

**Social Network Analysis**

# **Central Actors in Natural Resource Oligarchy Networks: Based on the Context of Omnibus Law**



**GREENPEACE**

This document is a translated version, from the original title:  
 “Aktor Sentral dalam Jaringan Oligarki Sumber Daya Alam: Berdasarkan Konteks Omnibus Law”

# Table of Contents

Table of Contents	2
List of Figures	3
List of Tables	3
<b>1. Background</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>2. Research Methodology</b>	<b>6</b>
2.1 Scope of Research	6
2.2 Data Collecting	8
2.3 Data Analysis	9
2.4 Methodological Challenges	10
<b>3. Analysis and Discussion</b>	<b>12</b>
3.1 Social Network Analysis (SNA) in the Mining and Energy Sector	12
3.1.1 Actors's attributes within the oligarchic network in the mining and energy sector	13
3.1.2 Actors affiliated with mining and energy companies	15
3.1.3 Actor's Relational structure wihtin the network in the mining and energy sector	18
3.2 Analysis of Social Networks (SNA) in the Plantation Sector	26
3.2.1 Attributes of actors in oligarchic networks in the plantation sector	27
3.2.2 Actors affiliated with oil palm plantations in forest areas	29
3.2.3 Actor's relational structure within the network in the plantation sector	33
3.3 Social Network Analysis (SNA) in the Utilization of Natural Resources	41
3.3.1 Actors' Attribute within the oligarchic networks in the utilization of Natural Resources	41
3.3.2 Actors affiliated with mining, energy, and oil palm plantation companies	44
3.3.3 Actors' relational structure within the network in the utilization of natural resources	48
<b>4. Conclusion</b>	<b>56</b>
References	57

## List of Figures

Figure 1. Categories of actors in the mining and energy sector based on their membership in political parties	13
Figure 2. Categories of actors in the mining and energy sector based on their functional positions	14
Figure 3. Proportion of actor's designations in mining and energy companies	15
Figure 4. Network of actors in connection with mining and energy companies	17
Figure 5. Actors connected with other actors in the same company	17
Figure 6. Centrality of levels in the network of actors in the mining and energy sector	19
Figure 7. Centrality of intermediaries in the network of actors within the mining and energy sector	22
Figure 8. Network of actors with the highest level and/or intermediary score in the mining and energy sectors	25
Figure 9. Categories of actors in the oil palm plantation sector based on their membership in political parties	27
Figure 10. Categories of actors in the oil palm plantation sector based on their functional positions	27
Figure 11. Proportion of the actors' designations in oil palm plantation companies	28
Figure 12. Network of actors in connection with oil palm plantations	29
Figure 13. Actors connected to other actors in the same plantation	32
Figure 14. Centrality of levels in the network of actors within the oil palm plantation sector	34
Figure 15. Centrality of intermediary in network of actors within the oil palm plantation sector	36
Figure 16. Network of actors with the highest level and/or intermediary score in the oil palm plantation sector	38
Figure 17. Categories of actors in oligarchic networks based on their membership in political parties	42
Figure 18. Categories of actors in oligarchic networks based on their functional positions	43
Figure 19. Proportion of the actors' designation in companies within the natural resources sector	43
Figure 20. Network of actors with companies in the natural resource sector	45
Figure 21. Actors connected to other actors in the same company within the natural resource sector	47
Figure 22. Centrality of levels in the network of actors of utilizing Natural Resource	49
Figure 23. Centrality of intermediaries in the network of actors utilizing Natural Resources	50
Figure 24. Network of actors with highest level and/or intermediary score in the utilization of natural resources	54

## List of Tables

Table 1. Actors with the highest degree score in the network with companies	16
Table 2. Descriptive statistics of actor network in the mining and energy sector	18
Table 3. Actors with the highest degree score in the network within the mining and energy sector	20
Table 4. Actors with the highest degree of intermediary in the actor network	23
Table 5. Actors with the highest degree score in the actor-company relation network	30
Table 6. Descriptive statistics of actor relational network in the oil palm plantation sector	33
Table 7. Actors with the highest degree score in the network with the oil palm plantation sector	35
Table 8. Actors with the highest degree of intermediary in the network within the mining and energy sector	37
Table 9. Actors with the highest degree scores in the network of actor-company relations	46
Table 10. Descriptive statistics of the actor relational network related to natural resource utilization	48
Table 11. Actors with the highest degree score within the network of natural resources utilization	51
Table 12. Actors with the highest degree of intermediary in the network related to natural resources utilization	53

# 01.

## Background

Political, economic conditions in Indonesia today indicate distortion of the state domain into the private sectors. The rhetoric about “service to the state” presupposes that Politically Exposed Persons (PEP) will act in the broad public interest, even though, in reality, their behavior can be explained more empirically through narrower self-interest motives. PEP is a term that refers to individuals who are trusted to hold public office. Practical experience in developing countries shows that entrepreneurs’ or ‘tycoons’ primary motivations are to defend their business interests [1]. Power relations between actors who control economic and political resources for their personal interest are called oligarchies [2]. The important thing from this understanding is that oligarchy gain power relations due to politico-business coalitions, a fluid form in Indonesia that enriches itself by extracting public resources.

The Omnibus Law or the Job Creation Act (UUCK) is one of the legal regulations produced by an oligarchic network whose process does not open the flow of democracy from the community. The Omnibus Law also provides space for large corporations to control policies and regulations with the central government’s permission on Natural Resources and Human Resources at various levels. The investment-oriented Omnibus Law will encourage the dominant corporate power in Indonesia [3]. The process of formulation until the ratification of the Omnibus Law cannot be separated from the contributions of actors in the oligarchic network. Various actors are connected in multiple contexts to produce this regulation. Social network analysis (SNA) offers a way to uncover these power relations through an analytical framework rooted in graph theory. Network analysis describes the structural properties of the network by mapping the interrelationships between actors. SNA understands the social system as a structure built by relationships or bonds between actors [4]. The bond itself is highly varies and can be formed through kinship, work, community, affiliation, etc.





© Rivan Hanggara / Greenpeace

Greenpeace Indonesia activists install a giant “oligarchy monster” during an action at the parliament building in Jakarta. The activity, part of a peaceful protest by Greenpeace, marks the first year since the problematic Omnibus Law on Job Creation (UU Cipta Kerja) was ratified. 05 October 2021. 6°12'27.65"S, 106°48'11.31"E.



© Jurnasyanto Sukarno / Greenpeace

Signs and symbols around the octopus shaped monster show how it latches onto numerous dimensions and aspects of citizens' lives: energy, agriculture, freedom of speech, the lives of indigenous peoples, as well as the weakening of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK). 05 October 2021. 6°12'27.65"S, 106°48'11.31"E.



# 02.

## Research Methodology

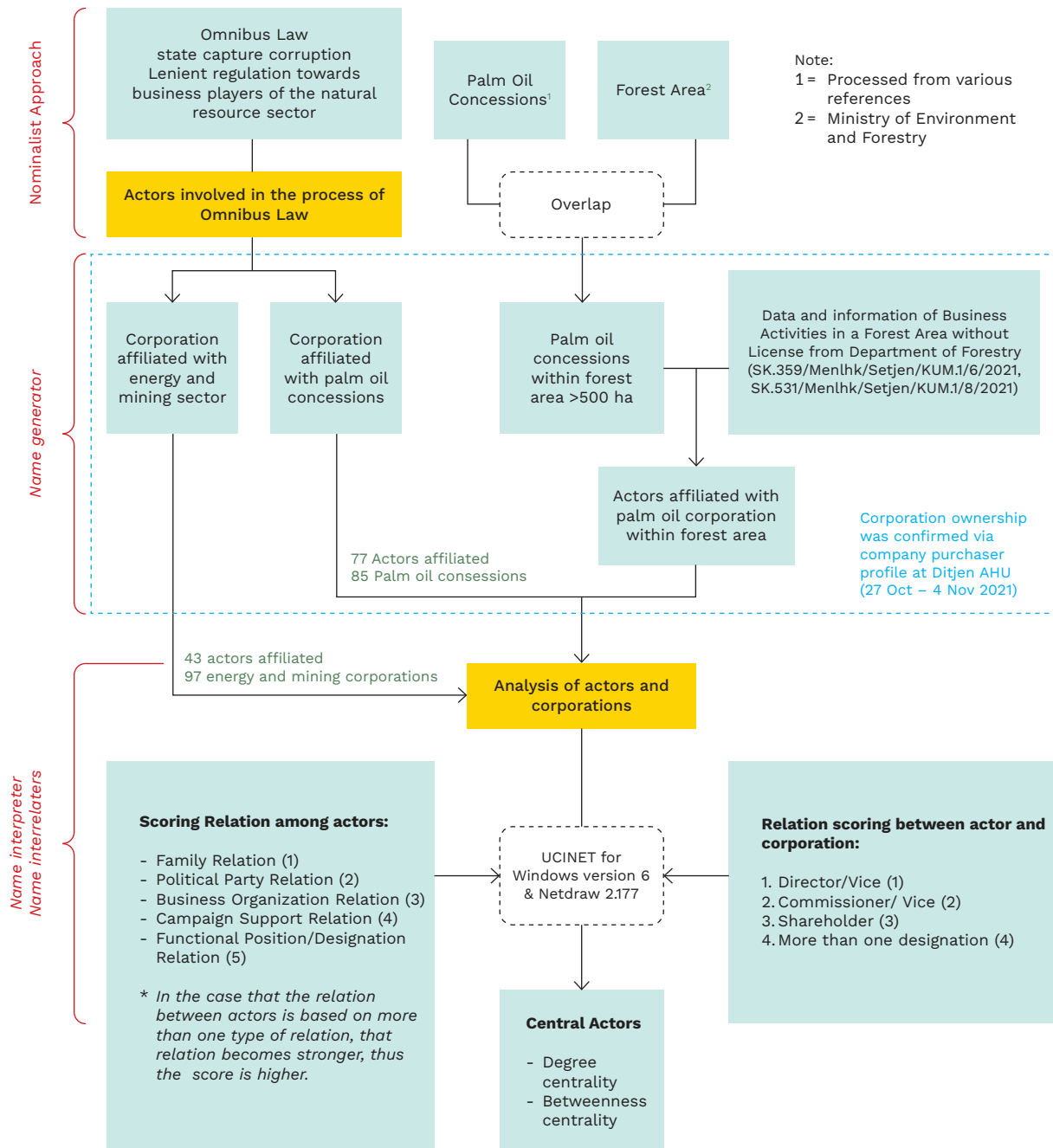
### 2.1 Scope of Research

One of the difficulties of network studies is that network research does not have a clear sample limit, so researchers need to make specific restrictions to determine which network of actors will be included in the study. This study uses a nominalist approach to limiting the network, in which the network and its definition are formed based on the objectives and conceptual framework used by the researcher [5].

This study sees that the Omnibus Law is a form of state capture carried out by the network of actors involved in it. Several articles in this regulation reflect alignments with entrepreneurs in the natural resource sector, such as the mining, energy, and businesses located in forest areas. Therefore, relations between actors who are directly involved in formulating and ratifying the Omnibus Law, including entrepreneurs affiliated

with companies in the natural resources sector, will benefit from this regulation. Therefore, this study focuses on the actors involved in the Omnibus Law process and actors affiliated with companies in the mining and energy sectors, and actors affiliated with oil palm plantations in forest areas. This research departs from the report on the Omnibus Law published by the Clean Indonesia coalition (*Koalisi Bersihkan Indonesia*) [6], Decree No. SK.359 /Menlhk/Setjen/KUM.1/6/2021, and Decree No. SK.531/Menlhk/Setjen/KUM .1/8/2021 concerning Data and Information on Business Activities Built in Forest Areas Without Permits in the Forestry Sector. The list of actors from these sources was then further confirmed through several stages of data collection to produce a network of actors analyzed in this study.

## Research Flow for SNA



## 2.2 Data Collecting

One of the advantages of social network analysis is that it is possible to use data collection techniques with desk study [7]. The data used in this study is secondary data sourced from organizational reports, government regulations, the most updated public information from the **Directorate General of General Legal Administration** (*Direktorat Jenderal Administrasi Hukum Umum/AHU*)<sup>1</sup>, scientific publications, and electronic media news. Network research focuses on questions about actors and the relationships between actors. In general, network questions can be divided into three parts: name generators, name interpreters, and name interrelations. Therefore, data collection in this study was carried out in several stages.

First, the initial stage of actor identification refers to reports relating to the actors involved in the formulation and ratification of the Omnibus Law (UUCK) and the Ministry of Environment and Forestry Decree regarding oil palm plantations in forest areas superimposed with oil palm plantations in forest areas which were analyzed by Greenpeace and Treemap—selected with an area of more than 500 hectares. Based on these two sources, the researcher made a list of actors and companies affiliated with the actors (name generator). Second, confirming the actor's position in the company affiliated with the actor through AHU. Suppose information from AHU shows that an actor is confirmed to have no position in a company or the company's profile is not found in AHU. In that case, the company is not included in the analysis of this study.

Third, when the researcher has gotten the name of the member in the network, the researcher looks for information about the form, type, and intensity of the relationship of each actor and company (name interpreter).

In addition, researchers seek information on various attributes of actors to classify actors into several categories, such as party affiliation and public office. The data is obtained from multiple sources such as organizational reports, scientific publications, and electronic news.

Fourth, describe all relationships between actors and companies and actors with other actors using an ordinal scale (name interrelations). Researchers made several categories to determine the level of relationship between actors and companies, namely:

1. Score one for actors who served as directors/ deputy directors.
2. Score two for actors who serve as commissioners/deputy commissioners.
3. Score three for actors who serve as shareholders
4. A score of four for actors who have more than one position, such as shareholders and commissioners.

In the network, the relationship between research actors determines several categories of relationships, namely:

1. Family relations.
2. Relations within the party, relations between actors in a particular company.
3. Relations between actors in business organizations (KADIN/Chambers of Commerce, HIPMI/Association of Young Entrepreneur, APINDO/Association of Business Owner).
4. Relationships in providing support to the aware/National Campaign Team during the presidential election.
5. Relationships are formed due to functional positions.

1 Company profile was purchased from Ditjen AHU (Ministry of Law and Human Right) during the period 27 October – 04 October 2021

If the relationship between actors is based on more than one type of relationship, when the relationship between the actors gets stronger, and then relationship score is higher. This research

is expected to produce a network of actors close to the field's actual conditions. Categorizing the types of relations used in this research is also a barrier to the actors involved in this network.

## 2.3 Data Analysis

In the analysis of social networks, various measurements can identify the most influential actors in the network. Centrality is one of the most studied concepts. The measures used in this study are level centrality and intermediate centrality. Degree centrality refers to how many direct connections an actor has [8]. Intermediary centrality (betweenness centrality) relates to the number of times an actor acts as a bridge between two disconnected actors/groups [9]. Actors who serve as intermediaries can quickly see the broader information they are translating from different groups.

The relationship between the actor and the company is analyzed using degree centrality to identify the actor with the most affiliated and highest position in a particular company. The more companies and the higher the position in the company, the actor will produce the highest value. The relationship between actors and other actors in the oligarchic network is analyzed using degree centrality to identify which actor has the most connections, and betweenness centrality acts as an intermediary between actors with different backgrounds. Social Network Analysis was analyzed using UCINET for Windows version 6 [10] and Netdraw 2.177 [11] software.

■ Monster Oligarchy that was used to symbolise the Oligarchy in Indonesia seen at the Greenpeace Youth Festival 2022 at Kuningan City Ballroom, Jakarta, on Friday 28 October 2022.





## 2.4 Methodological Challenges

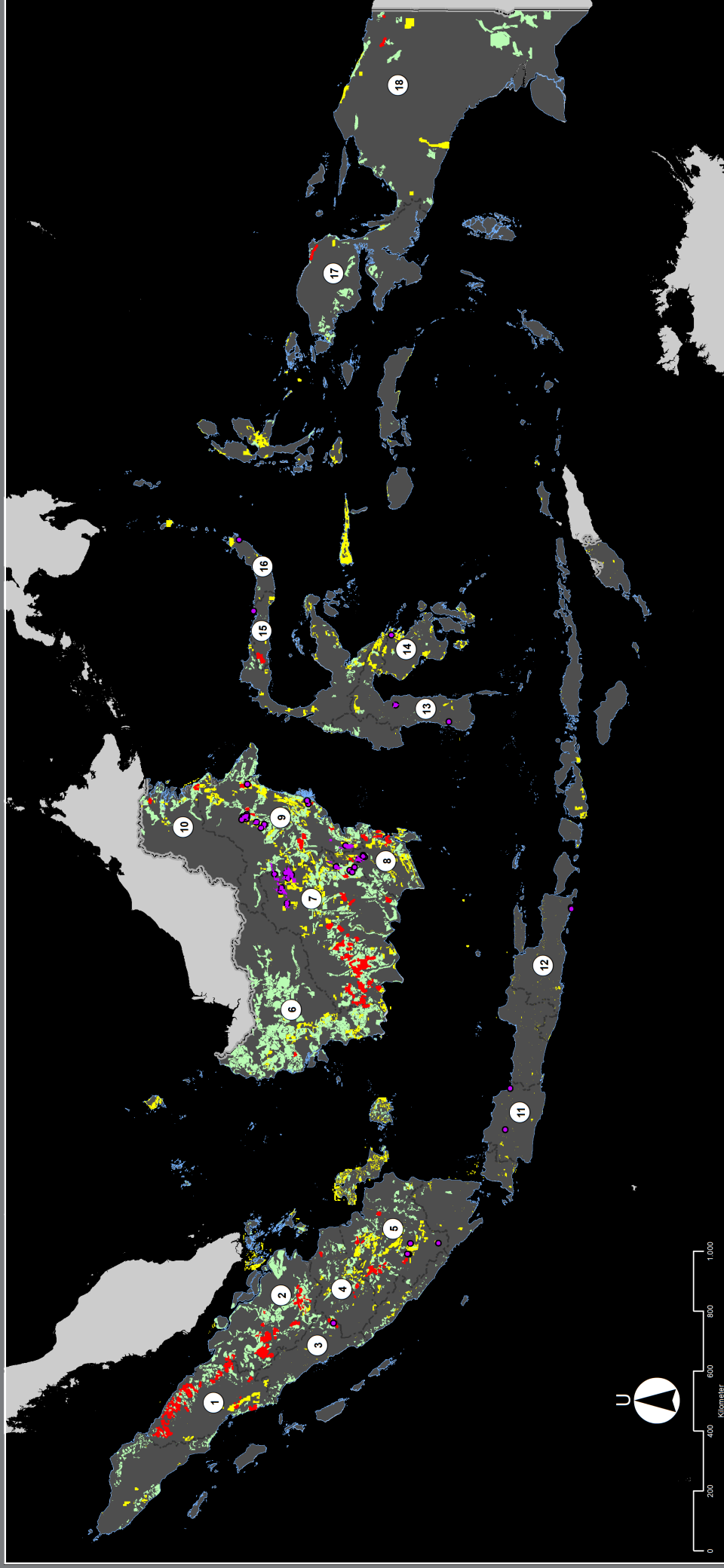
As all studies is bind by limitations, this study also has limitations, especially regarding the data used. The actors analyzed in this study are entirely based on secondary data, namely previous publications regarding actors involved in the Omnibus Law and data availability in Directorate General of General Legal Administration (*Direktorat Jenderal Administrasi Hukum Umum/AHU*). Hidden actors that may informally influence the dynamics of the oligarchic network are not mentioned and are not included in the analysis of the natural resource oligarchic network. This is because the main

weakness of the document data source is that it is not possible to explore data so that the network of actors displayed is limited.

To overcome this weakness, we triangulated to verify the data obtained and reduce distortion of information. The data collected can be influenced by various factors, such as errors in data collection and the ability of the researcher himself to obtain information. The data is from one source and cross-checked through other related research, agency reports, and news from various electronic media.



- A worker carries a sign with a monster symbolizing the Oligarchy during a joint coalition protest against the controversial Omnibus Law bill on job creation (RUU Cipta Kerja) in Jakarta. 28 February 2023.



- Palm oil concessions own by the oligarchy
- Mining and energy concessions own by the oligarchy
- Other palm oil concessions
- Other mining and energy concessions

○ Provinces

- |                  |                    |                       |                      |                        |                    |
|------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. North Sumatra | 4. Jambi           | 7. Central Kalimantan | 10. North Kalimantan | 13. South Sulawesi     | 16. North Sulawesi |
| 2. Riau          | 5. South Sumatra   | 8. South Kalimantan   | 11. West Java        | 14. Southeast Sulawesi | 17. West Papua     |
| 3. West Sumatra  | 6. West Kalimantan | 9. East Kalimantan    | 12. East Java        | 15. Gorontalo          | 18. Papua          |

# 03.

## Analysis and Discussion

### 3.1 Social Network Analysis (SNA) in the Mining and Energy Sector

Mining and energy are a sector that has benefited from the Law on Job Creation (UUCK) passed. There are several articles in UUCK Number 11 of 2020 which show siding with the mining business. For example, article 39 of the UUCK discusses several amendments to Law Number 4 of 2009 concerning Mineral and Coal Mining. Article 39 paragraph 1 inserts one piece in the Minerba Law, namely Article 128A, which states that business actors who increase the added value of coal may be subject to a royalty of 0%<sup>2</sup>. This regulation has the potential to reduce government revenues, especially local governments.

If we look further, the actors involved in formulating and ratifying UUCK are mining and energy entrepreneurs who have public positions/PEP or entrepreneurs related to PEP. Therefore, in this study, actor-network analysis is needed to understand who the real actors behind the Omnibus Law are connected to mining and energy companies and who are the most influential actors based on their structural position in the oligarchic network

---

2 Republic of Indonesia's regulation No. 11 Year 2020 on Job Creation (UU Cipta Kerja)



### 3.1.1 Actors's attributes within the oligarchic network in the mining and energy sector

The data collection results show that there are about 43 actors affiliated with more than 100 mining and energy companies. These actors consist of entrepreneurs who become PEPs and entrepreneurs who are connected to these PEPs. In addition, there are several profiles of companies affiliated with several actors, but information about these companies is not available in Directorate General of General Legal Administration (*Direktorat Jenderal Administrasi Hukum Umum/AHU*), so these companies are not included in this study. However, these actors are still included in the analysis of social networks between actors because they have links with other actors connected to mining and energy companies.

Liquid power relations between politics and business because political parties need entrepreneurs and vice versa so that the connections can benefit each other [12].

Entrepreneurs need politics to protect and develop their businesses. On the other hand, political parties need the role of entrepreneurs to fund their political party. In addition, the closeness of the two parties can facilitate state capture in which public policies will accommodate the interests of entrepreneurs. This network is dominated by political party cadres, especially from the PDIP and Golkar parties (Figure 1). The actors in this relationship consist of actors who have functional positions and actors who do not have positions. Almost all actors have held various positions in government, so the position of each actor is determined by the last position they held. The TNI (Army) category is a PEP who has served or is currently serving in an army unit and has never held a functional position in another category. The Ministry category is a PEP consisting of the Minister and Special Staff.

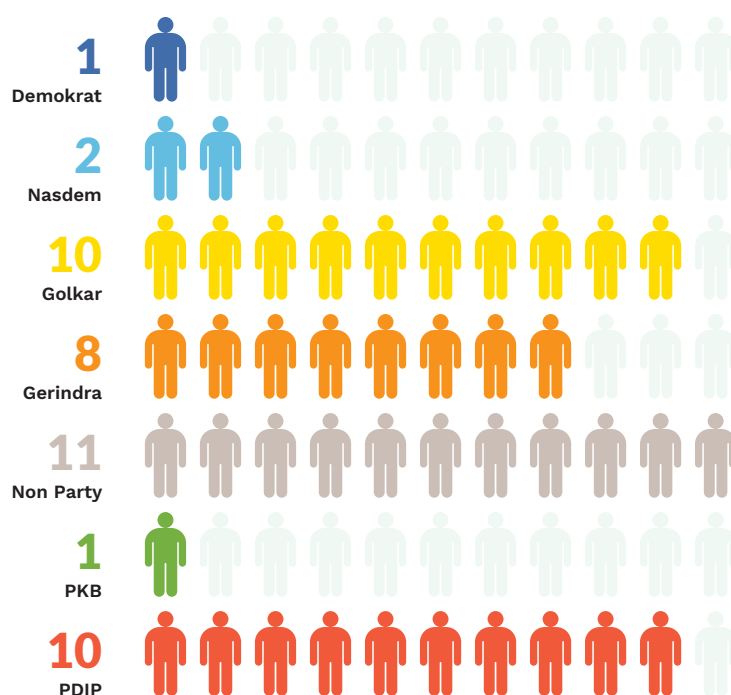
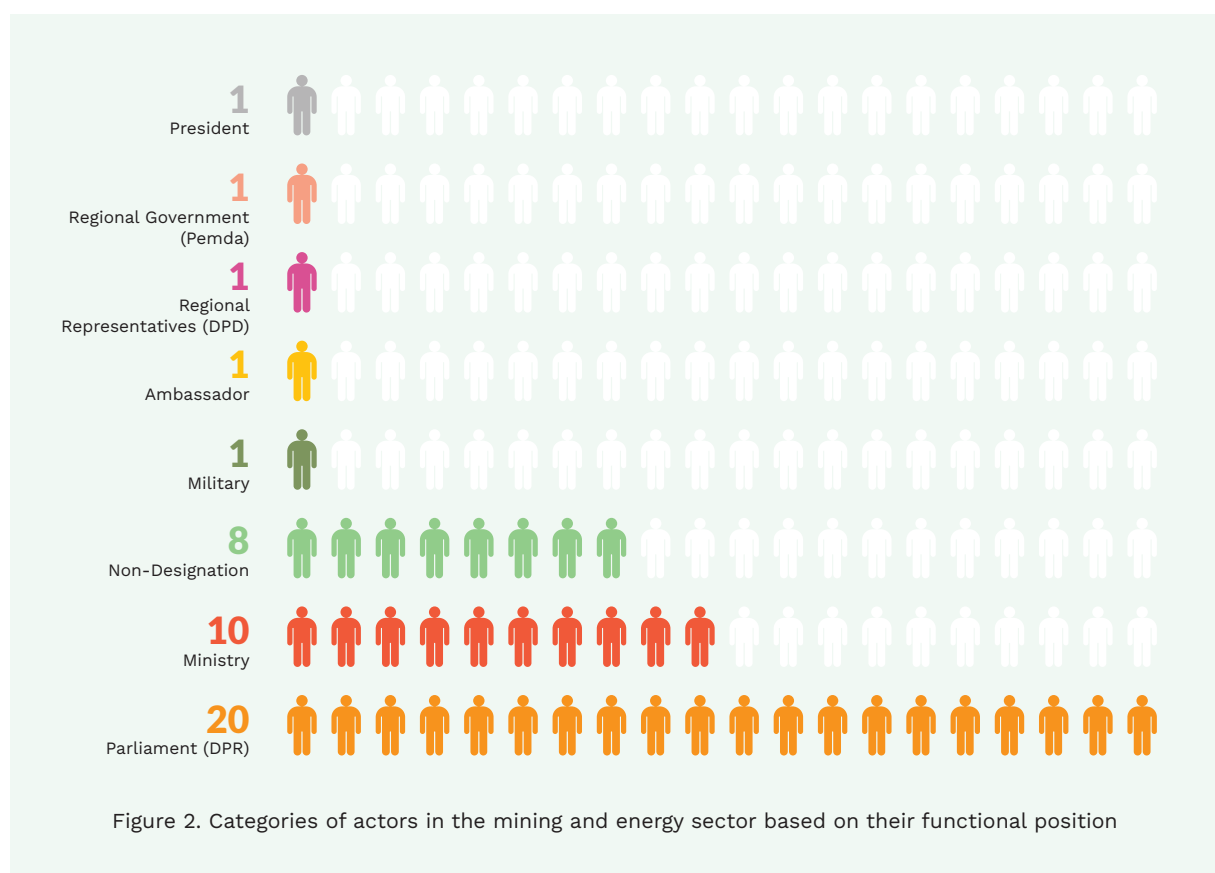


Figure 1. Categories of actors in the mining and energy sector based on their membership in political parties



Actors who have functional positions are mostly members of the DPR (Parliament) and Ministers (Figure 2). The ministers and members of the Parliament identified in this study are PEPs who are still active in office or not. Actors included in the non-official category are businessmen who do not have functional positions but are affiliated with political parties, Jokowi's electoral success team, own mining and energy companies, and are involved in the formulation of UUCK. Eight actors in the network are non-official. This shows that this oligarchic network is dominated

by entrepreneurs who sit in government seats/ PEP than entrepreneurs who do not have functional positions. Suppose it is related to the UUCK policy, which is considered to be in favor of entrepreneurs. In that case, it is clear that entrepreneurs enter the political sphere to launch their business interests through state capture. Entrepreneurs use political structures to design policies, rules of law, and rules of the game in various business or political competitions that benefit themselves and enable them to accumulate capital [13].



Actors in this oligarchic network affiliated with more than 100 mining and energy companies mainly act as commissioners<sup>3</sup> (Figure 3). Companies use independent commissioners who have a political background to solve political problems involving the company [14].

Commissioners who have political ties can also take advantage of their position to influence parliamentary and government policies that can assist the company in carrying out its business activities, thereby increasing profitability and ultimately improving its operational performance.

3 The category of commissioners includes independent commissioners, president commissioners, deputy president commissioners

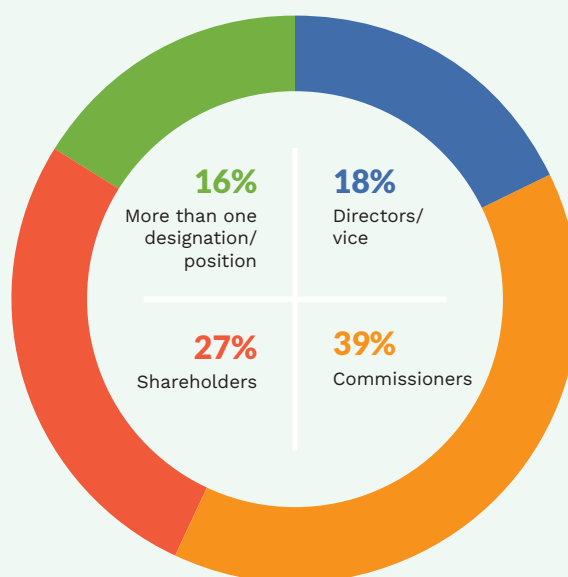


Figure 3. Proportion of actor's designations in mining and energy companies

### 3.1.2 Actors affiliated with mining and energy companies

The results of the SNA analysis show that every actor is directly connected to mining and energy companies except President Jokowi. Although Jokowi is not directly affiliated with mining and energy companies, one of the shareholders of Jokowi's company is a company owned by Luhut. Moreover, since 2009, Toba Sejahtera, a company owned by Luhut, has been one of the shareholders of a company owned by the Jokowi family, namely PT Rakabu Sejahtera [15].

Figure 4 shows the relationship between actors and the company and shows several actors who have positions in the same company. The circle-shaped nodes represent the actors, while the square-shaped nodes represent the company. Larger nodes and labels represent actors with more connections, both connections to the

company and other actors within the same company. The nodes' color indicates each actor's party attributes, so circles with the same color mean that the actors are from the same party. The color on the label shows the functional position attributes of each actor, so the same color label means that the actor has the same position.

The actor most connected to the company is Luhut Binsar Panjaitan, with a value of 36 (Table 1). Value *degree* describes the number and strength of connections an actor has. In this network, the value *degree* describes which companies are affiliated with the actor, not representing the actors' relationship. If many actors are affiliated with the company and have a high position, it will produce a high-value *degree*.

Table 1. Actors with the highest degree score in the network with companies

Actors	Degree
 Luhut Binsar Panjaitan	36.00
 Prabowo Subianto	31.00
 Sandiaga Uno	19.00
 Rosan Perkasa Roeslani	16.00
 Erwin Aksa Mahmud	14.00
 Ridwan Andi Wittiri	12.00
 Widjono Hardjanto	12.00
 M Arsyad Rasjid	9.00
 Pandu Patria Sjahrir	8.00
 Bahlil Lahadalia	7.00
 Syarif Bastaman	7.00

**Luhut Binsar** is the PEP with most companies and is connected with other actors, namely **Pandu Patria Sjahrir** and Lieutenant General (Ret.) Suaidi. There are three companies connected to Luhut and Lt. Gen. (Ret.) Suaidi, namely PT Minahasa Cahaya Lestari, PT Trisensa Mineral Utama, and PT Gorontalo Listrik Perdana. In addition, Luhut is also associated with his nephew Pandu Patria at PT Adimitra Baratama Nusantara. Figure 5 presents a visualization zoom-in of actors who have relationships with other actors in the same company.

**Prabowo** is the actor with the highest score after Luhut because Prabowo is connected to many companies and other actors. Interestingly, all the actors connected to Prabowo in the same company are from the Gerindra party and have positions in the Parliament. Prabowo is connected with Sugiono in three companies, namely PT Nusantara Bara Utama, PT Nusantara Prima Coal, and PT. Nusantara Energy. Five companies owned by **Widjono Hardjanto** are also connected to Prabowo Subianto, including PT Nusantara Energy, PT Nusantara Indelberg Coal, PT Nusantara Petroleum Riau, PT Nusantara Mineral Energy, and PT Nusantara Kaltim Coal. In addition, Prabowo is also in the company PT Tambang Sungai Suir together with Bambang Kristiono and Mohamad Hekal. In addition, Prabowo is also connected with Bambang Kristiono and Soepriyanto at PT Swadesi Nusantara.

Before entering politics, **Sandiaga Uno** was known as a successful businessman in Indonesia. This actor has a high score degree because he is affiliated with many mining and energy companies. Sandiaga Uno is also connected with businessman Rosan Perkasa at PT Tripillar Guna Perkasa and Raden Pardede at PT Adaro Energy Tbk. **Arsjad Rasjid** is also connected with actor Hariyadi Sukamdani at PT Power Jawa Barat. Both are not affiliated with political parties and do not have functional positions.

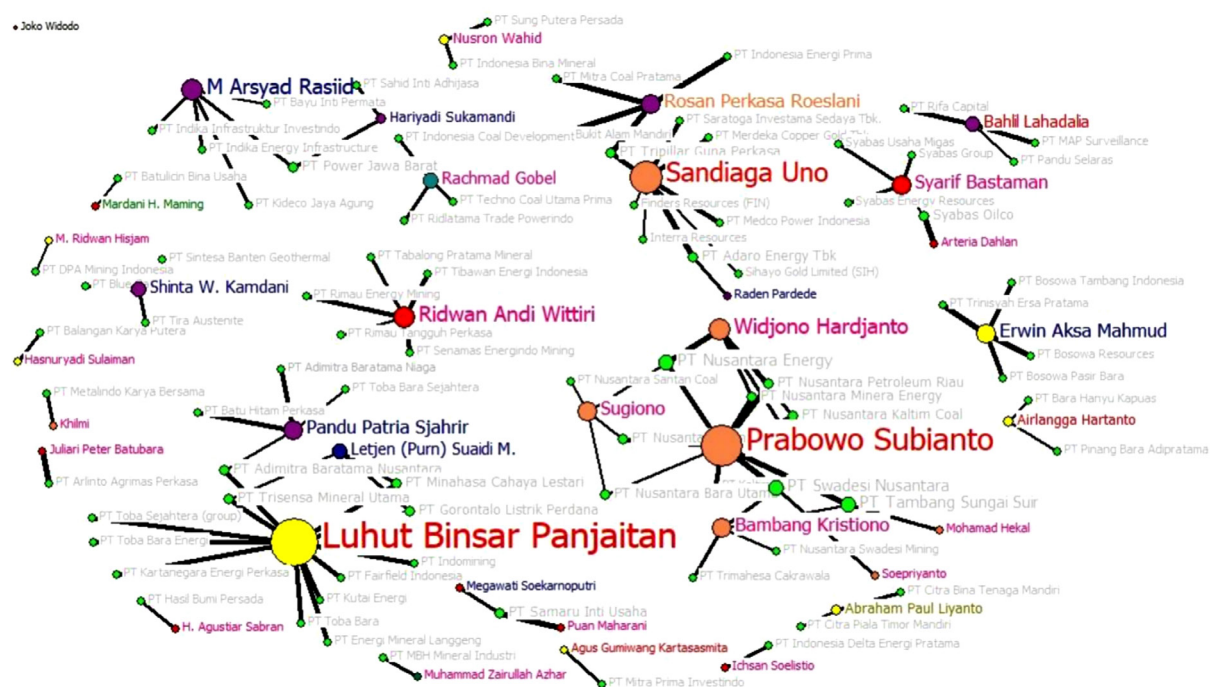


Figure 4. Network of actors in connection with mining and energy companies

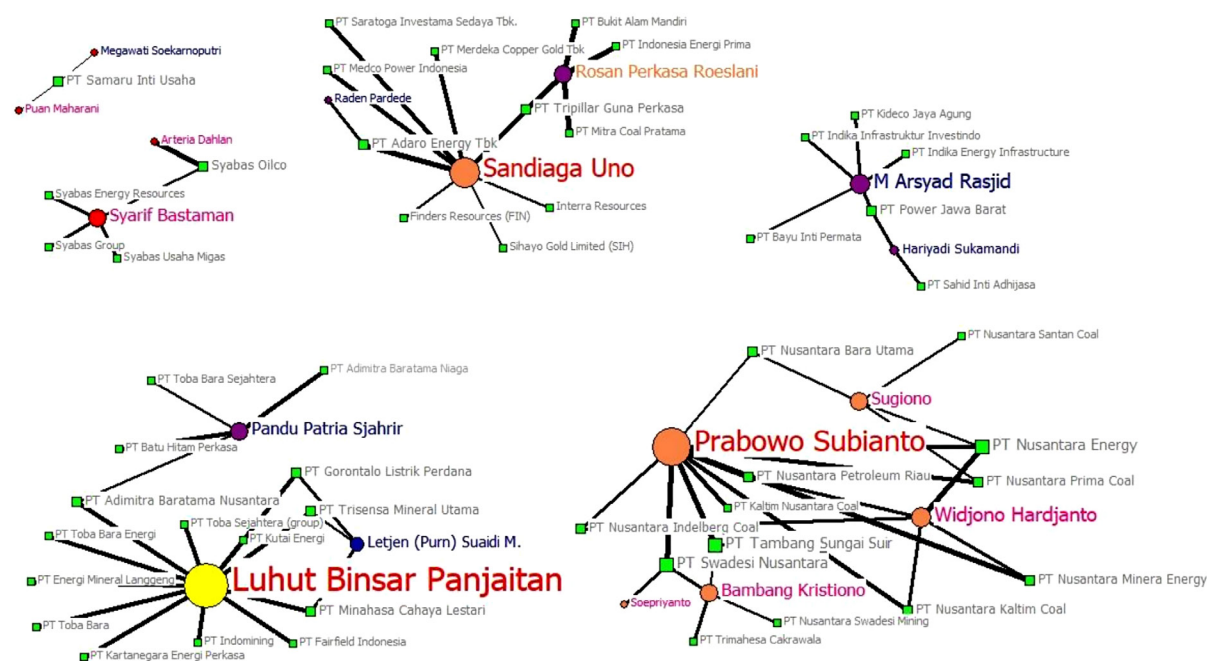


Figure 5. Actors connected with other actors in the same company

Note:

Node Shape	○ PEP	□ Corporation						
Node Colour	● PDI	● Golkar	● Nasdem	● Gerindra	● PKB	● Demokrat	● Non Party	● Company
Label Colour	● President	● Ministry	● Parliament (DPR)	● Ambassador	● Regional Government	● Regional Representation (DPD)	● No Designation	

**Syarif Bastaman** and Arteria Dahlan, from the PDIP party, are also connected to the same company, namely Syabas Oilco. Syarif Bastaman is a former member of the Parliament (DPR RI) Commission IV for 2009-2014 [16], while Arteria Dahlan is a member of the Parliament who is still active during the Jokowi-Ma'ruf cabinet [17].

Whereas the previous actors were connected with other actors in the same company, **Erwin Aksa Mahmud**, **Ridwan Andi**, and **Bahlil Lahadalia** were not connected. These three actors have high degree scores because they have high positions in several mining and energy companies.

### 3.1.3 Actor's Relational structure within the network in the mining and energy sector

Social network analysis identifies the structure of relationships that enable the network to function. In this study, the relationship between actors has different strengths depending on the frequency of communication formed between actors. The involvement of actors in the UUCK formulation process is based on pre-established relationships. Several names of actors in this network are not in the actor-company relationship network, including Erick Thohir, Azis Syamsudin, Sakti Wahyu Trenggono, and Lamhot Sinaga. The company owned by Erick Thohir is not included in the mining and energy sector. Companies affiliated with Azis Syamsudin, Sakti Wahyu, and Lamhot Sinaga have no information available at Directorate General of General Legal Administration (*Direktorat Jenderal Administrasi Hukum Umum/AHU*) or are not confirmed to have a position in the company. Nevertheless, these actors are still included in the analysis of relations between actors because they have relationships with other actors in various contexts, including formulating UUCK.

Descriptive statistics can provide an understanding of the overall structure of the network. This analysis shows a massive and strong network, indicated by the number of relationships formed up to thousands with only 43 actors. The network is also relatively well consolidated, as reflected in its high-density score. The density number moves from 0 to 1, thus more towards one means, the denser the network. This shows that almost 80% of the actors in the network interact with each other.

This oligarchic network also does not show any hierarchical structure in the network. This is indicated by the proximity number close to 1 and the relatively small diameter size. Diameter is a measure that indicates the furthest distance between two actors to interact. For example, a network with a diameter of 3 means that the farthest (maximum) distance between actors in the network can interact, i.e., mediated by three other actors.

Table 2. Descriptive statistics of actor network in the mining and energy sector

Descriptive Statistics	Network
Actor	43
Relations	1,138
Network density	0.729
Diameter	3
Proximity	0.83

Figure 6 provides a visualization of the relationship level, which is a measure that shows the actor with the highest and strongest number of relationships compared to other actors. Thicker lines indicate stronger relationships. Larger nodes and labels represent actors with a higher number of connections. Figure 6 also highlights that actors from the same party have the same node color and actors with the same functional position have the same shape node.



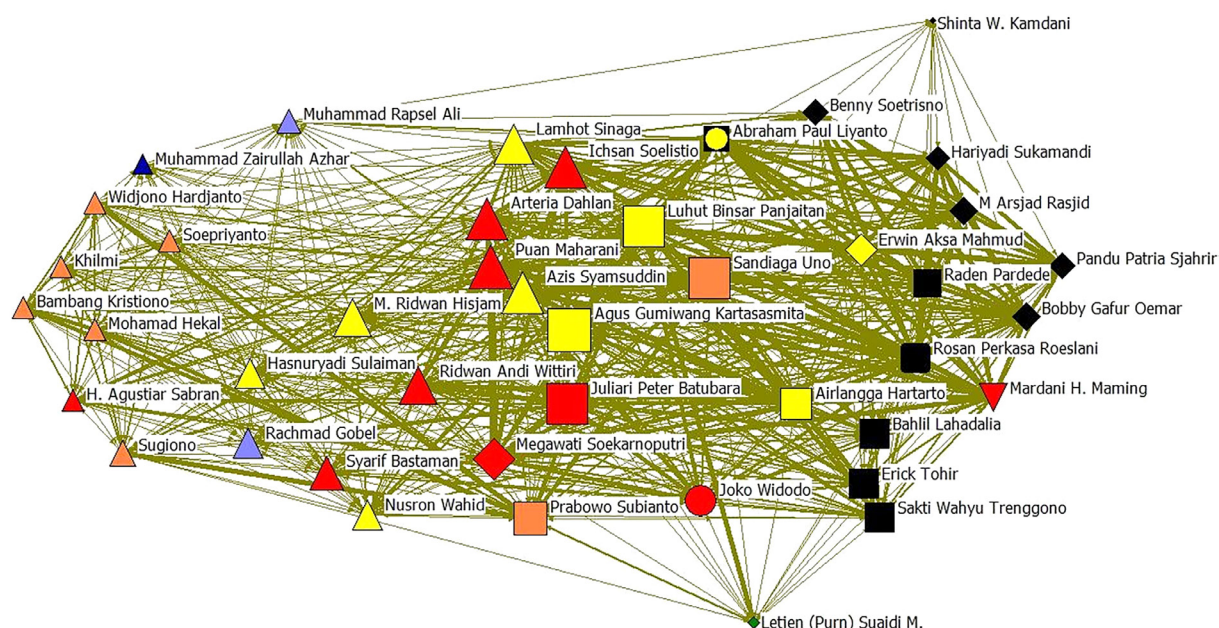


Figure 6. Centrality of levels in the network of actors within the mining and energy sector

Note:








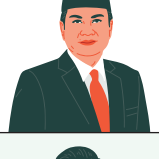


Node Colour	● PDI	● Golkar	● Nasdem	● Gerindra	● PKB	● Demokrat	● Non Party
Node Shape	○ President	△ Parliament (DPR)	□ Ministry	○ Ambassador	▽ Regional Government	◻ Regional Representation (DPD)	◇ No Designation

Based on the network structure, the actors with many and high relationship strength are in the middle of the network, and actors with low numbers and strength of relations are at the edge of the network. This shows that the condition of the network structure is very dependent on actors who have many and strong relationships. Actors affiliated with the same party and position tend to have a close distance from each other. The left side of the network is dominated by actors from the Gerindra party who have positions as members of the Parliament. In contrast, the right side of the network is dominated by businessmen who are not

affiliated with the party. Actors from the PDIP and Golkar parties tend to spread out in the middle of the network. This shows that the two parties are the dominant parties in this oligarchic network.

The central relationships from Figure 6 are shown in Table 3, which ranks the ten actors with the most and strongest relationships in the network. Actors with a large value degree have the potential/role in disseminating information and influencing other actors in the network because they can reach many actors and information flows throughout the network.

Table 3. Actors with the highest degree score in the network within the mining and energy sector

Actors	Degree
 Luhut Binsar Panjaitan	82.00
 Puan Maharani	79.00
 Megawati Soekarnoputri	76.00
 Rosan Perkasa Roeslani	74.00
 Sandiaga Uno	70.00
 Mardani H. Maming	68.00
 Airlangga Hartarto	67.00
 Azis Syamsuddin	67.00
 Juliari Pieter Batubara	66.00
 Ichsan Soelistio	66.00

**Luhut Binsar Panjaitan** is the actor with the highest degree score. The previous analysis showed that Luhut was the actor most affiliated with the company, and in the analysis of relations between actors, Luhut had the most and strongest relationship. Luhut can have the highest value degree due to several factors. First, Luhut is affiliated with the Golkar party, one of the dominant parties in this oligarchic network. Second, the actor who is part of the Jokowi-Ma'ruf electoral success team is also known as the actor who has held the most positions in recent years [18]. This condition is momentum for Luhut to strengthen the relationship he has. Third, although he is not a member of a business organization, Luhut is known as an entrepreneur who owns many mining companies. Therefore, Luhut has many connections with other entrepreneurs, including his nephew Pandu and other fellow members/former military members who became entrepreneurs.

**Puan Maharani** and her mother, **Megawati Soekarnoputri**, have a high relationship compared to other actors in the network. It is known that Megawati Soekarnoputri previously no longer held a functional position. Still, Megawati now has a new position as a steering committee at the National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN) [19]. As the most important person in PDIP, Megawati is still influential in determining the direction of the President's political movements [20]. Puan Maharani, who serves as chairman of the DPR, is strategic because this institution formulates public policies and the state budget. In addition, you can connect with various entrepreneurs and PEPs interested in doing state capture [21].

**Rosan Perkasa Roeslani** who is the Indonesia's ambassador to the United States [22] is also the actor who has the most relationships with other actors and is one of the intellectual actors in the formulation of UUCK [23]. Rosan is with **Sandiaga Uno** is a big businessman who once joined KADIN, so they get to know other actors who are entrepreneurs in Indonesia. Rosan served as Chairman of Kadin (Chamber of Commerce) in



2015-2020, while Sandiaga Uno became Deputy General Chair in 2004 [24]. In addition, the involvement of these two entrepreneurs in the political field has added to their relationship with actors in government seats. Sandiaga Uno is also a member of the Gerindra party, in which many businessmen have functional positions in the Jokowi-Ma'ruf cabinet.

**Mardani H. Maming** is one of the former Head of Tanah Bumbu District for two periods [25] who has value degree a fairly high. Mardani is one of the actors who plays the role of the Omnibus Law Task Force [23] and the chairman of HIPMI [25], so this actor has a lot of relationships with businessmen and other actors who have positions in government seats. This actor who comes from the PDIP party also plays a role as one of Jokowi-Ma'ruf's electoral success team [25] so that they have relationships with other actors in the success team.

**Airlangga Hartarto** and **Azis Syamsudin** are also intellectual actors in the formulation of UUCK. Although Azis Syamsudin is not confirmed to be affiliated with a mining and energy company, this actor played a very important role in the trial for the formation and ratification of the UUCK [23]. Azis Syamsudin together with Puan Maharani

worked a lot in the formulation and ratification of the UUCK which took sides with entrepreneurs. Therefore, Azis Syamsudin has many relationships with entrepreneurs, whether they have functional positions or not. Airlangga Hartarto, who is a high-ranking member of the Golkar party, will certainly have many relationships because the Golkar party dominates in this network. Airlangga is also one of the successful Jokowi-Ma'ruf teams so that relationships are also formed with many other actors who make up the successful team [26].

**Juliari Peter Batubara** has many relationships with other actors from the PDIP party which dominates the oligarchic network. This actor is also a member of Jokowi-Ma'ruf's electoral success team and holds a functional position as Minister of Social Affairs (already inactive) [27]. Juliari who has positions in the Chamberce of Commerce and IMI (Indonesia Automotive Association) [28] is also the basis that can explain that this actor has a lot of relationships with businessmen. **Ichsan Soelistio**, who comes from the dominating PDIP party and has served as a member of the Parliament, has caused this actor to have many relationships. Ichsan is also one of the actors involved in the formulation of the Omnibus Law [23].

■ A worker wears mask of an octopus symbolizing the oligarchy as he marches during a joint coalition protest against the controversial Omnibus Law bill on job creation (RUU Cipta Kerja) in front of the Parliament building in Jakarta. 28 February 2023.



© Jurnasyanto Sukarno / Greenpeace

Figure 7 provides a visualization of the intermediary relationship, which is a measure of the number of times an actor acts as a bridge between two disconnected actors/groups of actors. Larger nodes and labels represent actors who mostly act as intermediaries in the network. The main relationships from Figure 7 are shown in Table 4, which ranks the 10 actors with the most intermediary roles. The results of the analysis show that the actor who has the highest

intermediary value is not the same as the actor who has the highest level value. The actor with the highest intermediary value has several potentials. First, the actor can determine the membership of a network because this actor connects two different actors/groups of actors in the network. Second, as control information. Third, the position as an intermediary allows the actor to take advantage for himself.

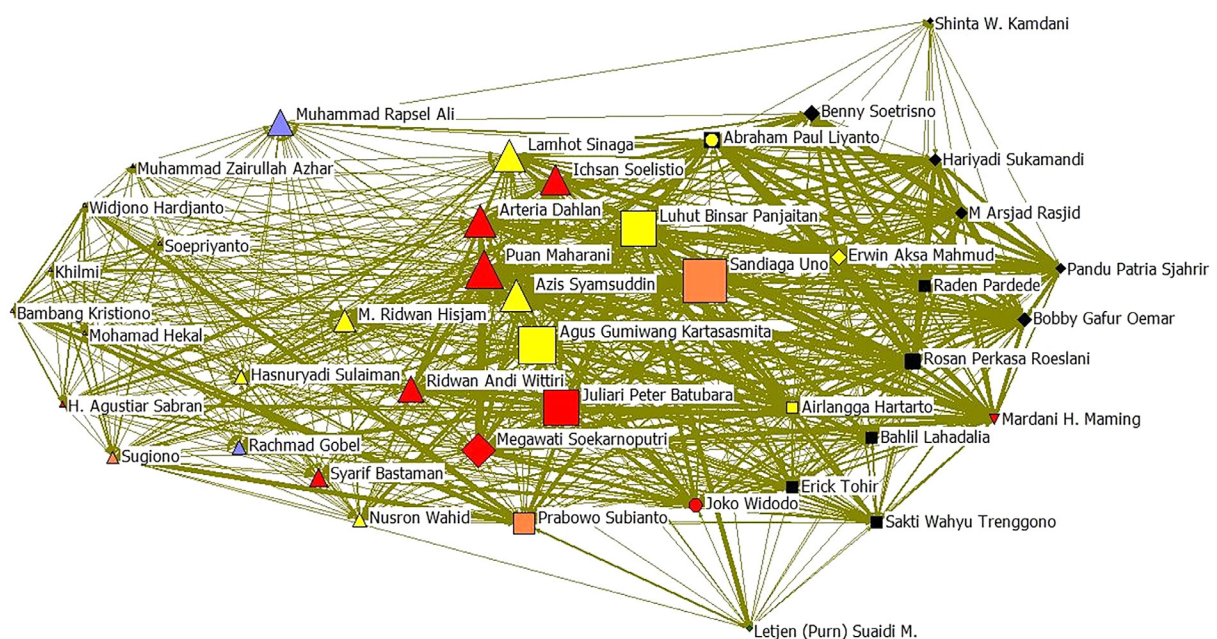












Figure 7. Centrality of intermediaries in the network of actors within the mining and energy sectors

Table 4. Actors with the highest degree of intermediary in the actor network

Actors	Betweenness
 Sandiaga Uno	16.537
 Agus Gumiwang Kartasasmita	14.274
 Puan Maharani	14.274
 Luhut Binsar Panjaitan	13.394
 Juliari Peter Batubara	13.258
 Azis Syamsuddin	11.995
 Arteria Dahlan	11.995
 Megawati Soekarnoputri	11.542
 Lamhot Sinaga	11.357
 Ichsan Soelistio	11.071

In the previous analysis, Luhut Binsar has the most relationships so that it can accelerate the dissemination of information in the network. Intermediary research shows that **Sandiaga Uno** has the highest score, meaning that Sandiaga has excellent control over the data flowing in the network. Sandiaga can be a crucial bridge in the network or a single point of potential failure. When the actor realizes that he has a lot of information from various actors who are not connected, then there is a possibility that the actor will manipulate the information for the benefit of himself and a certain group of actors [29]. However, suppose you look at the character of the network whose relations are relatively strong and massive. In that case, Sandiaga Uno's position tends to strengthen or even expand the existing oligarchic network. Sandiaga Uno was not directly involved in the formulation of the UUCK, but his track record as a state official affiliated with the Gerindra party, a businessman in the mining and energy sector, as well as former officials of KADIN (Chamber of Commerce) and HIPMI (Associa of Young Entrepreneur) [30], has made him have extensive relationships with various actors from different groups.

Puan Maharani and Agus Gumiwang have the same intermediaries score. **Agus Gumiwang** has held various strategic functional positions, ranging from a member of the MPR RI (People's Consultative Agency), DPR RI (Parliament), and a Minister [31]. This actor is also a volunteer for Jokowi-JK in West Java. Experience in various functional positions and his role as a volunteer allows him to relate to various actors from multiple backgrounds so that Agus can become an intermediary between different actors. On the other hand, **Puan Maharani**, the chairwoman of the Parliament, has a very strategic position to act as an intermediary for other actors. The task of the Parliament in formulating and ratifying public policies can be the means for Puan Maharani to accommodate the interests of specific groups that carry out the State Capture scheme through policy products [32].



**Luhut Binsar**, who has the degree of highest relationship between actors and the actor most affiliated with the company, occupies the fourth highest intermediary value. This shows that Luhut also plays a large role as an intermediary between actors in the network. His background in the military (TNI), a business person, and an actor who occupy the most political positions make Luhut has many relationships with various actors. Unlike the case with **Juliari Peter Batubara**, who had served as Minister [27]. Juliari, a member of KADIN (Chamber of Commerce) and acts as Jokowi's success team during the election [28], can form relationships with other actors with different backgrounds, so he has great potential as an intermediary.

**Azis Syamsudin** and **Arteria Dahlan** have the same mediation value. **Arteria Dahlan**, a member of PANJA UUCK (The legislation working group) [23], will be connected with various actors in this oligarchic network so that Arteria can become an

intermediary between the actors. Furthermore, **Lamhot Sinaga** and **Ichsan Soelistio** in the formulation of the UUCK [6] is also an opportunity for them to connect with various actors, especially Lamhot, who is still an active member of the DPR.

**Megawati Soekarnoputri**, who is a PDIP official and has served as president, certainly has many relationships with different actors. Although she has not held a strategic functional position for a long time, her interests can be channeled through her daughter Puan Maharani and President Jokowi [20]. This condition causes Megawati to still have the potential to become an intermediary between actors with different backgrounds. In addition, the inauguration of Megawati as Chair of BRIN's Steering Committee (The National Research Agency) [19] shows that politicians are beginning to expand their realm into the world of research. This will certainly strengthen Megawati's position as an intermediary between actors with different backgrounds and interests.

■ Greenpeace Indonesia activists unroll a banner during a joint coalition protest against the controversial Omnibus Law bill on job creation (RUU Cipta Kerja) in front of the Parliament building in Jakarta. 28 February 2023.



© Jurnasyanto Sukarno / Greenpeace

Analysis of centrality in oligarchic networks shows that powerful actors<sup>4</sup> are spread across several different PEPs. Some actors are famous because they have many relationships, actors who act as intermediaries, and both. The above analysis results show 13 strong actors based on the highest level and intermediary value. The strong actors are dominated by PDI and Golkar partys' cadres. The relationship between these strong actors is presented in Figure 8. The color of the nodes represents the party affiliation, and the label description represents the strength of the actors based on their ability to act as intermediaries and the high number of relationships. This network analysis shows that the hierarchical structure cannot describe the power of actors in the oligarchic system in the mining and energy sector.

The president who hierarchically has the highest position does not have a significant influence compared to other actors. UUCK policy is the result of an oligarchic network consisting of PEPs and entrepreneurs who interact with each other massively and intensely. Actors who can act as intermediaries are very likely to expand the oligarchic network by increasing the involvement of entrepreneurs in the political world or even emerging new PEPs with business backgrounds. Actors who are famous or have many relationships will ensure that policies such as UUCK can be appropriately implemented to meet the interests of certain groups.

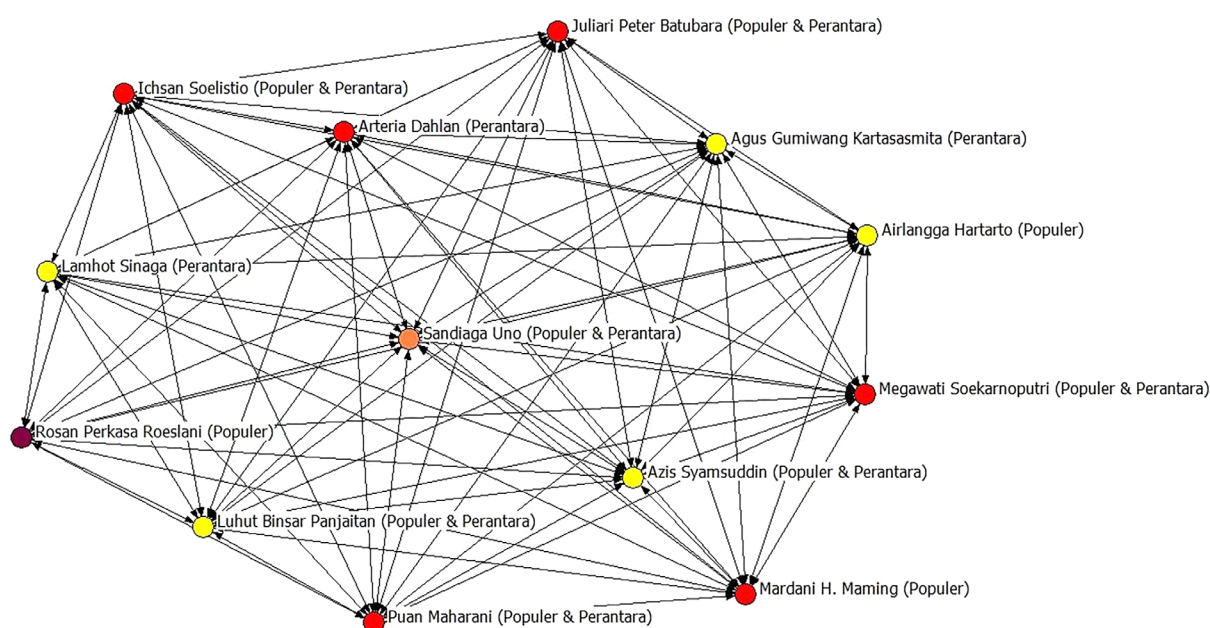


Figure 8. Network of actors with the highest level and/or intermediary score in the mining and energy sectors.

4 Actor's power based on the highest degree score and betweenness



## 3.2 Analysis of Social Networks (SNA) in the Plantation Sector

The continuation of oil palm plantations in forest areas has become a long polemic for the forestry and plantation sectors. There are several articles in the UUCK that discuss the continuation of oil palm in forest areas. Article 110 A and Article 110 B prioritize administrative sanctions and no criminal penalties for solving problems with oil palm plantations in forest areas. This article is very beneficial for oil palm entrepreneurs because they can write-off penalties related to their plantation areas more easily. However, this article in the UUCK is considered obscuring acts that violate the issuance of permits in forest areas, potentially weakening law enforcement and worsening environmental conditions.

There are several entrepreneurs and PEPs involved in the formulation of UUCK who also own oil palm plantations. In addition, there are entrepreneurs and PEPs who also own oil palm plantations in forest areas. Therefore,

actors involved in the UUCK process and actors who own oil palm plantations in forest areas form a mutually beneficial relationship. These relationships are formed by various contexts such as family relations, party relations, family members, having positions in the same company or institution. Therefore, in this study, actor-network analysis is needed to understand who the actors connected to oil palm plantations are and the most powerful actor based on their structural position in the oligarchic network.

The analysis results show that there are 77 actors affiliated with more than 80 oil palm plantations and 18 group companies. Actors who own oil palm companies in forest areas are dominated by actors who are not affiliated with any party (Figure 9). When compared to the mining sector, party-affiliated actors tend to spread across many parties and are still dominated by the PDIP and Golkar parties.

■ Hills that have been deforested due to land clearing for oil palm plantations in the concession area of PT Buana Adhitama, a subsidiary of Sinar Mas, Antang Kalang, Kotawaringin Timur district, Central Kalimantan. 1°51'35.3"S, 112°31'51.2"E. 26 April 2010.



© Bina Karos / Greenpeace

### 3.2.1 Attributes of actors in oligarchic networks in the plantation sector

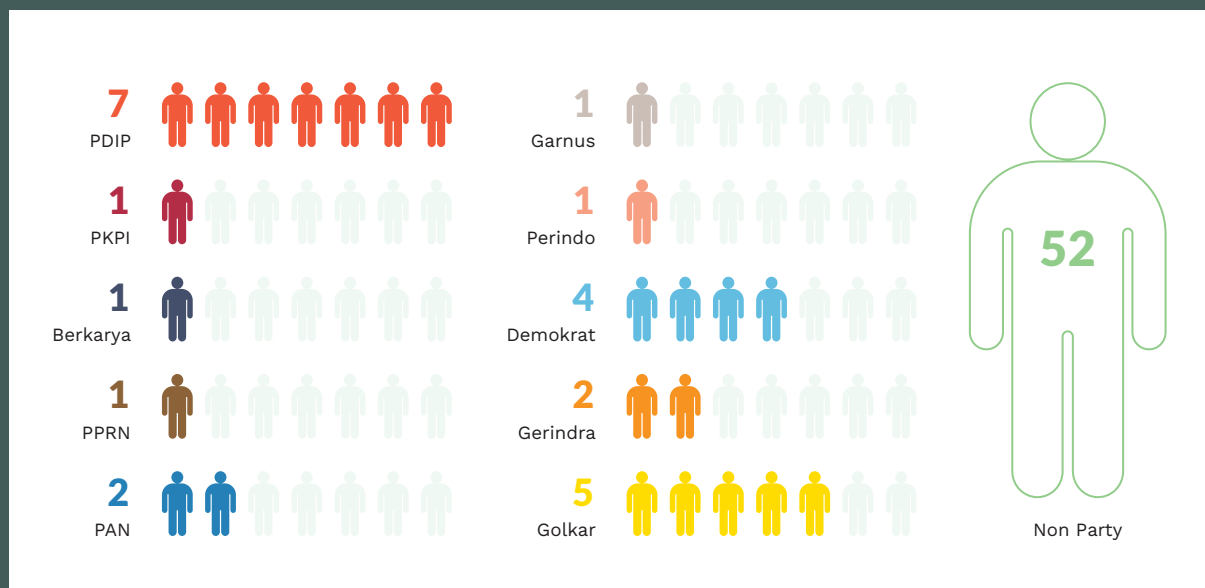


Figure 9. Categories of actors in the oil palm plantation sector based on their membership in political parties

The actors in this relationship consist of actors who have functional positions and actors who do not have positions. Actors with functional positions are actors who have occupied that

position or are currently occupying that position (active). The analysis results show that the actors affiliated with the company are PEPs spread across various categories (Figure 10).

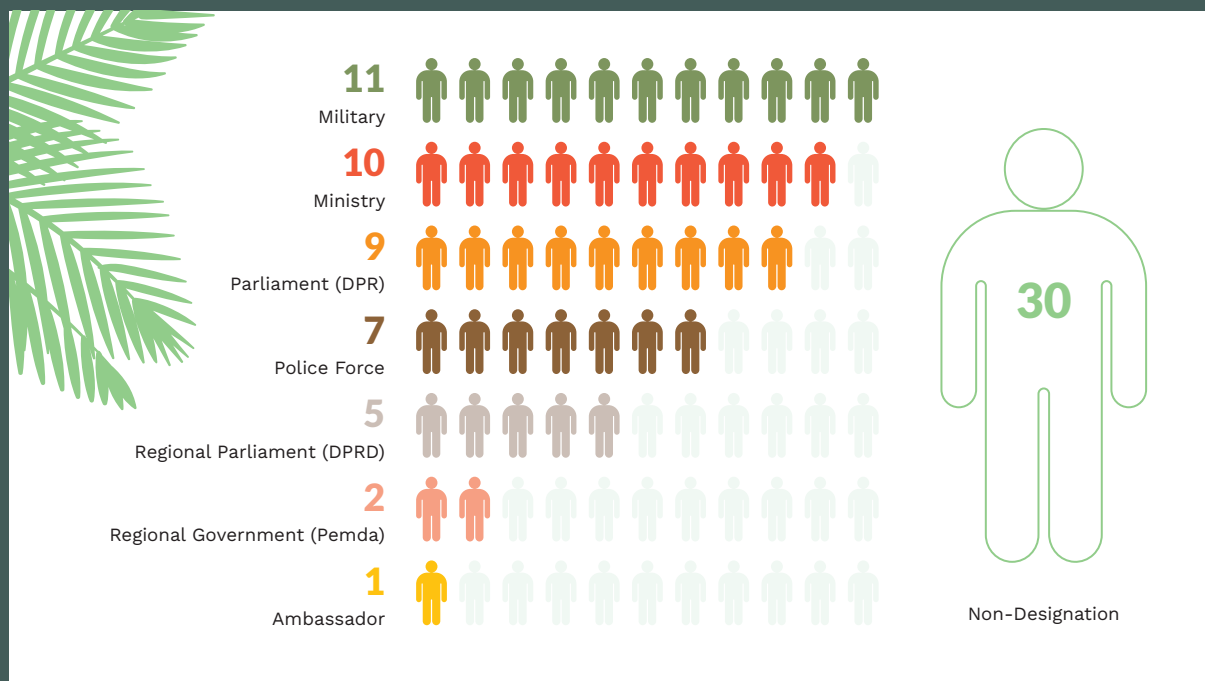
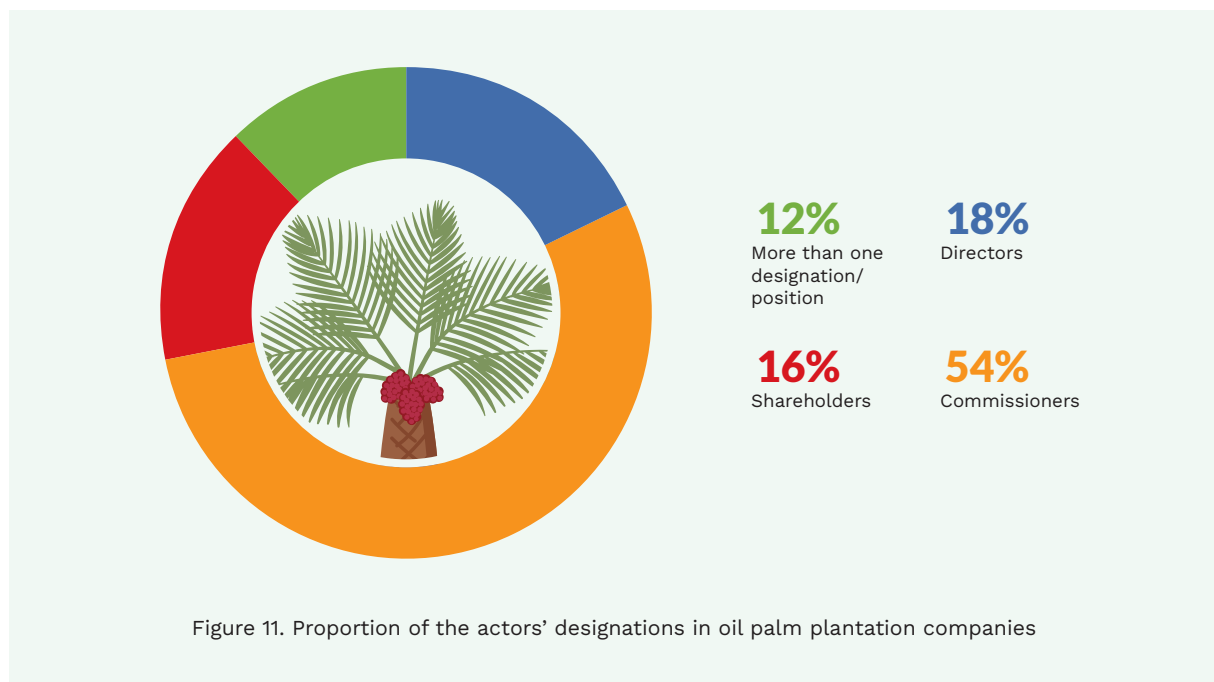


Figure 10. Categories of actors in the oil palm plantation sector based on their functional positions

TNI (the military) category is a PEP who has served or is currently serving in a TNI unit and has never held a functional position in another type. The Ministry category is a PEP consisting of the Minister, extraordinary staff, and PEP serving in other state institutions equivalent to the ministry (for example, BPJS/The National Insurance, which is responsible to the President). Finally, the Police category is a PEP who has held a position in the Police unit and has never held a functional position in another category.

The analysis results show that the PEPs affiliated with oil palm plantation companies come from the TNI. In the past, the TNI's efforts were underpinned by solid-state corporatism, and the TNI was part of the effort to seek rent. The concept of the middle way became the reason for the strengthening of the TNI's entry into the political and economic sphere during the New Order era [33]. Even though Law no. 34 of 2004 concerning the Indonesian National Armed Forces relating to the prohibition of doing business, it seems that it will only lead to changes in capital from assets and changes to activists and personnel responsible for carrying out their business activities.

Actors in oligarchic networks affiliated with oil palm plantation companies mainly act as commissioners (Figure 11). This condition is the same as for actors affiliated with mining and energy companies. Even in the plantation sector, more than 50% of actors occupy the position of commissioners. This shows that the actors (both PEP and those who do not have functional positions) involved in this oligarchic network have important roles in the company. The existence of the commissioner has an important role because it controls and oversees the company's performance and safeguards the interests of shareholders [12]. Moreover, commissioners can also determine the company's strategy and decision-making [34]. Therefore, as explained in the previous sub-chapter, when the commissioners have political relations, various company affairs related to state regulations can be overcome and positively impact the company.





### 3.2.2 Actors affiliated with oil palm plantations in forest areas

The results of the SNA analysis show that each actor is directly connected to the palm oil company, and several actors are connected to the same company. Figure 12 shows the relationship between actors and the company and shows several actors who have positions in the same company.

The circular nodes represent the actors, the circular nodes in the square represent the group, and the square nodes represent the company.

Larger nodes and labels represent actors with more connections, both connections to the company and other actors within the same company. The nodes' color indicates each actor's party attributes, so circles with the same color mean that the actors are from the same party. The color on the label shows the functional position attributes of each actor, so the same color label means that the actor has the same position.













Figure 12. Network of actors in connection with oil palm plantations

Note:

Type of Node	Node Colour	Colour Label
○ Actor	● PDI	● Ministry
□ Corporation	● Golkar	● Parelement (DPR)
■ Group	● Non Party	● Military (TNI)
	● Gerindra	● No Designation
	● Demokrat	● Ambassador
	● PAN	● Police Force
	● Perindo	● Regional Government
	● Garnus	
	● Berkarya	
	● PKPI	
	● Corporation/ Group	

Table 5. Actors with the highest degree score in the actor-company relation network

Actors	Degree
 Jo Daud Dharsono	22.00
 Yovianes Mahar	12.00
 Sandiaga Uno	9.00
 Luhut Binsar Panjaitan	9.00
 Franky Oesman Widjaja	7.00
 Suedi Husein	6.00
 Soedjai Kartasasmita	4.00
 Sihar Pangihutan Hamonang	4.00
 Muhammad Agustiar Sabran	4.00
 Lauw Juanda Lesmana	4.00

The actor most connected to the company is Jo Daud Dharsono, with a degree value of 22 (Table 5). This degree value describes the number and strength of connections an actor has. In this network, the degree value describes which companies are affiliated with the actor, not describing the actors' relationship. If many actors are affiliated with the company and have a high position, it will produce a high degree of value.

**Jo Daud Dharsono** is an entrepreneur who has the most companies with 11 companies and serves as a commissioner. Among the 11 companies, six of them are connected with **Suedi Husein** and **Yovianes Mahar**. The companies are PT Aditunggal Mahajaya, PT Agrokarya Primalestari, PT Agrolestari Sentosa, PT Bina Sawit Abadi Pratama, PT Buana Adhitama, and PT Buana Artha Sejahtera. Yovianes has the same position as Jo Daud, namely as a commissioner, while Suedi is a director in the six companies. Therefore, Suedi's degree value is below the two actors. All companies connected to Jo Daud, Suedi, and Yovianes are subsidiaries of the Sinarmas group.

This fact shows that the locations of oil palm plantation companies under the Sinarmas group are located in forest areas compared to other groups. Four palm oil companies connected to the three actors above have RSPO certificates, namely PT Aditunggal Mahajaya, PT Agrokarya Primalestari, PT Agrolestari Sentosa, and PT Bina Sawit Abadi Pratama [35]. Companies that obtain RSPO certificates should have been clear about the legality of the area. Still, the facts show that the companies that have not hold the certificate are located in forest areas.





© Greenpeace

■ An indication of a recent clearance of HCS (High Carbon Stock) area to give way for palm oil plantation inside the PT Aditungal Mahajaya (PT ATM) concession, a subsidiary to Golden Agri Resources (GAR) company in Central Kalimantan. 2°5'0.48"S, 112°11'53.76"E. 05 June 2014.

**Sandiaga Uno** and **Luhut Binsar Panjaitan** are also included in the category of actors with high degree scores. These results indicate that the two PEPs are affiliated with mining and energy companies and oil palm plantations. Sandiaga owns three companies engaged in the oil palm plantation sector, namely PT Saratoga Investama Sedaya Tbk, PT Provident Agro Tbk (group), and PT Agro Maju Raya. In this oil palm plantation

sector, Sandiaga is not connected with other actors in the same company. **Luhut Binsar Panjaitan** owns three companies in the plantation sector, namely PT Toba Sejahtera (group), PT Perkebunan Kaltim Utama I, and PT Trisensa Agro Sejahtera. Luhut is also connected to his nephews Pandu Patria Sjahrir and Lt. Gen. (Ret.) Suaidi at PT Perkebunan Kaltim Utama I.

but has a high degree of value because he acts as a shareholder and a commissioner in PT Surya Sawit Sejati. The same thing happened to **Muhammad Agustiar** and **Lauw Juanda**, who have dual roles in the company. Muhammad Agustiar is connected to PT Taringin Perkasa, and Lauw Juanda is connected to PT Kayan Plantation. **Sihar Pangihutan** also serves as a shareholder and commissioner in PT Damai Jaya Lestari and associated with Darianus Lungguk in the same company, namely PT Taringin Perkasa.

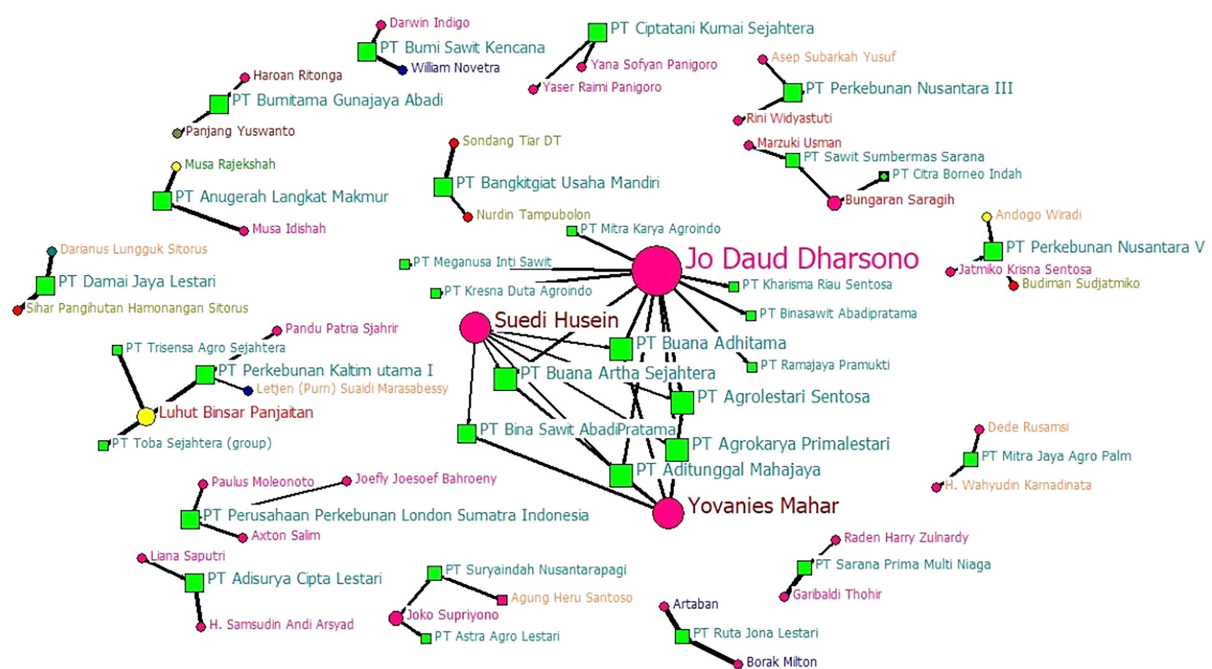


Figure 13. Actors connected to other actors in the same plantation



### 3.2.3 Actor's relational structure within the network in the plantation sector

Analysis of social networks among actors who own oil palm plantation companies can identify how the relationships between actors that are intertwined can encourage a network to function. The relationship that is formed between the actors is not limited to business relationships in the same oil palm plantation but the context of other relationships that have been formed previously. The network formed among the actors involved is based on family relationships, relations within the party, positions in various institutions, including employers' organizations in the oil palm sector, presidential candidate's electoral success teams, and functional positions. In this study, if the relationship between actors is based on more than one relationship, the relationship between the actors is getting stronger.

There are several names of actors in this network who are also in the actor relations network affiliated with companies in the mining sector, including Luhut Binsar Panjaitan, Prabowo Subianto, Sandiaga Uno, Pandu Patria Sjahrir, Lt. Gen. (Ret.) Suaidi Marasabessy, and Bobby Gafur Oemar. As previously explained, Luhut, Prabowo, and Sandiaga are among the PEPs most affiliated with mining and energy companies. Lt. Gen. (Ret.) Suaidi has a strong relationship with Prabowo in various companies including in oil palm plantations. Pandu Patria and Bobby Gafur, who served as the Omnibus Law Task Force, were actively involved in drafting UUCK.

Descriptive statistics can provide an understanding of the overall structure of the network. The results of this analysis show that the network of relationships between actors affiliated with oil palm plantations is quite massive, indicated by the number of relationships formed up to thousands with 77 actors. However, this network is no more massive than the network of actors involved in the Omnibus Law formulation process and other actors affiliated with mining

and energy companies. The network is also less well consolidated, as reflected in its relatively low-density score. The density number moves from 0 to 1, the more it moves towards one means, the denser the network. This shows that only about 40% of the actors in the network interact with each other.

Table 6. Descriptive statistics of actor relational network in the oil palm plantation sector

Statistic Descriptive	Connections
Actor	77
Relations	2,470
Network density	0.422
Diameter	3
Proximity	0.61

This relational network also does not show any hierarchical structure in the network. This is indicated by the proximity number of more than 0.5 and the relatively small diameter size. Diameter is a measure that indicates the furthest distance between two actors to interact. Thus, for example, a network with a diameter of 3 means that the farthest (maximum) distance between actors in the network can interact, i.e., mediated by three other actors.

Figure 14 provides a visualization of the relationship level, which is a measure that shows the actor with the highest and strongest number of relationships compared to other actors. Thicker lines indicate stronger relationships. Larger nodes and labels represent actors with a higher number of connections. Figure 14 also highlights that actors from the same party have the same node color and actors with the same functional position have the same node shape.

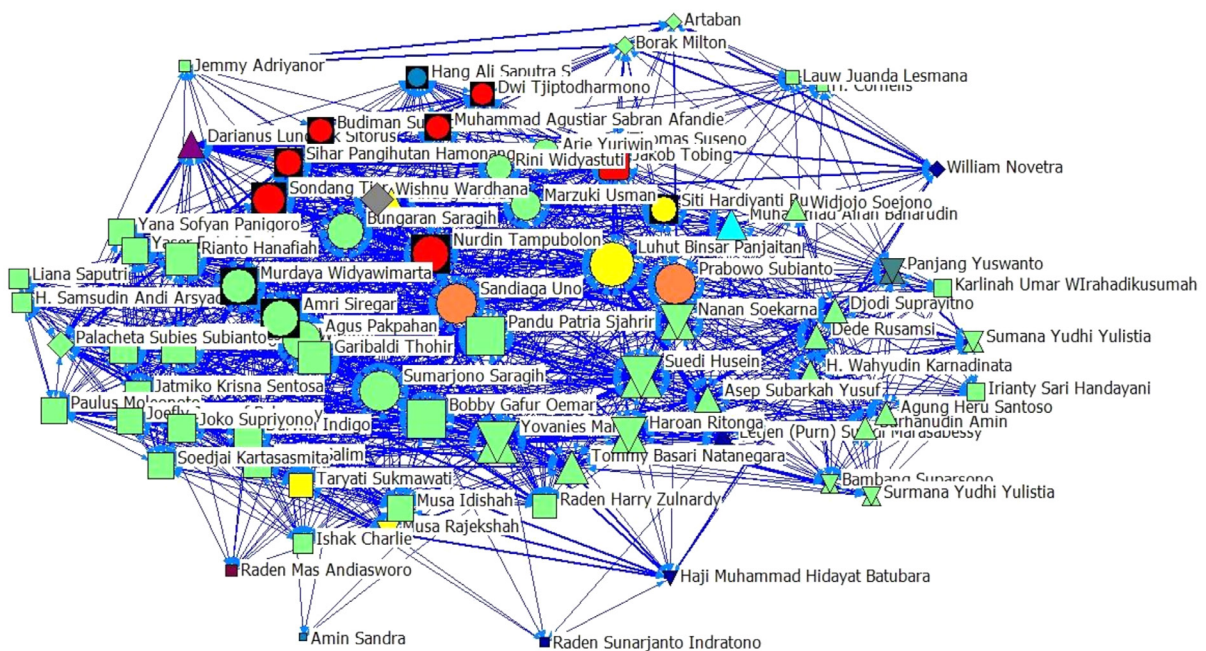


Figure 14. Centrality of levels in the network of actors within the oil palm plantation sector

Note:








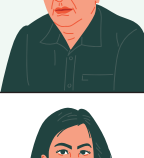

Node Colour			Node Form	
● PDI	● PPRN	● Demokrat	○ Ministry	▽ Regional Government
● Golkar	● Perindo	● PAN	□ Non Designation	◇ Regional Parliament (DPRD)
● Non party	● Garnus	● Berkarya	□ Ambassador	□ Parliament (DPR)
● Gerindra	● PKPI		△ The Military (TNI)	⌘ The Police Force

Based on the network structure, actors with a high number and strength of relations are in the middle of the network, and actors with a low number and strength of relations are at the network's edge. This shows that the condition of the network structure is very dependent on actors who have many and strong relationships. Actors who have the same position tend to have a close distance from each other, and actors who do not have political positions have positions close to each other. The left side of the network is dominated by business actors who are not affiliated with any party. In contrast, the right side of the network is dominated by actors who are members of the TNI and Police. The number of

actors not affiliated with parties tends to spread throughout the network, meaning that these entrepreneurs enter into various contexts of relations and relate to PEPs in the network.

The main relationships from Figure 14 are shown in Table 7, which ranks the top 10 actors with the most and strongest relationships in the network. Actors with large degree values have the potential/role in disseminating information and influencing other actors in the network because they can reach many actors and information flows throughout the network.

Table 7. Actors with the highest degree score in the network with the oil palm plantation sector

Actors	Degree
 Luhut Binsar Panjaitan	74.00
 Sandiaga Uno	73.00
 Sumarjono Saragih	63.00
 Nurdin Tambubolon	62.00
 Pandu Patria Sjahrir	60.00
 Bobby Gafur Oemar	59.00
 Prabowo Subianto	58.00
 Suedi Husein	57.00
 Yovianes Mahar	56.00
 Sondang Tiar DT	56.00

**Luhut Binsar Panjaitan** is the actor with the highest degree of value. Luhut is the central actor because he has many relationships with other actors who have oil palm plantation businesses. Luhut can have a high degree score because he has connections with his family, **Pandu Patria Sjahrir** and Lt. Gen. (Ret.) Suaidi. In addition, the Military (TNI) members are actors who have the most oil palm plantations in forest areas, so Luhut, who is also a former member of the military, has many relationships in this network [36].

**Sandiaga Uno** is the second actor with the highest degree score because many actors in this network are members of business organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce (KADIN) and Association of Young Entrepreneur (HIPMI). As we know, Sandiaga is one of the former high-ranking officials at KADIN. **Nurdin Tambubolon** has a position in a palm oil company in a forest area with his son **Sondang Tiar Tambubolon**. Nurdin and his son's journey as politicians who have served in the Parliament certainly have many relations with other PEPs [37]. In addition, Nurdin is a former vice-chairman of KADIN, so Nurdin has many connections with other entrepreneurs from the same institution.

**Sumarjono Saragih** is an entrepreneur who has positions in APINDO Sumsel (Regional Association of Business owner) [38], KADIN Sumsel (Regional Chamber of Commerce) [39], and GAPKI (Association of Palm Oil Corporation) [40]. His important position in various employers' organizations has made Sumarjono have many relationships with other entrepreneurs, especially in the oil palm plantation sector. Sumarjono is also the founder and leader palm oil entrepreneurs volunteers who supported Jokowi-Ma'ruf leading up to the 2019 General Election. This position makes him much connected with other volunteers and Jokowi's Victory Team. Similar to Sumarjono, **Bobby Gafur Oemar** can also have many relationships due to his important position in the Chamber of Commerce and Industry [41] and is one of the declared businessmen supporting Jokowi in the lead-up

to the election. **Prabowo Subianto** is one of the PEPs who serves as Minister and is a former member of the TNI. Prabowo can have a high degree of value in the plantation sector because he has relationships with other TNI members who dominate this network. In addition, before having the Gerindra party, Prabowo was affiliated with the Golkar party, so Prabowo had close relations with actors from that party.

**Suedi Husein** and **Yovianes Mahar** are members of the Police, and they have both served as Kapolda in the Sumatra region. Suedi served as the Riau Police Chief for 2010-2013 and currently serves as the Head of Organization at the Central Police [42]. Yovianes Mahar served as the Head of the Bangka Belitung Police in 2016 and the Bengkulu Police Chief from the end of 2016 to 2017. Yovianes' current position is the management expert staff of the National Police Chief [43]. These two police officers hold important positions in many oil palm plantations

within the forest area. Suedi Husein is connected to eight companies and has a position as Director, while Yovianes is connected to 11 companies and has a higher position, namely Commissioner. The two actors are connected to the same six companies under the Sinarmas group with entrepreneur Jo Dharsono. Therefore, this actor has a high degree of value when compared to other actors.

Figure 15 provides a visualization of the intermediary relationship, which measures the number of times an actor acts as a bridge between two disconnected actors/groups of actors. Larger nodes and labels represent actors who mostly act as intermediaries in the network. The main relationships from Figure 15 are shown in Table 8, which ranks the ten actors with the most intermediary roles. The analysis results show that actors who have a high mediation value are the same as actors who have a high level of value.

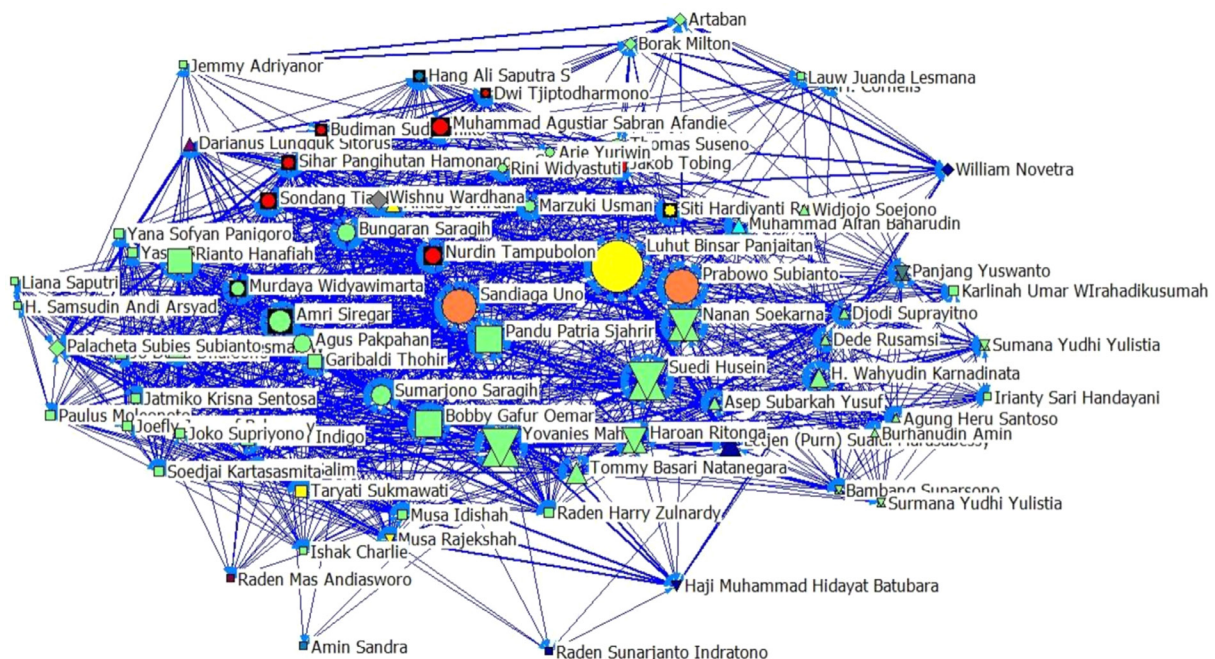












Figure 15. Centrality of intermediary in network of actors within the oil palm plantation sector



Table 8. Actors with the highest degree of intermediary in the network within the mining and energy sector

Actors	Betweenness
 Luhut Binsar Panjaitan	139.241
 Yovianes Mahar	93.22
 Suedi Husein	93.22
 Sandiaga Uno	85.67
 Prabowo Subianto	86.06
 Nanan Soekarna	70.02
 Pandu Patria Sjahrir	56.82
 Bobby Gafur Oemar	56.82
 Rianto Hanafiah	56.31
 Amri Siregar	53.49

**Luhut Binsar Panjaitan** is a central actor in the oil palm plantation sector because he has the highest level and intermediary value among all actors in the network. Luhut can control the existing network because of his role as an intermediary between different types of actors and can accelerate the dissemination of information within the network. Therefore, Luhut can be a key bridge in the network and strengthen or expand the existing oligarchic network. It is confirmed that the palm oil company connected to Luhut is not located in a forest area. Still, his background as a member of the military and holding various functional positions makes him have extensive relationships with various actors from different groups. Likewise, **Prabowo Subianto** with the same background as Luhut, making him one of the actors who most plays the role of intermediary.

**Yovianes Mahar** and **Suedi Husein** are members of the Police force who share the same intermediary score. These two actors are not affiliated with entrepreneurs' organizations like the others. Still, their strong relationship with entrepreneur Jo Daud Dharsono in several companies makes the two actors potentially become liaisons between different actors. Another actor with a high mediation value from the police is **Nanan Soekarna**. Nanan Soekarna has held various positions, including North Sumatra Police Chief and Deputy Chief of the State Police [44], and is connected to a large company group, Wilmar. Nanan has also been the Chairperson of IMI (Association Automotive) and HDCI (Harley Davidson Club), which consists of various actors, including people from the business sector, military and, police force [45].

**Sandiaga Uno, Pandu Patria Sjahrir, and Bobby Gafur Oemar**, former KADIN officials, have made them have a lot of relationships with other business people from various backgrounds. Sandiaga Uno, who has experience in several public positions, has connected him with actors who sit in government seats. Pandu Patria Sjahrir, the nephew of the central actor in this network, also has the position of general chairman at APBI-ICMA, the Indonesian coal mining association, and APINDO [46]. Apart from Pandu, Rianto Hanafiah is an entrepreneur who also has a position at APINDO. Rianto also has a position at APINDO and Amri Siregar, a candidate for member of the Indonesian House of Representatives for the 2019-2024 period.

The analysis of centrality in the oligarchy network shows that **Luhut Binsar Panjaitan** is the central actor in the oligarchic network in the oil palm plantation sector. Some actors are popular because they have many relationships, actors who act as intermediaries, and both. The above analysis results show that there are 13 strong actors based on the highest level and/or intermediary value (Figure 16). The node's color represents party affiliation, and the label description represents the actor's strength based on his ability to be an intermediary and a high number of relationships. The strong actors are dominated by non-party cadres and have positions in employers' organizations such as KADIN (Chamber of Commerce), GAPKI (Association of Palm Oil Business), and APINDO (Association of Business Owner/Employers).

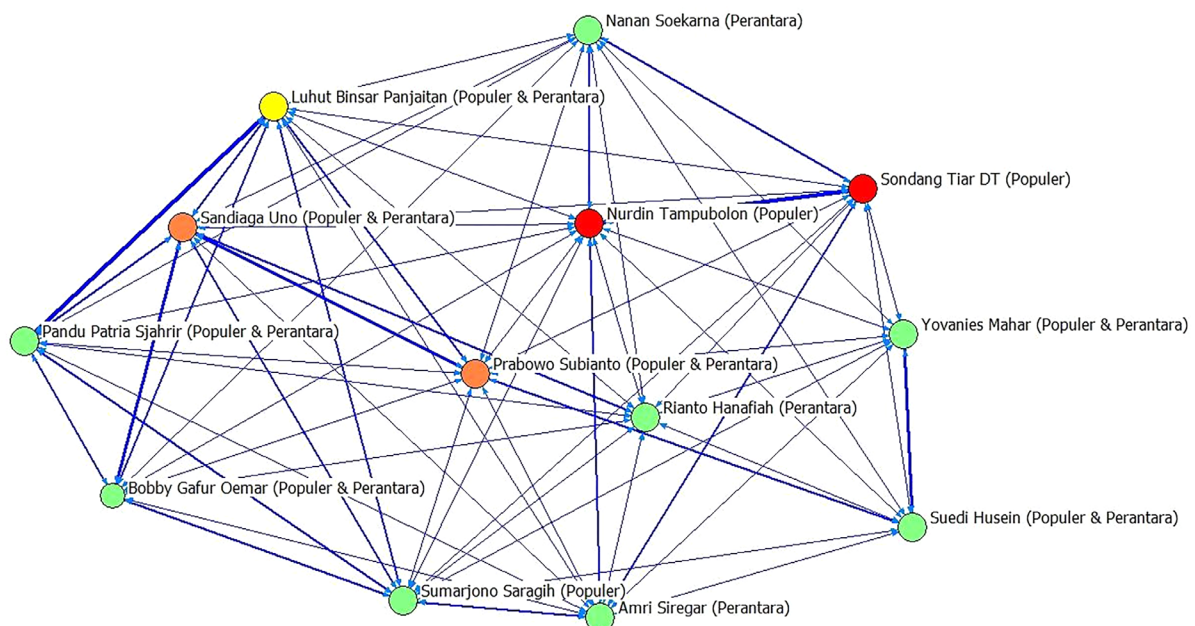
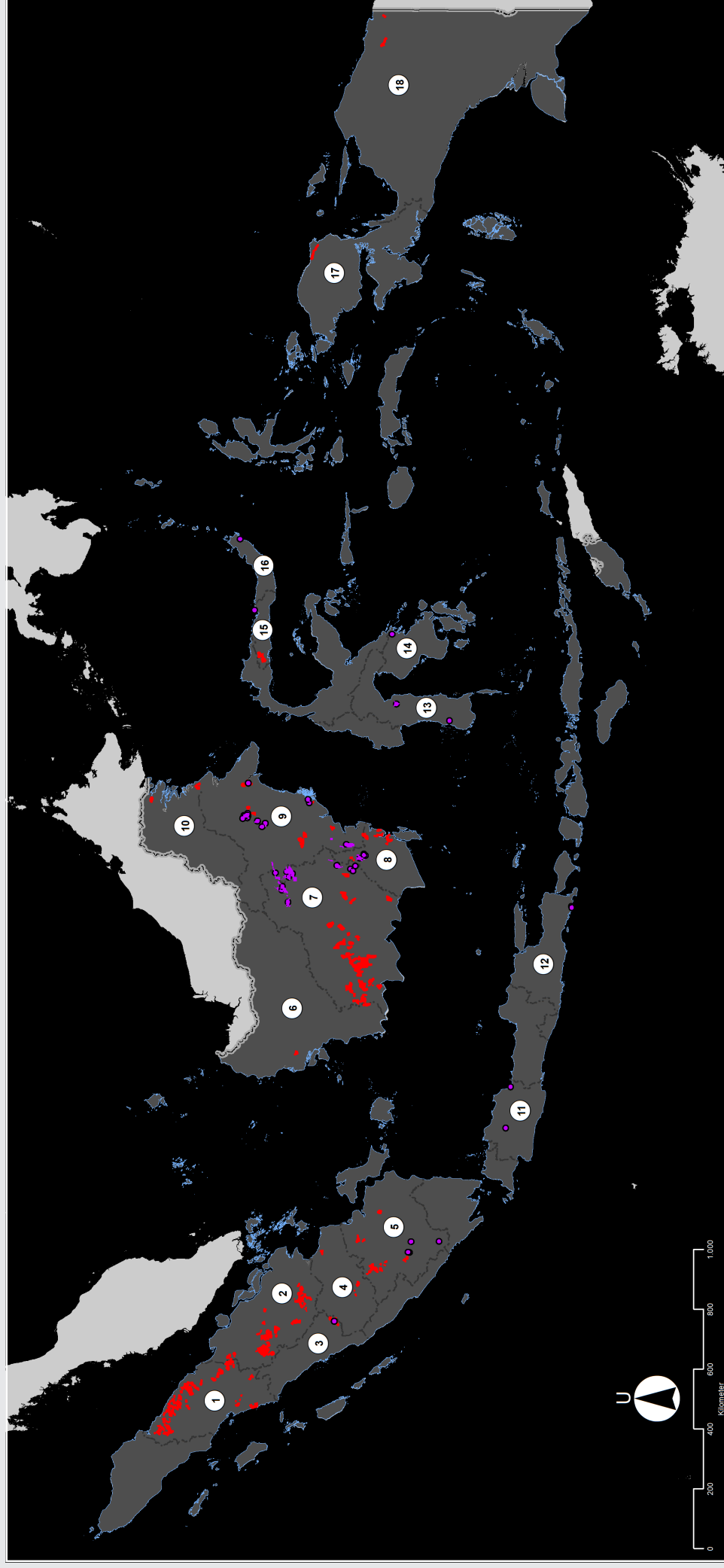


Figure 16. Network of actors with the highest level and/or intermediary score in the oil palm plantation sector



Palm oil concessions own by the oligarchy

Mining and energy concessions own by the oligarchy

○

Provinces

1. North Sumatra

4. Jambi

7. Central Kalimantan

10. North Kalimantan

13. South Sulawesi

16. North Sulawesi

2. Riau

5. South Sumatra

8. South Kalimantan

11. West Java

14. Southeast Sulawesi

17. West Papua

3. West Sumatra

6. West Kalimantan

9. East Kalimantan

12. East Java

15. Gorontalo

18. Papua



© Jurnasyanto Sukarno / Greenpeace

- Dozens of mannequins are installed to represent public activists that can not hold a mass protest during Covid-19 Pandemic in front of Parliament building in Jakarta. Greenpeace Indonesia holds a creative action using mannequins to send the messages that are gathered from the public for the parliament members who want to legalize a controversial Omnibus law bill that absolutely will reduce democracy, citizen and worker rights. 29 June 2020.



### 3.3 Social Network Analysis (SNA) in the Utilization of Natural Resources

Various relaxations in environmental requirements for business actors in the Job Creation Law can create negative externalities for Indonesia, which is currently experiencing multiple ecological crises. In general, the Employment Creation Law and its Academic Manuscripts have violated the principles in forming laws and regulations, the lack of clarity in academic texts, and the need for amendments to Law Number 32 of 2009 concerning Environmental Protection and Management [47]. The initial aim of the makers of the UUCK was to solve the investment problem to boost the economy. Still, the UUCK ignored the issues of law enforcement and corruption as crucial factors hampering the investment climate [48]. In various

natural resource-based businesses, the UUCK, which has been in effect for one year, does not necessarily provide absolute business certainty.

This situation shows that this UUCK only becomes an urgency for the constituent actors and their networks to perpetuate their business. Knowing the central actor behind UUCK becomes the basis for knowing who the actors are who are in control of the oligarchic network. Visualization of the relational structure of the actor-network can illustrate that the strong actors in this oligarchic network have the potential to continuously control the direction of the Indonesia natural resources exploitation in the future.

#### 3.3.1 Actors' Attribute within the oligarchic networks in the utilization of Natural Resources

The actors involved in this oligarchic network of natural resources utilization consist of:

1. PEP is involved in the process of drafting UUCK and owns a company.
2. PEPs who are not directly involved in the UUCK drafting process has relationships with other actors involved in the UUCK process and own companies.
3. Entrepreneur (not PEP) appointed/involved in the process of drafting UUCK.
4. Entrepreneurs (not PEPs) are not directly involved in the UUCK drafting process but have relationships with other actors involved in the UUCK process.

The scope of Natural Resources referred to in this study combines the analysis of the two previous sectors, namely the mining and energy sectors and the plantation sector.

The analysis results show that there are 114 actors affiliated with more than 170 companies and 18 group companies in the natural resources sector (Figure 17). The number of (political) party and non-party actors is relatively balanced, namely 60 actors who are not party members and 54 who are party members. The actors who are party members are spread across 12 political parties, with PDIP and Golkar dominating. Based on these data, it can be stated that the oligarchic network in the utilization of natural resources has a balanced proportion between entrepreneurs who are not party members and entrepreneurs who are party members.

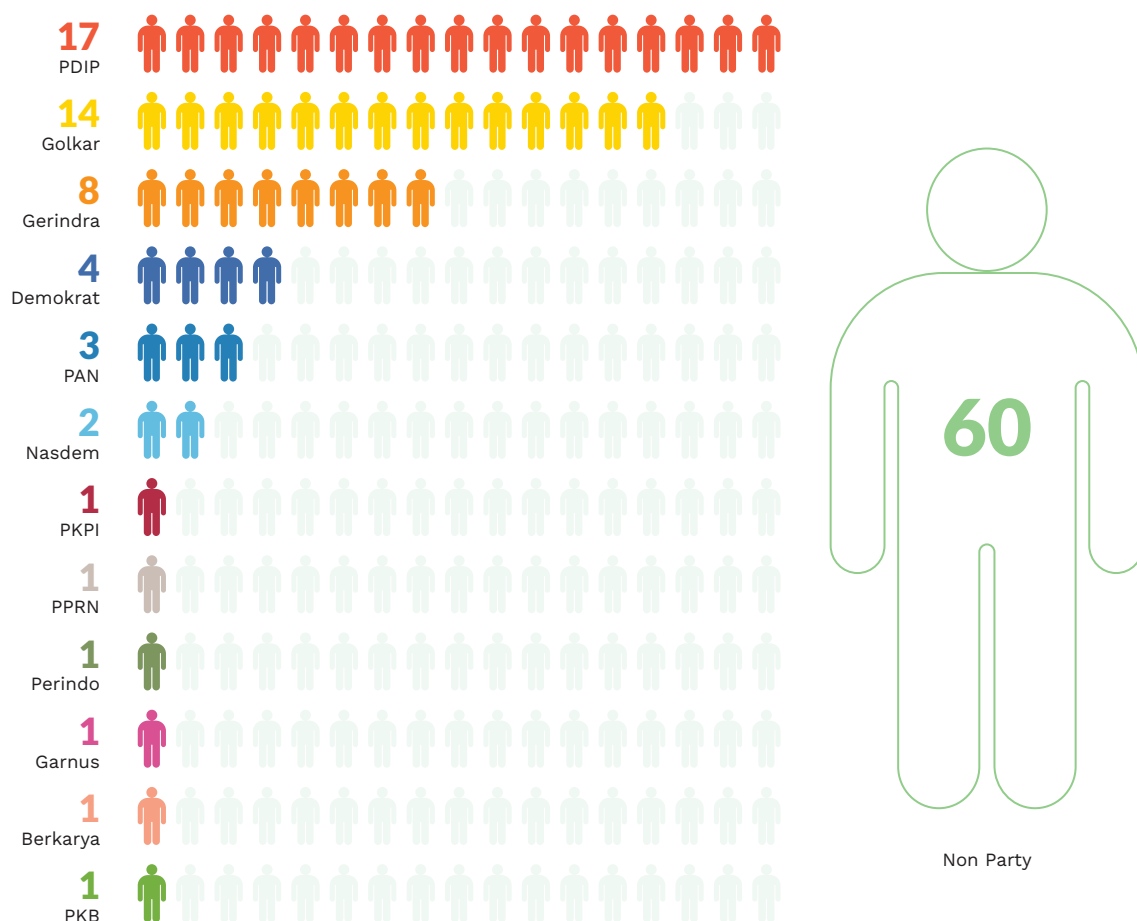


Figure 17. Categories of actors in oligarchic networks based on their membership in political parties

If categorized based on their role in the seat of government, then the actors in this oligarchic network consist of actors who have functional positions (PEP) and actors who do not have positions. Actors with functional positions are actors who have held that position in the past, actors currently occupying that position, or actors who are no longer in that position due to corruption cases. The analysis results show that the oligarchic network is dominated by actors who have functional positions (Figure 18). Actors with functional positions are 73 actors, while those who do not have functional positions are only 35 actors. Actors who have functional positions are divided into nine institutions/

positions, and most of them are actors who have positions in the Parliament and Ministries. This condition shows that many entrepreneurs are not affiliated with any party but are appointed/elected to become public officials.





Figure 18. Categories of actors in oligarchic networks based on their functional positions

Actors who can become leaders in the Parliament are actors from political parties with the most seats. Therefore, the dominance of actors holding positions in the Parliament come from PDIP and Golkar parties that also dominate this network. The large number of people in business sitting in the Parliament seats is one of the maneuvers to produce UUCK because the duties and authorities of the DPR are to discuss Bills and enact laws together with the President. The actors from the Ministries involved in this oligarchic network are mostly Ministers who the President elects. Ideally, a particular system needs to be carried out by the President to elect a Minister. Still, if you look at the oligarchic network, the actors who occupy the position of the Minister are big businessmen affiliated with many natural resource companies.

Actors in oligarchic networks affiliated with companies in the natural resource sector are mostly commissioners (Figure 19). This result is clearly shown from the two previous analyses in the mining and energy sectors and the plantation sector, where the position of commissioner also dominates. The existence of a commissioner in a company is to carry out the function of

control and supervision. Therefore, when these commissioners can hold public positions/PEPs or have relations with these PEPs, they can launch their business continuity, especially those related to public and political policies.

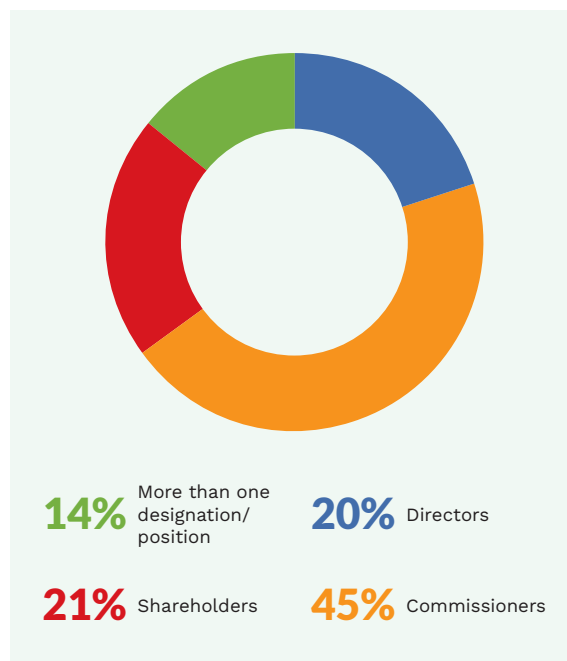


Figure 19. Proportion of the actors' designation in companies within the natural resources sector





Greenpeace Indonesia installs The 'Oligarchy Monster' octopus that occupied the HI Roundabout pool Jakarta. Activists also urge the presidential and vice presidential candidates to have a serious and concrete commitment to side with the people and break away from oligarchic agendas. 06 October 2023.

### 3.3.2 Actors affiliated with mining, energy, and oil palm plantation companies

The results of the SNA analysis show that each actor is directly connected to a company in the natural resources sector, and several actors are interconnected in the same company. In addition, six actors own companies in the mining and energy sectors and the plantation sector at the same time. The actors included Luhut Binsar Panjaitan, Prabowo Subianto, and Sandiaga Uno who served as Minister, Lt. Gen. (Ret.) Suaidi, who had a position in the military (TNI) unit, and Pandu Patria and Bobby Gafur. Figure 20 shows the relationship between actors and the company and shows several actors who have positions in the same company.

The circular nodes represent the actors, the circular nodes in the square represent the group, and the square nodes represent the company. Larger nodes and labels represent actors with more connections, both connections to the company and other actors within the same company. The nodes' color indicates each actor's party attribute, so circles with the same color mean that the actors are from the same party. The color on the label shows the functional position attributes of each actor, so the same color label means that the actor has the same position.





Figure 20. Network of actors with companies in the natural resource sector

Note:

Node Shape	Node Colour	Colour Label
○ Actor	● PDI	● Ministry
□ Corporation	● Golkar	● Perindo
■ Group	● Non Party	● Garnus
	● Gerindra	● Berkarya
	● Demokrat	● PKPI
	● PAN	● Corporation/ Group
	● PKB	● Nasdem
		● Parelement (DPR)
		● Military (TNI)
		● No Designation
		● Police Force
		● Regional Government
		● Regional Parliament (DPRD)
		● Ambassador
		● Company/Group
		● President

Table 9 describes the actor with the highest degree value. The higher the degree value, the more companies he has and the higher the actor's position in the company. Six central actors in the natural resources sector business are PEPs, while the other four are entrepreneurs who have important positions in various employers' institutions. The ten actors with the highest

degree scores consist of four actors (Luhut Binsar, Prabowo Subianto, Sandiaga Uno, and Pandu Patria Sjahrir) who own mining, energy and plantation companies, four actors (Rosan Perkasa, Erwin Aksa, Ridwan Andi, and Widjono Hardjanto) only owns a mining company, and two actors (Jo Daud Dharsono and Yovianes Mahar) who only own a palm oil company.

Table 9. Actors with the highest degree scores in the network of actor-company relations

Actors	Degree
 Luhut Binsar Panjaitan	42.00
 Prabowo Subianto	34.00
 Sandiaga Uno	25.00
 Jo Daud Dharsono	22.00
 Rosan Perkasa Roeslani	16.00
 Erwin Aksa Mahmud	14.00
 Ridwan Andi Wittiri	12.00
 Widjono Hardjanto	12.00
 Yovianes Mahar	12.00
 Pandu Patria Sjahrir	10.00

**Luhut Binsar Panjaitan** is the PEP that owns the most companies and is a shareholder in the entire company. Luhut is affiliated with 14 companies with details of 11 mining and energy companies and 3 oil palm plantations. As explained in the previous section, Luhut has a business relationship with his nephew **Pandu Patria Sjahrir** and fellow former military member Lt. Gen. (ret) Suaidi (Figure 18). Luhut is also listed in the Pandora Papers due to his position in a shell company located in Panama [49].

**Prabowo Subianto** is one of the PEPs with the highest degree scores because he is connected to 11 companies consisting of 10 mining and energy companies and one oil palm plantation. Prabowo's position in the company is primarily a shareholder as well as a commissioner. Prabowo is the actor most connected to other PEPs in the same company. The four PEPs connected to the same company as Prabowo are Sugiono, Bambang Kristiono, Mohamad Hekal, and **Widjono Hardjanto**. All of the actors connected to Prabowo are from the Gerindra party and have public positions in the Parliament.

**Sandiaga Uno** is a PEP connected to 10 companies consisting of 7 mining and energy companies, two oil palm plantations, and a group of companies that oversee the mining, energy, and plantation sectors. Sandiaga's position in the company is mainly as a shareholder. Two PEPs connected to the same company as Sandiaga are **Rosan Perkasa Roeslani**, who served as the American Ambassador, and Raden Pardede, who served as Special Staff to the Minister of Finance for the period 2008-2010. Sandiaga and his two colleagues are also listed as former high-ranking officials at the chamber of commerce (KADIN) [24].

**Jo Daud Dharsono** is an entrepreneur who has been in the palm oil business for decades and owns 11 palm oil companies located in forest areas. Most of these companies are under the auspices of the Sinarmas Group. Jo Daud's position in all palm oil companies in the forest area as Commissioner. Jo Daud is connected



### 3.3.3 The relational structure of actors in a network of actors on the use of natural resources

The previous two actor relational network analyses show different characteristics between actor networks affiliated with mining and energy companies (first network) and actors affiliated with oil palm plantations (second network). The composition of actors in the first network is dominated by PEP, while the second network is dominated by entrepreneurs who do not have functional positions. The relationship between mining and energy companies results in a massive and very well consolidated network. In contrast, the relationships between actors affiliated with oil palm plantations are less well consolidated. This is because each actor is related in various contexts in the first network, including the formulation and ratification of the Omnibus Law. In contrast to the second network, which focuses more on actors who own oil palm plantations in forest areas.

A more extensive relational network of actors in the natural resources sector is formed based on the previous two networks. The analysis results show that the network of relationships between actors is quite massive, indicated by the thousands of relationships formed, with the number of actors reaching 114 people. However, this network is still no more massive than the first network. The network is also less well consolidated, as reflected in its relatively low-density score. The density number moves from 0 to 1, where the more towards one means, the denser the network. This shows that only about 40% of the actors in the network interact with each other.

This relational network also does not show any hierarchical structure in the network. This is indicated by the proximity number of more than 0.5 and the relatively small diameter size. Diameter is a measure that indicates the furthest distance between two actors to interact. Thus, for example, a network with a diameter of 3 means that the farthest (maximum) distance between actors in the network can interact, i.e., mediated by three other actors.

Table 10. Descriptive statistics of the actor relational network related to natural resource utilization

Descriptive Statistic	Network
Actor	114
Relations	5,616
Network density	0.436
Diameter	3
Proximity	0.67

Figure 22 provides a visualization of the relationship level, which is a measure that shows the actor with the highest and strongest number of relationships compared to other actors. Thicker lines indicate stronger relationships. Larger nodes and labels represent actors with a higher number of connections. Figure 22 also highlights that actors from the same party have the same node color and actors with the same functional position have the same node shape.



Node Colour		Node Form	
● PDI	● PPRN	○ Ministry	▽ Regional Government
● Golkar	● Perindo	□ Non Designation	◇ Regional Parliament (DPRD)
● Non Party	● Garnus	○ Ambassador	□ Parliament (DPR)
● Gerindra	● PKPI	△ The Military (TNI)	⌘ The Police Force
● Demokrat	● Berkarya	+ President	○ Regional Representation (DPD)
● PAN	● PKB		

The structure of the network of actor relations in the natural resources sector is the same as the previous two networks, where strong actors are located at the center of the network structure and actors from the same party tend to be close to each other. What is interesting is that entrepreneurs who are not affiliated with political parties spread throughout the network and many of them are PEPs with strategic structural positions. Entrepreneurs who are not affiliated with political parties at most have the position of Minister (formerly or currently serving).

Minister is a public position directly elected by the President, this position is the most likely for entrepreneurs to be able to influence public policies that will affect the sustainability of their business. Actors who have the same position also tend to have close relationships, except for the the military and the police which tend to spread out. PEPs, which have positions in the Parliament and the Ministry, are structurally close, as indicated by the gathering of the actor's nodes on the right side of the network.

Figure 23 provides a visualization of the intermediary relationship, which is a measure that shows the actor in carrying out his role as an intermediary between one actor and another. Based on the analysis of levels and intermediaries, **Luhut Binsar Panjaitan** became the central actor because of the many relationships and his role as a liaison between different actors. Based on the two previous analyses, Luhut is a popular actor and an intermediary in the mining and energy sector networks and the plantation sector

network. Therefore, the analysis results on the natural resource utilization network covering the two sectors also show that Luhut is the central actor. His strategic position in the network gives Luhut the potential to disseminate information and influence other actors, because it can reach a large number of actors and information flows throughout the network. In addition, Luhut can control the flow of information and expand the oligarchic network in the natural resources sector.

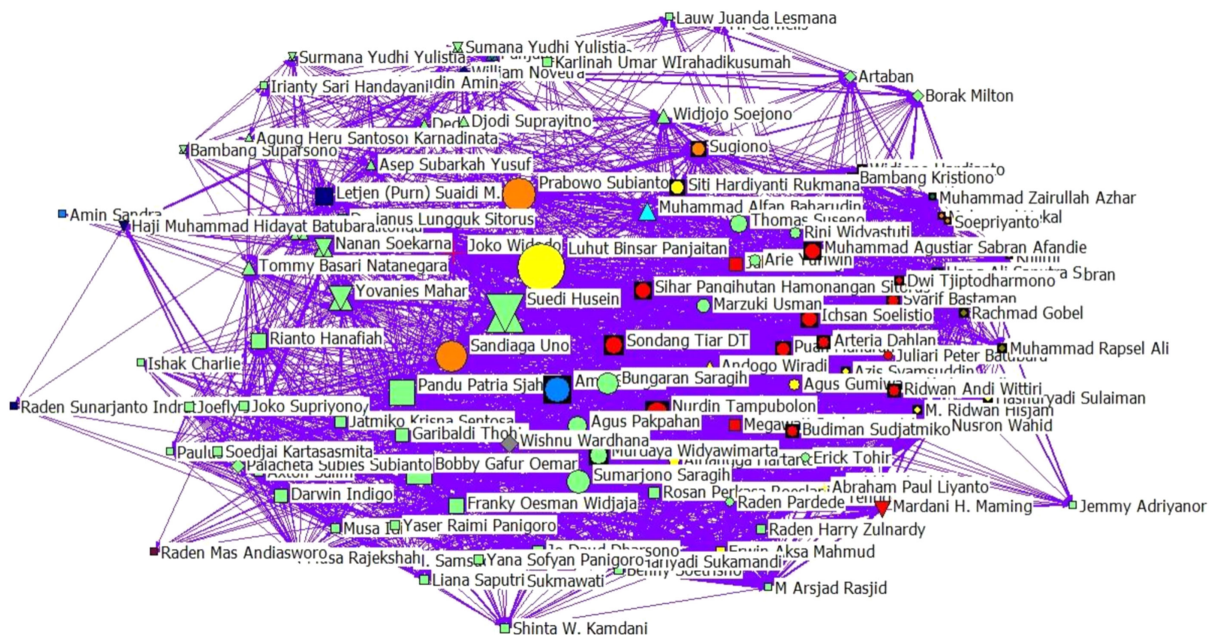










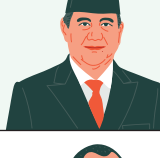

Figure 23. Centrality of intermediaries in the network of actors utilizing Natural Resources



© Jurnasyanto Sukarno / Greenpeace

Greenpeace Indonesia installs The 'Oligarchy Monster' octopus that occupied the HI Roundabout pool Jakarta. Greenpeace Indonesia invites the public to be wary of oligarchs sneaking behind candidates, and to jointly call for elections without oligarchy and choose the earth and not the oligarchy. 06 October 2023.

Table 11. Actors with the highest degree score within the network of natural resources utilization

Actors	Degree
 Luhut Binsar Panjaitan	141.00
 Sandiaga Uno	132.00
 Puan Maharani	118.00
 Airlangga Hartarto	112.00
 Bobby Gafur Oemar	109.00
 Megawati Soekarnoputri	109.00
 Sumarjono Saragih	108.00
 Rosan Perkasa Roeslani	107.00
 Prabowo Subianto	105.00
 Pandu Patria Sjahrir	103.00

Luhut can be a central actor because there are several factors. First, Luhut is a Golkar party cadre in which the Golkar party is one of the parties that has the most seats in the government. Second, Luhut is connected with his nephew, who has many relationships with other businessmen, namely **Pandu Patria Sjahrir**. Pandu is a businessman who has held important positions at the chamber of commerce (KADIN) [24] and Association of Coal Mining (APBI-ICMA) [46] and was directly involved as the Omnibus Law Task Force [23]. Third, Luhut's background is a member of the TNI, in which the TNI is the dominant actor in this network. In the past, the military was a group of actors within President Suharto's circle. They received privileges by obtaining a concession in natural resources [50] and merging the domain of entrepreneurs with the military [51]. Fourth, Luhut is one of the politicians who has held many positions, especially during the Jokowi-Ma'ruf administration [18]. Fifth, Luhut owns many companies, especially in the mining sector, and has many connections with other PEPs in his companies.

The next PEP that has the highest level and intermediary value are **Sandiaga Uno**. Sandiaga Uno can become a central actor due to several factors. First, Sandiaga is a successful entrepreneur in Indonesia who has many companies in the natural resources sector and is related to other entrepreneurs in his companies. One of the popular actors in the oligarchic network affiliated with Sandiaga in the same company is **Rosan Perkasa Roeslani**, who is currently the Ambassador to the United States. Second, Sandiaga Uno is a former deputy chairman at Chamber of Commerce (KADIN) [24]. Many entrepreneurs in this oligarchic network are members of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and many of these entrepreneurs have become officials. They are directly involved in the Omnibus Law. Third, Sandiaga Uno, a cadre of the Gerindra party, has become a politician who occupies an important position. Sandiaga was once the Deputy Governor of DKI Jakarta, ran in the presidential election with Prabowo; until now, he is the Minister of Tourism and Creative Economy [30].



**Puan Maharani** became one of the intermediary actors and famous actors in the oligarchic network; here are some factors that caused Puan to become one of the central actors. First, Puan is a PDIP party cadre who has won the most seats in the current administration. Second, Puan has held several political positions, such as the Chair of the PDI Faction of the DPR RI, the Coordinating Minister for PMK RI, and is currently the Chair of the DPR [17]. Her position as Chair of the Parliament is very strategic because Puan can formulate the state budget and policy products in Indonesia. Therefore, Puan is closely connected with the PEP and other actors with political interests. Third, his involvement in the formulation and ratification of the Omnibus Law [32]. The drafting of the Omnibus Law involves many entrepreneurs, both those who have public positions or not.







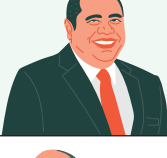



**Prabowo Subianto** is an actor who has many companies in the mining and energy sectors; here are some factors that make Prabowo a popular actor and acts as an intermediary. First, Prabowo has the same TNI background as Luhut. As previously explained, military power in natural resources has existed since the Soeharto era, and Prabowo is one of the actors who have close relations with Suharto [52]. Second, Prabowo has many relationships with other PEPs in his companies, and most of the actors who have business relations with Prabowo are PEPs who are Gerindra party cadres. Fourth, Prabowo's track record of going into politics and currently serving as Minister of Defense has connected him with other actors in this oligarchic network.

**Sumarjono Saragih** is one of the non-PEP actors who is the central actor in this network. This is because Sumarjono is currently actively serving in various business and entrepreneur organizations such as GAPKI [53], APINDO [38], and KADIN [39]. Sumarjono has also been a volunteer supporting Jokowi-Ma'ruf [54], which allowed him to have connections with other PEPs. **Bobby Gafur Oemar** is also a non-PEP actor who became the central actor because he had served as Deputy General Chair at KADIN [41]. Bobby also became a declarator for business people who supported Jokowi in the 2019 election, so he had a lot of relationships with other actors from the PDIP party. Bobby is also one of the entrepreneurs who became the Omnibus Law Task Force and Pandu [23].

**Megawati Soekarnoputri** became an actor who had many relationships in this oligarchic network due to several factors. First, the party he leads has the most votes in the current government. Second, Megawati can channel her interests through her daughter Puan Maharani, one of the central actors in the oligarchic network, and Jokowi as a cadre of the PDI party [32]. Third, **Joko Widodo** is also one of the actors who acts as an intermediary even though the value of his intermediary is not as high as the other PEPs. Finally, Jokowi's position as president makes him connect with various actors with various interests. During his reign, Jokowi did many cabinet reshuffles, and many business people filled ministerial positions. In addition, Jokowi also involved businessmen who supported him in the presidential election to formulate the Omnibus Law.



Table 12. Actors with the highest degree of intermediary in the network related to natural resources utilization

Actors	Betweenness
 Luhut Binsar Panjaitan	231.48
 Suedi Husein	178.26
 Prabowo Subianto	150.41
 Sandiaga Uno	135.41
 Puan Maharani	115.04
 Bobby Gafur Oemar	108.83
 Pandu Patria Sjahrir	99.22
 Sumarjono Saragih	98.05
 Joko Widodo	91.51
 Yovianes Mahar	89.75

**Suedi Husein** and **Yovianes Mahar** are members of the Police force who are central actors in the oligarchic network. Suedi Husein is an actor who acts as an intermediary, and Yovianes Mahar is an intermediary actor as well as an actor who has many connections. Several factors cause these two actors to become central actors. First, these two police officers own many oil palm plantation companies under the large Sinarmas group. Suedi and Yovianes are also connected with entrepreneur Jo Daud Dharsono in the same six oil palm plantations. Second, even though they are not affiliated with any party and not affiliated with any institution, they have a background in the Police force. In the past, the Police were also a group of actors who were close to the President because the land grab process for using natural resources received full support from the Police [55].

**Airlangga Hartarto** is a PEP who has a lot of relationships with other actors due to several factors. First, Airlangga is the General Chair of the Golkar Party, the dominant party in the oligarchic network after PDIP. Second, Airlangga has served in various organizations and government seats, namely in the Parliament and the Minister [56]. Third, Airlangga owns many companies in the mining and energy sectors, along with other entrepreneurs. Fourth, Airlangga became the founder and director of the Omnibus Law Task Force [23]. Fifth, Airlangga also became the Jokowi-Ma'ruf electoral success team (TKN) as Advisory Board in 2019 [26].

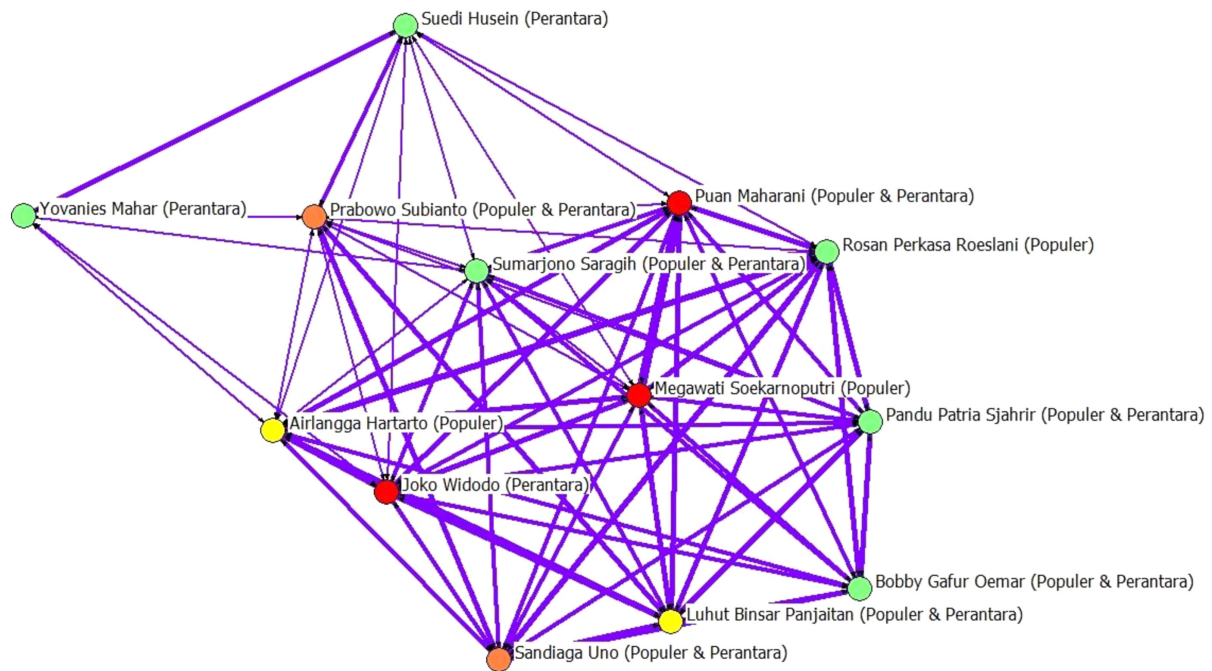


Figure 24. Network of actors with highest level and/or intermediary score in the utilization of natural resources

Figure 24 presents information on the central actors in the oligarchic network in the natural resources sector. PEPs dominate these powerful actors, and most of them have served as Ministers. If it is based on a party, the strong actors are dominated by actors who are not affiliated with any party and are then followed by the PDI party. Actors involved in the oligarchic network in the natural resources sector are actors who have a long track record in the seat of government. Most of them have held various positions in public office since the Soeharto era. In addition, many prominent business people are allowed to enter politics by serving as ministers [57] because that position is very dependent on the relationship formed between these entrepreneurs and the President.

Most of the actors involved in formulating and ratifying the Omnibus Law are entrepreneurs in the mining and energy sectors. Although various countries have started to switch to renewable energy and Indonesia having abundance of renewable energy resources, the mining sector, especially coal, is still the main energy source in Indonesia [58]. Politically, various sectors are still directed to depend on coal energy sources. In addition to internal pressure, dirty energy in Indonesia is also influenced by world political conditions. The World Bank, which has an 'official goal' of alleviating poverty and building shared prosperity, disburses a lot of funds to finance fossil fuel projects and coal-fired power plants [59].



In the oil palm plantation sector, the dominance of the military and a large number of actors from the police force who own oil palm plantations in forest areas are the results of past policies [60]. As previously explained, during the Soeharto era, the military and police were given full power to control the use of natural resources, especially in the forestry sector, so that many soldiers from both institutions had logging concession (HPH) [50]. When the availability of HPH began to decline while demand for oil palm increased, land conversion, including forests, took place on a large scale [61]. Unclear land management conditions have resulted in converting ex-HPH areas in forest areas to oil palm plantations. This past incident caused many members of the Military and Police to own oil palm plantations in forest areas.

An oligarchic network that shows a strong relationship between entrepreneurs and PEP can continue to grow into a larger network because most of the central actors in this network are also “products” of the oligarchic network in the past. Oligarchy has never been displaced by reforms, even adapting to democracy and good governance reforms [62]. After the New Order (the President Suharto era), Indonesia moved towards an oligarchy ruling, namely a coalition of several oligarchs to share power and access resources [63]. This is indicated by the formation of a strong relationship between entrepreneurs and PEPs and even entrepreneurs becoming PEPs themselves to use the state as a tool to fulfill their business interests.

Greenpeace Indonesia installs The ‘Oligarchy Monster’ octopus that occupied the HI Roundabout pool Jakarta. With its tentacles, the ‘Oligarchy Monster’ grabbed three mannequins that resemble political figures who want to run as presidential candidates in the 2024 elections. 06 October 2023.

© Jurnasyanto Sukarno / Greenpeace



# 04.

## Conclusion

Social network analysis studies of actors involved in the Omnibus Law process as well as affiliated actors in mining, energy and oil palm plantation companies yielded several main findings, namely:

1. There is a strong relationship between the actors who own mining companies and the actors involved in the Omnibus Law process. The oligarchic network formed is massive and well consolidated.
2. Overall, actors in the oligarchic network who are not affiliated with the political party and those who are have a balanced proportion. In the category of party-affiliated actors, PDI-P and Golkar party cadres dominate.
3. Most of the actors in the oligarchic network served as commissioners in corporations. Commissioners have an important role in controlling and supervising the company's performance, safeguarding the interests of shareholders, and determining company strategy and decision-making.
4. Most of the PEPs affiliated with mining and energy companies are former members or current members of the Parliament (DPR), while the PEPs affiliated with oil palm plantations in forest areas come from the Military (TNI).
5. Luhut Binsar Panjaitan is the actor most affiliated with mining and energy companies, while Jo Daud Dharsono is most affiliated with oil palm plantations in forest areas.
6. Luhut Binsar Panjaitan is a central actor in an oligarchic network because he has many relationships with actors (degree centrality) and mostly acts as an intermediary between various types of actors (betweenness centrality). His strategic position in the network can control the flow of resources both for himself and his group and strengthen and expand the existing oligarchic network.
7. The oligarchic network in the government system in Indonesia has been maintained and regenerated since the New Order era (the Suharto Era 1968- 1998) until now. In the New Order era, oligarchs tended to be centralized at the national level, while in the Reformation era (after 1998), oligarchic networks involved more actors at the central to regional levels.
8. This oligarchic network identical to the ruler-entrepreneur will continue to exist as long as entrepreneurs need politics to save and develop their businesses, and political parties or potential leaders need the role of entrepreneurs related to various funding.



# References

- [1] Azhar, M. A. Relasi Pengusaha-Penguasa dalam Demokrasi: Fenomena Rent Seeker Pengusaha Menjadi Penguasa. *J. Publica*, 2012, 2 (1), 43–55.  
Title translation: Relation of between business people and the Authorities in Democracy: a phenomena of Rent Seeker among the business people.
- [2] Ananta, D. D. Politik Oligarki dan Perampasan Tanah di Indonesia: Kasus Perampasan Tanah di Kabupaten Karawang Tahun 2014. *J. Polit.*, 2017, 2 (1), 101. <https://doi.org/10.7454/jp.v2i1.83>.  
Title translation: Oligarchy politics and Land Grab in Indonesia : Cases of Land Grab in Karawang Districs Year 2014.
- [3] Firmansyah, A. T.; Sinaga, E. S.; Aisyah, F. A. Korporatokrasi RUU Omnibus Law. *J. Huk.*, 2020, 3, 131–140.  
Title translation: Corporatocracy the Omnibus Law Draft.
- [4] Borgatti, S. P.; Everett, M. G.; Johnson, J. C. *Analyzing Social Networks*; Saeman, J., Ed.; SAGE Publications Ltd: London, 2013.
- [5] Laumann, E. O.; Marsden, P. V; Prensky, D. The Boundary Specification Problem in Network Analysis. In *Research Methods in Social Network Analysis*; Freeman, L. C., White, D. R., Romney, A. K., Eds.; Transaction Publishers, 1983; p 530.
- [6] Bersihkan Indonesia. *Para Pebisnis Tambang & Energi Kotor di Balik Omnibus Law: Peran, Konflik Kepentingan, & Rekam Jejaknya*; 2020.  
Title translation: The Mining and Dirty Energy Businesses behind the Omnibus Law.
- [7] Eriyanto. *Analisis Jaringan Komunikasi*; Prenadamedia Group: Jakarta, 2014.  
Title translation: Analysis of Communication Network.
- [8] Freeman, L. C. Centrality in Social Networks Conceptual Clarification. *Soc. Networks*, 1978, 1 (1968), 215–239.
- [9] Granovetter, M. The Strength of Weak Ties : A Network Theory Revisited. *Sociol. Theory*, 1983, 1 (1983), 201–233.
- [10] Borgatti, S. P.; Everett, M. G.; Freeman, L. C. *Ucinet 6 for Windows: Software for Social Network Analysis*. Analytic Technologies: Harvard, MA 2002.
- [11] Borgatti, S. P. *Netdraw Network Visualization*. Analytic Technologies: Harvard, MA 2002.
- [12] Kristanto, A. T. R. I. Pengaruh Political Connections. *EXERO J. Res. Bus. Econ.*, 2019, 02 (01), 1–21.  
Title translation : The Significant of Political Connections.
- [13] Ali, M. Analisis Ekonomi Politik Terhadap Korupsi (Dalam Perspektif Struktural Menuju Pemahaman Teoritik Baru Tentang Korupsi Politik di Indonesia). *JIAP (Jurnal Ilmu Adm. Publik)*, 2019, 6 (1), 56. <https://doi.org/10.31764/jiap.v6i1.666>.  
Title translation : Economical and Political Analysis on Corruption (From a structural perspective towards understanding of new theories on the Politics of Corruption in Indonesia).
- [14] Agrawal, A.; Knoeber, C. R. Do Some Outside Directors Play a Political Role. *J. Law Econ.*, 2001, XLIV, 1–21.
- [15] Jatam Greenpeace ICW Auriga. Shedding Light on Political Corruption in Indonesia ' s Coal Mining Sector Table of Contents Table of Figures. *Greenpeace*, 2018.
- [16] Setiawan, E. Profil Syarif Bastaman <https://www.merdeka.com/syarif-bastaman/profil/>.  
Title translation : The profile of Syarif Bastaman.
- [17] Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Indonesia. Profil Anggota DPR RI <https://www.dpr.go.id/blog/profil/id/1636>.  
Title translation: (From the document issued by the Parliament) The profile of The Republic of Indonesia Parliament members.
- [18] Susanti, I.; Muhammad, A. 10 Jabatan Luhut Selama Pemerintahan Jokowi <https://ekbis.sindonews.com/read/563672/34/10-jabatan-luhut-selama-pemerintahan-jokowi-yang-terakhir-baru-dijabat-4-hari-1633752621>.

- [19] Adyatama, E.; Wibowo, E. Jokowi Lantik Megawati sebagai Ketua Dewan Pengarah BRIN <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1516830/jokowi-lantik-megawati-sebagai-ketua-dewan-pengarah-brin/full&view=ok>.  
Title translation: Jokowi appoints Megawati as the Head of the Supervisory Board of BRIN, the National Research Institution.
- [20] Jannah, S. Bayang-bayang Megawati di Pemerintahan Jokowi Usai Kongres PDIP <https://tirto.id/bayang-bayang-megawati-di-pemerintahan-jokowi-usai-kongres-pdip-egb9>.  
Title translation : Under the shadow of Megawati, the Jokowi Government after the PDIP political party's congress.
- [21] DA, A. T. Tiga Indikasi State Capture dalam RUU Cipta Kerja <https://www.hukumonline.com/berita/baca/lt5f50df6369af9/tiga-indikasi-state-capture-corruption-dalam-ruu-cipta-kerja/>.  
Title translation: Three Indication of State Capture in the Draft Regulation Job Creation (RUU Cipta Kerja).
- [22] Audinovic, V. Profil Rosan Perkasa Roeslani <https://www.merdeka.com/rosan-roeslani/profil/>.
- [23] JATAM. *Para Aktor di Balik Omnibus Law*; Jakarta, 2020.  
Title translation : The Actors behind the Omnibus Law.
- [24] KADIN. Sejarah KADIN Indonesia <https://kadin.id/tentang-kami/sejarah>.  
Title translation: The History of Indonesia Chamber of Commerce.
- [25] Wikipedia. Mardani H. Maming [https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mardani\\_H.\\_Maming](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mardani_H._Maming).  
Title translation : The profile of Mardani H. Maming.
- [26] Mashabi, S. Ini Susunan Lengkap Tim Kampanye Nasional Jokowi-Ma'ruf <https://www.liputan6.com/pilpres/read/3639873/ini-susunan-lengkap-tim-kampanye-nasional-jokowi-maruf>.  
Title translation : The complete list of Jokowi-Ma'ruf's campaign team.
- [27] Wikipedia. Juliari Batubara [https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Juliari\\_Batubara](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Juliari_Batubara).
- [28] Erianto, D. Tokoh Juliari Peter Batubara <https://kompaspedia.kompas.id/baca/profil/tokoh/juliari-batubara>.  
Title translation : The figure of Juliari Peter Batubara.
- [29] Juniyanti, L.; Purnomo, H.; Kartodihardjo, H.; Prasetyo, L. B.; Suryadi; Pambudi, E. Powerful Actors and Their Networks in Land Use Contestation for Oil Palm and Industrial Tree Plantations in Riau. *For. Policy Econ.*, 2021, 129 (April), 102512. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.forpol.2021.102512>.
- [30] Sulistiowati, T. Profil Sandiaga Uno, dari pengusaha sampai Menteri Pariwisata dan Ekonomi Kreatif <https://nasional.kontan.co.id/news/profil-sandiaga-uno-dari-pengusaha-sampai-menteri-pariwisata-dan-ekonomi-kreatif>.  
Title translation : The profile of Sandiaga Uno, from entrepreneur to Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy.
- [31] Kartasasmita, A. AGK "Ketulusan dalam Pengabdian" <https://agusgumiwang.com/profil-agus-gumiwang-kartasasmita/>.  
Title translation: Sincerity in devotion.
- [32] Nathaniel, F. Jokowi dan Puan Maharani: Duet Maut PDIP dalam Pengesahan Omnibus Law <https://tirto.id/jokowi-puan-maharani-duet-maut-pdip-dalam-pengesahan-omnibus-law-f5P5>.  
Title translation : Deadly Duo of PDIP political party during the launch of Omnibus Law.
- [33] Nurhasim, M. Dilema Menata Bisnis TNI <http://lipi.go.id/berita/dilema-menata-bisnis-tni/2536>.  
Title translation : The Dilemma in Managing the Military Business.
- [34] Muntoro, R. K. Membangun Dewan Komisaris Yang Efektif. *Artik. Lemb. Manag. Fak. Ekon. Univ. Indones.*, 2006, 1–18.  
Title translation : Establishing an effective Board of Commissionaire.
- [35] Mutuagung Lestari. *Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil Certification RSPO*; 2019.
- [36] Matanasi, P. Dalam Sejarah, TNI Tidak Pernah Benar-Benar Netral Politik <https://tirto.id/dalam-sejarah-tni-ad-tak- pernah-benar-benar-netral-politik-daAy>.  
Title translation : Written in its history, the Military Has Never Been Completely Neutral in Politics.
- [37] Wikipedia. Nurdin Tampubolon [https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nurdin\\_Tampubolon](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nurdin_Tampubolon).  
Title translation : The profile of Nurdin Tampubolon.
- [38] APINDO. *UU Cipta Kerja Untuk Mendorong Investasi Dan Pemulihan Ekonomi di Masa Pandemi*; Jakarta, 2020.  
Title translation: The Job Creation Law (UU Cipta Kerja) Intended To Boost Investment and Economical Recovery During the Pandemic time.
- [39] Kadin Sumsel. Kadin SumSel <http://www.kadin-sumsel.or.id/Profil/DewanPengurus>.  
Title translation : The Management Profile of the South Sumatera's Chamber of Commerce.
- [40] GAPKI. GAPKI dan JAPBUSI Berkomitmen Kuat Tingkatkan Kesejahteraan Petani <https://gapki.id/news/14768/gapki-japbusi-berkomitmen-kuat-tingkatkan-kesejahteraan-petani-sawit>.  
Title translation : Strong commitment in improving the farmers' welfare.

- [41] KADIN. Kadinpedia: Bobby Gafur Umar <https://www.kadin.id/kadinpedia/9/bobby-gafur-umar>.  
Title translation : the profile of Bobby Gafur Umar from the Chambers of Commerce.
- [42] Peoplepill. About Suedi Husein <https://peoplepill.com/people/suedi-husein>.
- [43] Idham, K. Mutasi Polri, 5 Kapolda Diganti <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-3477677/mutasi-polri-5-kapolda-diganti>.  
Title translation : Changing the Head of the Police Force.
- [44] Wikipedia. Nanan Soekarna [https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nanan\\_Soekarna](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nanan_Soekarna).
- [45] IMI. Ketua Umum Ikatan Motor Indonesia (IMI) <http://imi.co.id/imi/ketua-umum>.  
Title translation : Profile of the Chief of Association Automotive Indonesia.
- [46] APBI-ICMA. Pandu Sjahrir Kembali Terpilih Sebagai Ketua Umum APBI-ICMA Periode 2021-2024 <http://www.apbi-icma.org/en/news/4886/pandu-sjahrir-kembali-terpilih-sebagai-ketua-umum-apbi-icma-periode-2021-2024>.  
Title translation : Pandu Sjahrir is re-elected as the Head of APBI-ICMA (association of Coal Business).
- [47] Indonesian Center for Environmental Law. Berbagai Problematika Dalam UU Cipta Kerja Sektor Lingkungan Dan Sumber Daya Alam. *Indones. Cent. Environ. Law*, 2020, 107.  
Title translation : Various problem in UU Cipta Kerja (Job Creation Law) in the Environmental Sector and Natural Resources.
- [48] Kartidihardjo, H. Mengapa UU Cipta Kerja Belum Mendongkrak Investasi <https://www.forestdigest.com/detail/1383/investasi-uu-cipta-kerja>.  
Title translation : The reason behind why the Job Creation Law has not been able to boost investments.
- [49] CNN Indonesia. Masuk Laporan Skandal Pajak Pandora Papers, Luhut Buka Suara <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20211004140102-532-703110/masuk-laporan-skandal-pajak-pandora-papers-luhut-buka-suara>.
- [50] Casson, A.; Obidzinski, K. From New Order to Regional Autonomy: Shifting Dynamics of 'Illegal' Logging in Kalimantan, Indonesia. *World Dev.*, 2002, 30 (12), 2133–2151.  
Title translation : Reported in the Pandora Papers on Tax Scandal, Luhut responded.
- [51] Poffenberger, M. Rethinking Indonesia Forest Policy: Beyond The Timber Barons. *Asian Survei*, 1997, 37 (5), 453–469.
- [52] Djarot, E. Prabowo Sang Kontroversi: Kisah Penculikan, Isu Kudeta dan Tumbangnya Seorang Bintang; Penerbit Agromedia Pustaka: Jakarta, 2006.  
Title translation : A Kidnaping Case, A Coop Rumour and The fall of a Star.
- [53] GAPKI. Struktur Kepengurusan GAPKI <https://gapki.id/struktur-kepengurusan>.  
Title translation : The Management structure of GAPKI – The Association of Palm Oil Business.
- [54] Sindonews.com. 16 Juta Buruh Sawit Digarap untuk Jokowi: #sawitIJO <https://daerah.sindonews.com/berita/1392137/190/16-juta-buruh-sawit-digarap-untuk-jokowi-sawitijo>.  
Title translation : 16 Millions of Palm Oil's Workers for Jokowi.
- [55] Obidzinski, K.; Chaudhury, M. Transition to Timber Plantation Based Forestry in Indonesia : Towards a Feasible New Policy. *Int. For. Rev.*, 2009, 11 (1), 79–87.
- [56] Partai Golongan Karya. Profil Airlangga Hartarto <https://www.partaigolkar.com/airlangga-hartarto/>.
- [57] Nathaniel, F. Jokowi Perlahan-Lahan Membawa Indonesia Menuju Negara Plutokrasi <https://tirto.id/jokowi-perlahan-lahan-membawa-indonesia-menuju-negara-plutokrasi-f9gx>.  
Title translation : Slowly Jokowi Brings Indonesia towards a Plutokrasi State.
- [58] Silalahi, S. A. F.; Saragih, J. P. Kebijakan Pendukung Batubara Sebagai Komponen Diversifikasi Energi Tahun 2025. *Ekon. Kebijak. Publik*, 2010, 1 (1), 25–46.  
Title translation : Supporting Policy for Coal as an energy diversification components.
- [59] Hess, J. Working at the World Bank, I can see how it is failing humanity on the climate crisis <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2021/oct/28/world-bank-failing-humanity-climate-crisis-fossil-fuels-cop26>.
- [60] Prastiti, O.; Alexander, M. Dwifungsi dan Transformasi Bisnis Militer Pasca Reformasi <https://www.balairungpress.com/2018/11/dwifungsi-dan-transformasi-bisnis-militer-pasca-reformasi/>.  
Title translation : The double role and business transformation of the Military Post Reformation.
- [61] Gatto, M.; Wollni, M.; Qaim, M. Land Use Policy Oil Palm Boom and Land-Use Dynamics in Indonesia : The Role of Policies and Socioeconomic Factors. *Land use policy*, 2015, 46, 292–303. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2015.03.001>.
- [62] Widoyoko, J. D. Menimbang Peluang Jokowi Memberantas Korupsi : Catatan Untuk Gerakan Anti Korupsi. *Integritas*, 2016, 2 (1), 269–297.  
Title translation : Assessing Jokowi's probability in fighting corruption : A note for the Anti-Corruption Movement.
- [63] Winters, J. Oligarchy and Democracy in Indonesia. *Indonesia*, 2013, 96, 11–33.



Published by Greenpeace Indonesia  
October 2023.

Unless stated otherwise, all references  
in this report to Greenpeace refer to  
Greenpeace Indonesia.

Greenpeace Indonesia  
Jl. HOS. Cokroaminoto No. 19  
RT 1/RW 1 Gondangdia, Menteng,  
Jakarta Pusat 10350  
t: 021 314 8521  
e: [info.id@greenpeace.org](mailto:info.id@greenpeace.org)  
w: [www.greenpeace.or.id](http://www.greenpeace.or.id)