

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Aboh, S. C. (2024). 'It will never be well with SARS': A discourse analytic study of the #EndSARS protests on social media. *Discourse and Society*, 35(2), 153–173. <https://doi.org/10.1177/09579265231200994>
- Acharoui, Z., Alaoui, A., Ettaki, B., Zerouaoui, J., & Dakkon, M. (2020). Identifying Political Influencers on YouTube during the 2016 Moroccan General Election. *Procedia Computer Science*, 170(2018), 1102–1109. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.procs.2020.03.061>
- Ahmad, N. (2020). Celebification of Politics: Understanding Migration of Celebrities into Politics Celebification of Celebrity Politicians in the Emerging Democracy of Indonesia. *East Asia*, 37(1), 63–79. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12140-020-09332-z>
- Ahmed, M., Shu, C., Hashmi, H. B. A., Luo, D., & Haider, S. W. (2025). “All is well”, really ! Social media influencers , social media boycotts and consumer behavior in the MNFMC context. *Journal of Islamic Marketing*, 17(5), 1721–1742. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JIMA-06-2024-0243>
- Andani, A. (2025). 83 Orang Luka Akibat Represi Aparat selama Aksi Tolak RUU TNI. Tirto.id.
- Arnesson, J. (2023). Influencers as ideological intermediaries: promotional politics and authenticity labour in influencer collaborations. *Media, Culture and Society*, 45(3), 528–544. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01634437221117505>
- Arnesson, J. (2024). 'Endorsing a dictatorship and getting paid for it': Discursive struggles over intimacy and authenticity in the politicisation of influencer collaborations. *New Media and Society*, 26(3), 1467–1483. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448211064302>
- Arriagada, A., & Bishop, S. (2021). Between Commerciality and Authenticity : The Imaginary of Social Media Influencers in the Platform Economy. *Communication, Culture and Critique*, 14, 568–586. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ccc/tcab050>
- Astuti, D., Agustang, A., & Idrus, I. I. (2023). Politik identitas dalam kontroversi isu di indonesia. *Sibatik Journal: Jurnal Ilmiah Bidang Sosial, Ekonomi, Budaya, Teknologi, dan Pendidikan*, 2(6), 1769–1778.
- Azzahra, F. (2025). POTRET ECHO CHAMBER DIGITAL DAN KRISIS DEMOKRASI: DISTORSI OPINI PUBLIK DI ERA ALGORITMA DAN BUZZER POLITIK DI INDONESIA. *Jurnal Polahi*, 3(3), 180–199.
- Berliana, D. (2024). Analisis Boikot terhadap Boygroup Stray Kids pada Aplikasi X: Perspektif dalam Konteks Isu Genosida di Palestina. *Maliki Interdisciplinary Journal*, 2(8), 342–348. <https://urj.uin-malang.ac.id/index.php/mij/article/view/8571>

- Boulianne, S., Copeland, L., & Koc-Michalska, K. (2024). Digital media and political consumerism in the United States, United Kingdom, and France. *New Media and Society*, 26(4), 2110–2130. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448221083025>
- Cammaerts, B. (2015). Social Media and Activism. In R. Mansell & P. H. Ang (Ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of Digital Communication and Society* (First Edit, hal. 1–8). John Wiley & Sons, Inc. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118767771.wbiedcs083>
- Chaterine, R. N., & Ramadhan, A. (2025). *RUU TNI Sah Jadi Undang-Undang, Ini Poin-poin Perubahannya*. Kompas.com. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2025/03/20/10494931/ruu-tni-sah-jadi-undang-undang-ini-poin-poin-perubahannya>
- Donaldson, T. (2026). When are Customer Boycotts Permissible? *Journal of Business Ethics*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-026-06261-4>
- Fairclough, N. (1995). Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language. In C. N. Candlin (Ed.), *Longman Group Limited*. Longman Group Limited. <https://doi.org/10.2307/416612>
- Farries, E., Kerrigan, P., & Siapera, E. (2025). Introduction to the special issue: The Platformization of Cancel Culture. *Television and New Media*, 26(1), 3–16. <https://doi.org/10.1177/15274764241277469>
- Fuchs, C. (2014). *Social Media: A Critical Introduction*.
- Gauthier, G., Hodler, R., Widmer, P., & Zhuravskaya, E. (2026). The political effects of X ' s feed algorithm. *Nature*, 652(April), 416–438. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41586-026-10098-2>
- Gearhart, S., Zhang, B., & Adegbola, O. (2024). Telematics and Informatics Reports Tweeting, talking, or doing politics? Testing the influence of communication on democratic engagement. *Telematics and Informatics Reports*, 16, 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.teler.2024.100167>
- Ghobadi, S., & Sonenshein, S. (2024). Creating Collaboration: How Social Movement Organizations Shape Digital Activism to Promote Broader Social Change. In *Journal of the Association for Information Systems* (Vol. 25, Nomor 3). <https://doi.org/10.17705/1jais.00847>
- Halik, A. (2018). PARADIGMA KRITIK PENELITIAN KOMUNIKASI (PENDEKATAN KRITIS-EMANSIPATORIS DAN METODE ETNOGRAFI KRITIS). *Jurnal Tabligh*, 19(2), 162–178.

- Hautea, S., Parks, P., Takahashi, B., & Zeng, J. (2021). Showing They Care (Or Don't): Affective Publics and Ambivalent Climate Activism on TikTok. *Social Media + Society*, April-June, 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051211012344>
- Humphery, K., & Jordan, T. (2018). Mobile moralities: Ethical consumption in the digital realm. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 18(4), 520–538. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1469540516684188>
- Josiassen, A., Lang, E., Astrid, N., Kock, F., & Assaf, A. G. (2024). Investigating place solidarity and consumer boycotting in threatening times: A study on the Ukraine-Russia conflict. *Journal of Business Research*, 182(114796), 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2024.114796>
- Kerbleski, E. (2019). *TRUMP, TWITTER, AND TREES: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF DONALD TRUMP'S TWEETS SURROUNDING THE NOVEMBER 2018 CALIFORNIA WILDFIRES*. Northern Arizona University.
- Khudori, A. (2025). 7 Kekerasan Tentara yang Disponsori Negara Sepanjang Demo #TolakUUTNI. Magdalene.co.
- Klüver, H. (2025). Social Influencers and Election Outcomes. *Comparative Political Studies*, 58(13), 2973–2999. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00104140241306955>
- Koos, S. (2012). What drives political consumption in europe? a multi-level analysis on individual characteristics, opportunity structures and globalization. *Acta Sociologica*, 55(1), 37–57. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0001699311431594>
- Kopf, S. (2025). Unravelling social media critical discourse studies (SM-CDS) – four approaches to studying social media through the critical lens lens. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 5904, 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2025.2463622>
- Lahusen, C. (2024). Trust and Distrust in Political Institutions: Conceptual and theoretical reassessments. *Journal of Political Sociology*, 2, 80–109. <https://doi.org/10.54195/jps.19659>
- Li, R., Jiang, L., & Wagner, C. (2025). Balancing self-representation and self-commodification: how influencers transform social media fame and authenticity into e-commerce sales in China. *Internet Research*. <https://doi.org/10.1108/INTR-03-2024-0511>
- Liao, S., & Xia, G. (2023). Consumer nationalism in digital space: A case study of the 2017 anti-lotte boycott in China. *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies*, 29(6), 1535–1554. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13548565221090198>
- Lim, Y. J., & Guerra, L. L. (2019). Seeking Influencers on a Corporate Boycott Through Twitter: A Social Media Analysis of # BoycottNRA and Corporate Reaction University

- of Texas Rio Grande. *American Communication Journal*, 21(2), 1–12.
<https://docslib.org/doc/13505000/seeking-influencers-on-a-corporate-boycott-through-twitter-a-social-media-analysis-of-boycottnra-and-corporate-reaction>
- Lova, C., & Setiawan, T. S. (2025). *Deretan Artis Klarifikasi Usai Namanya Masuk Daftar Boikot*. Kompas.com.
- Mady, K., Salaheldeen, M., Refaat, H., & Battour, M. (2025). The impact of social media on consumer boycotts: Mediating roles of animosity, behavioral control, and efficacy. *Social Sciences and Humanities Open*, 12(April), 102041.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2025.102041>
- Marwah, H. (2025). *Sejumlah Alasan Mengapa UU TNI Perlu Dibatalkan*. Tempo.co.
<https://www.tempo.co/politik/sejumlah-alasan-mengapa-uu-tni-perlu-dibatalkan-1222371>
- Micheletti, M. (2003). Political Virtue and Shopping: Individuals, Consumerism, And Collective Action. In *Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews* (1st ed.). Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1177/009430610503400130>
- Misiewicz, C., Małagocka, K., & Duś-Prieto, E. (2024). Exploring boycott dynamics: The influence of consumer emotions and social media activism. *Marketing i Rynek*, 2024(4), 43–57. <https://doi.org/10.33226/1231-7853.2024.4.4>
- Mohammed, B. A., Al-Okailly, M., Qasim, D., Rehman, S. U., & Abdalla, L. (2025). Digital activism and public opinion: understanding the role of social media during the Gaza Conflict. *Journal of Islamic Marketing*. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JIMA-03-2024-0101>
- Mosco, V. (2009). *Political Economy of Communication* (2nd Editio). SAGE Publications.
- Mufidah, S., Risna, & Haliq, A. (2025). Critical Discourse Analysis of the ‘Indonesia Gelap’ Issue on the Meet Nite Live TikTok Account: Dissecting Political Narratives in the Social Media Era. *TOFEDU: The Future of Education Journal*, 4(5), 1114–1125.
- Neilson, L. A. (2010). Boycott or Buycott? Understanding Political Consumerism. *Journal of Consumer Behaviour*, 9(May-June), 214–227. <https://doi.org/10.1002/cb>
- Norris, P. (2023). Cancel Culture: Myth or Reality? *Political Studies*, 71(1), 145–174.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/00323217211037023>
- Octavia, S. A. (2025). *Ragam Aksi Tolak Pengesahan Revisi UU TNI di Berbagai Daerah*. Tempo.co. <https://www.tempo.co/politik/ragam-aksi-tolak-pengesahan-revisi-uu-tni-di-berbagai-daerah-1224628>
- Pan, L. Y., & Lee, C. T. (2025). Beyond the unfollow button: Navigating social media influencer boycotts in the digital marketplace. *Technology in Society*, 83(5), 103017.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techsoc.2025.103017>

Papacharissi, Z. (2015). *Affective Publics: Sentiment, Technology, and Politics* (A. Chadwick (ed.)). Oxford University Press.

Revisi UU TNI berpotensi mengembalikan Dwifungsi ABRI – Mengapa ada trauma militerisme era Orde Baru? (2025). BBC Indonesia.
<https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/cm2jr4r5meyo>

Rothut, S. (2025). Promoting Politics: Political Social Media *Influencers*, Their Online Engagement, and Implications for Democracy. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 1–22.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/00027642251344206>

Rusandi, & Rusli, M. (2021). Merancang Penelitian Kualitatif Dasar/Deskriptif dan Studi Kasus. *Al-Ubudiyah: Jurnal Pendidikan dan Studi Islam*, 2(1), 1–13.
<https://doi.org/10.55623/au.v2i1.18>

Sani, R. R., Rahmat, B., & Shodikin, M. (2026). Analisis Media Digital dalam Pembentukan Opini Politik Publik di Indonesia. *PESHUM: Jurnal Pendidikan, Sosial, dan Humaniora*, 5(3), 6932–6942.

Scholz, J. (2021). How Consumers Consume Social Media Influence How Consumers Consume Social Media Influence. *Journal of Advertising*, 50(5), 510–527.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00913367.2021.1980472>

Schwemmer, C., & Riedl, M. (2025). From hashtags to ballots: Conceptualizing political *influencers* and evaluating their impact on election outcomes. *PLOS One*, 20(5 May), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0321592>

Serrano-Puche, J. (2021). Digital disinformation and emotions: exploring the social risks of affective polarization risks of affective polarization. *International Review of Sociology*, 31(2), 231–245. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03906701.2021.1947953>

Soegiarto, A. (2025). Political Economy of Digital Media Commodification : Kid *Influencers* on YouTube Ekonomi Politik Komodifikasi Media Digital : *Influencer* Anak di YouTube. *KINESIK*, 12(1), 1–18.

Stolle, D., Hooghe, M., & Micheletti, M. (2005). Politics in the Supermarket: Political Consumerism as a Form of Political Participation. *International Political Science Review*, 26(3), 245–269. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512105053784>

Sugiyono. (2013). *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif dan R&D*. Penerbit Alfabeta.

Suryantoro, H. R. (2023). *Analisis Wacana Kritis Cuitan Akun Twitter @txtdrberseragam Sebagai Media Kritik Tingkah Laku Aparat Berseragam*. Universitas Gadjah Mada.

Susanti, L., Novandari, W., & Setyanto, R. P. (2024). The Effectiveness Of Social Media

Campaigns On Boycott Participation: The Role Of Boycott Attitudes And Motivation.

International Journal of Economics, Business and Inovation Research, 3(4), 537–564.

- Ulinnuha, R., Udasmoro, W., & Wijaya, Y. (2013). Critical discourse analysis: Theory and method in social and literary framework. *Indonesian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 2(2), 262–274. <https://doi.org/10.17509/ijal.v2i2.170>
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1993). Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society*, 4(2), 249–283. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42888777>
- Vear, A. (2020). *The Influencer Experience: Identity Performance, Commodification, and Agency in YouTube Influencers* (Nomor Electronic Theses and Dissertations) [The University of Maine]. <https://digitalcommons.library.umaine.edu/etd/3294>
- Vilkaite-Vaitone, N. (2024). From Likes to Sustainability: How Social Media *Influencers* Are Changing the Way We Consume. *Sustainability*, 16(1393), 1–14. <https://doi.org/doi.org/10.3390/su16041393>
- Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2001). Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis. In D. Silverman (Ed.), *Sage Publications*. SAGE Publications. http://scioteca.caf.com/bitstream/handle/123456789/1091/RED2017-Eng-8ene.pdf?sequence=12&isAllowed=y%0Ahttp://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.regsciurbeco.2008.06.005%0Ahttps://www.researchgate.net/publication/305320484_SISTEM_PEMBETU_NGAN_TERPUSAT_STRATEGI_MELESTARI
- Zhang, Y. (2024). Discourse in the Digital Age; Social Media, Power, and Society. In E. Esposito & M. KhosraviNik (Ed.), *Discourse in The Digital Age: Social Media, Power, and Society* (1st Editio). Routledge.
- Zúñiga, H. G. De, Copeland, L., & Bimber, B. (2014). Political consumerism: Civic engagement and the social media connection. *New Media and Society*, 16(3), 488–506. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444813487960>