

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Ahmad, T., Alvi, A., & Ittefaq, M. (2019). The use of social media on political participation among university students: An analysis of survey results from rural Pakistan. *SAGE Open*, 9(3), 215824401986448. - <https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244019864484>.
- Aisyah, P. N., Bakry, G. N., & Sjafirah, N. A. (2022). Analisis Jejaring Sosial Peran Pers dalam Penyebaran Informasi Terkait Kebijakan PPKM. *Jurnal Komunikasi Global*, 11(1), 43–65. <https://doi.org/10.24815/jkg.v11i1.24555>
- Alifiarry, M. A., Bevaola, K. (2020). The Application of Social Movement as a Form of Digital Advocacy: Case of #TolakRUUPermusikan. *Journal of Government Civil Society*. 5, 1, 1-30.
- Arrifqy, F., Nurdiansyah, M. I., & Joshua, V. (2022, December 18). *Wadas Dalam Genggaman Kuasa media*. Balairungpress. <https://www.balairungpress.com/2022/12/wadas-dalam-genggaman-kuasa-media/>
- Baxter, H. (1987). System and Life-World in Habermas's "Theory of Communicative Action." *Theory and Society*, 16(1), 39–86. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/657078>
- Bergman, M. (2016). Positivism. In K. B. Jensen, E. W. Rothenbuhler, J. D. Pooley, & R. T. Craig (Eds.), *The International Encyclopedia of Communication Theory and Philosophy* (1st ed., pp. 1–5). Wiley. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118766804.wbiect248>
- Blondel, V. D., Guillaume, J.-L., Lambiotte, R., & Lefebvre, E. (2008). *Fast unfolding of communities in large networks*. <https://doi.org/10.48550/ARXIV.0803.0476>
- Bruns, A., & Stieglitz, S. (2013). Towards more systematic Twitter analysis: Metrics for tweeting activities. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 16(2), 91–108.
- Borgatti, S. P., Everett, M. G., & Johnson, J. C. (2013). *Analyzing social networks* (2nd edition). SAGE.
- Borgatti, S. P., Mehra, A., Brass, D. J., & Labianca, G. (2009). Network Analysis in the Social Sciences. *Science*, 323(5916), 892–895. <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1165821>
- Boyd, D. (2011). Social Network Sites as Networked Publics; Affordances, Dynamics, and Implications. In Z. Papacharissi, *A Networked Self, Identity, Community, and Culture on Social Network Sites* (pp. 49-63). New York: Routledge.
- Castells, M. (Ed.). (2004). *The network society: A cross-cultural perspective*. Edward Elgar Pub.

- Çela, E. (2015). Social Media as a New Form of Public Sphere. *European Journal of Social Sciences Education and Research*, 4(1), 195–200. <https://doi.org/10.26417/ejser.v4i1.p195-200>
- Conway, B. A., Kenski, K., & Wang, D. (2015). The Rise of Twitter in the Political Campaign: Searching for Intermedia Agenda-Setting Effects in the Presidential Primary. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 20(4), 363–380. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcc4.12124>
- Da Silva, L. F. C., Barbosa, M. W., & Gomes, R. R. (2017). Measuring Participation in Distance Education Online Discussion Forums Using Social Network Analysis. *Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology*, 70(2), 140–150. <https://doi.org/10.1002/asi.24080>
- Dahlberg, L. (2005). The Habermasian Public Sphere: Taking Difference Seriously? *Theory and Society*, 34(2), 111–136. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4501718>
- Dahlgren, P. (2005). The Internet, Public Spheres, and Political Communication: Dispersion and Deliberation. *Political Communication*, 22(2), 147–162. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584600590933160>
- Darius, P. (2022). Who polarizes Twitter? Ideological polarization, partisan groups and strategic networked campaigning on Twitter during the 2017 and 2021 German Federal elections “Bundestagswahlen.” *Social Network Analysis and Mining*, 12(1), 151. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13278-022-00958-w>
- Deen, A., & Pan, P.-L. (2022). *Exploring Social Networks of #Election2020results and #BidenTransition on Twitter after the 2020 US Presidential Election*. 11, 77–96.
- Diamond, L. (2015). Liberation technology 1. In search of democracy (pp. 132-146). Routledge.
- Dhita, A. (2022, February 10). Merunut Solidaritas Wadas di Twitter & Melihat Akun yang Paling Berpengaruh. Netray. <https://analysis.netray.id/merunut-solidaritas-wadas-di-twitter-melihat-akun-yang-paling-berpengaruh/>
- Dijk, J. A. G. M. (2010). *The network society: Social aspects of new media* (2. ed., reprinted). SAGE.
- Dijk, J. A. G. M., & De Vos, L. (2001). Searching for the Holy Grail: Images of Interactive Television. *New Media & Society*, 3(4), 443–465. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14614440122226173>
- Eriyanto. (2014). *Analisis jaringan sosial*. Kencana.
- Fatanti, M.N. (2014). Twitter dan Masa Depan Politik Indonesia: Analisis Perkembangan Komunikasi Politik Lokal melalui Internet. *Jurnal Ilmu Pengetahuan Dan Teknologi Komunikasi*, 16(1), 17–30.

- Firdaus, & Utami. (2022, February 9). *Dosen UGM: Skema Pembebasan Lahan tambang di Wadas Bermasalah*. kompas.id. Diterima March 17, 2022, dari https://www.kompas.id/baca/nusantara/2022/02/09/dosen-ugm-sebut-skema-pembebasan-lahan-tambang-di-wadas-bermasalah?track_source=baca&track_medium=login-paywall&track_content=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.kompas.id%2Fbaca%2Fnusantara%2F2022%2F02%2F09%2Fdosen-ugm-sebut-skema-pembebasan-lahan-tambang-di-wadas-bermasalah&status=sukses_login&status_login=login
- Flew, T. (2014). *New media* (Fourth edition). Oxford University Press.
- Friemel, T. N., & Neuberger, C. (2023). The public sphere as a dynamic network. *Communication Theory*, 33(2–3), 92–101. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ct/qtad003>
- Fuchs, C. (2014). Social Media and the Public Sphere. *TripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique. Open Access Journal for a Global Sustainable Information Society*, 12(1), 57–101. <https://doi.org/10.31269/triplec.v12i1.552>
- Fuchs, C. (2021). *Social media: A critical introduction* (Third edition). SAGE.
- Gladwell, M. (2010). Small Change: Why the Revolution Will Not Be Tweeted. *The New Yorker*. October 4.
- Gerbner, G., Gross, L., Signorielli, N., Morgan, M., & Jackson-Beeck, M. (1979). The Demonstration of Power: Violence Profile No. 10. *Journal of Communication*, 29(3), 177–196. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1979.tb01731.x>
- Habermas, J. (1999). *The Structural transformation of the public sphere: An inquiry into a category of bourgeois society* (10. print). MIT Press.
- Handini, V. A., & Dunan, A. (2021). Buzzer as the Driving Force for Buzz Marketing on Twitter in the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election. *International Journal of Science, Technology & Management*, 2(2), 479–491. <https://doi.org/10.46729/ijstm.v2i2.172>
- Halberstam, Y., & Knight, B. (2016). Homophily, group size, and the diffusion of political information in social networks: Evidence from Twitter. *Journal of Public Economics*, 143, 73–88. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpubeco.2016.08.011>
- Hendrarto, Y.M. (2022, Februari 18). Isu Wadas, dari Bendungan sampai Ganjar Pranowo. Kompas.id. Retrieved April 27, 2024 from: <https://www.kompas.id/baca/linimasa/2022/02/18/isu-wadas-dari-bendungan-sampai-ganjar-pranowo>.

- Herman (2022, 6 Januari). KPA Catat 207 Konflik Agraria Sepanjang 2021. Beritasatu. Retrieved March 17, 2022, from: <https://www.beritasatu.com/ekonomi/875603/kpa-catat-207-konflik-agraria-sepanjang-2021#:~:text=Jakarta%2C%20Beritasatu.com%20%E2%80%93%20Konsorsium,tersebar%20di%20507%20desa%20Fk%20ota>.
- Himmelboim, I., Smith, M. A., Rainie, L., Shneiderman, B., & Espina, C. (2017). Classifying Twitter Topic-Networks Using Social Network Analysis. *Social Media + Society*, 3(1), 205630511769154. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305117691545>
- Hohendahl, P. U. (1982). *The Institution of Criticism*. Cornell University Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctt1g69x04>
- Kahne, J. (2014). *Youth, New Media, and the Rise of Participatory Politics*.
- Karlsen, R. (2015). Followers are opinion leaders: The role of people in the flow of political communication on and beyond social networking sites. *European Journal of Communication*, 30(3), 301–318. doi:10.1177/0267323115577305
- Karlsen, R., Steen-Johnsen, K., Wollebæk, D., & Enjolras, B. (2017). Echo chamber and trench warfare dynamics in online debates. *European Journal of Communication*, 32(3), 257–273. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323117695734>
- Kruse, L. M., Norris, D. R., & Flinchum, J. R. (2017). Social Media as a Public Sphere? Politics on Social Media. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 59(1), 62–84. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00380253.2017.1383143>
- Jacomy, M., Venturini, T., Heymann, S., & Bastian, M. (2014). ForceAtlas2, a Continuous Graph Layout Algorithm for Handy Network Visualization Designed for the Gephi Software. *PLoS ONE*, 9(6), e98679. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0098679>
- Larasati & Eddyono (2021). Respons Pengguna Twitter terhadap Isu Kenaikan BPJS Kesehatan dalam Jaringan Percakapan #BPJSMENCEKIK. Dalam Novi, K., & Amalinda, S. (eds.) (2021). *BIG DATA UNTUK ILMU SOSIAL: ANTARA METODE RISET DAN REALITAS SOSIAL*. Sleman: UGM PRESS.
- Larrondo, A., Morales-i-Gras, J., & Orbegoza-Terradillos, J. (2019). Feminist hashtag activism in Spain: Measuring the degree of politicisation of online discourse on #YoSíTeCreo, #HermanaYoSíTeCreo, #Cuéntalo y #NoEstásSola.

- Communication & Society*, 207–221.
<https://doi.org/10.15581/003.32.34734>
- Li, M., Turki, N., Izaguirre, C. R., DeMahy, C., Thibodeaux, B. L., & Gage, T. (2021). Twitter as a tool for social movement: An analysis of feminist activism on social media communities. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 49(3), 854–868. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.22324>
- Lim, M. (2013). Klik Yang Tak Memantik: Aktivisme media sosial di Indonesia. *Jurnal Komunikasi Indonesia*, 3(1). <https://doi.org/10.7454/jki.v3i1.7846>
- Liu, Y., Kliman-Silver, C., & Mislove, A. (2014). The Tweets They Are a-Changin': Evolution of Twitter Users and Behavior. *Proceedings of the International AAAI Conference on Web and Social Media*, 8(1), 305–314. <https://doi.org/10.1609/icwsm.v8i1.14508>
- Marin, A., & Wellman, B. (2011). Social Network Analysis: An Introduction. In J. Scott & P. J. Carrington (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Social Network Analysis* (pp. 11-25). Sage Publications.
- McChesney, R. W. (2008). *The political economy of media: Enduring issues, emerging dilemmas*. Monthly Review Press.
- McKee, A. (2005). *The public sphere: An introduction*. Cambridge University Press.
- Mertler, C. A. (2021). *Introduction to Educational Research*. SAGE Publications. <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=-kMTEAAAQBAJ>
- Michaelson, M. (2011). New media vs. old politics. The Internet, social media, and Democratisation in Pakistan. Berlin: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.
- Mukhongo, L. L. (2020). Participatory Media Cultures: Virality, Humour, and Online Political Contestations in Kenya. *Africa Spectrum*, 55(2), 148–169. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002039720957014>
- Nagara, G. (2021). Peran Kapital pada Media Sosial: Pertarungan Kuasa Wacana Tri Rismaharini di Twitter dengan Analisis Jaringan Sosial. *Jurnal Pemikiran Sosiologi*, 8(1), 64. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jps.v8i1.68244>
- Neff, T., & Jemielniak, D. (2022). How do transnational public spheres emerge? Comparing news and social media networks during the Madrid climate talks. *New Media & Society*, 146144482210814. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448221081426>
- Nuswantoro. (2018, April 23). *Warga Wadas Tolak pengerukan Bukit Untuk Proyek Bendungan Bener*. Mongabay.co.id.

- Retrieved March 18, 2022, from <https://www.mongabay.co.id/2018/04/23/warga-wadas-tolak-pengerukan-bukit-untuk-proyek-bendungan-bener/>.
- Papacharissi, Z. (2002). The virtual sphere: The internet as a public sphere. *New Media & Society*, 4(1), 9–27. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14614440222226244>
- Prakoso, B., Himmah, & Illahi, F. K. (2023). Dinamika Politik Menuju Pemilihan Presiden 2024 di Indonesia: Studi Social Network Analysis. *Jurnal Lanskap Politik*, 1(3), 107–107. <https://doi.org/10.31942/jlp.2023.1.3.8636>
- Praet, S., Martens, D., & Van Aelst, P. (2021). Patterns of democracy? Social network analysis of parliamentary Twitter networks in 12 countries. *Online Social Networks and Media*, 24, 100154. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.osnem.2021.100154>
- Rahmadi, M., & Rahayu. (2022, February 21). *Derasnya Penindasan Hak digital di Wadas*. detikx. Retrieved March 18, 2022, from <https://news.detik.com/x/detail/investigasi/20220221/Derasnya-Penindasan-Hak-Digital-di-Wadas/>
- Rachman, M. N. R., & Hasfi, N. (2023). Komunikasi tanpa Deliberasi: Komunikasi Politik Online Konflik Agraria Wadas di Twitter @ganjarpranowo. *Jurnal Audiens*, 4(2), 182–202. <https://doi.org/10.18196/jas.v4i2.16>
- Recuero, R., Zago, G., & Soares, F. (2019). Using Social Network Analysis and Social Capital to Identify User Roles on Polarized Political Conversations on Twitter. *Social Media + Society*, 5(2), 2056305119848745. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305119848745>
- Salvatore, A. (2013). New Media, the “Arab Spring,” and the Metamorphosis of the Public Sphere: Beyond Western Assumptions on Collective Agency and Democratic Politics. *Constellations*, 20(2), 217–228. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cons.12033>
- Sari (2022, February 10). *Kronologi Dan Duduk perkara konflik warga Desa Wadas Dan Aparat*. merdeka.com. Retrieved March 19, 2022, from <https://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/kronologi-dan-duduk-perkara-konflik-warga-desa-wadas-dan-aparat-hot-issue.html>.
- Schipper, D., & Spekkink, W. (2015). Balancing the Quantitative and Qualitative Aspects of Social Network Analysis to Study Complex Social Systems. *Complexity, Governance & Networks*, 2(1), 5. <https://doi.org/10.7564/15-CGN23>

- Scott, J. (2017). *Social Network Analysis*. SAGE Publications Ltd.
<https://doi.org/10.4135/9781529716597>
- Segerberg, A., Bennett, W. L. (2011) Social Media and the Organization of Collective Action: Using Twitter to Explore Ecologies of Two Climate Change Protests. *The Communication Review*, 14, 3, 197-21
- Sibuea, H.Y.P. (2022). KONFLIK AGRARIA DI DESA WADAS: PERTIMBANGAN SOLUSI. *InfoSingkat*, 14(4), 1-5.
- Simarmata, S. (2014). Media Baru, Ruang Publik Baru, dan Transformasi Komunikasi Politik di Indonesia (New Media, New Public Sphere, and the Transformation of Political Communication in Indonesia). *InterAct*, 3, 18–36.
- Simbolon, J.D.M. (2021) POLA KOMUNIKASI DALAM AKSI PROTES DI MEDIA SOSIAL (Analisis Jaringan Sosial pada Penolakan Terhadap UU Cipta Kerja di Twitter). *Skripsi*. Universitas Gadjah Mada, DI Yogyakarta, Indonesia.
- Similarweb.com (2023). *Top Website Ranking*. Retrieved November 17, 2023, from <https://www.similarweb.com/top-websites/>.
- Smith, M., Shneiderman, B., Rainie, L., & Himelboim, I. (2014). *Mapping Twitter Topic Networks: From Polarized Crowds to Community Clusters*.
- Sugiono, S. (2020). Fenomena Industri buzzer di Indonesia: Sebuah Kajian ekonomi politik media. *Communicatus: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 4(1), 47–66.
<https://doi.org/10.15575/cjik.v4i1.7250>
- Staab, P., & Thiel, T. (2022). Social Media and the Digital Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 39(4), 129–143.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/02632764221103527>
- Stieglitz, S., & Dang-Xuan, L. (2012). Political Communication and Influence through Microblogging—An Empirical Analysis of Sentiment in Twitter Messages and Retweet Behavior. *2012 45th Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences*, 3500–3509.
<https://doi.org/10.1109/HICSS.2012.476>
- Van Dijk, J., & Hacker, K. (2000). The Digital Divide as a Complex and Dynamic Phenomenon. *The Information Society*, 19(4), 315–326. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01972240309487>
- Waldherr, A., Stoltenberg, D., Maier, D., Keinert, A., & Pfetsch, B. (2023). Translocal networked public spheres: Spatial arrangements of metropolitan Twitter. *New Media & Society*, 146144482311565.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448231156579>

- Wang, Z., & Caskey, K. (2016). #Occupywallstreet: An Analysis of Twitter Usage during a Protest Movement. *Social Networking*, 05(04), 101–117. <https://doi.org/10.4236/sn.2016.54011>
- Weller, K., Bruns, A., Burgess, J., Mahrt, M., Puschmann, C. (2014) *Twitter and Society*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing
- Wellman, B., & Berkowitz, S. D. (Eds.). (1988). *Social structures: A network approach*. (pp. xii, 513). Cambridge University Press.
- Wolfsfeld, G., Segev, E., & Sheaffer, T. (2013). Social Media and the Arab Spring: Politics Comes First. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 18(2), 115–137. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161212471716>
- Zaret, D. (2000). *Origins of democratic culture: Printing, petitions, and the public sphere in early-modern England*. Princeton Univ. Press.
- Zhao, S. (2021). In Light of Contemporary Social Media, Can We Still Speak of a Digital Public Today? *Proceedings of the 2021 3rd International Conference on Literature, Art and Human Development (ICLAHD 2021)*, 42–47. <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.211120.007>
- Zhuravskaya, E., Petrova, M., & Enikolopov, R. (2020). Political effects of the internet and Social Media. *Annual Review of Economics*, 12(1), 415–438. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-economics-081919-050239>
- Zuber, A. (2013). Konflik Agraria di Indonesia. *Jurnal Sosiologi Reflektif*, (8)1, 147-158.
- Zuckerman, E. (2014). New Media, New Civics? *Policy & Internet*, 6(2), 151–168. <https://doi.org/10.1002/1944-2866.POI360>
- Zúñiga, H., Jung, N., & Valenzuela, S. (2012). Social Media Use for News and Individuals' Social Capital, Civic Engagement and Political Participation. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 17(3), 319–336. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1083-6101.2012.01574.x>