

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Abdussamad & Rapanna. (2021). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*. CV. Syakir Media Press.
- Ali. (2025). Digital Activism and Collective Mobilization: A Narrative Review of Social Identity, Group Efficacy, and the SIMCA Framework. *Sinergi International Journal of Psychology*, 3(1), 38–51. <https://doi.org/10.61194/psychology.v3i1.691>
- Andung & Swan. (2021). The Dynamics of Public Sphere in Social Media: Cybermedia Analysis. *Jurnal ASPIKOM*, 6(1), 42. <https://doi.org/10.24329/aspikom.v6i1.825>
- Apriyani. (2021). Peran Sosial Media pada Gerakan Protes Massa Aksi dan Demokrasi Baru di Era Digital. *Kalijaga Journal of Communication*, 3(1), 17–30. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.14421/kjc.31-02.2021>
- Ardial. (2010). *Komunikasi Politik*. PT Indeks.
- Asshiddiqie. (2021). *Konstitusi dan Konstitusionalisme Indonesia*. Sinar Grafika.
- Bennett & Segerberg. (2013). *The Logic of Connective Action*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139198752>
- Bungin. (2007). *Penelitian Kualitatif: Komunikasi, Ekonomi, Kebijakan Publik, dan Ilmu Sosial Lainnya* (Suwito, Rendy, & Iam, Eds.; 3rd ed.). Kencana.
- Castro-Abril et al. (2021). Social Identity, Perceived Emotional Synchrony, Creativity, Social Representations, and Participation in Social Movements: The Case of the 2019 Chilean Populist Protests. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 12. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.764434>
- Chaudhary et al. (2022). Understanding the Impact of Marketing Outcomes from the Hashtags of the Wellness Industry: Twitter Perspective. *Journal Of Content Community and Communication*, 16(8), 92–105. <https://doi.org/10.31620/JCCC.12.22/08>
- Coleman. (2005). New Mediation and Direct Representation: Reconceptualizing Representation in the Digital Age. *New Media & Society*, 7(2), 177–198. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444805050745>
- Dahl.. (1989). *Democracy and Its Critics*. Yale University Press.
- Darmawan & Dzulfaroh. (2024, August 22). *Kenapa Muncul “Peringatan Darurat Indonesia”?* Kompas. <https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2024/08/22/101529565/kenapa-muncul-peringatan-darurat-indonesia#:~:text=Alasan%20di%20balik%20munculnya%20peringatan%20darurat%20Indonesia.%20Dikutip>
- Davies & Peña. (2021). Social movements and international relations: a relational framework. *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 24(1), 51–76. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41268-019-00180-w>
- Dian & Amri. (2024, August 22). *Poin Rangkuman #KawalPutusanMK dan Peringatan Darurat yang Perlu Diketahui*. Narasi. https://narasi.tv/read/narasi-daily/poin-rangkuman-kawalputusanmk-dan-peringatan-darurat-yang-perlu-diketahui#google_vignette

- Dolata. (2018). *Social Movements: The Sociotechnical Constitution of Collective Action* (pp. 31–55). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-78414-4_3
- Eley. (1992). Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures: Placing Habermas in the Nineteenth Century. In C. Calhoun (Ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (pp. 289–339). MIT Press.
- Ema & Nayiroh. (2024). Komunikasi Media Sosial sebagai Alat Mobilisasi Gerakan Sosial di Indonesia. *Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi UHO: Jurnal Penelitian Kajian Ilmu Sosial Dan Informasi*, 9(1), 221–238. <https://doi.org/10.52423/jikuho.v9i1.159>
- Fadhallah. (2020). *Wawancara* (1st ed.). UNJ Press.
- Fatimah. (2025). Transformasi Ruang Publik Digital: Tantangan Sosial dan Konstitusional dalam Demokrasi Era Media Baru. *Cakrawala*, 19(1), 67–86. <https://doi.org/10.32781/cakrawala.v19i1.785>
- Febrianto. (2022). Social Movement Based on Social Media in Social Moral Perspective. *Jurnal Teologi*, 11(1), 33–52. <https://doi.org/10.24071/jt.v11i01.4397>
- Foust & Hoyt. (2018). Social Movement 2.0: Integrating and Assessing Scholarship on Social Media and Movement. *Review of Communication*, 18(1), 37–55. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15358593.2017.1411970>
- Gaffar. (1997). Menampung Partisipasi Politik Rakyat. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, 1(1), 8–26. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.22146/jsp.11177>
- Galuh. (2016). Media Sosial sebagai Strategi Gerakan Bali Tolak Reklamasi. *Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 13(1), 73–92. <https://doi.org/10.24002/jik.v13i1.602>
- Gerbaudo. (2022). Theorizing Reactive Democracy: The Social Media Public Sphere, Online Crowds, and the Plebiscitary Logic of Online Reactions. *Democratic Theory*, 9(2), 120–138. <https://doi.org/10.3167/dt.2022.090207>
- Habermas. (1984). *The Theory of Communicative Action: Reason and the Rationalization of Society* (Vol. 1). Beacon Press.
- Habermas. (1989). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (T. Burger & F. Lawrence, Trans.). MIT Press.
- Habermas. (1996). *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy* (W. Rheg, Ed.). The MIT Press.
- Habermas. (2022). Reflections and Hypotheses on a Further Structural Transformation of the Political Public Sphere. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 39(4), 145–171. <https://doi.org/10.1177/02632764221112341>
- Haris et al. (2019). Mengenal Gerakan Sosial dalam Perspektif Ilmu Sosial. *Hasanuddin Journal of Sociology*, 15–24. <https://doi.org/10.31947/hjs.v1i1.6930>
- Hariyanti. (2017). Generasi Muda Muslim dan Gerakan Sosial Spiritual Berbasis Media Online. *Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 13(2), 165–178. <https://doi.org/10.24002/jik.v13i2.671>
- Haryanto. (2024, January 31). *APJII: Jumlah Pengguna Internet Indonesia Tembus 221 Juta Orang*. Detikinet. <https://inet.detik.com/cyberlife/d-7169749/apjii-jumlah-pengguna-internet-indonesia-tembus-221-juta-orang>
- Haßler et al. (2023). Why We Should Distinguish Between Mobilization and Participation When Investigating Social Media. *Media and Communication*, 11(3), 124–128. <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v11i3.7285>

- Hennessy. (1985). *Public Opinion* (5th ed.). Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.
- Hensby. (2017). Networks of Non-Participation: Comparing ‘Supportive’, ‘Unsupportive’ and ‘Undecided’ Non-Participants in the UK Student Protests against Fees and Cuts. *Sociology*, 51(5), 957–974. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038515608113>
- Holmes. (2005). *Communication Theory: Media, Technology, Society*. SAGE Publications Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446220733>
- Howoldt et al. (2023). Understanding researchers’ Twitter uptake, activity and popularity—an analysis of applied research in Germany. *Scientometrics*, 128(1), 325–344. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11192-022-04569-2>
- Huntington. (1991). *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Twentieth Century* (Vol. 4). University of Oklahoma Press.
- Isnanto. (2023, August 10). *Kenapa Twitter Jadi X? Ini Penjelasan dan Perubahan Fiturnya*. Detikinet. <https://inet.detik.com/cyberlife/d-6869515/kenapa-twitter-jadi-x-ini-penjelasan-dan-perubahan-fiturnya>
- Juditha & Darmawan. (2024). Analisis Jaringan Komunikasi Warganet Pada Debat Publik Calon Presiden-Wakil Presiden Pemilu 2024 di Media Sosial. *Jurnal Pekommas*, 9(1), 131–144. <https://doi.org/10.56873/jpkm.v9i1.5522>
- Klein et al. (2007). Social Identity Performance: Extending the Strategic Side of SIDE. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 11(1), 28–45. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868306294588>
- Kusuma et al. (2024). Pengaruh Media Sosial Terhadap Pola Komunikasi Pemerintah dan Masyarakat dalam Era Digital. *Ekasakti Jurnal Penelitian Dan Pengabdian*, 5(1), 23–32. <https://doi.org/10.31933/ejpp.v5i1.1206>
- Lay. (2012). Democratic Transition in Local Indonesia: An Overview of Ten Years Democracy. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, 15(3), 207–219. <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.22146/jsp.10915>
- Lilleker & Koc-Michalska. (2017). What Drives Political Participation? Motivations and Mobilization in a Digital Age. *Political Communication*, 34(1), 21–43. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2016.1225235>
- Lim. (2018). Roots, Routes, and Routers: Communications and Media of Contemporary Social Movements. *Journalism & Communication Monographs*, 20(2), 92–136. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1522637918770419>
- Lindlof & Taylor. (2002). *Qualitative Communication Research Methods* (2nd ed.). CA: Sage Publication.
- Maclean et al. (2013). Understanding Twitter. *British Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 76(6), 295–298. <https://doi.org/10.4276/030802213X13706169933021>
- Mardiana. (2024, August 22). *Peringatan Darurat Indonesia, Apa Artinya? Ini Penjelasannya*. Kata Data. <https://katadata.co.id/berita/nasional/66c70958f0a7c/peringatan-darurat-indonesia-apa-artinya-ini-penjelasannya#:~:text=Peringatan%20darurat%20adalah%20fenomena%20internet,%20khususnya%20media%20sosial>
- Maryani. (2018). Developing Social Solidarity through Digital Media. *Jurnal Komunikasi Ikatan Sarjana Komunikasi Indonesia*, 3(1), 12–17. <https://doi.org/10.25008/jkiskiki.v3i1.144>

- McQuail. (2010). *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory* (6th ed.). Sage.
- Moleong. (2006). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif* (Revisi). PT Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Mollett et al. (2011). Using Twitter in University Research, Teaching and Impact Activities: A guide for Academics and Researchers. *London School of Economics and Political Science*. <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/38489/>
- Mujibuddin. (2018). Kontruksi Media Dalam Gerakan Islam Populis 212. *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama*, 12(2), 261. <https://doi.org/10.14421/jsa.2018.122-05>
- Nasrullah. (2020). *Media Sosial: Perspektif Komunikasi, Budaya, dan Siosioteknologi* (N. S. Nurbaya, Ed.; 6th ed.). Simbiosis Rekatama Media.
- Nazir. (1988). *Metode Penelitian* (4th ed.). Ghalia Indonesia.
- Nenjerama & Mpofu. (2022). Populism From Below and Social Movements: A Case of Zimbabwe's #ThisFlag Movement. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 57(4), 693–711. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00219096211034526>
- Nimmo. (2005). *Komunikasi Politik: Komunikator, Pesan, dan Media*. PT Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Nofrima & Qodir. (2021). Gerakan Sosial Baru Indonesia: Studi Gerakan Gejayan Memanggil 2019. *Jurnal Sosiologi Reflektif*, 16(1), 185–210. <https://doi.org/10.14421/jsr.v16i1.2163>
- Nugroho. (2020). Effect of Digital Community Towards Democracy Process: Digital Partisipation Analysis in Indonesia. *Jurnal Good Governance*, 15(2). <https://doi.org/10.32834/gg.v15i2.123>
- Papacharissi. (2014). *Affective Publics: Sentiment, Technology, and Politics*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199999736.001.0001>
- Pariser. (2011). *The Filter Bubble: What the Internet is Hiding from You*. The Penguin Press.
- Parnes. (2016). Internet Media as the Digital Public Sphere: Possibilities and Problems. *Central European Journal of Communication*, 9(1), 90–102. [https://doi.org/10.19195/1899-5101.9.1\(16\).6](https://doi.org/10.19195/1899-5101.9.1(16).6)
- Pizarro et al. (2022). Emotional Processes, Collective Behavior, and Social Movements: A Meta-analytic Review of Collective Effervescence Outcomes During Collective Gatherings and Demonstrations. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 13. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2022.974683>
- Pratama et al. (2022). Social Media as a Tool for Social Protest Movement Related to Alcohol Investments in Indonesia. In *Lecture Notes in Network and Systems* (Vol. 319, pp. 138–146). International Conference on Human Interaction and Emerging Technologies. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-85540-6_18
- Putri et al. (2024). Ekonomi Politik Platformisasi dan Datafikasi dalam Gig Economy: Studi Kasus Bali dan Jawa Timur. *Jurnal Transformative*, 10(1). <https://doi.org/10.21776/ub.transformative.2024.010.01.4>
- Putri & Dzulfaroh. (2024, August 22). *Ada Aksi Demo dan Peringatan Darurat Indonesia, Apa yang Sebenarnya Terjadi?* Kompas. <https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2024/08/22/090000765/ada-aksi-demo-dan-peringatan-darurat-indonesia-apa-yang-sebenarnya-terjadi-?page=2>
- Rofiah & Bungin. (2024). Analisis Data Kualitatif: Manual Data Analisis Prosedur. *Develop*, 8(1), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.25139/dev.v8i1.7319>

- Sari & Siahainenia. (2015). Gerakan Sosial Baru di Ruang Publik Virtual pada Kasus Satinah. *Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 12(1). <https://doi.org/10.24002/jik.v12i1.446>
- Saud et al. (2020). The Role of Social Media in Promoting Political Participation: The Lebanon Experience. *Masyarakat, Kebudayaan Dan Politik*, 33(3), 248. <https://doi.org/10.20473/mkp.V33I32020.248-255>
- Shirky. (2011). The Political Power of Social Media: Technology, the Public Sphere, and Political Change. *Council on Foreign Relation*, 90(1), 28–41.
- Sofyan. (2021). Makna Solidaritas dalam Film It Chapter Two. *Jurnal SEMIOTIKA*, 15(2), 119–132.
- Stewart & Hartmann (2020). The New Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere. *Sociological Theory*, 38(2), 170–191. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0735275120926205>
- Stuart et al. (2018). “I Don’t Really Want to be Associated with The Self-righteous Left Extreme”: Disincentives to Participation in Collective Action. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 6(1), 242–270. <https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v6i1.567>
- Sugiyono. (2007). *Metode Penelitian Pendidikan: Pendekatan Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, dan R&D* (Cetakan 3). Alfabeta.
- Sugiyono. (2008). *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, dan R&D*. Alfabeta.
- Sugiyono. (2017). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif: Untuk penelitian yang bersifat eksploratif, enterpretif, interaktif, dan konstruktif*. Alfabeta.
- Sujoko et al. (2020). *Media dan Dinamika Demokrasi* (I. Fahmi, Rendy, & Iam, Eds.; 1st ed.). Kencana.
- Sukmana. (2016). *Konsep dan Teori Gerakan Sosial* (D. S. Irnanda & K. Sukmawati, Eds.; 1st ed.). Intrans Publishing.
- Susen. (2023). A New Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere? With, against, and beyond Habermas. *Society*, 60(6), 842–867. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12115-023-00908-y>
- Tabroni. (2023). *Komunikasi Politik Pada Era Digital* (N. S. Nurbaya, N. Slamet, & P. S. Ilham, Eds.; 1st ed.). Simbiosis Rekatama Media.
- Tan et al. (2013). Analyzing the impact of social media on social movements. *Proceedings of the 2013 IEEE/ACM International Conference on Advances in Social Networks Analysis and Mining*, 1259–1266. <https://doi.org/10.1145/2492517.2500262>
- Tarsidi et al. (2023). Social Media Usage and Civic Engagement Among Indonesian Digital Natives: An Analysis. *Jurnal Civics: Media Kajian Kewarganegaraan*, 20(2), 257–269. <https://doi.org/10.21831/jc.v20i2.60812>
- Taufik. (2018). Penumbangan Rezim melalui Gerakan Masyarakat Dunia Maya (Media Sosial) di Timur Tengah. *Indonesian Journal of International Relations*, 2(2), 20–29. <https://doi.org/10.32787/ijir.v2i2.55>
- Thonhauser. (2024). Collective Emotions and The Distributed Emotion Framework. *Phenomenology and the Cognitive Sciences*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11097-024-09965-y>
- Toffler. (1980). *The Third Wave*. William Morrow and Company, Inc.
- Triwibowo. (2006). *Gerakan Sosial: Wahana Civil Society bagi Demokratisasi* (I. G. Sudjatmiko, Ed.; 1st ed.). PT. Pustaka LP3ES dan Perkumpulan Prakarsa.

- Tufekci. (2017). *Twitter and Tear Gas: The Power and Fragility of Networked Protest*. Yale University Press.
- Ukarana et al. (2024). Respons terhadap Komunitas AnieSpace sebagai Bentuk Ruang Publik Baru. *MUKASI: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 3(2), 165–178. <https://doi.org/10.54259/mukasi.v3i2.2620>
- Uwalaka. (2023). Mobile Internet and Contentious Politics in Nigeria: Using the Organisational Tools of Mobile Social Networking Applications to Sustain Protest Movements. *Journalism and Media*, 4(1), 396–412. <https://doi.org/10.3390/journalmedia4010026>
- Van Dijck. (2013). *The Culture of Connectivity: A Critical History of Social Media*. Oxford University Press New York. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199970773.001.0001>
- Wahyudi. (2021). *Penggunaan Media Sosial sebagai Sarana Gerakan Sosial* (Wahyudi & Ruhtata, Eds.; 1st ed.). Bildung.
- Wahyuni. (2019). *Qualitative Research Method: Theory and Practice* (3rd ed.). Salemba Empat.
- Wearesocial. (2024, January 31). *Digital 2024: 5 Billion Social Media Users*. Wearesocial. <https://wearesocial.com/id/blog/2024/01/digital-2024-5-billion-social-media-users/#:~:text=The%20number%20of%20unique%20mobile%20phone%20users%20sit>
- Wlodarczyk et al. (2017). Hope and Anger as Mediators Between Collective Action Frames and Participation in Collective Mobilization: The Case of 15-M. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 5(1), 200–223. <https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v5i1.471>
- Xinyue. (2023). Social Media as a Tool for Political Mobilization: A Case Study of the 2020 Hong Kong Protests. *Journal of Public Representative and Society Provision*, 3(1), 9–12. <https://doi.org/10.55885/jprsp.v3i1.199>
- Zarrabeitia-Bilbao et al. (2022). World Environment Day: Understanding Environmental Programs Impact on Society Using Twitter Data Mining. *Social Indicators Research*, 164(1), 263–284. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-022-02957-y>