

## EFFECTIVENESS OF ACTIVISM ON SOCIAL MEDIA: NON-POLITICAL INFLUENCERS ON TWITTER

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### *Abstract*

This paper examines how the existence of social media Twitter is useful for social activists who are often referred to as influencers as an effort to voice criticism of various government policies. By using qualitative methods of thinking framework of social activism and political carnival in the public sphere, the authors try to see how the effectiveness that appears in the activities of criticism that they do. With the existence of users who are dominated by Y & Z generation, Twitter has become one of the most popular social media visited by users because they can throw a variety of opinions related to various things that are popular. Young people have very open opportunities to use social media as a platform to grow their activities as members of civil society, such as community participation and improving themselves. The use of social media to form social movements is very successful in attracting public interest.

**Keywords:** Influencers, Social Activism, Social Media, Twitter.

### **Introduction**

In the interaction in the digital world, maybe we are already attached to various social media platforms that are often used daily by the people of Indonesia, each of these platforms has their respective uses and goals. One of them is Twitter, as a social media platform in the form of microblogging (Faulina & Sarmiati, 2021). Since its launch in 2006, Twitter has undergone various changes, especially from the beginning as a form of 'special' social media has now become something that is common and integrated into everyday life (Djelantik et al., 2015). Although Twitter, Inc. periodically updating service designs and introducing new features - often in response to users making their own habits, such as putting '#' in front of important keywords to tag them - the basic concepts behind services remain the same: users can post up to 140 short message characters (tweets) and follow notifications posted by other users (Kusuma et al., 2020). This leads to the creation of a complex network of followers with one-way and two-way relationships that occur not only between each individual user, but also between the media, NGOs and even the government (Prasetyowati et al., 2020).

In addition to interpersonal communication, Twitter is increasingly used in news, politics, industry and entertainment as a source of real-time information and as a forum for debate (Juanda, 2017). Beyond watching major news programs, Twitter remains a place for regular expressions and interactions: millions of private users talk to their friends anytime and post images or URLs via Twitter, using this service as a journal of their thoughts and daily activities. That is why Twitter is often sharply criticized because most are 'useless babble,' 'useless knowledge,' or 'phatic communication,' but such criticism is simple (Pasaribu, 2022). Conversely, each user's very personal use as a medium for outreach, sharing knowledge, or communicating with friends is at the core of Twitter's use for individuals and organizations, and indeed supports its popularity as a global news media forum and public communication (Cornelissen, 2020).

In Indonesia alone, Twitter can be said to not be a social media prima donna such as YouTube, WhatsApp, Facebook and Instagram. However, when we look at the engagement of advertising generated on Twitter, we can see that the percentage is greater because it targets millennials that are very interactive in the digital world (Saputra et al., 2020). With the swift flow of information that rotates and the dynamics that exist causes Twitter to have its own market share, even though the information circulating in it is not specifically segmented. Various things can be discussed there, for example, from things that are very serious to trivial things that have become part of the daily conversation material of Twitter Indonesian netizens (Nasrullah, 2018). This caused the emergence of a variety of opinion leaders who have their own audience segments, those who are considered as opinion leaders are considered to have advantages because it can affect the audience, they are the ones who are then referred to as influencers. Each influencer has its own topic cluster, it is not uncommon for them to 'play' across clusters, especially if there is 'order' information that they must share with the audience on Twitter (Rahmawan & Narotama, 2019).

In its relation between politics, influencers, and Twitter in Indonesia, we may already know that Twitter's existence is very closely related to political activities in this country, especially since elections in the last decade, political campaign activities have not been limited to the real world, but have entered to the digital realm, especially in the realm of social media using influencers who are considered to have influence in the eyes of Twitter netizens (Priyowidodo et al., 2018). Then in 2019 yesterday, we had just held a simultaneous election to elect leaders from the district level to the president, of course we as ordinary people can see the contestation among political influencers in conducting digital campaigns. Every election takes place, these influencers can be said to be divided into two groups, those who are pro with detention and those who are opposition (Mikail, 2015).

Nevertheless, it can be said that the composition of these accounts is always the same every year and even if there is a change in the constellation of the two camps, it usually only happens because it follows the current dynamics of politics in Indonesia. This causes netizens to easily map out who influencers belong to the two camps and more and more here are

netizens making generalizations whether an influencer is classified as pro-government or opposition. A little backward to see these influencers, most of them are people who do not have a political background at all, but do not rule out the possibility for them to later plunge into the realm of politics. What is interesting is that some of them are ex-activists who were active in the movement during the reform era, and now have turned into part of the political funnel in Indonesia. When the election period is over, those who successfully campaign for one of the candidates also enter the government circle, even though it is considered an informal public relations authority of the ruling government (but there are 1-2 influencers who are then legally withdrawn into government mouthpieces).

In addition to influencers belonging to the two camps, there are also influencers who have no political interests, but consistently carry out various criticisms of the current administration. In fact, it is not uncommon during the election campaign period, they also continue to make criticisms, especially if they feel that no candidate is deemed fit to participate in the general election. Some of these influencers have a background in real-world activism, their activism is not only about political issues, but various issues that are considered very important and a problem in this country, so it can be said easily that they are a new generation of activists who always trying to give his critical thinking related to the political conditions in Indonesia.

This paper itself seeks to see how the activism activities carried out by non-political influencers run effectively in the digital realm, especially on Twitter, where they often aggressively criticize government policies that are deemed inappropriate or even instead harming the people of Indonesia. This is certainly very interesting when considering that Twitter netizens easily generalize and consider themselves part of the opposition because often the issues they raise are 'ridden' by political influencers who are also part of the opposition, even though in reality they actually do not have affiliation with any political camp.

Jürgen Habermas explained the concept of 'public space' as an independent space separate from the state and the market. According to him every individual has the right (or access) to give his opinion in the public space. This public opinion has a position to influence the behavior that occurs in the 'space' of the country and the market, even on an informal level. Habermas believes that the "world of life" (lifeworld) and "system" (system) are the foundation of modern society. This theoretical concept shows the roots of communicative and 'instrumental or strategic actions.' According to him, the system consists of 'money' and 'power' subsystems, and human behavior in this subsystem is very instrumental in achieving the goals of this subsystem. On the other hand, in his view 'world-life' is usually 'conductive to freedom, which means achieving self-chosen goals that are not needed in the process.'

'World-life' helps the individuals within it to achieve their goals cooperatively by becoming a 'home' in communicative actions with awareness of the situation that is identified together. As a mechanism for understanding, it is the rational potential contained in

communicative action. The moral capacity of communicative action is openness of mind to logic (reason) and opinion (argument). Through the agreement of sharing and disputes using logic, consensus is found in it. Habermas also argues with this theoretical argument that the object of social change is to ensure that 'world-life' or 'public space' persists regardless of the inclination of 'machinery' and invasion by its subsystems.

There are conflicting statements about how the internet and its related technologies contribute to the development of public space. Supporters say the Internet helps shape the modern public domain (Oey-Gardiner & Abdullah, 2021). For example, the proliferation of online political debates will encourage political participation and can stop public spaces that are allegedly shrinking (Maryudi, 2018). On the other hand, critics refute these positive views, arguing that the Internet often produces discourse that is cracked, incomprehensible, and not limited to the exchange of logical and inclusive views. Actually there is no connection to the Internet in some parts of the world. In addition, interactive debate spaces are often shared in a parallel manner with conventional conversation modes (Massyat, 2013). In some cases, some dominate online debates, such as influencers or opinion leaders.

(Hirsch, 2014) emphasizes the argument about division by comparing modern social media activism with previous social movements, arguing that each generation reinvents social activism to meet the needs and language of the current situation. He acknowledged that individuals traditionally tended to join social movements by clearly identifying the causes, but were not always willing to put themselves at personal risk. Although there is recognition that many factors are effectively developed by social movements, in many cases he emphasizes the use of language and terminology in these movements as determining aspects. While this transition is not inherently dangerous, problems arise when individuals adopt a "consolation attitude" and shift focus from the rhetorical message itself. Although this phase may seem counter-intuitive (stupid events, causes, or movements that activate rhetoric), we should note that social media messages are quickly collected and optimized for direct impact, and users do not consider all rhetorical positions until posting - especially if the rhetoric is passionate about the cause or movement he wrote.

Is it possible for social media rhetoric to ignore such alterations? In "Beyond the Modern Synecdoche: Towards a Non-Fundamentalist Human Rights Discourse" Ricardo Baldissone introduces a potential solution - albeit theoretical - about how social media can be adapted to fit the need for non-polarized rhetoric. Baldissone claims that human rights discourse currently follows the synecdochic model, in which the concept of what "humanity" has been shaped only by certain parts of human groups. This inaccurate representation of humanity eliminates discourse about human differences and suggests that human rights and discourse activists marginalize subjects such as women, children, and what are often referred to as "minority" groups. Baldissone argues for recognition of the multiplicity of humans in rhetorical discourse, which would require new human rights vocabulary to grammatically flourish in limiting everyday language used to represent various groups.

The argument offered by Baldissone to systematically change the language of activist rhetoric raises a potential solution to the problem described by Lyons and Hesford. Because modern audiences vary greatly in the context and representation of their culture, Baldissone language analysis provides an interesting focal point for the future of rhetoric and its role in social media activism. The ethos of rhetoric - which is often the "centerpiece" of the rhetoric triangle - can prove to be a tool where human multiplicity is recognized on social media. Because most social media platforms involve some sort of personal identification on the part of the speaker or writer - be it a profile photo, user name, or even the full name of the user - there is a sense of responsibility associated with the rhetoric of modern human rights that did not exist in the 1960s and the 1970s, where anonymous pamphlets and letters were the main mode of written social activist rhetoric. This accountability can serve as a viable tool for promoting intentionality on the part of rhetoric; if social media users become more aware of the rhetoric alterations that are vulnerable to social media, the use of activist rhetoric on social media might, indeed, work to mobilize productive social movements.

In addition to using concepts related to activism and public space, I also use concepts related to public participation through the lens of 'Political Carnival'. Throughout the digital era, the conceptualization of the relationship between 'games' and citizen participation in the democratic process has become increasingly relevant (Budiarta et al., 2020). Underlying this attraction is the idea that 'game' is often associated with the same social and political forces that form other aspects of social life (Burchill & Linklater, 2019). The idea of carnivalism has two contrasting features, but they are interrelated. Carnival, on the one hand, is a social event to share or give thanks. The original purpose of maintaining a carnival was to seek entertainment. They are often ritualistic and congregational within clear boundaries, characterized by ephemerality filled with cheerfulness, hospitality and cheerfulness (Tackett, 2014). Carnival in this way mimics festivals that are characterized primarily by fun and play (Solikhin et al., 2020).

Around the same time the carnival provided resistance. (Damanik et al., 2022) argues that carnival as a provider of public counter space is worth considering. In fact, the carnival has long been associated with social movements and rebellion. As defined (Lewis, 2013), carnival is an 'anti-structural' domain in which the dominant social structure is reversed or named. The official order hierarchy was mocked into a carnival, and social and political forces were reversed. Historical investigations mark the early festivals as a protest against public order. This brief historical view offers various examples of how carnivals are used to oppose the government, or at least temporarily defuse certain types of political oppression. (Stallybrass & White, 1986) summarize the main features of the carnival as follows: a) A strong, populist, and critical reversal of all official words and hierarchies. b) Suspension of all hierarchical rankings, privileges, norms and restrictions. c) Positive degradation and insults and creative disrespect. d) A temporary re-textualization of social formations that reveals their 'fictitious' foundation (p.1-26).

Why does a carnival act as a playroom and place of resistance? For a long time, the carnival has offered a platform for the general public to joke and ridicule political figures, to insinuate and ridicule absurdity, to oppose social customs and to reverse current hierarchical norms. In other words, the main components of the carnival are political humor, satire, and parody, and all are closely related to attitudes condemning absurdity.

Humor is "a process that alleviates the subject from the accumulation of elements of violence contained in the subconscious". Political humor in the past has become "a common medium for voicing widespread insults and resistance to authoritarian regimes" (Park, 2013). A healthy reaction to a superior power is political comedy as a reaction to a greater power (Wood, 2020). Political humor helps people to express social, cultural, and political grievances in ways that allow them to let go of restricted and suppressed desires and freedoms (Park, 2013). Political humor is an ancient folk language that is not discussed in the mass media, and is a collective commodity that has no legitimacy or visible origin. The political satire themes are less cynical but also more provocative than general comedy.

Satire is another key aspect that people use to mock or ridicule others in carnivals (Bonnstetter, 2011). Satire produces a short laugh and a feeling of relief followed by liberation from the oppressive subject. Political satire establishes "a space of liberation through this counter-hegemonic initiative, which increases the political knowledge of people who are powerless and involved in rebellion" (Bonnstetter, 2011). Serious satirical debates mock the current law and bring down the dominating hierarchy. Satirical debate is effective when it attracts and exposes the secret nature of injustice in the center of public attention. Political satire triggers anger, encourages dissent, and frees people from the political tyranny of dominant discourse.

Another important aspect of the carnival is Parody. Parody is described as "an imitation of the style of a particular writer, artist, or genre with excessive intentional comic effects" (Oxford Dictionaries, 2014); That is, parody is an imitation set against the original, or far from the truth. According to Bakhtin (1984b), parody is a kind of double-voicing that understands the significance of statements, thereby injecting "new semantic goals into debates that have, and maintain, their own ends" (p.189). Also, political parody is used to insert rival meanings from the language of the king, mocking the political agenda of the authorities (Badarneh, 2011). A parody writer adopts the ruling discourse and then "includes that discourse semantic goals which are directly contrary to the originals" (Bakhtin, 1984b, p.193). As a result, the voice of the creator of parody contrasts with the voice of the ruler, who dominates the dominant discourse, and thus creates a force of resistance against the government.

### **Material and Methodology**

This study applies a qualitative approach which is a type of research whose findings are not obtained through quantification procedures, statistical calculations, or other forms of

measurement using numerical measures. Qualitative is a method relating to aspects of quality, value or meaning contained behind facts. The quality, value or meaning referred to here can only be expressed and explained through linguistics, language, or words. That is why this method does not describe the data and reveal the results of his research with numbers, numbers, values, ratings or frequencies, which are usually analyzed using mathematical or statistical calculations (Creswell, 2015).

(Creswell, 2015) also states that a qualitative approach is an approach to construct statements of knowledge based on constructive perspectives, which are based on meanings that originate from individual experiences, values, social and history, with the aim of developing theories or specific knowledge patterns or based on participatory perspectives. based on orientation to politics, issues, collaboration, or change, or both. As said in his book, Furthermore, Creswell explains that in qualitative research, knowledge is built through interpretation of multiple perspectives from the input of all participants involved in research, not just from the researcher alone. Sources of qualitative research data consist of observational notes, interview notes, individual experiences, and history. Qualitative research aims to understand the objects studied in depth.

The qualitative research that I conducted uses a digital ethnographic approach. For this reason, I study the patterns of behavior, habits, language, and social interactions that occur on the subjects I research so that they can produce a deep picture and understanding of the subjects I studied, or in other words social media users, especially Twitter, originating from from generation Y (millennial.) In determining the informants to be right on target with this research question, I selected two key informants. My first key informant is an online media journalist who I think has a lot of information about activism activities on social media that are relevant for research In addition to the journalist, I also chose another informant who is an activist of social media activism itself, who likes to voice his criticism on various social media, one of which is Twitter.

The steps I took in collecting this research data included observing. Observation activity is a way of collecting data by making observations and being directly involved with an object in a certain period and making systematic records of things that are observed. The method of observation in this study was conducted by observing how the patterns of social interaction that occur between Twitter users in their daily life in there, both in activities such as discussions that are critical of government policies and other activities or in everyday social interactions. While the interaction between influencers and buzzers was observed when discussions took place in the social media. Thus I will be able to see the patterns of interaction that exist at the same time see the compatibility between the results of the interview with the reality that occurs in the field.

The next method I did was the in-depth interview method I did with my informants, be it key informants or other informants. With both methods carried out in the field, I hope to build a good report card with the informants so that the research data obtained is also more

accurate. This study also uses literature or library research data collection techniques (literature studies) at the beginning of the activity before conducting field research to get an overview and find references related to research in order to complete and strengthen the research base. Materials or secondary data obtained from journals, the internet, articles related to the subject matter of the study object will be used as a support in compiling this research.

### **Results and Discussions**

In its development, social activism activities are often associated with efforts of resistance from the people who are considered oppressed against those who are considered to have the power to determine the lives of many people. Those who are considered to have this power are not only limited to individual entities, but also groups, can also not be private parties, but the government itself is also considered as those who have power over the livelihoods of many people. Meanwhile, those who carry out these activism activities can be said to have very diverse backgrounds, such as documentary filmmakers, paralegals for the National Human Rights Commission, academics, to health workers. Although their interactions are not limited to Twitter's social media, the locus of activism and social movements is very visible on Twitter, especially Twitter frees its users to deliver messages even though it is limited to 280 characters.

This is quite normal considering the majority of Indonesians use social media as a way to exchange information. From students, employees, officials, and presidents to social media pages such as Facebook and Twitter. Social networks such as sharing knowledge, creating a new world on social media through status, video, and images. The growth of the internet ensures that everyone has the same ability to use it, such as making movements and improving. This is assisted by a number of social media such as Facebook, Twitter, Youtube, and others that change communication and change the way individuals interact through the internet. In the context of Twitter itself, its users are currently dominated by Zs and Ys / Millennials (15-39 Years) so it can be said that they are classified as young children to young adults.

The definition of youth generation that I use in this paper is based on the categorization of generations by Brosdahl and Carpenter (2011), referring explicitly to Generation Y. Early and regular exposure to technology, which has advantages and disadvantages in terms of cognitive, emotional and social consequences, is a major feature of Gen Y (Immordino-Yang et al., 2012). In the broadest definition of the word, social media describes it as an online service where users can build and distribute various content. While social media has existed since the birth of Gen Y (1981), it was widely embraced after 2003. They include user-generated services (such as blogs), social networking sites, online review / ranking sites, the world of virtual games, video sharing sites, and online communities where users create, develop, post or edit content.



Several studies have shown that Gen Y often contributes information, produces and pulverizes (e.g., Combining materials from various sources); that they are inclined to social networking platforms where they can interact (Dye, 2007) and that when the accessibility and flexibility offered by social media increasingly become part of their daily routines, their use is reflected in various aspects of social life, including social life. Wattenberg (2008) argues:

"Young people are almost always in the forefront of new types of activities, and are typically more adventurous and open to novel ways of doing things. If there really is a new kind of political engagement, then it seems reasonable to hypothesize that young people would be among the first practitioners of new means of involvement in the political process"

Young people have very open opportunities to use social media as a platform to grow their activities as members of civil society, such as community participation and improving themselves. Young people as agents of reform and at the same time oversight of the direction of government allows social media to be a place to track policy efficiency. Young people often use social media as a forum for government policy discourse and analysis. Not only is the youth community involved in the online world, but also makes movements in the real world. By using social media supported by young people who are trying to respond to social problems, seek support from groups and carry out online activism. With social networks of young people who are members of the community can quickly discuss and communicate with fellow community members, social media has promoted public space for young people, assisted by digital people who make social media public space a new pop culture.

The same thing was also stated by Hirsch (2014), that each generation reinvents social activism to meet the needs and language of the current situation. We must also be able to understand that the various issues raised in social activism activities on Twitter are often close to our daily lives, even trivial matters sometimes become issues that are echoed by these social activism movements. What is interesting is that when these issues intersect directly with the policies implemented by the government, then a new arena of debate will emerge between those who are pro to contra. Even sometimes the debate that arises then triggers conflicts that sometimes attack each other's personal.

What is interesting is that the difference between experts on generation Y and generation Z in addressing social media activism, Susilo et al (2020) sees that in terms of research, those belonging to generation Z have no interest in being involved in participating in various activities. social activism. Instead they use social media as a means for the economy or just as a place to find entertainment only. Meanwhile, Wijayanti (2020) sees that, when interactions between young people have a higher literacy rate than the previous generation, they are still vulnerable to virus propaganda that comes in various forms.

Public space is, according to Habermas (1962/1989), a place where people can participate in lively debates about their mutual affairs. This is an area where reason and equality are important bases for the development of debates and opinions (Fraser, 1990).

However, to represent the changing perspective of society and the new position of social media in the political process, conventional ideas about public space need to be further developed. The processes that shape opinions and reflect on public behavior on social media are more complex than those shown by definitions that are no different from the original public space.

Today, almost every dimension of life seems blurred: pleasure is the main motivator for attracting people to public affairs; traditional hierarchical networks are gradually being replaced by horizontal relations and decentralization; large-scale participatory behavior such as protest activities or political activities alongside small-scale participatory behavior such as posting in Indonesia. In addition, the introduction of emerging digital media platforms adds complexity to the tendency to confuse citizenship and culture.

In times like this where blurring is the norm, it is almost difficult to apply conventional ideas about public space to understanding the role of people in the democratic process. Public carnivalism may be a valuable method for following the development of public space. It helps understand how the pursuit of entertainment generates participation in political affairs, how politically negligent people often establish a certain level of political involvement through the use of social media, how social media helps build alternative public domains where they can express their desires (Fraser, 1990), and how diverse citizens can form diverse connections. Current studies show that social media can function as a valuable and attractive public space by encouraging people to participate in freer and more carnivalistic political processes.

It can be said that the use of social media as a campaign tool is a product of the thought and reflection processes of the actors. As part of a logical process, social activists build a shared identity which is then divided into many camps. Social media then drives strategies to reason, especially in the creation of identity. There is a direct description of who is a friend, who is an enemy, as well as an analysis of problems and solutions offered. Solidarity can come from anywhere, from anyone. Clearly, social media is used as a tool to build and maintain unlimited unity among actors. Social media encourages contemplation strategies because they succeed in forcing responses to their demands by raising awareness of the opposition (counterhegemony) and regulating the flow of information. Social media is a forum for conflicts of opinion on various topics that are the subject of social activists' studies. In the end, the political feelings of their struggle and demands must depend on their hegemonic articulation. This, in the face of oppressive and authoritarian local governments, civil society (grassroots) creates political influence through social media.

Furthermore, actors' efforts to combat any personal attacks directed at their groups through social media can be read as tactics of the actors in managing the flow of information. The public must receive information from all parties, namely the pros and cons. So, the public must consider which party's claim is stronger and more attractive. Given its freedom in the context of being free from traditional mass media editorial practices, social media operations

were also chosen as a priority strategy. Actual action is part of the actor's policy, in an effort to encourage democratic representation. Therefore the continuity of the strategy from social media activities to actual action is understood as the process of transforming the movement strategy.

Real action is no longer seen as an initial tactic, but rather as a goal that shows the existence of actors as activists who protect the interests of the lower classes. Face-to-face meetings trigger stronger resistance. Because of face-to-face meetings and constructive experiences with local groups, they don't just organize a floating crowd. Throughout the internet era, this strategy focused not only on the internet (content) but also on access. Social media can manage the masses but there is still a need for direct contact to reach the masses who do not have access to social media. The combination of social media and face-to-face contact is the best way to resist the flames of resistance within the group. That is, social media will open up opportunities for individual rapid mobilization.

### **Kesimpulan**

The use of social media is closely related to the phenomenon of revolution 2.0, namely the use of social media as an effort to gain power and the effects of the dynamics of the political history of the community itself. Therefore social media characteristics such as form, content and audience influence its use as a tool for movement. The campaign approach is divided into two according to modern social movements, namely goals and reflection. And that also involves a mixture of both.

The number of young people entering social movements as their publication media cannot be separated from the mainstream media. The use of social media to form social movements is very successful in attracting public interest. Youth activism in social media is a policy balancing force, when the policy cannot overcome the problem of social media, the youth movement brings problems to the mainstream, and it becomes a matter of public interest, this youth movement is often a substitute for government positions when the government is slow and cannot penetrate the community in the smallest way possible.

Social media will promote political engagement because it has effectively moved public issues into the policy agenda. This success arises because social media interactions can be transformed into practical practices.

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