

## REFERENSI

- Aryanto, D., Nugroho, C., Retno Wulan, R., Wulandari, A., & Alya Pramesthi, J. (2024). Social Media and Social Movement in Indonesia; Communication Network on Twitter Regarding the Kanjuruhan Football Supporter Tragedy. SHS Web of Conferences, 204, 01004. <https://doi.org/10.1051/shsconf/202420401004>
- Aspinall, E. (2025, September 2). Mass protest and the two worlds of Indonesian politics - New Mandala. New Mandala. <https://www.newmandala.org/mass-protest-and-the-two-worlds-of-indonesian-politics/>
- Bayat, A. (2010). Life as Politics. How Ordinary People Change the Middle East. [ISIM Series on Contemporary Muslim Societies.] Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam 2010. xi, 304 pp. € 39.90. International Review of Social History, 55(3), 534–537. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0020859010000611>
- Bayat, A. (2013). Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East. Stanford University Press.
- Diah kusumaningrum. (2025). Tiga Alasan Situasi Politik 2025 Mirip 1974. Omong-Omong Media. <https://omong-omong.com/tiga-alasan-situasi-politik-2025-mirip-1974/>
- Drone Emprit a. (2025, September 8). Peta Netizen tentang Aksi Demo 25 Agustus 2025. Drone Emprit Publications. <https://pers.droneemprit.id/peta-netizen-tentang-aksi-demo-25-agustus-2025/>
- Drone Emprit b. (2025, September 8). Sentimen Publik terhadap Insiden Brimob Melindas Driver Ojol. Drone Emprit Publications. <https://pers.droneemprit.id/sentimen-publik-terhadap-insiden-brimob-melindas-driver-ojol/>
- Drone Emprit c. (2025, September 8). Sentimen Publik terhadap Gerakan Brave Pink Hero Green. Drone Emprit Publications. <https://pers.droneemprit.id/sentimen-publik-terhadap-gerakan-brave-pink-hero-green/>
- Firyalfatin. (2025). *Demo Agustus 2025 Diwarnai Aksi Represif Aparat, Kapolri dan Presiden Diminta Bertindak*. Hukumonline.com. <https://www.hukumonline.com/berita/a/demo-agustus-2025-diwarnai-aksi-represif-aparat--kapolri-dan-presiden-diminta-bertindak-lt68b162accbbd5/>
- Gurr, T. R. (1970). Why Men Rebel. Midwest Journal of Political Science, 14(4), 725. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2110363>
- Hariz Baharudin. (2025, September 11). From Indonesia to Nepal, anime pirate flag has become symbol of Asian Gen Z's discontent. The Straits Times.



<https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/se-asia/from-indonesia-to-nepal-anime-pirate-flag-has-become-symbol-of-asian-gen-zs-discontent>

Kemp, S. (2024). Digital 2024: Indonesia. DataReportal – Global Digital Insights.

<https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2024-indonesia>

Kidd, D., & McIntosh, K. (2016). Social media and social movements. *Sociology Compass*, 10(9), 785–794. <https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12399>

Kowalewski, M. (2019). Dissatisfied and Critical Citizens: the Political Effect of Complaining. *Society*, 56(5), 453–460. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12115-019-00398-x>

McAdam, D., Davis, G. F., W. Richard Scott, & Zald, M. N. (2005). *Social Movements and Organization Theory*. Cambridge University Press.

McAdam, D., Tarrow, S., & Tilly, C. (2001). *Dynamics of Contention*.

<https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/dynamics-of-contention/300EBD3513759BAA89184D45EF3F824A>

McCarthy, J. D., & Zald, M. N. (1977). Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: a Partial Theory. *American Journal of Sociology*, 82(6), 1212–1241.

Milli, S., Carroll, M., Wang, Y., Pandey, S., Zhao, S., & Dragan, A. D. (2023, November 8). Engagement, User Satisfaction, and the Amplification of Divisive Content on Social Media. *ArXiv.org*. <https://doi.org/10.48550/arXiv.2305.16941>

Mueller, C. M. (1992). *Frontiers in social movement theory*. Yale University Press.

Mundt, M., Ross, K., & Burnett, C. M. (2018). Scaling social movements through social media: The case of Black lives matter. *Social Media + Society*, 4(4), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305118807911>

Narayanan, A. (2023). Understanding Social Media Recommendation Algorithms. *Academic Commons*. <https://doi.org/10.7916/khdk-m460>

Nastitie, D. P. (2025, April 2). Tagar ke Tagar, dari Ungkapan Kritis di Media Sosial hingga Ajakan Unjuk Rasa Mahasiswa. *Kompas.id*.

<https://www.kompas.id/artikel/tagar-ke-tagar-dari-ungkapan-kritis-di-media-sosial-hingga-ajakan-unjuk-rasa-mahasiswa>

Nugroho, B. H. (2025). Digital activism and youth participation in Indonesia: A qualitative study of social media's role in contemporary social movements. *Priviet Social Sciences Journal*, 5(10), 91–105. <https://doi.org/10.55942/pssj.v5i10.603>



- Oyuk Ivani S, & Devy Ernis. (2025, February 17). *Ini 13 Poin Tuntutan Demo BEM SI "Indonesia Gelap", Apa Saja?* Tempo.  
<https://www.tempo.co/politik/ini-13-poin-tuntutan-demo-bem-si-indonesia-gelap-apa-saja--1208489>
- Pillet-Shore, D. (2015). *The International Encyclopedia of Language and Social Interaction*.  
<https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118611463>
- Savero Aristia Wienanto, & Reza Maulana. (2025, September 12). Demo Nepal Gen Z Bendera One Piece. Tempo; PT Tempo Inti Media.  
<https://www.tempo.co/internasional/demo-nepal-gen-z-bendera-one-piece-2069128>
- Seran, P. (2024). The legitimacy and moral responsibility of social media political influencers - University of Twente Student Theses. Utwente.nl. <https://purl.utwente.nl/essays/103080>
- Smelser, N. J. (1962). *Theory of Collective Behavior*. Free Press/Old South Books.
- Snow, D. A., & Benford, R. D. (1988). *Ideology, Frame Resonance, and Participation Mobilization*.
- Sutan, A. J., Nurmandi, A., Mutiarin, D., & Salahudin, S. (2021). Using Social Media as Tools of Social Movement and Social Protest in Omnibus Law of Job Creation Bill Policy-Making Process in Indonesia. *Advances in Digital Science*, 261–274.  
[https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-71782-7\\_24](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-71782-7_24)
- Tilly, C. (1984). *Social movements and national politics*. In C. Bright and S. Harding (Eds.), *State-making and Social Movements: Essays in History and Theory*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.