber et al., 2012), Twitter can build “transparency, privacy, security, and interpersonal trust” among activists (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013). Although some have questioned the potential and role of Twitter in movements (Segerberg & Bennett, 2011), others have found that it is a highly effective tool for disseminating information (Ogan & Varol, 2017).

Since Twitter is a public platform, information spreads quickly, enabling activists to take prompt actions that drive a quick mass mobilisation (Hermida et al., 2014). The essential technique for the platform users to spread information quickly is to use hashtags, which make the content searchable and more visible to others (Wang et al., 2016). Besides hashtags, activists use Twitter’s @ (mention) feature to reach out directly to the elites (Hodges & Stocking, 2016). When elite actors, such as political leaders, bureaucrats, human rights activists, and journalists, join the movement by tweeting or retweeting, it creates an immediate widespread response as they have huge followers (Tremayne, 2014).

A valid explanation that shows the use of Twitter and public involvement is when the executive and legislature bodies in Indonesia pushed for the immediate passing of the Omnibus Law Bill. There were massive rejections on Twitter, indicated by the emergence of the #tolakomnibuslaw (reject Omnibus law) hashtag, which became a trending topic on Twitter on a global scale. The massive debate around the Omnibus Law also caught the attention of K-Pop fans (K-Poppers), who were dominated by young people in their late 30s (CNN Indonesia, 2020). In the report, these K-pop fans (K-Poppers) flocked to show their rejection of the planned ratification of the Omnibus Law Bill.

On the other hand, the Indonesian government argued that the Omnibus Law Bill could be a surefire recipe to escape the middle-income trap. Investment is crucial because it is the right solution for creating jobs. In addition, two regulations, such as the mandatory Environmental Impact Analysis Permit (AMDAL) and a Building Construction Permit (IMB), are simplified in the processing process to make the investment process less complicated. Omnibus Law as a legal product is also thought capable of streamlining regulations that have been considered overlapping.

President Jokowi's movement regarding the Omnibus Law bill, which was approved by the legislature, received negative responses from society. One of the parties who feel the most disadvantaged are the labour group which highlights 5 points that have the potential to harm and become oppressive regulations, including contract work system, outsourcing practices, exploitative working time, reduced leave and rest rights, and vulnerability to layoffs (Kompas.com, 2021). Various trade unions in several big cities protested in many big cities, including Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya, Bekasi, Serang, South Sulawesi Province, Makassar, Medan, and others.

The massive rejection of the Omnibus Law Bill on Twitter and in the real world is not coincidental. There is a role for Twitter users in developing narratives and arguments that are referred to by other Twitter users as a source of information or representing their political stance. Social Network Analysis (SNA) was chosen as the research method because it describes human relations departing from graph theory (Tsvetovat & Kouznetsov, 2011). Through SNA, researchers can get a more precise visualisation of the relationship between actors. In addition, this visualisation presents accurate information about interactions in a network. In several studies, SNA is often chosen in public issues because it can provide an overview of the networks and relations of actors, including the Social Movement Fight against Covid-19 (Bahri & Widhyharto, 2021), polarisation toward political events (Alamsyah et al., 2020), digital protest to revoke Ministerial Decree Number 56 Year 2021 (Sitorus, 2022), "Kartu Kuning untuk Jokowi" (Yellow Card for Jokowi) (2018), "Jokowi: The King of Lip Service" (2021) (Hananto et al., 2022), and #Jokowi3Periode (Deliar et al., 2022).

Literature on narrative analysis related to social networks in the Omnibus Law discourse on Twitter is mainly related to employment issues, laws or other social reasons that incite refusals. Campbell (2005) sets out criteria for what can be said to have rhetorical agency. It is essential to understand up front that agents are representatives of their community, and thus agency is inherently communal. Later, the agency stated that users are not the originators of the ideas but act as the 'points of articulation.' The agency is 'influenced through art' and achieved by studying the tools available to speak up and how to use them. Twitter users utilise their rhetorical skills to connect their ideas and others' ideas to make their arguments, enabling greater understanding among communities or social networks on social media. Next is the discussion of form as a means of agency, in which text can reach the agency through ideas framing. Finally, Campbell argues that agency can be abused and become "*a force to commit crimes, to demean and belittle*" (Campbell, 2005). Then, Campbell applies the analysis method to recreate the speech by Sojourner Truth. In addition, previous research also adapted this method to analyse the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter, focusing on the form created by the temporal

sequence of the narrative movement of the hashtag (Yang, 2016). Therefore, this study applied the Campbell analysis method on social networks in the discourse of Omnibus Law on Twitter.

The narrative is driven by conflict, confrontation, and a plethora of personal stories shared via hashtags and comments to co-produce a collective narrative of the movement. He claims that the hashtag used for the movement has a sentence structure and a call to action, which #MeToo lacks. Agency in the Omnibus Law discourse is in accordance with the claim by Yang (2016). In the context of activism, hashtags generally act as an invitation to protest in the real world.

Bakardjieva et al. (2012) discuss hashtag activism, or 'clicktivism' more generally, summarising the field's findings and concluding that it 'correctly' does not deter those interested in engaging in political activity offline, as some pessimistic accounts that had predicted the act. They argue that online activism lowers the bar for including political and activist participation, thereby changing power dynamics and driving digital storytelling as activism (Gong, 2015). They assert that digital activism avoids "institutional gatekeepers". Hence, in the context of the Omnibus Law discourse on Twitter, this gatekeeper is marked by an account with a sign of authority, either in the form of a Twitter blue tick, number of followers or a significant number of likes, retweets or replies. In connection with the hashtags that have appeared in the Omnibus Law discourse on Twitter, this study also agrees that digital platforms, especially Twitter, aim to increase public awareness of the issues rather than mobilise the masses to participate in a protest physically (Harlow & Guo, 2014). This is in line with the findings from Bonilla and Rosa (2015), who analysed the use of #Ferguson. They identify the hashtags as 'indexing,' much like a filing system, and a way to convey a more significant meaning.

Unlike some of the previous studies, this research does not stop at just describing actor networks but further explores the narratives developed by opinion leaders and their processes so that the issues raised can raise the awareness of other Twitter users. Thus, this article aims to answer two questions which are the focus of this research, namely: 1) Identifying opinion leaders in rejecting the Omnibus Law Bill on Twitter and 2) Identifying agency narrative as a form of contestation on the discourse on the Omnibus Law Bill Rejection on Twitter.

METHODOLOGY

This research combines two analysis methods: Social Network Analysis (SNA) to identify the leaders' opinions and an in-depth interview technique as part of the qualitative method to explain actors' narratives during the Omnibus Law Bill's discourse. Social Media Analysis were utilised in this research because of the ability to calculate the relationship and the communication between people, group, organisation, computer or entity currently processing information (Aggarwal, 2011; Akhtar et al., 2013). In addition, the SNA analysis

method also assists researchers in studying social media to better comprehend network structure, actor behaviour and the relationship between actors in a network.

A network is a social structure consisting of ties where a few ties are connected through a link. A node in a network is the actor. Meanwhile, the link showed the relationship or connection between nodes (Zheng et al., 2017). The relationship is visualised with an SNA graph (hereinafter referred to as a sociogram) to make analysis easier. SNA is often utilised to discuss social media and its structure (Grandjean, 2016; Tremayne, 2014). In addition to providing visual analysis, three cases which become the main focus in explaining the social network are; modularity class to show actor groupings, degree centrality and eigenvector centrality to show which actors possess the influence in the network (Blondel et al., 2008). As explained above, the two methods provide a network of influencing actors. Therefore, the descriptive qualitative method stage is used to explore and understand the meaning of a number of individuals or groups of people considering social or humanitarian issues (Creswell & Poth, 2018). In the context of this research, an in-depth interview as part of the Qualitative method to collect data was used to find the agency narrative process during the Omnibus Law discourse.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

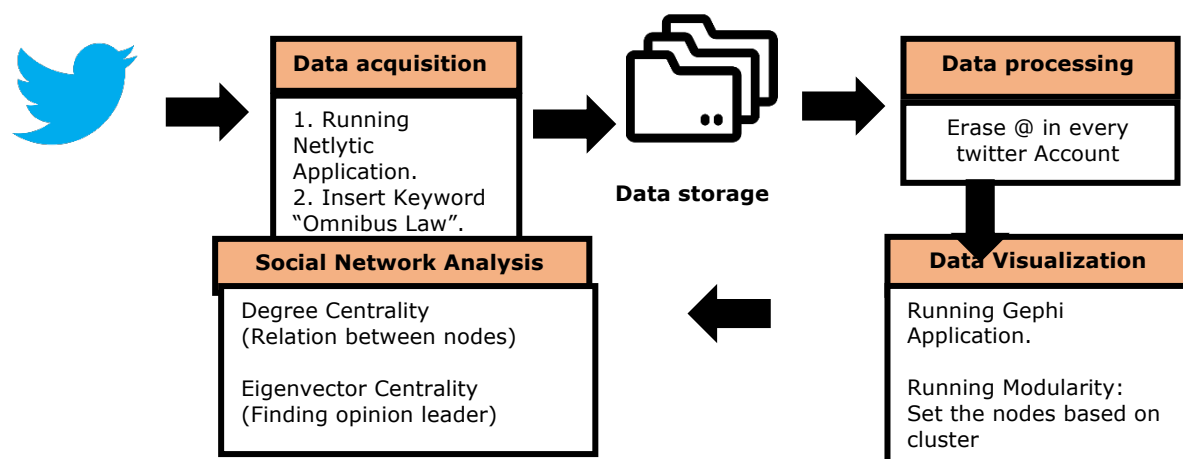
Social Network Analysis

A network of interrelated users is formed in the Omnibus Law discourse on Twitter. A network is a form of social nature that marks the birth and development of a social movement and explains the relationship structure between the members or actors involved (Swank & Fahs, 2017). Meanwhile, Wasserman & Faust (1994) explained that social networks are connections or connectedness between social actors. In addition, the process of how networks are formed consists of several factors; interaction between social movements and media, authority, other social movements, and other elements of society (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004; McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Furthermore, a network can become significant in mobilising the movement in more advanced phases. As explained by Isa & Himmelboim (2018), the network that is formed on Twitter utilises available features such as mention (@) or reply (replying/responding to other users' posts). Hence, the social network analysis that is found in the Omnibus Law discourse on Twitter is as follows:

The Twitter network was formed due to communication or interactions between Twitter users who have similar interests in the Omnibus Law issue. Some of the actors involved are accounts that focus on socio-political issues and civil rights. Some of the accounts are Fraksi Rakyat (the People's faction), Aksi Langsung (direct action) and Bersihkan Indonesia (Indonesia clean). All three accounts are non-profit institutions which consistently highlight the socio-political issues for

public concern. Thus, it is not surprising that these accounts are intensely referred to by other users, both in providing information and expressing attitudes (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Relation framework of Social Network Analysis

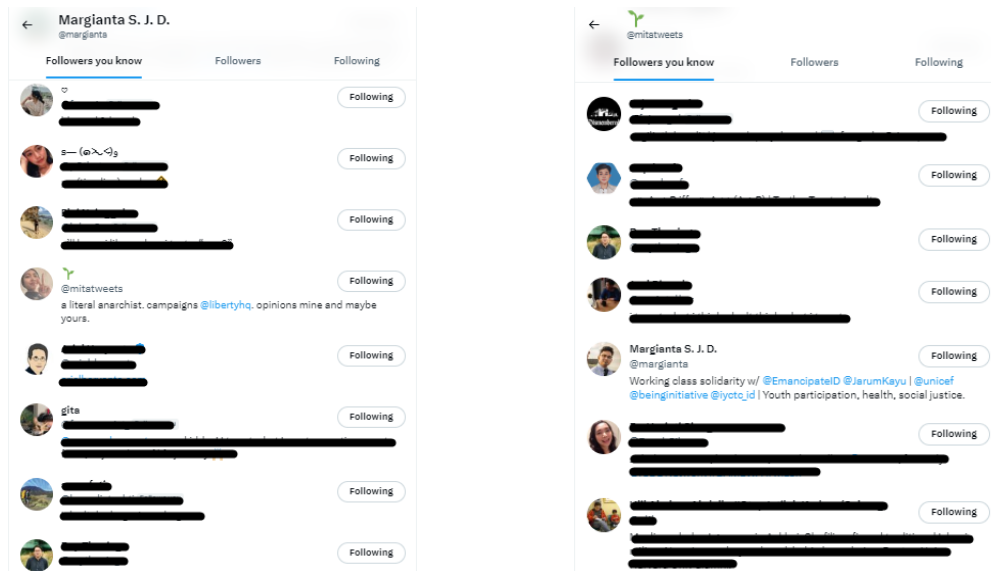


Source: Author (2023)

In addition, in the Omnibus Law discourse on Twitter, several accounts are identified as individual accounts, which also possess considerable influence in highlighting the issues currently being discussed in society. Some of these opinion leaders, both in the real-life world and in the virtual world, receive a connection because they are concerned about the issues related to democracy and human rights. Opinion leaders can see the evidence of the link between these actors who are following one another on their respective social media accounts. On the other hand, these actors consistently used the same hashtag to amplify the issues raised at the time, one of which drew the public's attention the most was #tolakomnibuslaw.

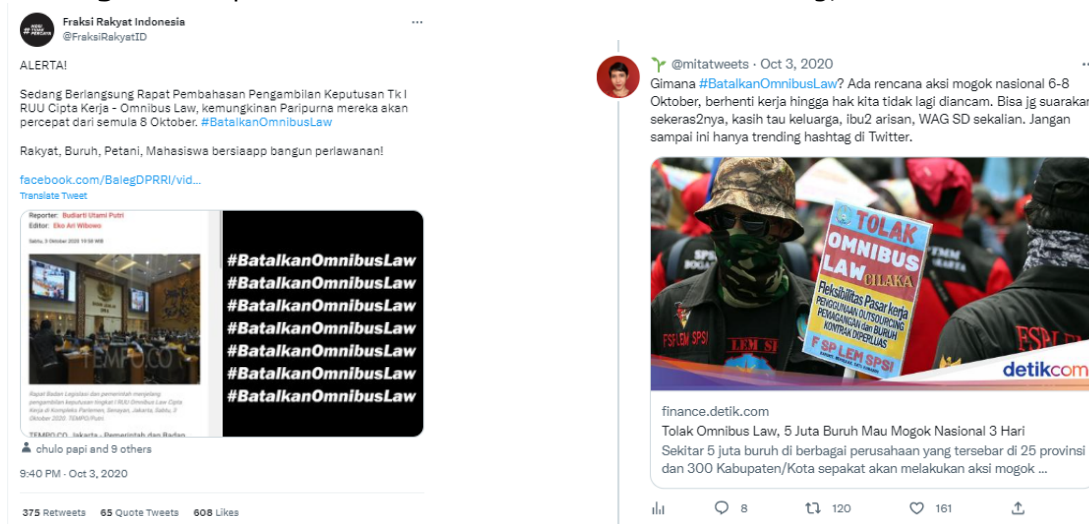
Some accounts that are intensely referred to by their opinions are @Lini_ZQ, @mitatweets and @margianta (Figure 2). These accounts actively align with the issues considered to hurt society, one of which is the issue raised in this research, namely the Omnibus Law Bill. In order to analyse the social networks in the digital realm in depth, especially on social media Twitter, this research provides an overview of social networks analysis related to the Omnibus Law discourse by identifying groups of actors and opinion leaders with evidence of the connections that exist (Figure 3). This study uses statistical calculations to prove the formed digital social network, including degree centrality, modularity and eigenvector centrality (Blondel et al., 2008).

Figure 2. Mitatweets and Margianta as opinion leaders in Omnibus Law Bill rejections movement. The two accounts follow each other



Source: Author (2023)

Figure 3. Opinion Leaders that utilise the same hashtag, #tolakomnibuslaw



Source: Author (2023)

From the results of data visualising through the Gephi application, 125 nodes (actors) and 346 edges (connections) were identified. In addition, by calculating the modularity of 14 groups of actors with different compositions of actors, it was found that the first group, with the highest percentage of 27.93%, consisted of 15 actors. FraksiRakyatID is the account with the most mentioned by other actors in this group. This shows how the information and tweets produced by the FraksiRakyatID significantly impact other Twitter users. Apart from that, there are accounts with a background in student organisations or communities, namely @melawanipb. Meanwhile, the members of this group are occupied mainly by individual accounts.

Following in second place with the modularity of 15.82% consisting of 18 actors is @Lini_ZQ, the most referenced actor with a

significant connection. Meanwhile, the other accounts consist of individual accounts that positively respond to the questions produced by Lini_ZQ. The third group, with a modularity score of 13.01%, consists of 5 actors with accounts named @mitatweets who greatly influence the group. The fourth group, with a modularity score of 7.4%, consists of 2 actors, with one of the accounts being an alliance of civic organisations called AksiLangsung. The fifth group, with a modularity score of 6.76%, consists of 5 actors with the Bersihkan Indonesia account with a more significant influence. On the other hand, an institution account focuses on defending civil rights, namely LBHYogya.

The sixth group, with a modularity score of 5.87%, consists of 5 actors. @margianta is the significant account that is frequently referred to or gets responses from other users. The seventh group, with a modularity score of 5.48%, consists of 21 actors with diverse backgrounds. One of the examples is @BEMUNJ_OFFICIAL, which is the official account of an Executive student board of one of the universities involved in the Omnibus Law discourse on Twitter. The eighth group, with a modularity score of 4.21%, consists of 8 actors. One of them is a non-profit organisation, namely @Jatamnas, which is quite active in the Omnibus Law discourse on Twitter. The ninth group, with a modularity score of 3.06%, consists of 17 actors. Relatively large actors inhabit even it; the low modularity indicates the low influence of the accounts in this group. The tenth and eleventh groups possess the same amount of modularity, namely 2.55%. The twelfth group, with a modularity score of 1.91%, consists of 6 actors and the last two groups with the same modularity score of 1.28%, each with five actors (group thirteenth) and four actors (group fourteenth).

The visualisation at Figure 4 shows the network of actors during the discourse on rejecting the Omnibus Law Bill. Each colour indicates a group or cluster of actors, while the arrows indicate actors whose opinions are mentioned by other actors—the more arrows pointing to an actor, the greater the actor's influence. The figure also shows that these actors are referred to by nodes outside the group. For example, the arrow pointing to the @Lini_ZQ account consists of several groups or clusters. This shows how much support was shown to @Lini_ZQ concerning the uploads and information she conveyed during the discourse on rejecting the Omnibus Law Bill.

The researcher uses the degree centrality analysis method to analyse the connection during the interaction on Omnibus Law discourse on Twitter. In the Degree Centrality analysis, @FraksiRakyatID accounts for possessing the most connectivity by 185 connections. Followed by the @Lini_ZQ account, an individual account, @mitatweets, with 119 connections, is in third place. The fourth and fifth positions are occupied by non-profit organisations or non-governmental organisations (NGOs), namely @bersihkanindonesia with 79 connections and @AksiLangsung with 68 connections. Below is the table of degree centrality analysis results (Table 1).

Table 3. Actors with the highest score of *out-degree* analysis in Omnibus Law rejection's discourse

No	Nodes	Out Degree
1.	Hari_14regar	25
2.	Mayagustiani03	20
3.	Media_pengamat	16
4.	Tonggosmovic	16
5.	SuryaBorneo	16

Source: Author (2023)

In the Eigenvector centrality analysis (Table 4), @FraksiRakyatID take the first place with the most influence shown by the highest score of eigenvectors. The second place is @Lini_ZQ, an activist who put their attention on civil issues, and one of them is gender equality, possessing the second most significant influence. The other account also identified in this analysis; some are @Jatamnas, @BersihkanIndonesia, and @EnterNusantara, a non-profit organisation. Meanwhile, @DPR_RI is the only governmental state institution with influence in the discourse is DPR_RI. In addition, individual accounts also possess significant influence, such as; @mitatweets and @margianta.

Table 4. Eigenvector centrality or the degree of actor's influence in Omnibus Law rejection's discourse

No	Nodes	Eigenvector
1.	FraksiRakyatID	1
2.	Lini_ZQ	0.784727
3.	Jatamnas	0,605707
4.	DPR_RI	0,597958
5.	Margianta	0,555732
6.	enter_nusantara	0,466051
7.	Mitatweets	0,457187
8.	Bersihkan_indo	0,434646
9.	Najwashihab	0,409381
10.	TrendAsia_Orga	0,377449

Source: Author (2023)

Agency Narrative on Omnibus Law discourse on Twitter

In the Omnibus Law discourse on Twitter, the hashtag is used as an expression dominated by rejection and support for refusing to pass the *Undang-Undang Cipta Kerja*. In analysing the agency narrative in this study, Campbell's five criteria were: participation, points of articulation, effected on artistry, form and agency that can turn into condescending acts. Using Campbell's (2005) framework, the Omnibus Law discourse on Twitter can be categorised into "communal and social" because it takes place in a communal social media platform, starting from Twitter and then branching out to other digital platforms.

Hashtags are one of the features used by Twitter users to make the discourse more intense and spread some issues through social networks. In its distribution, this shows an expression of rejection in the form of a few hashtags; #tolakomnibuslaw, #CabutOmnibusLaw, #batalkanomnibuslaw, a communal effort by the Twitter users to raise awareness of the polemic on the ratification of the *RUU Cipta Kerja*.

Through these hashtags, interactions between users referred to and responses from other Twitter users, both personal and anonymous, are also visible, which have enlivened the Omnibus Law discourse on Twitter. This form of participation from Twitter users is documented through hashtags and the first Campbell criterion.

The second criterion is the articulation point in persuading or influencing Twitter users. Accounts or Twitter users not only compose statements but also support other ideas with a number of pieces of information so that other Twitter users get alternative information, and it could convince them that the existence of the *RUU Cipta Kerja* has harmed the wider community. This situation is in line with the research conducted by Gong in 2015, which discusses the importance of generating emotions in digital activism and using those emotions to create anger about the issues, as well as the interactions for support. The third criterion is effected through artistry, through a variety of varied information such as; e-posters, infographics, videos, and others, enabling the chances to encourage the participation of Twitter users in responding to the Omnibus Law discourse. It appears from the data obtained that non-profit organisations and activists concerned with the Omnibus Law issue can influence Twitter users to reject the ratification of the Omnibus Law or the *RUU Cipta Kerja*.

The fourth criterion is form. In 2016, Yang stated that the narrative form consists of a beginning, middle and end, driven by conflict, and can be differentiated because it is confrontative. This aligns with the Omnibus Law discourse, which clearly shows disagreement by offering various opinions and data. The political conflict between supporters and opponents of the Omnibus Law's ratification is happening on digital platforms, as evidenced by the various existing hashtags.

The last criterion that the agency can be reversed is to be demeaning or belittling. In the context of the Omnibus Law discourse, buzzers and state-sponsored actors delegitimise it, either by personal attacks or forms of digital repressions, such as digital abuse, instead increasing the quality of discussion by building rational and argumentative narratives. This digital repression was expressed by several opinion leaders who rejected the ratification of the Omnibus Law Bill in various forms. The Indonesian People's Fraction (*Fraksi Rakyat Indonesia*) stated that the organisation's Twitter account was banned up to two times for its actions deemed too critical for the government.

There is also another form of digital abuse experienced by @Lini_ZQ as an individual who also became an opinion leader while the Omnibus Law discourse was rolling on Twitter, called labelling. The executors of this digital abuse are individuals who act as state-sponsored actors by building a narrative that Lini_ZQ is equivalent to FPI (Islamic Defenders Front/*Front Pembela Islam*), which is considered an enemy of the State. Furthermore, Lini_ZQ considers that this kind of herding of opinions or labelling has the potential to encourage hatred which can lead to acts of violence.

CONCLUSION

In the Social Network Analysis, the actors who become opinion leaders are individuals with activist backgrounds and actors identified as civil or non-government organisations. This opinion leader is a reference for other Twitter users. This is because these actors can provide adequate information, data and arguments to raise awareness and negative impact on the public if the Omnibus Law is passed. On the other hand, the actors consistently and collaboratively use the same hashtag, namely #tolakomnibuslaw. This is so that the discourse on rejecting the Omnibus Law Bill can continue to be discussed by the public for a relatively long time. Within the Agency Narrative framework, Twitter is a platform that opens opportunities for the wider community to participate. One of them is through the hashtag feature, which anyone can produce. The narrative developed by these opinion leaders shows that digital platforms are an arena of open contestation and provide opportunities for civil actors to match the narrative developed by the State.

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