## **JURNAL STUDI KOMUNIKASI**

Volume 8 Ed 2, July 2024 Page 405 - 416

# Netizens' perspectives on police repression in agrarian conflict within Seruyan, Central Kalimantan

# Martinus Edwin Ferdinand Thanos\*, Agustinus Rusdianto Berto

Faculty of Communication, Universitas Multimedia Nusantara Scientia Boulevard, Gading Serpong, Tangerang, Indonesia Email: martinus.edwin@student.umn.ac.id and Phone Number: +62 21 54220808

How to Cite This Article: Thanos, M.E.F. & Berto, A.R. (2024). Netizens' perspectives on police repression in agrarian conflict within Seruyan, Central Kalimantan. *Jurnal Studi Komunikasi*, 8(2). doi: 10.25139/jsk.v8i2.8265
Received: 13-05-2024, Revision: 31-05-2024, Acceptance: 24-06-2024, Published online: 30-07-2024

**Abstract** As an agricultural country, Indonesia utilises the land management sector of the community to realise welfare. However, the implementation in the community often causes conflict, as in Seruyan Regency, Central Kalimantan. This research aims to determine how Computer-Mediated Discourse Analysis (CDMA) can show community responses related to conflicts that occur in Bangkal Village, Seruyan Regency, Central Kalimantan. There were five accounts divided into two groups, which dominated and succeeded in providing a stimulus for other social media users to comment on the conflict that occurred. The analysis was conducted using Netlytic with 1074 nodes and 1214 edges. The results of the study found that netizens who commented on KOMPASTV uploads based on context provided views that created their perceptions of the conflict that occurred.

**Keywords**: agrarian; computer-mediated discourse analysis; degree centrality; social network analysis

#### INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is an agrarian and maritime country which makes the land management sector one of the main areas of focus for providing welfare to the people. This is because the industry creates jobs, export opportunities for domestic products, and state revenue from gross domestic product (Hidayah et al., 2022). Indonesia's popularity as an agricultural country is due to its 40% of the population being farmers. This is supported by Indonesia's geographical location with a line of mountains that make the soil fertile. A country with natural resources, including available land and fertile soil, contributes to the economy and fulfilment of basic needs in society (Ayun et al., 2020).

Agrarian affairs and land related conflicts come with significant challenges. The Indonesian Farmers Union noted that implementing land management continues to cause agrarian conflicts (Zuber, 2013). Although the legal umbrella in the form of laws and other constitutional products has been issued, it has yet to succeed in providing certainty, especially for the community as the party that directly suffers losses. Continuous evaluation is carried out with various parties to produce comprehensive decisions. Based on data from the Consortium for Agrarian Reform, an independent community organisation that fights for a just agricultural system for the people, as many as 241 conflicts were created in 2023 with an area of 638,188 hectares covering agricultural land, customary territories, fishing areas, and settlements that affected 135,608 households (Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria, 2024).

<sup>\*)</sup> Corresponding Author

Some agrarian conflicts allegedly violate the rights of citizens, such as the right to welfare, the right to security, the right to justice, and the right to life. The Indonesian Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM) recorded 692 agrarian conflicts in various parts of Indonesia until October 2023. Government policies and decisions, both central and regional, have yet to succeed in providing justice for the community. Conflicts in West Kalimantan Province regarding agrarian affairs during the first six months of 2023, Komnas HAM West Kalimantan Province recorded 94 reports related to overlapping land, claims of one object by several parties, boundary disputes, land grabbing, plasma issues over profit sharing that did not meet expectations, land compensation, and others (Komnas HAM RI, 2023). Previously, the National Commission on Human Rights of the Republic of Indonesia published the National Inquiry of Komnas HAM in 2016, explaining the agrarian conflicts in all provinces in Indonesia. Agrarian conflicts, criminalisation, violence, exclusion, deprivation and human rights violations are said to to increase.

Also, land tenure in Indonesia experiences imbalances between the government corporations and the community. Land governance controlled by the community de facto is often not balanced with companies that control land based on formal rules through land tenure licences or policy regulations issued by the government (Guntur et al., 2016). As a legislative body, a member of the Indonesian House of Representatives Commission II, whose duties include Land and Agrarian Affairs stated that structural injustices in agrarian conflicts cause inequality in land tenure in Indonesia. Data records show that 68 per cent of the land is owned by one percent of businesspeople and companies (Sekretariat Jenderal DPR RI, 2022). Not only ownership with a large land area, but small farmers in Indonesia also increased from 55.33 per cent or 14.25 million households in 2013 to 60.84 per cent or 16.89 million households in 2023 (Suara Pembaruan Agraria, 2024). Legal recognition for community-managed land is yet to be received, and this has led to conflicts due to different interests that occur on the ground with corporations. The government's failure to conduct spatial planning is not in accordance with the conditions and needs of local communities. In 2023, there were 160 conflict cases recorded caused by government programs, including land clearing for the development of the National Capital of Indonesia (IKN) in East Kalimantan (Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria, 2024).

Spatial planning is enshrined in law, which mandates each level of government to develop a Spatial Plan (RTR). Most conflicts occur due to the conversion of forest areas into oil palm plantations and the friction of interests between those who want to maintain forest areas and those who will utilise the forest (Setiawan et al., 2017). The dominance of corporations continues to take over forest areas and customary lands in Indonesia, especially in Central Kalimantan. The involvement of the authorities in conflicts drawn by companies is seen as the criminalisation of the community in favour of local residents. However, clarification is given on the grounds of purely criminal acts (Khoirudin et al., 2021).

Land issues often occur because there are differences of understanding between the private sector as managers, the government as policymakers, and the community as a group that depends on the area concerned. As happened in Bangkal Village, Seruyan Regency, Central Kalimantan, residents are demanding rights to PT Hamparan Masawit Bangun Persada (HMBP), an oil palm company (Serikat Petani Indonesia, 2023). The long journey of the conflict began in 2007 when PT HMBP entered Bangkal Village, and there were divisions among residents in response to this. Some community groups accepted PT HMBP's presence in their village, but others rejected it. At the time of the incident, no company representative came to communicate with the villagers about the company's operations. However, Darwan Ali, the Regent of Seruyan, held a meeting and told them to accept the presence of PT HMBP. Darwan promised that the presence of PT HMBP would provide welfare to the residents, one of which was by opening jobs (BBC News Indonesia, 2023).

Development causes social instability and economic decline in affected communities, as in Kilombero, Southern Tanzania. Environmental conservation with investment in agriculture managed by the Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor of Tanzania (SAGCOT) led to violent conflict with local farmers and pastoralists. Bergius et al., (2020) conducted a study on a critical analysis of how the green economy for sustainable development can cause social and economic disruption for local communities, coupled with the narrative that land grabbing is justified for environmental conservation. Wong et al., (2020) carried out a research concept that has existed since the colonial era which delved into Social Forestry, that is defined as a policy initiative to

increase the role of local communities in regulating and managing forest resources. The initial idea of Social Forestry was to empower communities with an entrepreneurial orientation, commercialisation of forest products, and private sector investment. However, communities often do not get full ownership rights, resulting in inequities in access and participation.

The realisation of the promises made by Darwan did not materialise years later. Residents protested and expressed their disappointment, and the matter was resolved with a written agreement signed on October 26, 2013. The agreement contained three points agreed upon by both parties: first, the company would build infrastructure for the residents, ranging from the accessibility of clean water and electricity for homes, the establishment of schools, the provision of educational scholarships, and the creation of fishponds. Second, the company promised to build plasma plantations for the community by January 2014. Plasma plantations are plantations provided by plantation companies (nucleus plantations) and planted in accordance with nucleus plantation crops (Project Multatuli, 2024). Maintenance and management until production is handed over to local farmers, those that are produced from the plasma plantation must be sold to the nucleus plantation company (Badan Pusat Statistik Kota Yogyakarta, 2023). The Mapur Tribe on Bangka Island also experiences agrarian conflicts that harm the community. Due to tin mining and oil palm plantations, access to natural resources such as forests and places to live is increasingly difficult. Recognition of the interests of indigenous peoples has been neglected. However, through the Regional Apparatus Organisation (OPD), the government-initiated recognition of the Mapur Tribe's Customary Law Community (MHA) was not supported by good planning, including the budget. The qualitative research found that the conflict resulted in social divisions, but the countermovement and resistance united around the discourse to gain recognition for the indigenous people (Zulkarnain & Cholillah, 2023).

The agreement was then signed by representatives, first from officials of PT Best Agro International, the parent company of PT Hamparan Masawit Bangun Persada, Wahyu Bima Dharta, Aris Siahaan, and Arief Nasution. Second, Bangkal villagers are represented by James Watt, who is the field coordinator of the Bangkal community, Saptono and Sabin. Finally, Yulhaidir who was the Vice Regent of the Seruyan Regency. Present as witnesses and signed at the meeting were the Head of Lake Sembuluh Police and Danramil Danau Sembuluh. After decades of unrealised promises, the residents protested to demand their rights. The first protest took place on 16 September 2023 and ended in chaos. Another riot occurred when residents held a demonstration in the PT HMBP palm oil plantation factory area on 21 September 2023, and the police in charge of securing the action fired tear gas. The situation escalated again on Saturday, 7 October 2023, and resulted in one person being shot dead and twenty residents being secured by the police. The chronology: according to the police, when security was carried out, there were residents who resisted officers by carrying catapults and spears. Police Grand Commissioner Erlan Munaji, Head of Public Relations of the Central Kalimantan Police, testified that the police were not equipped with live bullets but with hollowpoint bullets, rubber bullets and tear gas. Erlan explained that mediation for conflict resolution efforts had been carried out but had not yet provided anything agreed upon, and the residents would launch harsher demands than before (BBC News Indonesia, 2023).

Some previous studies only focused on problems in the field or conflict locations (Alya Nabila, 2022; Maulana et al., 2023). Alya Nabila (2022), explains that everyone's freedom is regulated by national and international law. Each person's freedom has restrictions on the rights of others so as not to clash. Law enforcers are obliged to respect everyone's human rights, but law enforcers themselves take repressive actions. In relation, the research aims to provide action and protection to human rights victims through restitution, compensation, and rehabilitation and to ensure that similar things do not happen again. Research conducted by Miftah et al., (2023) explains the changes in the rural movement in Indonesia from 1945 to the present. The periodisation of the agrarian movement in Indonesia is divided into three: the period after independence and the left-populist alliance (1945-1965), the Soeharto regime and agrarian corporatism (1966-1998), and the era of reformation and fragmentation of the agricultural movement (1998-present). The article explains that the real challenge to the rural movement is internal fragmentation and co-optation by dominant political forces. In the digital era and the rapid spread of information through social media, it should be noted that a topic, especially related to the land conflict in Seruyan, can change the perspective of the community or audience

on something. The actions taken by the authorities in the Seruyan conflict have the potential to reduce the level of public trust in the institution. Debates that occur in the digital realm often have an impact on the resolution of a problem. Therefore, further research needs to be done to be able to see public reactions on social media. With that being said, this research will use the social network analysis method. The goal is to know the community's sentiment towards the conflict that occurred in Seruyan. The measure used is Degree Centrality to see words and accounts with a dominant network in the discussion of conflict.

Research conducted by Mamahit and Pratiwi (2022) found that in the agrarian conflict that occurred over the Pancoran Gang Buntu II, residents needed media to fight against oppression by companies and the government. The media is a means of reporting problems that focus on human rights violations in Pancoran Gang Buntu II residents. Residents' aspirations can be accommodated, and sympathy from the wider community for what Pancoran residents are experiencing, and it is proven that the media has the power to make these problems attract public attention. The agrarian conflict was experienced by residents in the form of forced evictions with violence and criminalisation by PT Pertamina, the Indonesian Police Mobile Brigade Corps (Brimob Polri) and the Metropolitan Jakarta Special Capital Regional Government (LBH Jakarta, 2023).

History records that the police often take repressive actions during security duties, resulting in civilians being injured or even killed. As a state institution tasked with protecting the Indonesian people, this is certainly contradictory and detrimental to the institution's good name. The public response to what the police do is interesting to note and observe. The theory of *Computer-Mediated Discourse Analysis* (CMDA) is used in this article to find out all forms of human communication with others and computers as an intermediary (Herring, 2004). The method of analysis in this article will use social network analysis to see people's opinions about the conflict that occurred in Bangkal Village, Seruyan Regency, and Central Kalimantan and their perceptions of the police. Based on the background of the problems that have been compiled, the problem formulation is as follows: how can social network analysis show community responses related to conflicts that occur in Bangkal Village, Seruyan Regency, Central Kalimantan? This article will describe the community's perspective on the police in overcoming agrarian problems through YouTube media.

This theory explains discourse analysis that uses computers/the internet as media based on a linguistic perspective. It looks at online behaviour using language observation and interpretation. This perspective is reflected in the application of methodological paradigms derived from the study of language, spoken and written. Such as conversation analysis, dialogic sociolinguistics, pragmatics, text analysis, and critical discourse analysis. Observations of language based on structure, meaning, and usage and how language changes according to context. Computer-mediated discourse analysis is used to examine online behaviour with methodological tools and theoretical lenses used to make observations and interpret the results of empirical analysis. The basic methodological orientation of CMDA is language-focused content analysis. It can be purely qualitative; observations of discourse phenomena in a sample of texts can be illustrated and discussed. Like other forms of content analysis, CMDA researchers must fulfil certain basic requirements in order to conduct a successful analysis (valid, consistent, and persuasive). The researcher must pose a fundamentally answerable research question, select the appropriate method for the research question, and apply it to the appropriate data set.

Indonesia has a geographical area consisting of oceans and land. People who live by the sea are mostly fishermen and sailors by profession. When people live on land, they will do gardening and farming to utilise the land. However, agrarian means everything related to land, including control, ownership, use and utilisation. Land management needs to be done correctly so that conflicts will not occur and cause division. The government's failure to manage land will cause various risks, and this will undoubtedly have a negative impact. As regulated by law, land management is for the welfare of the people. Indonesian Law Number 5 of 1960 concerning Basic Agrarian Principles Article 2 states that the management of natural resources is for the welfare of the people. The issue of land is important because land is the source of life for the sustainability of humans in the region. Unequal distribution of land ownership still occurs in Indonesia, which has led to conflicts over land. As happened in Seruyan, the company, as a party with large capital owners without responsibility, took the management of community-owned

land. When this happens, the community experiences difficulties in carrying out economic activities, and this has an impact on the purchasing power and ability of affected families. Conflicts over land and demands for companies to provide adequate compensation occur because communities, as previous landowners, want to be empowered because of losing their land rights.

Actors and relationships characterise network data. Social network analysis (SNA) focuses on the interactions that occur in each actor that give rise to relationships. The main purpose of social networks is to understand and find relationships between social actors in social networks. In network studies, there is no sampling, but all actors involved in a phenomenon are included, and conclusions are drawn from the relationship of each actor. This requires the researcher to be able to observe and analyse the boundaries of each population (Hanneman, 2005). According Huang (2021) to this approach, various systems contained in social systems are theoretically and methodologically studied by analysing data to find structures and network dynamics and bring up patterns of human interaction. Social network analysis is a method for analysing and providing visualisation of social structures on the internet so that the relationships between one another in the network can be seen. Social network analysis provides insight and shows the use of extensive networks. Social networks can be used or misused by people to achieve certain goals. In order to survive in the face of a difficult environment and the life that must be lived, social relationships are formed not only between individuals but also across geographical boundaries and bloodlines. The role of social media as a modern communication medium has made communication possible without knowing time and space. Communication occurs on social media between actors with tacit information and different interaction patterns. The interaction patterns between actors on social media are interesting to observe. Social network analysis describes the interaction relationship between actors and other actors in social interaction. This interaction depends on how the researcher sees it and what results they want to achieve.

Degree centrality consists of nodes and edges, and then the number of edges directly connected to the nodes is examined. This measure determines one's role in the social network, influence on the network, and information sharing. The resulting indicator is used to classify social network entities according to their position for comparison and understanding (Laghridat & Essalih, 2023). ResearchUmadevi (2013) explains degree centrality is the number of connections between actors and other actors. The actor with the most connections or the highest degree of connection becomes the centre of the network and has the most influence in the network. Degree centrality is the number of connections or interactions a node has. To calculate the number or value of degree centrality based on this node expression, the following formula is used (Sugiarta et al., 2018): CD(Ni) = d(Ni).

#### **METHODOLOGY**

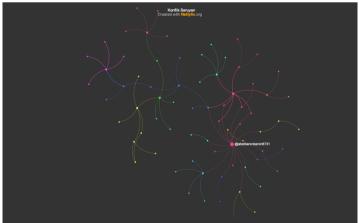
This research uses the Framing Discourse Analysis approach. The framing discourse analysis used is Teun A. Dijk's, in which there are dimensions of the research object, including the dimensions of text, social cognition, and social context. The text dimension is the text structure contained in the text. Social cognition is the view, understanding, and awareness of the author of the text so that a text is formed. Social context is a knowledge of the current situation and is related to discourse (Hamad, 2007). The discourse analysis used by Van Dijk combines all elements of discourse so that it can be used practically. In this analysis, three levels support each other. The first is the macro level, which is the general meaning of a text that can be noticed directly in a text. Second, the superstructure is related to the framework of the text and how the text is organised. Third, the micro level which is seen from the smallest part of the text, particularly words, sentences, and paraphrases (Lestarini, 2021). The positivist paradigm means that the social world can be observed and understood objectively (Keraf & Dua, 2001). Lu (2022) describes the use of modal verbs by five hosts from different countries in the BRICS Talk 2017 program. The study utilised the Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) framework to determine the modality subsystem, including finitive modal operators and adjuncts. It was found that modal verbs have an essential role in expressing power relations and cultural differences in the context of international discussions such as BRICS.

This study uses a population of netizens or online citizens commenting on YouTube video uploads. The content contains events that occurred in Seruyan, and this research will analyse how people respond to issues. Discourse analysis is used in this study, which means a discussion of the relationship between contexts that exist in a text, and discourse is a written language whose sentences are arranged systematically, regularly, and directed ensuring that one sentence is related to another sentence to establish an effective communication. There are also those that form a unified sentence that has meaning. The focus of discourse analysis is on the study of language use, especially the use of language in a social context. From an internal point of view, discourse is studied based on the nature, structure, and relationship of its parts. Viewed from the outside, discourse is studied based on the relationship between discourse and speakers, interlocutors, and objects of discussion. The purpose of discourse analysis is to reveal and understand the linguistic rules that structure, produce, and symbolise certain things in discourse. There are two stages in conducting data analysis. First, the researchers used a website application called Netlytic.org and Gephi, which are used to analyse text on the internet network. They will later find a communication network based on everyone's comments on social media. Then, the calculation of centrality (degree centrality) is carried out to determine the influence of the network and the relationship between actors.

### **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

Data was obtained from KOMPASTV's official YouTube account on Thursday, 21 December 2023 at 10.32 Western Indonesian Time. The duration of the video is 8 minutes 45 seconds. At the time the data was pulled, the number of views of the video was 143,632 times 1.1K likes and 1,497 comments. The data was pulled and then first processed using Netlytic and Gephi 10.1 to get visualisations and data sets for comments made on related accounts. First, data was pulled from a video uploaded by KOMPASTV on YouTube on October 7, 2023, entitled Clash Between Residents and Police in Seruyan Leads to Chaos, Triggered by Palm Oil Plasma.

Of the 1497 comments in KOMPASTV uploads, Netlytic displays 1074 nodes, 1214 edges and 54 interconnected comments and accounts. The most prominent comment with the most interconnectedness belongs to the account @abelbaronbaron6731, which commented on the comment's column of 18 other accounts. The first comment of the @abelbaronbaron6731 account is, "The company has already paid to its superiors". In this comment, there is a writing error that the researchers interpret as the word 'pay'. In the comment, there are the words 'to his superiors'; in this case, the researcher sees that what is meant by the word is the superior of the police who clashed with the residents so that they were victims. Then that way, the comment given by the @abelbaronbaron6731 account means that the company, which in this context is PT Hamparan Masawit Bangun Persada (HMBP), has made payments to its superiors the police who are on quard and clash with residents (Figure 1).



**Figure 1.** Network of related comments Source: Author Data (2023)

The comment from the @abelbaronbaron6731 account is then related to eighteen other comments, the first of which is the @anakclubers3125 account, which comments, "There is no Ih min..there is justice for the company..". The @abelbaronbaron6731 account commented on the

comment given by @anakclubers3125: "It is natural for residents to ask for plasma from the company; their customary land is cultivated for oil palm plantations, where is justice for the small people", containing the demands of residents so that the company can provide agreed rights. The meaning of the comment is a pessimistic attitude of net citizens towards justice, which often benefits the company rather than the marginalised community. The second comment @abelbaronbaron6731 on @arirxking's account, "There is a commander. who kmren2 ngengkeng or arrogant...cb now brave gak tu war sm police.". . The comment from @arirxking1890 is "Ya Allah protect our brothers in Kalimantan @@\_\_\_\_\_\_."

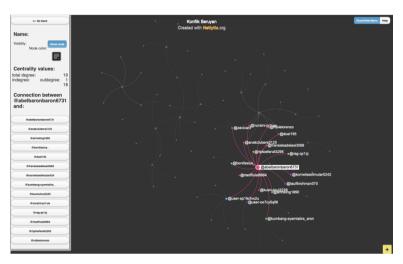


Figure 2. Network owned by @abelbarobaron6731 account Source: Author Data (2023)

Netlytic brings up several clusters that classify account comments; the first cluster is the @abelbaronbaron6731 account (See Figure 2), which is associated with nine comments from different accounts. The account commented on several other accounts that had also commented; the one that had the most relationships was a comment from the @robielorenzo account, which wrote, "Actually, the wishes of local residents around the plantation are simple, such as providing plasma land for them according to laws and regulations which are a form of CSR / corporate social responsibility or social responsibility for the environmental impact of the company, if not obeyed, the company's licence should be revoked HGU". The comment received reactions from @abelbaronbaron6731, @monssy122, and @davidviligiusr7670. The @abelbaronbaron6731 account gave a reaction: "Well, it should be like that min..but how come our apparatus people are now so quiet aseng", the @monssy122 account commented, "@@abelbaronbaron6731 on the hilarious comedy actually, it's easy to give to the community, but how come the police and the governor there are silent? what is the 20% right taken for them? who elected them? Of course, the people there ", and the last reaction from account @davidviligiusr7670, "Now this is the right one".

The second cluster (See Figure 3) displayed by Netlytic is a comment from the @ksatriabijaksana876 account with connections to several accounts. There is one exciting thing in this second cluster, where there is a mutual refutation of comments by two accounts; the @ksatriabijaksana876 account reacts to comments given by the @ujangsalasay3616 account "It is definitely the citizens, but the law enforcement and the government have never blamed the apparatus for inviting war and the companies that pay the apparatus to beat the citizens who are deceived by promises" in the government.

The government only thinks that the fee paid by the company and the apparatus only need money to guard the merits businessman's house; the law apparatus is only a guard whose salary is paid from the pockets of the indigenous people." Then the @ksatriabijaksana876 account commented, "If you are not willing to pay taxes, just get out of the State of Indonesia because the Indonesian Nation does not need despicable humans like you always on behalf of the people who pay the Police, etc !!!". Then the @ujangsalasay3616 account commented on the reaction from the @ksatriabijaksana8676 account, "@@ksatriabijaksana876 we the people pay taxes not for officials who want to be the guardians of the aseng house in seizing our ancestral

lands. But we pay taxes for officials who protect the Indonesian people. If you are one of the officers, I wish you happiness as a guard, but if you are an aseng, get lost from this country because you are a pest in the country. If you are part of this regime, hopefully your brain will be healthy soon, don't be a parasite.". After that the @ksatriabijaksana876 account gave three comments at once on what was conveyed by the @ujangsalasay3616 account, first "@@ujangsalasay3616 you are a pest in this Republic of Indonesia always inciting the people to spread slander and hatred, don't you want to live like a thug without rules if you live in Indonesia. follow the rules and laws, it is difficult to explain the function of the apparatus and leaders to regulate the building of the Nation and State of Indonesia, if the brains of thugs like you, the country will not progress !!!"., second, "@@ujangsalasay3616 if you are not part of this regime, it is certain that you are an enemy of the Indonesian Nation and State, the instigator of the people who spread slander and hatred ... don't live in Indonesia and throw away your citizenship to become a foreigner because it is certain that you are an enemy of the Indonesian Nation and State !!!, third, "@@ujangsalasay3616 you are not willing to pay taxes against the leader and against your own leader as well as against your own Nation and State, you are the Betrayal of the Indonesian Nation !!!". From the debate, it can be seen that @uiangsalasav3616 does not accept that the police who get salaries from the people actually make people miserable when they demand rights, but the @ksatriabijaksana876 account positions itself as a defender of the rules where people are indeed required to pay taxes without worrying about the tax being used for any activities or programs.

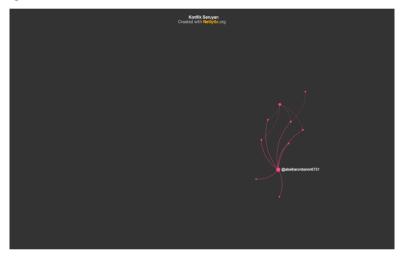
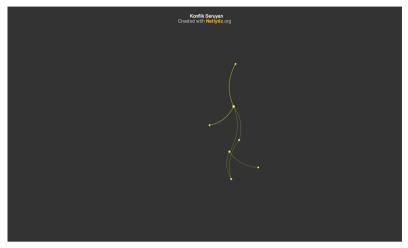


Figure 3. First cluster Source: Author Data (2023)

The third cluster (Figure 4) has seven accounts that have a relationship in the comments given on the YouTube upload of the KOMPASTV account. There are two comments that get two reactions each from other accounts. The first comment from the @emantori3465 account, "What does Indonesia want to be now. the authorities instead of the community oppress and kill the community, the law has been destroyed in Indonesia." Then got a reaction from the @dodyariyo account, "Indonesia remains a State of Lah,,, what do you want to be,,, what do you want to be,,, and what can you do if you are at the scene of the commotion,,," and also from the @warbamburuncing3475 account, "the one who died was carrying a sharp weapon, how come the demo brought a machete, that's the house inviting war, so push. . dead, after all, if you die, it means you lose, right, he invited war by carrying a machete... unless it's just a demonstration, of course it's not a war intention." In the comments given by the @emantori account, it looks disappointing when the police, who are protectors, are oppressing and then the two accounts that reacted seemed to be defending the police because they considered the situation to be very difficult, so it was natural for the police to act firmly against the citizens who were protesting. The next comment that got a reaction in this second cluster was from the @zavicant account, "Wow using a gun, in order to support the people and protect entrepreneurs, you guys are amazing." Then two accounts reacted to @zavicant's comment, first from @fajarialfan8814 "\*It was shot by the firearms of the residents of the gobl0k block, because the residents carried firearms \*", second from the account @warbamburuncing3475 "That's a lie, witchcraft doesn't exist, flying machetes are also a myth, which is not a myth, the mission powder is burned then it explodes and the projectile shoots to kill anyone." However, the comment from @warbamburuncing3475 was a comment to @abelbaronbaron6731's account.

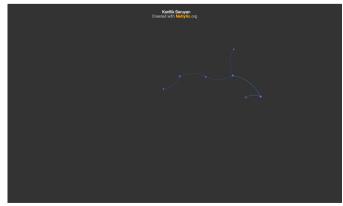


**Figure 4.** Second Cluster Source: Author Data (2023)

People who use social media or are called Netizens are close to news related to the repression of law enforcement officials. This creates a mindset that the apparatus' partiality needs to be questioned, which often makes the people involved in the conflict suffer. On the other hand, there are groups that still want the situation not to escalate by providing a defence that what happened was in accordance with the provisions. However, the pattern of comments is dominated by those who have lost trust in the authorities. As found in (Lu, 2022) the grammar used by a person can be seen as power and culture, in the Seruyan case it was found that netizens have the power to influence the perspectives of other social media users who see their comments. Social media users have a culture of coming together in large numbers to comment on a case that is being discussed. This is evidenced by the number of comments found on Kompas uploads on YouTube on the topic of Seruyan.

The findings in the comments (Figure 5) illustrate that the prospective community is divided into two camps—first, those who sided with the police by commenting opposite to netizens who criticised. Secondly, netizens sharply criticised the police with the view that siding with the community was not visible, but the security forces were more likely to protect business groups.

Then, to see the influence of the network and the relationship between actors, researchers will use the calculation of degree centrality. This degree of centrality analysis is useful for determining the actor who plays the most role based on the number of edges or interrelationships that occur between one node and another node. The table 1 of five actors with ranked values that have the highest degree of centrality.



**Figure 5.** Third Cluster Source: Author Data (2023)

Netizens' perspectives on police repression in agrarian conflict within Seruyan, Central Kalimantan - doi: 10.25139/jsk.v8i2.8265 Thanos, M.E.F.

Table 1. Dataset nilai degree centrality

id	Author	Degree Level	,
431	abelbaronbaron 6731	37	
1293	BruneiBrunei-nb5us	20	
1049	johnltvlog73	8	
1269	babangrachman 581	8	
1059	ksatria bijaksana 876	7	

Source: Author Data (2023)

Based on the table 1, it can be concluded that the @abelbaronbaron6731 account is the most influential actor in KOMPASTV uploads with the title Clash Between Residents and Police in Seruyan Leads to Chaos, Triggered by Palm Oil Plasma. The degree centrality value is 37, second position by the @BruneiBrunei-nb5us account, third @johnltvlog73, fourth @babangrachman581, and fifth @ksatriabijaksana876. This proves that the five accounts are actors who have a very strong relationship with each other. This computerised discourse analysis shows the perspective of social media users in the Seruyan agrarian conflict. Observations of language based on structure, meaning, and usage and how language changes according to context and the community are divided into two groups that maintain their respective arguments. First, the community defended the policy by arguing that the security forces had carried out activities in accordance with operating standards. Second, the community was disappointed with the role of the police, who defended corporations or companies that tended to harm the community rather than Seruyan citizens. The five dominating accounts provided a stimulus for other social media users to comment on the conflict. Social media provides space for people to comment with a broader reach (Figure 6).

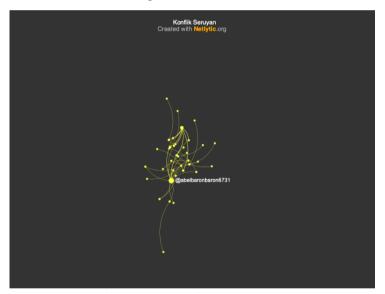


Figure 6. Visualisation of degree centrality of @abelbaronbaron6731 account Source: Author Data (2023)

#### **CONCLUSION**

This research was conducted by analysing the social network on the dataset contained in the KOMPASTV upload titled Clash Between Residents and Police in Seruyan Leads to Chaos, Triggered by Palm Oil Plasma. There were 1497 comments, and then 1074 nodes and 1214 edges were found to interact in the network. Researchers consider using datasets on YouTube because this social media has audio and visual displays and provides an opportunity for someone to comment on what is shown. Social network analysis uses social network analysis with degree centrality calculations. The actor or node that has the most influential role in the social network on YouTube KOMPASTV account with an upload titled Clash Between Residents and Police in Seruyan Leads to Chaos, Triggered by Palm Oil Plasma is @abelbaronbaron6731.

This research shows that net citizens are disappointed with what the police are doing; they should act to protect and protect the community, but what happened in Seruyan was the opposite. This is shown in the results of actor clustering on KOMPASTV uploads related to Seruyan. Based on the social network analysis, the comments in the upload are divided into two

groups responding to the conflict in Seruyan. The first group is people who defend the performance of the police, and the second is those who criticise the police for not taking sides with the community. The first group of comments mentioned that it is the function of the police to maintain the security of the country and condemned those who spread hatred for what the police do. The second group showed people's hostility towards the police for siding with corporations instead of the community. The discussion was sharp because the police used lethal weapons to attack people who were defending their land.

Netlytic displays five clusters in the comment's column, using the Fruchterman Reingold layout mode and actor linkage. The first cluster is dominated by the @abelbaronbaron6731 account, which in every comment column writing gives a negative view of what happened in Seruyan, Central Kalimantan. The account always puts itself in a counter position in every comment given. Rebuttals are given by the account to accounts that give a positive view and seem to side with the law enforcement officials. The second cluster is dominated by the @BruneiBrunei-nb5us account, which provides negative comments about what happened in Seruyan. The account argues that during the four years of government, there have always been repressive actions by the authorities against the community, which have resulted in harm. The government's alignment with the citizens needs to be more credible. The third cluster is dominated by the @johnltvlog73 account, which provides comments in favour of the police. The account argues that what the police did when securing the demonstration of citizens in Seruyan was right, and the emergence of victims on the part of the citizens could not be separated because the citizens were not orderly in expressing their opinions. The fourth cluster was dominated by the account @babangrachman581, who defended the citizens and regretted the police actions that injured them citizens. Comments were given by the account with the assessment that the police should not carry firearms when securing civilian protests. Fifth, the cluster dominated by the @ksatriabijaksana876 account gave comments defending the police. In the comments given, the account considers that there are parties who deliberately make the situation more complicated and believe the police are present to maintain public order.

The limitation of this research is that it needs to be conducted comprehensively, and there is no dataset comparison on related issues. Researchers only analysed one upload from one source which cannot represent what happened because no research has been done on other uploads. The analysis is only carried out using one machine that has limited data visualisation so that what is displayed is only a summary of the dataset. Suggestions for future researchers can analyse several uploads so that the results are more comprehensive and valid because there is comparative data and can use more than one analysis engine so that the results become more accurate and precise.

#### **REFERENCES**

Alya Nabila. (2022). Penerapan Nilai Hak Asasi Manusia Dalam Perlindungan Demonstran dari Penggunaan Kekerasan oleh Aparat Penegak Hukum. *Jurist-Diction*, 5(4), 1211-1224. https://doi.org/10.20473/jd.v5i4.37306

Ayun, Q., Kurniawan, S., & Saputro, W. A. (2020). Perkembangan konversi lahan pertanian di bagian negara agraris. Jurnal Ilmu Pertanian Tropika Dan Subtropika.

Badan Pusat Statistik Kota Yogyakarta. (2023). Perkebunan. Https://Jogjakota.Bps.Go.ld/Subject/54/Perkebunan.Html#:~:Text=Kebun%20plasma%20adalah%20kebun%2 0yang,Dikelola%20kebun%20inti%20hingga%20berproduksi.

BBC News Indonesia. (2023). Konflik sawit dan penembakan berujung kematian warga di Seruyan: Akar persoalan muncul belasan tahun lalu, kenapa tak kunjung selesai? https://www.Bbc.Com/Indonesia/Indonesia-67052295.

Bergius, M., Benjaminsen, T. A., Maganga, F., & Buhaug, H. (2020). Green economy, degradation narratives, and land-use conflicts in Tanzania. *World Development*, 129, 104850. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2019.104850

Guntur, I. G. N., Syaifullah, A., & Mariana, A. (2016). Pengakuan hukum terhadap penguasaan tanah masyarakat adat di kawasan hutan kalimantan tengah.

Hamad, I. (2007). Lebih Dekat dengan Analisis Wacana. *MediaTor*.

Hanneman, R. A. (2005). Introduction to Social Network Methods.

Herring, S. C. (2004). Computer-Mediated Discourse Analysis. In *Designing for Virtual Communities in the Service of Learning* (pp. 338-376). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511805080.016

Hidayah, I., Yulhendri, & Susanti, N. (2022). Peran Sektor Pertanian dalam Perekonomian Negara Maju dan Negara Berkembang: Sebuah Kajian Literatur. *Jurnal Salingka Nagari*.

Huang, C. (2021). Correlations of online social network size with well-being and distress: A meta-analysis. *Cyberpsychology: Journal of Psychosocial Research on Cyberspace*, 15(2). https://doi.org/10.5817/CP2021-2-3 Keraf, A. S., & Dua, M. (2001). *Ilmu Pengetahuan Sebuah Tinjauan Filosofis*.

Netizens' perspectives on police repression in agrarian conflict within Seruyan, Central Kalimantan - doi: 10.25139/jsk.v8i2.8265

Thanos, M.E.F.

- Khoirudin, M. Z., Erawati, D., & Syamsuri, S. (2021). Hegemoni perusahaan perkebunan kelapa sawit terhadap masyarakat kalimantan tengah dalam penyelesaian sengketa lahan. *Palangka raya international and national conference on islamic studies*.
- Komnas HAM RI. (2023). Komnas HAM Tawarkan Terobosan Penyelesaian Konflik Agraria dan SDA. Https://Www.Komnasham.Go.Id/Index.Php/News/2023/10/19/2437/Komnas-Ham-Tawarkan-Terobosan-Penyelesaian-Konflik-Agraria-Dan-Sda.Html.
- Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria. (2024). Konflik Agraria di Indonesia Tertinggi dari Enam Negara Asia. Https://Www.Kpa.or.Id/2024/02/27/Konflik-Agraria-Di-Indonesia-Tertinggi-Dari-Enam-Negara-Asia/.
- Laghridat, C., & Essalih, M. (2023). A Set of Measures of Centrality by Level for Social Network Analysis. *Procedia Computer Science*, 219, 751-758. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.procs.2023.01.348
- LBH Jakarta. (2023). Warga Pancoran Buntu II Meminta Komnas HAM Untuk Segera Menindaklanjuti Aduan Atas Tindakan Penggusuran Paksa Di Pancoran Buntu II. Https://Bantuanhukum.or.ld/Warga-Pancoran-Buntu-li-Meminta-Komnas-Ham-Untuk-Segera-Menindaklanjuti-Aduan-Atas-Tindakan-Penggusuran-Paksa-Di-Pancoran-Buntu-li/.
- Lestarini, N. D. (2021). Analisis wacana kritis teun a. Van dijk atas lirik lagu "ojo mudik" ciptaan didi kempot. Batra.
- Lu, X. (2022). Critical Discourse Analysis of Modal Verbs in 2017 BRICS Talk–A Perspective of Functional Systemic Grammar. Open Journal of Social Sciences, 10(03), 67-79. https://doi.org/10.4236/jss.2022.103005
- Mamahit, J. E., & Pratiwi, A. (2022). Instagram sebagai media alternatif dalam konflik agraria (studi kasus pada akun instagram @forumpancoranbersatu). Ekspresi dan persepsi: jurnal ilmu komunikasi, 5(2), 191-200. https://doi.org/10.33822/jep.v5i2.4382
- Maulana, M. I., Hardiansyah, M. R., Andira, M., Maunah, & Haq, M. A. (2023). Persepsi Masyarakat terhadap Penegakan Hukum oleh Polisi Republik Indonesia Pasca Konflik Rempang: Pendekatan Teori Penerimaan Publik dalam Kajian Literatur. Program Studi Administrasi Publik Fakultas Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Padjadjaran.
- Miftah, M., Handayani, S. W., & Kunarti, S. (2023). *Analysis of Government Commitment Regarding the Land Conflict in Indonesia* (pp. 467-479). https://doi.org/10.2991/978-2-38476-164-7\_43
- Project Multatuli. (2024). Konflik Kebun Plasma di Seruyan: Sawit Seharga Nyawa. Https://Projectmultatuli.Org/Konflik-Kebun-Plasma-Di-Seruyan-Sawit-Seharga-Nyawa/.
- Sekretariat Jenderal DPR RI. (2022). Saan Mustopa: Ketimpangan Penguasaan Tanah Sudah Akut. Https://Www.Dpr.Go.ld/Berita/Detail/Id/40686/t/Saan+Mustopa%3A+Ketimpangan+Penguasaan+Tanah+Sudah+Akut.
- Serikat Petani Indonesia. (2023). Solidaritas Serikat Petani Indonesia dengan Petani & Masyarakat Hukum Adat di Bangkal, Seruyan, Kalimantan Tengah: "Konflik Agraria Meregang Nyawa, tak lama setelah Perpres Percepatan Pelaksanaan Reforma Agraria disahkan." Https://Spi.or.Id/Solidaritas-Serikat-Petani-Indonesia-Dengan-Petani-Masyarakat-Hukum-Adat-Di-Bangkal-Seruyan-Kalimantan-Tengah-Konflik-Agraria-Meregang-Nyawa-Tak-Lama-Setelah-Perpres-Percepatan-Pelaksanaan-Ref/.
- Setiawan, E. N., Maryudi, A., Purwanto, R. H., & Lele, G. (2017). Konflik tata ruang kehutanan dengan tata ruang wilayah. Bhumi: Jurnal Agraria Dan Pertanahan.
- Suara Pembaruan Agraria. (2024). Asa dari Tanah-tanah Konflik Agraria. Https://Www.Kpa.or.Id/2024/01/24/Asa-Dari-Tanah-Tanah-Konflik-Agraria/.
- Sugiarta, A. I., Syamsuar, D., & Negara, E. S. (2018). Analisis Sentralitas Aktor pada Struktur Jaringan Politik dengan Menggunakan Metode Social Network Analysis (SNA): Studi Kasus Group Facebook Lembaga Survei Sosial Media. Seminar Nasional Teknologi Informasi Dan Komunikasi (SEMNASTIK) X.
- Umadevi, V. (2013). Case study centrality measure analysis on co-authorship network. *Journal of Global Research in Computer Science*.
- Wong, G. Y., Moeliono, M., Bong, I. W., Pham, T. T., Sahide, M. A. K., Naito, D., & Brockhaus, M. (2020). Social forestry in Southeast Asia: Evolving interests, discourses and the many notions of equity. *Geoforum*, 117, 246-258. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2020.10.010
- Zuber, A. (2013). Konflik agraria di indonesia.
- Zulkarnain, I., & Cholillah, J. (2023). Agrarian conflict and split recognition: The middle way for recognition of the Mapur Bangka Tribe in Indonesia. *Masyarakat, Kebudayaan Dan Politik, 36*(3), 421-435. https://doi.org/10.20473/mkp.V36I32023.421-435