

- Alatas, S. and Sutanto, V. (2019) 'Cyberfeminisme and Female Empowerment through New Media', *Jurnal Komunikasi Pembangunan*, 17(2), pp. 165–176.
- Annisa, R. (2022) 'Indonesian Digital Feminist Activism Bridging Global-Local Feminism Discourse: Textual Network Analysis of Jakarta Feminist', *Jurnal Sosioteknologi*, 21(2), pp. 125–133. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.5614/sostek.itbj.2022.21.2.1>.
- Baer, H. (2016) 'Redoing feminism: Digital activism, body politics, and neoliberalism', *Feminist Media Studies*, 16(1), pp. 17–34. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2015.1093070>.
- Banet-Weiser, S. and Portwood-Stacer, L. (2017) 'The traffic in feminism: an introduction to the commentary and criticism on popular feminism', *Feminist Media Studies*, 17(5), pp. 884–888. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2017.1350517>.
- Baulch, E. and Pramianti, A. (2018) 'Hijabers on Instagram: Using Visual Social Media to Construct the Ideal Muslim Woman', *Social Media and Society*, 4(4). Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305118800308>.
- Blackburn, S. (2004) *Women and The State in Modern Indonesia*. New York: Cambridge Univercity Press.
- Blackburn, S. (2008) 'Indonesian women and political Islam', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 39(1), pp. 83–105. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022463408000040>.
- Bogen, K.W. *et al.* (2021) '#MeToo: Disclosure and Response to Sexual Victimization on Twitter', *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 36(17–18), pp. 8257–8288. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260519851211>.
- Boler, M. *et al.* (2014) 'Connective labor and social media: Women's roles in the "leaderless" Occupy movement', *Convergence*, 20(4), pp. 438–460. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856514541353>.
- Boling, K.S. (2020) '#ShePersisted, Mitch: a memetic critical discourse analysis on an attempted Instagram feminist revolution', *Feminist Media Studies*, 20(7), pp. 966–982. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2019.1620821>.

Caldeira, S.P. (2023) 'Instagrammable feminisms: Aesthetics and attention-seeking strategies on Portuguese feminist Instagram', *Convergence*, 0(0), pp. 1–17. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/13548565231171048>.

Cammaerts, B. (2015) 'Social Media and Activism', *The International Encyclopedia of Digital Communication and Society*, pp. 1–8. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118767771.wbiedcs083>.

Cammaerts, B., Mattoni, A. and McCurdy, P. (2013) *Mediation and protest movements, Mediation and Protest Movements*. Chicago: Intellect.

Castells, M. (2007) 'Communication , Power and Counter-power in the Network Society 1', 1(June 2006), pp. 238–266.

Chamberlain, P. (2017) *The Feminist Fourth Wave: Affective Temporality*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Clark-Parsons, R. (2017) 'Feminist Ephemerality in a Digital World: Theorizing Zines as Networked Feminist Practice', *Communication, Culture and Critique*, 10(4), pp. 557–573. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/cccr.12172>.

Clark-Parsons, R. (2018) 'Building a digital Girl Army: The cultivation of feminist safe spaces online', *New Media and Society*, 20(6), pp. 2125–2144. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444817731919>.

Clark-Parsons, R. (2021) "'I SEE YOU, I BELIEVE YOU, I STAND WITH YOU": #MeToo and the performance of networked feminist visibility', *Feminist Media Studies*, 21(3), pp. 362–380. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2019.1628797>.

CNN (2014) *Why #YesAllWomen took off on Twitter*. Available at: <https://edition.cnn.com/2014/05/27/living/california-killer-hashtag-yesallwomen/>.

Crepax, R. (2020) 'The Aestheticisation of Feminism: A Case Study of Feminist Instagram Aesthetics', *ZoneModa Journal*, 10(1), pp. 71–81. Available at: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/71>.

Dahlgren, P. (2013) *The Political Web: Media, Participation and Alternative Democracy*. Palgrave Macmillan.

DataIndonesia.id (2023) *Pengguna Instagram di RI capai 106,72 hingga Februari 2023*.

Available at: <https://dataindonesia.id/digital/detail/pengguna-instagram-di-ri-capai-10672-juta-hingga-februari-2023>.

Dumitrica, D. and Hockin-Boyers, H. (2022) 'Slideshow activism on Instagram: constructing the political activist subject', *Information Communication and Society*, pp. 1–19. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2022.2155487>.

Fabbri, G. (2022) 'Intersectional activism on social media: Anti-racist and feminist strategies in the digital space', *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*, 58(5), pp. 713–728. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17449855.2022.2111223>.

Fairchild, C. (2007) 'Building the authentic celebrity: The "Idol" phenomenon in the attention economy', *Popular Music and Society*, 30(3), pp. 355–375. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/03007760600835306>.

Ferrara, E., Interdonato, R. and Tagarelli, A. (2014) 'Online popularity and topical interests through the lens of instagram', *HT 2014 - Proceedings of the 25th ACM Conference on Hypertext and Social Media*, (i), pp. 24–34. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1145/2631775.2631808>.

Fiers, F. (2020) 'Hiding Traces of Status Seeking: Contradictory Tagging Strategies on Instagram', *Social Media and Society*, 6(2). Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305120937318>.

Fotopoulou, A. (2016) *Feminist Activism and Digital Networks: Between Empowerment and Vulnerability*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Available at: <http://www.springer.com/series/14642>.

Fryer, B. (2003) *Storytelling That Moves People*, *Harvard Business Review*.

Gleason, B. (2013) '#Occupy Wall Street: Exploring Informal Learning About a Social Movement on Twitter', *American Behavioral Scientist*, 57(7), pp. 966–982. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764213479372>.

Granitz, N. and Forman, H. (2015) 'Building self-brand connections: Exploring brand stories through a transmedia perspective', *Journal of Brand Management*, 22(1), pp. 38–59. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1057/bm.2015.1>.

Hays, S., Page, S.J. and Buhalis, D. (2013) 'Social media as a destination marketing tool: Its use by national tourism organisations', *Current Issues in Tourism*, 16(3), pp. 211–239.

Hu, Y., Manikonda, L. and Kambhampati, S. (2014) 'What We Instagram: A First Analysis of Instagram Photo Content and User Types', *Frontiers of Mathematics in China*, 8(1), pp. 247–260. Available at:

<https://www.aaai.org/ocs/index.php/ICWSM/ICWSM14/paper/view/8118/8087>.

Hurley, Z. (2021) '#reimagining Arab Women's Social Media Empowerment and the Postdigital Condition', *Social Media and Society*, 7(2). Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051211010169>.

Islam, I. (2019) 'Redefining #youraverage muslim woman: Muslim female digital activism on social media', *Journal of Arab and Muslim Media Research*, 12(2), pp. 213–233. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1386/jammr_00004_1.

Jackson, S. (2018) 'Young feminists, feminism and digital media', *Feminism and Psychology*, 28(1), pp. 32–49. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353517716952>.

Jackson, S.J., Bailey, M. and Foucault Welles, B. (2020) 'Women Tweet on Violence: From #YesAllWomen to #MeToo', *#HashtagActivism*, (15), pp. 1–23. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/10858.003.0005>.

Jenkins, H. (2017) 'Voices for a New Vernacular: A Forum on Digital Storytelling Interview with Henry Jenkins', *International Journal of Communication*, 11, pp. 1061–1068. Available at: <http://ijoc.org>.

Jenkins, J. and Wolfgang, D.J. (2018) 'A space for women: online commenting forums as indicators of civility and feminist community-building', in *Mediating Misogyny, Gender, Technology & Harassment*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan., pp. 247–268.

Jones, R.H., Chik, A. and Hafner, C.A. (2015) *Discourse and Digital Practices: Doing discourse analysis in the digital age*, *Discourse and Digital Practices: Doing discourse analysis in the digital age*. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315726465>.

Jouët, J. (2018) 'Digital feminism: Questioning the renewal of activism', *Journal of Research in Gender Studies*, 8(1), pp. 133–157. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.22381/JRGS8120187>.

Keen, S. (2006) 'A Theory of Narrative Emphaty', *Narrative*, 14(207–236). Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20107388>.

Keller, J. (2019) “‘Oh, She’s a Tumblr Feminist’: Exploring the Platform Vernacular of Girls’ Social Media Feminisms”, *Social Media and Society*, 5(3). Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305119867442>.

Khamis, S., Ang, L. and Welling, R. (2016) ‘Self-branding, “micro-celebrity” and the rise of Social Media Influencers’, *Celebrity Studies*, 8(2), pp. 191–208. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392397.2016.1218292>.

Korn, J.U. and Kneese, T. (2015) ‘Guest Editors’ Introduction: Feminist Approaches to Social Media Research: History, Activism, and Values’, *Feminist Media Studies*, 15(4), pp. 707–710. Available at: <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2015.1053713>.

Krippendorff, K. (2004) *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*, Sage Publications, Inc. SAGE Publications Ltd. Available at: <https://login.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=buh&AN=48779086&site=ehost-live>.

Labrecque, L.I., Swani, K. and Stephen, A.T. (2020) ‘The impact of pronoun choices on consumer engagement actions: Exploring top global brands’ social media communications’, *Psychology and Marketing*, 37(6), pp. 796–814. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1002/mar.21341>.

Leaver, T., Highfield, T. and Abidin, C. (2020) *Instagram: Visual Social Media Cultures (Digital Media and Society)*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Leonhardt, J.M. (2015) ‘Tweets, hashtags and virality: Marketing the Affordable Care Act in social media’, *Journal of Direct, Data and Digital Marketing Practice*, 16(3), pp. 172–180. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1057/dddmp.2015.4>.

Linabary, J.R., Corple, D.J. and Cooky, C. (2020) ‘Feminist activism in digital space: Postfeminist contradictions in #WhyIStayed’, *New Media and Society*, 22(10), pp. 1827–1848. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444819884635>.

Literat, I. and Kligler-Vilenchik, N. (2019) *Youth Collective Political Expression on Social Media: The Role of Affordances and Memetic Dimensions for Voicing Political Views*. New Media and Society.

Loney-Howes, R. *et al.* (2022) ‘Digital footprints of #MeToo’, *Feminist Media Studies*, 22(6), pp. 1345–1362. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2021.1886142>.

Magdalene (2022) *Faqihudin Abdul Kodir, Ulama Lelaki, Pejuang Keadilan Gender*.

Available at: <https://magdalene.co/story/profil-kiai-faqihuddin-abdul-kodir>.

Manovich (2017) *Instagram and contemporary image*.

Mao, C. (2020) 'Feminist activism via social media in China', *Asian Journal of Women's Studies*, 26(2), pp. 245–258. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/12259276.2020.1767844>.

Martyn, E. (2004) 'The women's movement in post-colonial Indonesia: Gender and nation in a new democracy', *The Women's Movement in Post-Colonial Indonesia: Gender and Nation in a New Democracy*, pp. 1–264. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203299197>.

Marwick, A.E. (2013) 'Online Identity', *A Companion to New Media Dynamics*, pp. 355–364. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118321607.ch23>.

Marwick, A.E. (2015) 'Instafame: Luxury selfies in the attention economy', *Public Culture*, 27(1), pp. 137–160. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-2798379>.

Mendes, K., Keller, J. and Ringrose, J. (2019) 'Digitized narratives of sexual violence: Making sexual violence felt and known through digital disclosures', *New Media and Society*, 21(6), pp. 1290–1310. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444818820069>.

Mendes, K., Ringrose, J. and Keller, J. (2019) *Digital Feminist Activism: Girls and Women Fight Back Against Rape Culture*. Oxford University Press.

Meta Indonesia (2022) *Laporan Gen Z Indonesia 2022*. Available at: <https://indonesia.fb.com/wp-content/uploads/sites/68/2022/12/Instagram-Indonesia-Gen-Z-Trend-Report-2022.pdf>.

Moon, M. (2022) 'Digitally Mediated Mobilization in South Korea: Women's March and Collective Identity Building Online', *Sociological Perspectives*, 65(5), pp. 960–980. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/07311214221080991>.

Munro, E. (2013) 'Feminism: A Fourth Wave?', *Political Insight*, 4(2), pp. 22–25. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/2041-9066.12021>.

Mutiara, R.A. and Wenerda, I. (2022) 'Analisis Isi Feminisme dalam Akun Instagram @kalis.mardiasih', *Communication*, 13(2), pp. 166–176.

Muttaqin, F. (2015) 'Early Feminist Consciousness And Idea Among Muslim Women In

1920s Indonesia', *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun*, 3(1), pp. 19–38. Available at: <https://journal.scadindependent.org/index.php/jipeuradeun/article/view/52>.

Nurmila, N. (2021) 'The Spread of Muslim Feminist Ideas in Indonesia Before and After the Digital Era', *Al-Jami'ah*, 69(1), pp. 97–126. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2021.591.97-126>.

Olszanowski, M. (2015) 'The 1 × 1 Common: The Role of Instagram's Hashtag in the Development and Maintenance of Feminist Exchange', in Nathan Rambukkana (ed.) *#Hashtag Publics: The Power and Politics of Discursive Networks*. New York: Peter Lang, pp. 229–242.

Palmeiro, C. (2020) 'Ni Una Menos and The Politics of Translation', *Journal for Digital Culture*, 6, pp. 2–7.

Papacharissi, Z. (2002) 'The Presentation Of Self in Virtual Life: Characteristics Of Personal Home Page', *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 79(3), pp. 643–660.

Parahita, G.D. (2019) 'The Rise of Indonesian Feminist Activism on Social Media', *Jurnal Komunikasi Ikatan Sarjana Komunikasi Indonesia*, 4(2), pp. 104–115. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.25008/jkiski.v4i2.331>.

Parvanova, D. (2012) 'Islamic Feminist Activism in Indonesia: Muslim Women's Paths to Empowerment', *Austrian Studies in Social Anthropology (special issue: Islam and power in Southeast Asia)*, 1, pp. 11–26. Available at: <http://files/1098/Parvanova - 2012 - Islamic feminist activism in Indonesia Muslim wom.pdf>.

Portwood-Stacer, L. and Berridge, S. (2014) 'Introduction: Privilege and difference in (online) feminist activism', *Feminist Media Studies*, 14(3), pp. 519–520. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2014.909158>.

Pruchniewska, U.M. (2018) 'Branding the self as an "authentic feminist": negotiating feminist values in post-feminist digital cultural production', *Feminist Media Studies*, 18(5), pp. 810–824. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2017.1355330>.

Purwaningtyas, M.P.F. (2021) 'Indonesian Women's Activism in Instagram', *Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 18(2), pp. 141–162.

Rettberg, J.W. (2014) *Seeing Ourselves through Technology: How We Use Selfies, Blogs and Wearable Devices to See and Shape Ourselves*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rinaldo, R. (2013) *Mobilizing Piety: Islam and Feminism in Indonesia*. Oxford University Press. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0094306116629410zz>.

Rinaldo, R. (2014) 'Pious and Critical: Muslim Women Activists and the Question of Agency', *Gender and Society*, 28(6), pp. 824–846. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243214549352>.

Robinson, K. (2006) 'Islamic influences on Indonesian feminism', *Social Analysis*, 50(1), pp. 171–177. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.3167/015597706780886012>.

Robinson, K. (2009) *Gender, Islam and Democracy in Indonesia*. Edited by Louise Edwards. New York: Routledge.

Rusli (2006) 'An Analysis of Islamic Feminism in Indoneisa', *Jurnal Hunafa*, 3(1), pp. 1–12.

Salter, M. (2013) 'Justice and revenge in online counter-publics: Emerging responses to sexual violence in the age of social media', *Crime, Media, Culture*, 9(3), pp. 225–242. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1741659013493918>.

Savolainen, L., Uitermark, J. and Boy, J.D. (2022) 'Filtering feminisms: Emergent feminist visibilities on Instagram', *New Media and Society*, 24(3), pp. 557–579. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444820960074>.

Schulte, S.R. (2011) 'Review: Surfing Feminism Online Wave: The Internet and the Future of Feminism', *Feminist Studies*, 37(3), pp. 727–744.

Seedat, F. (2016) 'Beyond the text: Between Islam and Feminism', *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, 32(2), pp. 138–142. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.2979/jfemistudreli.32.2.23>.

Sela, A., Christian Wheeler, S. and Sarial-Abi, G. (2012) 'We are not the same as you and I: Causal effects of minor language variations on consumers' attitudes toward brands', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 39(3), pp. 644–661. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1086/664972>.

Semenzin, S. (2022) "'Swipe up to smash the patriarchy": Instagram feminist activism and the necessity of branding the self', *AG About Gender - Rivista internazionale di studi di genere*, 11(21), pp. 113–141. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.15167/2279-5057/AG2022.11.21.1990>.

Simões, R.B., Amaral, I. and Santos, S.J. (2021) ‘The new feminist frontier on community-based learning: Popular feminism, online misogyny, and toxic masculinities’, *European Journal for Research on the Education and Learning of Adults*, 12(2), pp. 165–177. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.3384/RELA.2000-7426.3359>.

Small, T.A. (2011) ‘What the hashtag? A content analysis of Canadian politics on Twitter’, *Information Communication and Society*, 14(6), pp. 872–895. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2011.554572>.

Sowards, S.K. and Renegar, V.R. (2006) ‘Reconceptualizing rhetorical activism in contemporary feminist contexts’, *Howard Journal of Communications*, 17(1), pp. 57–74. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10646170500487996>.

Steiner, L. and Bronstein, C. (2017) ‘Leave a comment: mommyblog and the everyday struggle to reclaim parenthood’, *Feminist Media Studies*, 17(1), pp. 59–76.

suaradewan.com (2017) *Tanggapi Felix Siauw, Kritik Menohok Perempuan NU Ini Viral*. Available at: <https://suaradewan.com/tanggapi-felix-siauw-kritik-menohok-perempuan-nu-ini-viral/>.

Subrahmanyam, K. and Smahel, D. (2011) ‘Constructing identity online: Identity exploration and self-presentation’, in *Digital Youth*. New York: Springer US, pp. 59–80. Available at: <http://www.amazon.com/Digital-Youth-Development-Responsible-Adolescent/dp/1461427371>.

The Washington Post (2017) *The woman behind “Me Too” knew the power of the orhrase when she created it 10 years ago*. Available at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-intersect/wp/2017/10/19/the-woman-behind-me-too-knew-the-power-of-the-phrase-when-she-created-it-10-years-ago/>.

Tiago, T. *et al.* (2017) ‘From comments to Hashtags Strategies: Enhancing cruise communication in Facebook and Twitter’, *Tourismos*, 12(3), pp. 19–47.

Tirto.id (2019) *#UninstallFeminism: Benarkah Indonesia Tak Butuh Feminisme?* Available at: <https://tirto.id/dlFE>.

Travers and Risman, B.J. (2021) ‘#Sayhername: So Much More Than a Hashtag: Introduction to the Symposium’, *Gender and Society*, 35(4), pp. 521–526. Available at:

WeAreSocial (2023a) *Digital 2023: April Global Statshot Report*. Available at: <https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2023-april-global-statshot>.

WeAreSocial (2023b) *Digital 2023: Indonesia*. Available at: <https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2023-indonesia>.

Whitmer, J.M. (2019) 'You are your brand: Self-branding and the marketization of self', *Sociology Compass*, 13(3), pp. 1–10. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12662>.

Yin, S. and Sun, Y. (2021) 'Intersectional digital feminism: assessing the participation politics and impact of the MeToo movement in China', *Feminist Media Studies*, 21(7), pp. 1176–1192. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2020.1837908>.

Zakiah, U. (2020) 'Posisi Pemikiran Feminis Faqihuddin Dalam Peta Studi Islam Kontemporer', *The International Journal of Pegon : Islam Nusantara civilization*, 4(02), pp. 115–138. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.51925/inc.v4i02.33>.

Van Zoonen, L. (1994) *Feminist Media Studies*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications Ltd.