UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
**Ramai, Menjaminkah Demokratis? Ekspresi Online (In)Civility dan Kualitas Diskusi Demokratis dalam Politik Digital Indonesia (Analisis Wacana Kritis Akun TikTok @aniesbaswedan)**
Ridho Firdaus Rahmat, Dr. Kuskridho Ambardi, M.A
**Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/**

# DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Adila, I., & Eddyono, A. S. (2025). Trajektori Branding Politik di Indonesia : dari Kampanye Konvensional ke Politik Performatif di Media Sosial. Journal of Politics and Policy (JPPOL), 7(1), 18–39.

Adistri, N., Rusman, A. A., & Irwansyah. (2024). Pemenuhan Kebutuhan Informasi pada TikTok: Studi Uses and Gratification di Era Digital. Jurnal Lensa Mutiara Komunikasi, 8(2), 103–116.

Aji, A. P., & Sapto, A. (2020). Incivility and Disrespectfulness in Online Political Discussion. Masyarakat, Kebudayaan Dan Politik, 33(3), 278–285.

Alizen, A. N., Priamarizki, A., Gendiswardani, R. D. A., Nihru, S. S. H., & Akbar, R. A. M. (2024). Tiktok and Indonesia's 2024 General Elections From "FYP" To Ballot Box. In RSIS (Vol. 31, Issue 4).

Amichai-hamburger, Y., Gazit, T., Bar-ilan, J., Perez, O., Aharony, N., Bronstein, J., & Sarah, T. (2016). Computers in Human Behavior Psychological factors behind the lack of participation in online discussions. Computers in Human Behavior, 55, 268–277. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2015.09.009

Aminulloh, A., Ananda, K. S., Anzari, P. P., Fianto, L., & Qorib, F. (2025). Political Gimmicks on Social Media in the 2024 Indonesian Presidential Election. Journal of Society AndMedia, 9(148), 74–96. https://doi.org/10.26740/jsm.v9n1.p74-96

Andreotta, M., Nugroho, R., Hurlstone, M. J., Boschetti, F., Farrell, S., Walker, I., & Paris, C. (2019). Analyzing social media data : A mixed-methods framework combining computational and qualitative text analysis. Behavior Research Methods, 51.

Arif, R., Ragsdale, L., & Ittefaq, M. (2024). What Does a "Like" on Social Media Mean? Understanding the Motivations and Interpretations of Likes on Instagram. Journal of Social Media in Society, 13(2), 109–130.

Arighi, M. F., Yasar, M. M. B., Falah, S. N., Ramadhan, R. M., & Septiadi, A. (2024). PERAN INFLUENCER TERHADAP PEMILIHAN PRESIDEN PADA PEMILIHAN UMUM TAHUN 2024 Nama Influencer Fadil Jaidi Ramzi Hassan Jr Clara Shinta instagram tiktok tiktok. Journal of Law, Administration, and Social Science, 4(5), 981–995.

Arnus, S. H., Mamis, S., & Utomo, A. P. (2025). Peran Buzzer Politik di Ruang Publik pada Pilpres 2024. Al-Nahyan : Jurnal Komunikasi Dan Penyiaran Islam, 2(2), 75–86.

Bai, Q., Dan, Q., Mu, Z., & Yang, M. (2019). A Systematic Review of Emoji : Current Research and Future Perspectives. Frontiers in Psychology, 10(October). https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.02221

Barta, K., & Andalibi, N. (2021). Constructing Authenticity on TikTok : Social Norms and Social Support on the "Fun" Platform. In Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction (Vol. 5, pp. 1–29). https://doi.org/10.1145/3479574

Bentivegna, S., & Rega, R. (2024). What are the Predictors of Political Incivility Perceptions? European Journal of Communication, 39(4), 375–394. https://doi.org/10.1177/02673231241271008

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
**Ramai, Menjaminkah Demokratis? Ekspresi Online (In)Civility dan Kualitas Diskusi Demokratis dalam Politik Digital Indonesia (Analisis Wacana Kritis Akun TikTok @aniesbaswedan)**
Ridho Firdaus Rahmat, Dr. Kuskridho Ambardi, M.A
**Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/**

Brady, W. J., Mcloughlin, K., Doan, T. N., & Crockett, M. J. (2021). How social learning amplifies moral outrage expression in online social networks. Science, 7(33), 1–15.

Bucher, T. (2018). IF . . . Then ALGORITHMIC POWER AND POLITICS. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1130/2024.1223(06)

Bur, R., Ayuningtyas, F., & Muqsith, M. A. (2023). Pemanfaatan TikTok Sebagai Media Informasi Baru Generasi Z. Jurnal Komunikasi Nusantara, 5, 189–198.

Calhoun, C. (1993). Nationalism and Civil Society: Democracy, Diversity and Self-determination. International Sociololgy, 8(4), 387–411.

Castro, L., Theocharis, Y., Stępińska, A., Hopmann, D. N., Schemer, C., Aalberg, T., Cardenal, A. S., Corbu, N., de Vreese, C., Esser, F., Koc-Michalska, K., Matthes, J., Sheafer, T., Splendore, S., Stanyer, J., Strömbäck, J., Štětka, V., Van Aelst, P., & Zoizner, A. (2025). How do Healthy Political Discussions Invigorate Online Participation? Evidence from 17 European Countries. Social Media and Society, 11(4). https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051251350978

Cervi, L., & Marín-lladó, C. (2021). What are political parties doing on TikTok ? The Spanish case. Profesional de La Información, 30(4), 1–17.

Chen, G. M., Riedl, M. J., Shermak, J. L., Brown, J., & Tenenboim, O. (2019). Breakdown of Democratic Norms? Understanding the 2016 US Presidential Election Through Online Comments. Social Media and Society, 5(2). https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305119843637

Cheng, Z., Chen, J., Peng, R. X., & Shoenberger, H. (2023). Social Media Influencers Talk About Politics: Investigating the Role of Source Factors and PSR in Gen-Z Follower's Perceived Information Quality, Receptivity and Sharing Intention. Journal of Information Technology & Politics. https://doi.org/10.1080/19331681.2023.2173700

Christian, D., & Budiarto, Y. (2024). Hubungan Durasi Tiktok dan Rentang Perhatian pada Pengguna Aktif di Usia Dewasa Muda. PAEDAGOGY : Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan Dan Psikologi, 4(4), 311–318.

Coe, K., Kenski, K., & Rains, S. A. (2014). Online and Uncivil? Patterns and Determinants of Incivility in Newspaper Website Comments. Journal of Communication, 64, 658–679. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12104

Cormen, T. H., Leiserson, C. E., Rivest, R. L., & Stein, C. (2022). Introduction to algorithms, 4 Edition. In The MIT Press Cambridge, Massachusetts London, England. MIT Press. http://lccn.loc.gov/2021037260

Couldry, N., & Hepp, A. (2017). The Mediated Construction of Reality. Polity Press.

Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2018). Research Design Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches (Fifth).

Culpeper, J. (1996). Towards an Anatomy of Impoliteness. Journal of Pragmatics, 25(3), 349–367. https://doi.org/10.1016/0378-2166(95)00014-3

Cuşnir, C. (2025). TikTok Design and Experience: A Semiotic Technology Approach. Romanian Journal of Communication and Public Relations , 27(1), 7–23. https://doi.org/10.21018/rjcpr.2025.1.683

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
**Ramai, Menjaminkah Demokratis? Ekspresi Online (In)Civility dan Kualitas Diskusi Demokratis dalam Politik Digital Indonesia (Analisis Wacana Kritis Akun TikTok @aniesbaswedan)**
Ridho Firdaus Rahmat, Dr. Kuskridho Ambardi, M.A
**Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/**

Dainas, A. R., & Herring, S. C. (2019). Interpreting Emoji Pragmatics. In Internet pragmatics: Theory and practice (Issue 2015, pp. 1–34).

Dewi, V., Ana, L., & Sri, K. (2024). Media Sosial Sebagai Alat Kampanye Pemilu 2024 : Perspektif Pengguna Tiktok. 6, 30–37.

Dijck, J. van, & Poell, T. (2013). Understanding Social Media Logic. Media and Communication, 1(1), 2–14. https://doi.org/10.12924/mac2013.01010002

Durotoye, T., Goyanes, M., Berganza, R., & de Z´uñiga, H. G. (2025). Online and Social Media Political Participation : Political Discussion Network Ties and Differential Social Media Platform Effects Over Time. Social Science Computer Review, 0(0), 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1177/08944393251332640

Esau, K., Choucair, T., Vilkins, S., Svegaard, S. F. K., Bruns, A., Connor-farfan, K. S. O., Lubicz-zaorski, C., Esau, K., Choucair, T., Vilkins, S., & Svegaard, S. F. K. (2025). Destructive polarization in digital communication contexts : a critical review and conceptual framework. Information, Communication & Society, 28(8), 1499–1520. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2024.2413127

Fairclough, N. (2013). Critical Discourse Analysis The Critical Study of Language (Second). Routledge.

Fakhri, M., & Kurnianingrum, D. (2025). The Intersection of Digital Citizenship and Political Activism: Examining Gen Z's Role in Online Boycotts. Informing Science: The International Journal of an Emerging Transdiscipline, 28(33), 1–18.

Fauziah, A. R., Bimantara, C. S., Bahrenina, K. A., & Pertiwi, Y. E. (2023). Meningkatkan Kualitas Pemilu Serentak Tahun 2024 melalui Pemanfaatan Teknologi Digital. Jurnal Kajian Konstitusi, 03(01), 51–75.

Franzke, A. S., Bechmann, A., Zimmer, M., & Ess, C. M. (2020). Internet Research: Ethical Guidelines 3.0 Association of Internet Researchers. https://aoir.org/reports/ethics3.pdf

Freelon, D. (2015). Discourse Architecture, Ideology and Democratic Norms in Online Political Discussion. New Media & Society, 17(5), 772–791. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444813513259

Gillespie, T. (2014). The Relevance of Algorithms. In Media Technologies (Issue January 2013). https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/9780262525374.003.0009

Ginting, S. R. R., Suparman, & Mulyono. (2025). Algoritma Cerdas TikTok : Mengubah Cara Generasi Z Mengonsumsi Informasi. EduTIK: Jurnal Pendidikan Teknologi Informasi Dan Komunikasi, 5, 485–495.

Gong, W., Lim, E., & Zhu, F. (2015). Characterizing Silent Users in Social Media Communities. 140–149.

Habermas, J. (1991). The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere (Fifth). MIT Press.

Habibi, M. (2024). Digital Democracy in the Era of TikTok : An Analysis of Social Media ' s Influence on Contemporary Political and Social Dynamics. GOVERNABILITAS (Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan Semesta), 5(2), 105–114.

Hafidz, M. M., & Sembiring, O. P. A. D. (2025). Politics in Social Media Activism: A Case

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
**Ramai, Menjaminkah Demokratis? Ekspresi Online (In)Civility dan Kualitas Diskusi Demokratis dalam Politik Digital Indonesia (Analisis Wacana Kritis Akun TikTok @aniesbaswedan)**
Ridho Firdaus Rahmat, Dr. Kuskridho Ambardi, M.A
**Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/**

Study of Netizens' Reactions to Gibran's Demographic Bonus Video. Journal of Law and Regulation Governance, 3(7), 305–324.

Haidarrani, A., & Rodiyah, R. (2026). Digitalisasi Pemilu dan Disinformasi : Implikasinya terhadap Kualitas Demokrasi di Indonesia Electoral Digitalization and Disinformation : Implications for the Quality of Democracy in Indonesia. Jurnal USM Law Review, 9(1), 509–525.

Halimatussa'diyah, I., & Adam, R. (2024). Political Buzzer Networks as Threat to Indonesian Democracy (Issue 66).

Hall, S., & Liebenberg, L. (2024). Qualitative Description as an Introductory Method to Qualitative Research for Master's-Level Students and Research Trainees. International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 23, 1–5. https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069241242264

Hameleers, M. (2019). The Populism of Online Communities : Constructing the Boundary Between " Blameless " People and " Culpable " Others. Communication Culture & Critique, 12, 147–165. https://doi.org/10.1093/ccc/tcz009

Hampton, K. N., Shin, I., & Lu, W. (2017). Social Media and Political Discussion : When Online Presence Silences Offline Conversation. Information, Communication & Society, 20(7), 1090–1107. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2016.1218526

Hanan, D. (2020). Identity Politics in The 2019 Indonesian General Elections: Its Significance and Limitation. Jurnal Wacana Politik, 5(1), 15–25.

Hartley, J., & Stansfield, A. (2021). Leading through Agonistic Conflict Contested Sense-making in National Political Arenas. Leadership, 17(2), 131–153. https://doi.org/10.1177/1742715020945167

Hasell, A., Halversen, A., & Weeks, B. E. (2024). When Social Media Attack: How Exposure to Political Attacks on Social Media Promotes Anger and Political Cynicism. International Journal of Press/Politics, 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1177/19401612231221806

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 and Society, 1–4. https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051211012344

Heath, M. (2018). Orthography in Social Media: Pragmatic and Prosodic interpretations of Caps Lock. 3(55), 1–13.

Hermawan, V. (2025). Political Communication in the Digital Era : The Role of Social Media in Shaping Public Opinion in the 2024 Election. Jurnal Ilmiah Multidisiplin Indonesia (JIM-ID), 4(05), 160–169. https://doi.org/10.58471/esaprom.v4i05

Ilham, Muttaqin, M. Z., Idris, U., & Renyaan, D. (2022). Era Digital : Influencer Dalam Sistem Politik Indonesia. Jurnal Ekologi Birokrasi, 10(1), 69–80. https://doi.org/10.31957/jeb.v10i1.2317

ISEAS. (2025). How TikTok's Visual Politics Shaped Indonesia's 2024 Election (Issue 52).

Jamaluddin, N., Suhaili, S., Ramli, Z., Patah, S. A., & Ibrahim, R. (2025). Dehumanizing Politics through Object Metaphors: A Corpus-Based Analysis of Facebook Discourse in Malaysia. Forum for Linguistic Studies, 7(11), 1316–1334.

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
**Ramai, Menjaminkah Demokratis? Ekspresi Online (In)Civility dan Kualitas Diskusi Demokratis dalam Politik Digital Indonesia (Analisis Wacana Kritis Akun TikTok @aniesbaswedan)**
Ridho Firdaus Rahmat, Dr. Kuskridho Ambardi, M.A
**Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/**

Jenkins, H., Clinton, K., Purushotma, R., Robison, A. J., & Weigel, M. (2009). Confronting the Challenges of Participatory Culture : Media Education for the 21 Century. MIT Press.

Juditha, C., & Darmawan, J. J. (2024). KOMUNIKASI POLITIK TERKAIT HOAKS PADA PEMILU PRESIDEN INDONESIA 2024 POLITICAL COMMUNICATION RELATED TO HOAXES IN THE 2024. Jurnal Studi Komunikasi Dan Media, 28(2), 167–182. https://doi.org/10.17933/jskm.2024.5682

Khosravinik, M., & Unger, J. W. (2015). Critical Discourse Studies and Social Media: Power, Resistance and Critique in Changing Media Ecologies. In Methods of Critical Disocurse Studies (pp. 205–233).

Koç, B. (2023). The Role of User Interactions in Social Media on Recommendation Algorithms: Evaluation of Tiktok'S Personalization. Doctoral Dissertation, November. https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.34692.71040

Landry, A. P., Schooler, J. W., Willer, R., & Seli, P. (2023). Reducing Explicit Blatant Dehumanization by Correcting Exaggerated. Social Psychological and Personality Science, 14(4), 407–418. https://doi.org/10.1177/19485506221099146

Lane, M. (2024). Understanding Indonesia's 2024 Presidential Elections: A New Polarisation Evolving (Issue 8).

Larrosa-fuentes, J. S. (2020). Political Talk, Conversation, Discussion, Debate or Deliberation? An Interpersonal Political Communication Definition and Typology. Global Media Journal Mexico, 17(33), 1–19.

Latuheru, R., & Cangara, H. (2024). The Role of Social Media Algorithms in Shaping and Conflict Resolution. Jurnal Digital Media Communication, 03(1), 19–27.

Lauka, A., Mccoy, J., & Firat, R. B. (2018). Mass Partisan Polarization : Measuring a Relational Concept. American Behavioral Scientist, 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764218759581

Lewandowsky, S., Ecker, U. K. H., & Cook, J. (2017). Beyond Misinformation: Understanding and Coping with the "Post-Truth" Era. Journal of Applied Research in Memory and Cognition, 6(4), 353–369. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jarmac.2017.07.008

Literat, I., & Kligler-Vilenchik, N. (2021). How Popular Culture Prompts Youth Collective Political Expression and Cross-Cutting Political Talk on Social Media: A Cross-Platform Analysis. Social Media and Society, 7(2), 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051211008821

Liu, M., Yan, J., & Yao, G. (2023). Themes and ideologies in China ' s diplomatic discourse – a corpus-assisted discourse analysis in China ' s official speeches. Frontiers in Psychology, 1–12. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2023.1278240

Lu, S., & Liang, H. (2024). Silencing Online Incivility: Examining the Effects of Impoliteness and Intolerance in Online Political Discussions. Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, 68(4), 538–559. https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2024.2360596

Lugosi-Schimpf, N., & Thorlakson, L. (2021). Words that Hurt Democracy: The Sticks and Stones of anti-Democratic Discourse in Hungary and Germany. In Political Incivility in the Parliamentary, Electoral and Media Arena (p. 21).

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
**Ramai, Menjaminkah Demokratis? Ekspresi Online (In)Civility dan Kualitas Diskusi Demokratis dalam Politik Digital Indonesia (Analisis Wacana Kritis Akun TikTok @aniesbaswedan)**
Ridho Firdaus Rahmat, Dr. Kuskridho Ambardi, M.A
**Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/**

Mafindo. (2024). Siaran Pers Mafindo: Hoaks Politik Meningkat Tajam Jelang Pemilu 2024, Ganggu Demokrasi Indonesia. https://mafindo.or.id/2024/02/02/siaran-pers-mafindo-hoaks-politik-meningkat-tajam-jelang-pemilu-2024-ganggu-demokrasi-indonesia/

Mahardika, M. C., & Susilowati, E. (2026). Komodifikasi TikTok sebagai Media Komunikasi Politik Calon Presiden Tahun 2024. MUKASI: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi, 5(1), 10–23. https://doi.org/10.54259/mukasi.v5i1.5369

Malindir, G. O., Jamaludin, H., & Novitasari, I. (2024). Perbandingan Model Kampanye Politik Desak Anies dan Gemoy pada Pemilu Tahun 2024. Jurnal Masyarakat Indonesia, 50(1), 129–146. https://doi.org/10.55981/jmi.2024.8697

McCulloch, G. (2019). Because Internet: Understanding the New Rulse of Language.

McLoughlin, K. L., Brady, W. J., Goolsbee, A., Kaiser, B., Klonick, K., & Crockett, M. J. (2024). Misinformation Exploits Outrage to Spread Online. Science, 386(6725), 991–996. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.adl2829

Metzler, H., & Garcia, D. (2024). Social Drivers and Algorithmic Mechanisms on Digital Media. Perspectives on Psychological Science, 19(5), 735–748. https://doi.org/10.1177/17456916231185057

Mouffe, C. (2016). Democratic Politics and Conflict: An Agonistic Approach. Política Común, 9.

Muddiman, A. (2017). Personal and Public Levels of Political Incivility. International Journal of Communication, 11, 3182–3202.

Muddiman, A., & Stroud, N. J. (2017). News Values , Cognitive Biases , and Partisan Incivility in Comment Sections. Journal of Communication, 1–24. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12312

Muhtadi, B. (2025). Collective Memory, Democratic Ambivalence, and Authoritarian Notions of Democracy: Explaining the Rise of Prabowo Subianto. Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs, 44(3), 385–412. https://doi.org/10.1177/18681034251337763

Murthy, D., Powell, A. B., Tinati, R., Anstead, N., Carr, L., Halford, S. J., & Weal, M. (2016). Bots and Political Influence: A Sociotechnical Investigation of Social Network Capital. International Journal of Communication, 10(June), 4952–4971.

Murti, R. W., Pratama, H., & Yulianto, H. J. (2024). Impoliteness Strategies in Online Political Discourse: A Case Study of Indonesian Netizens' Comments on Tiktok. English Educational Journal, 14(3), 428–439. http://journal.unnes.ac.id/sju/index.php/eej

Novarizal, R., Siregar, R. A., & Ash Shiddiqy, M. A. (2025). Hate Crime Pasca Pemilihan Umum Presiden Tahun 2024 Di Indonesia. Jurnal Kajian Pemerintah, 11(1), 758. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4419-5659-0_1041

Nugraha, S., Handzalah, M., Mardana, F., & Lisnarini, N. (2025). Prabowo's Victory: How Influencers Shaped the 2024 Election. Socio Politica Jurnal Ilmiah Jurusan Sosiologi, 15(1), 67–80. https://doi.org/10.15575/socio-politica.v15i1.43092

Nurjaman, H. (2023). Manipulasi Media : Ketegangan Politik Menjelang Pemilihan Umum. https://doi.org/10.1021/cen-v081n041.p002

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
**Ramai, Menjaminkah Demokratis? Ekspresi Online (In)Civility dan Kualitas Diskusi Demokratis dalam Politik Digital Indonesia (Analisis Wacana Kritis Akun TikTok @aniesbaswedan)**
Ridho Firdaus Rahmat, Dr. Kuskridho Ambardi, M.A
**Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/**

Obermaier, M., & Rieger, D. (2023). Too civil to care? How online hate speech against different social groups affects bystander intervention. European Journal of Criminology, 20(3), 817–833. https://doi.org/10.1177/14773708231156328

Ohme, J. (2019). Updating Citizenship? The Effects of Digital Media use on Citizenship Understanding and Political Participation. Information, Communication & Society, 22(13), 1903–1928. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2018.1469657

Osmundsen, M., Bor, A., Vahlstrup, P. B., Bechmann, A., & Petersen, M. B. (2021). Partisan Polarization Is the Primary Psychological Motivation behind Political Fake News Sharing on Twitter. American Political Science Review, 115(3), 999–1015. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055421000290

Papacharissi, Z. (2002). New Media & Society. New Media & Society, 4(1), 9–27. https://doi.org/10.1177/14614440222226244

Papacharissi, Z. (2004). Democracy Online: Civility, Politeness, and he Democratic Potential of Online Political Discussion Groups. New Media and Society, 6(2), 259–283. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444804041444

Pennycook, G., Cannon, T. D., & Rand, D. G. (2017). Prior Exposure Increases Perceived Accuracy of Fake News. SSRN Electronic Journal, June. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2958246

Pew Research Center. (2022). Social Media Seen as Mostly Good for Democracy Across Many Nations, But U.S. is a Major Outlier.

Pohan, I. A., Maharani, E., Lumban, B., & Amanda, F. J. (2025). SAFEnet and Civil Society Dynamics in Expanding Digital Public Space in Indonesia. Jurnal Politik Walisongo, 7(2), 129–140. https://doi.org/10.21580/jpw.v7i2.28133

Pratamawaty, B. B. (2025). Social media activism and digital authoritarian drift in fl awed democracies : The case of Indonesia. Dialogues on Digital Society, 1(3), 469–473. https://doi.org/10.1177/29768640251383985

Price, V., Cappella, J. N., & Nir, L. (2002). Does Disagreement Contribute to More Deliberative Opinion. Political Communication, 19, 95–112.

Purba, H., & Sitorus, F. K. (2023). Truth, Post Truth, dan Dinamikanya di Indonesia: Sebuah Kajian Literatur. Sosial Horizon: Jurnal Pendidikan Sosial, 10(1), 1–16. https://doi.org/10.31571/sosial.v10i1.5001

Rabbani, M. (2026). Penggunaan Media Sosial Tiktok dalam Kampanye Politik Pilpres 2024 (Analisis Deskriptif Keterlibatan Generasi Muda Dan Teknologi Terhadap Pasangan Calon Prabowo dan Gibran. Journal of Multidisciplinary Research on Scientific and Advanced, 4(1), 92–102.

Rachimoellah, M., Lubis, P. H., & Utimadini, N. J. (2024). Digital Activism and Political Change : Challenges of Social Media's Impact on Political Development. Journal Of Middle East and Islamic Studies, 11(2). https://doi.org/10.7454/meis.v11i2.177

Rahmat, F. N., Gasa, F. M., & Rusdin, F. R. (2025). Political Gimmicks on Social Media in the 2024 Presidential Election and Criticism of Democratic Practices in Indonesia Gimik Politik di Media Sosial pada Pilpres 2024 dan Kritik terhadap Praktik Demokrasi di Indonesia.

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
**Ramai, Menjaminkah Demokratis? Ekspresi Online (In)Civility dan Kualitas Diskusi Demokratis dalam Politik Digital Indonesia (Analisis Wacana Kritis Akun TikTok @aniesbaswedan)**
Ridho Firdaus Rahmat, Dr. Kuskridho Ambardi, M.A
**Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/**

Kanal: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi, 14(1), 120–131. https://doi.org/10.21070/kanal.v14i1.1964

Rasidi, P. P. (2023). Ludic Cybermilitias: Shadow Play and Computational Propaganda in the Indonesian Predatory State. Communication, Culture and Critique, 1–8.

Rathje, S., Bavel, J. J. Van, & Linden, S. Van Der. (2021). Out-group animosity drives engagement on social media (pp. 1–9). https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2024292118

Rega, R., Marchetti, R., & Stanziano, A. (2023). Incivility in Online Discussion : An Examination of Impolite and Intolerant Comments. Social Media and Society, 9(1–12). https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051231180638

Reuters Institute. (2024). Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2024.

Rheault, L., Rayment, E., & Musulan, A. (2019). Politicians in the line of fire: Incivility and the treatment of women on social media. Research and Politics. https://doi.org/10.1177/2053168018816228

Ridha, M., Fadhilurrozaq, M., Pamungkas, W., & Muliana, A. (2025). Dampak Media Sosial terhadap Komunikasi Interpersonal di Era Digital The Impact of Social Media on Interpersonal Communication in the Digital Age. Journal of Communication Science, 7(2), 76–81.

Rossini, P. (2022). Beyond Incivility : Understanding Patterns of Uncivil and Intolerant Discourse in Online Political Talk. Communication Research, 49(3), 399–425. https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650220921314

Rossini, P., & Maia, R. C. M. (2021). Characterizing Disagreement in Online Political Talk : Examining Incivility and Opinion Expression on News Websites and Facebook in Brazil. Journal of Delibe, 17(1), 90–104.

Russmann, U. (2021). Quality of Understanding in Communication among and between Political Parties, Mass Media, and Citizens: An Empirical Study of the 2013 Austrian National Election. Journal of Deliberative Democracy, 17, 102–116.

Saldaña, M., & Rosenberg, A. (2020). I Don't Want You to Be My President! Incivility and Media Bias During the Presidential Election in Chile. Social Media and Society, 6(4). https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305120969891

Samsudin, D., Putri, I. M., & Zamora, R. (2024). Tren Penggunaan Media Sosial Sebagai Sumber Informasi Politik di Kalangan Generasi Muda Pekanbaru. SOSMANIORA: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Humaniora, 3(2), 228–238. https://doi.org/10.55123/sosmaniora.v3i2.3772

Sarifudin, B., & Zuhri, S. (2025). Trash Talking dalam Komunitas Virtual : Studi Kasus pada Komunitas Marah-Marah Platform X. Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi UHO : Jurnal Penelitian Kajian Ilmu Sosial Dan Informasi, 10(1), 188–206.

Sastramidjaja, Y., & Wijayanto. (2022). Cyber Troops, Online Manipulation of Public Opinion and Co-Optation of Indonesia's Cybersphere (Issue 7).

Scheufele, D. A. (2001). Democracy For Some? How Political Talk Both Informs and Polarizes The Electorate. 19–32.

Schmid, U. K., Kümpel, A. S., & Rieger, D. (2024). How social media users perceive different forms of online hate speech : A qualitative multi-method study. New Media & Society,

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
**Ramai, Menjaminkah Demokratis? Ekspresi Online (In)Civility dan Kualitas Diskusi Demokratis dalam Politik Digital Indonesia (Analisis Wacana Kritis Akun TikTok @aniesbaswedan)**
Ridho Firdaus Rahmat, Dr. Kuskridho Ambardi, M.A
**Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/**

26(5), 2614 –2632. https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448221091185

Setiawan, K. M. P., & Tomsa, D. (2023). Defending a Vulnerable yet Resilient Democracy : Civil Society Activism in Jokowi's Indonesia. Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs, 42(3), 350–371. https://doi.org/10.1177/18681034231209058

Shifman, L. (2014). Memes in Digital Culture. MIT Press.

Sibarani, A. S., Manik, S., & Sembiring, R. A. (2022). Impoliteness Strategies on Anies Baswedan's Twitter Comments. Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Konseling, 4, 5109–5116.

Sinaga, P., Partini, A., Sadam, Z., Khalil, M. I., & Purwanti, S. (2024). Penggunaan Aplikasi TikTok sebagai Media Hiburan Bagi Generasi Z. Mediakom : Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi, 07(02), 161–179. https://doi.org/10.3258/mediakom.v7i02.2004

Srnicek, N. (2017). Platform Capitalism. Polity Press.

Tan, N., & McIlvaney, A. (2025). Bots, Buzzers and AI-driven Campaigning Distort Democracy. In EASTASIAFORUM. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.59425/eabc.1753480800

Tazri, M. (2019). Cebong dan Kampret dalam Pespektif Komunikasi Politik Indonesia. Jurnal PERSPEKTIF Komunikasi, 3(1), 1–7.

Theocharis, Y., & van Deth, J. W. (2018). Political Participation in a Changing World. Routledge.

Thompson, D. F. (2008). Deliberative Democratic Theory and Empirical Political Science.

Tian, X., & Li, X. (2022). Corpus-based analysis of shifts in China ' s diplomatic stance across seven decades ( 1949 –. Frontiers in Psychology, November, 1–12. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2022.1021410

TikTok. (2020). How TikTok recommends videos #ForYou. TikTok. https://newsroom.tiktok.com/how-tiktok-recommends-videos-for-you?lang=en

TikTok. (2022). Learn why a video is recommended For You. TikTok. https://newsroom.tiktok.com/learn-why-a-video-is-recommended-for-you?lang=en

Trifiro, B., Paik, S., Fang, Z., & Zhang, L. (2021). Politics and Politeness: Analysis of Incivility on Twitter During the 2020 Democratic Presidential Primary. Social Media and Society, 7(3). https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051211036939

Tromble, R. (2018). Thanks for (Actually) Responding! How Citizen Demand Shapes Politicians' Interactive Practices on Twitter. New Media & Society, 20(2), 676–697.

Van't Riet, J., & Van Stekelenburg, A. (2022). The Effects of Political Incivility on Political Trust and Political Participation: A Meta-Analysis of Experimental Research. Human Communication Research, 48(2), 203–229. https://doi.org/10.1093/hcr/hqab022

Wadipalapa, R. P. (2023). The communist imaginary in Indonesia ' s 2014 and 2019 presidential elections. Asian Journal of Political Science, 31(3), 197–221. https://doi.org/10.1080/02185377.2023.2270947

Widodo, S., & Kristiyanto, J. (2025). Digital Democracy : Transforming Political Communication in Indonesia. Jurnal Studi Komunikasi, 9(March), 153–168. https://doi.org/10.25139/jsk.v9i1.9524

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
**Ramai, Menjaminkah Demokratis? Ekspresi Online (In)Civility dan Kualitas Diskusi Demokratis dalam Politik Digital Indonesia (Analisis Wacana Kritis Akun TikTok @aniesbaswedan)**
Ridho Firdaus Rahmat, Dr. Kuskridho Ambardi, M.A
**Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/**

Wijayanto, Berenschot, W., Sastramidjaja, Y., & Ruijgrok, K. (2026). The Infrastructure of Domestic Influence Operations : Cyber Troops and Public Opinion Manipulation Through Social Media in Indonesia. The International Journal of Press/Politics, 31(3), 551–569. https://doi.org/10.1177/19401612241297832

Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2015). Methods of Critical Discourse Studies (Third). SAGE.

Wulandari, V., Rullyana, G., & Ardiansah, A. (2021). Pengaruh algoritma filter bubble dan echo chamber terhadap perilaku penggunaan internet. Berkala Ilmu Perpustakaan Dan Informasi, 17(1), 98–111. https://doi.org/10.22146/bip.v17i1.423

Yulianto, H. (2024). Fenomena Buzzer dan Perang Siber Jelang Pemilu 2024 : Perspektif Netizen Indonesia. JIM: Jurnal Ilmiah Multidisiplin, 2(1), 163–168.

Yusoff, S. H., & Roffe, N. N. M. (2023). A Thematic Analysis of Quality Tiktok Contents. Atlantis Press SARL. https://doi.org/10.2991/978-2-38476-016-9_20

Zappavigna, M., & Logi, L. (2025). How emoji make meaning and enact ambient affiliation: a social semiotic account of emoji-text relations in TikTok comments. Social Semiotics, 35(4), 617–637. https://doi.org/10.1080/10350330.2024.2389520

Zhang, T. (2026). Mechanisms of Algorithmic Recommendation on Social Media Opinion Polarization : An Empirical Analysis Based on Short Video Platforms. International Journal of E-Collaboration, 22(1), 1–16. https://doi.org/10.4018/IJeC.401344

Zuboff, S. (2019). Zuboff, Shoshana.The Age of Surveillance Capitalism.2019. In PublicAffairs (Vol. 5, Issue 2). www.publicaffairsbooks.com @Public_Affairs

Zulli, D., & Zulli, D. J. (2022). Extending the Internet meme: Conceptualizing technological mimesis and imitation publics on the TikTok platform. New Media & Society, 24(8), 1872–1890. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444820983603