

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- _____. 2008. Setiap Hari Terbit Lima Media Massa Baru Pasca-Reformasi. <http://antaranews.com/berita/93625/setiap-hari-terbit-lima-media-massa-baru-pasca-reformasi>. Diakses 19 Agustus 2019 pukul 13:33.
- _____. 2016. Inilah Kisah Jogoboro, Sang Penjaga Malioboro. <http://news.okezone.com/amp/2016/03/29/510/1348580/inilaj-kisah-jogoboro-sang-penjaga-malioboro>. Diakses 26 Maret 2021 pukul 17:53
- _____. 2017. Kasus Saracen: Pesan Kebencian dan Hoax di Media Sosial ‘Memang Terorganisir’. <http://bbc.com/indonesia/trensosial-41022914.amp>. Diakses 23 April 2021 pukul 14:12.
- _____. 2017. Siapa Dalang di Balik Bisnis Fitnah Saracen?. <http://dw.com/id/siapa-dalang-di-balik-bisnis-fitnah-saracen/a-40214893>. Diakses 23 April 2021 pukul 14:24.
- _____. 2019. *Global Digital Report 2019*. <https://wearesocial.com/global-digital-report-2019>. Diakses 1 September 2019 pukul 12:56.
- _____. 2019. Mengenal Sejarah Internet. <http://cnnindonesia.com/teknologi/20190312125646-185-376484/mengenal-sejarah-internet>. Diakses 1 September 2019 pukul 12:34.
- _____. 2021. Ma’aruf Ingin Calon Pengantin Wajib Lulus Konseling Pranikah. <http://cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20210318131752-20-06-619125/maruf-ingin-calon-pengantin-wajib-lulus-konseling-pranikah/amp>. Diakses 26 Maret 2021 pukul 00:20
- Abrab, Akhmad Zaini. 1995. “Kisah Pers Indonesia, 1966-1974”. Yogyakarta: LKIS
- Adam, Aulia. 2018. Benarkah Bisnis Media Online Tak Secerah Masa Depan Internet?. <http://amp.tirto.id/benarkah-bisnis-media-online-tak-secerah-masa-depan-internet-cRv5>. Diakses 8 September 2019 pukul 9:19.
- Adams, Cindy. 1996. “Bung Karno: Penjambung Lidah Rakyat Indonesia. Terjemahan. Djakarta: Gunung Agung.
- Adorno, T. W. 1991. “*The Culture Industry: Selected Essay on Mass Culture*”. London: Routledge.
- Agrawal, Bala Vir. 2006. “*Essentials of Practical Journalism*”. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.

Agregasi Solopos. 2018. 8 Isu Paling Populer di Media Sosial 2018. <http://techno.okezone.com/read/2018/12/31/207/1998052/8-isu-paling-populer-di-media-sosial-2018>. Diakses 2 September 2019 pukul 17:30.

Agustin, Risa. 2011. "Kamus Lengkap Bahasa Indonesia". Surabaya: Serba Jaya

Alexander, Larry. *"Is There A Right to Freedom of Expression"*. New York: Cambridge Univeristy Press

Alfianto, Rian. 2019. Survei Pengguna Internet Indonesia: Paling Banyak Akses Konten Video. <http://jawapos.com/oto-dan-tekno/teknologi/17//05/2019/survei-pengguna-internet-indonesia-paling-banyak-akses-konten-video/?amp>. Diakses 2 September 2019 pukul 15:30..

Amir, Yasraf. 2004. "Dunia yang Berlari". Jakarta: PT. Mizan

Anggraeni, Vita Ayu. 2018. Sejarah Pemilu di Indonesia. <http://goodnewsfromindonesia.id/2018/09/06/sejarah-pemilu-di-indonesia>. Diakses 10 September 2019 pukul 15:19.

Anom, Erman. 2016. "Pemerintah, Media dan Masyarakat Indonesia. Yogyakarta: Penerbit Andi.

Antony, Noval Dhwinuari. 2016. Terjebak Macet Gara-Gara Acara Ahok, Sandiaga: Beda Ya yang Berkuasa. <http://news.detik.com/berita/d-3326149/terjebak-macet-gara-gara-acara-ahok-sandiaga-beda-ya-yang-berkuasa>. Diakses 21 Oktober 2020 pukul 17:13.

Aprinta, Gita. 2011. Kajian Media Massa: Representasi Girl Power Wanita Modern dalam Media Online (Studi Farming Girl Power dalam Rubrik Karier dan Keuangan Femina Online). The Messenger, Vol. 2 No. 2, Januari 2011. Hlm. 16.

Arbie, Rivani. 2013. *"Twitter is Money"*. Jakarta: Mediakita.

Ardha, B. 2014. Sosial Media sebagai Media Kampanye Partai Politik 2014 di Indonesia. Jurnal Visi Komunikasi, 13(1), 105-120.

Arifin, Anwar. 2003. "Komunikasi Politik". Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.

Asp, Kent & Esaiasson, Peter. 1996. *"The Modernization of Swedish Campaign: Individualization, Profesionalization, and Medializatrion"*. Dalam Swanson, David L dan Mancini, Paolo. 1996. *"Politics, Media and Modern Democracy: An International Study of Innovations in Electoral Campaigning and Their Consequences"*. Wesport: Praeger.

Asplan, Knut D, Suparman Marzuki, Eko Riyadi (ed). 2008. "Hukum Hak Asasi Manusia". Yogyakarta: PUSHAM UII

- Asshiddiqie, Jimly. 2006. "Kemerdekaan Berserikat, Pembubaran Partai Politik dan MK". Jakarta: Konstitusi Press
- Atriana, Rina & Aditya Mardiasuti. 2017. Ahok Merendahkan Surat Al-Maidah 51. <http://news.detik.com/berita/d-349614/hakim-ahok-merendahkan-surat-al-maidah-51>. Diakses 24 Mei 2021 pukul 11:13.
- Atton, C. 2014. "*An Alternative Internet*". Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press.
- Aziza, Kurnia Sari. 2016. Dukungan Jasmev untuk Ahok Berlanjut. <http://kompas.com/megapolitan/2016/05/25/08495011/dukungan.jasmev.untuk.ahok.berlanjut>. Diakses 10 Mei 2021 pukul 21:42.
- Bachtiar, Wardi. 1997. "Metodologi Penelitian Ilmu Dakwah". Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu.
- Bagdikian, Ben. H. 2004. "*The New Media Monopoly: A Completely Revised and Updated Edition With Seven New Chapters*". Boston: Beacon Press.
- Baker, C. Edwin. 2002. "*Media, Market, and Democracy*". England: Cambridge Universtiy Press.
- Baker, Chris. 2004. "*The Sage Dicitonary of Cultural Studies*". Australia: Sage.
- Balkin, Jack M. 2004. "Digital Speech and Democratic Culture: A Theory of Freedom of Expression for the Information Society". New York University Law Review. 79. 1-58
- Barker, Chris. 2008. *Cultural Studies: Theory and Practies*. 3rd Edition. London: Sage Publication.
- Barker, Chris. 2009. "*Cultural Studies: Teori & Praktik*". Bantul: Kreasi Wacana.
- Barocas, S & Hood S & Ziewits M. 2013. Governing Algorithms: A Provocation Piece: Governing Algorithm. Available at <http://governingalgorithms.org/>.
- Barr, Trevor. 2000. "*Newsmedia.Com.AU: The Changing Face of Australia's Media and Communication*". St. Leonards: Allen and Unwin.
- Baskoro, Lestantya R. 2018. Kebebasan Pers di Indonesia. <http://hukum.tempo.co/read/1059485/kebebasan-pers-di-indonesia>. Diakses 11 Agustus 2019 pukul 16:47.
- Baumeister, R. F., Zhang, L., & Vohs, K. D. 2004. *Gossip as Cultural Learning*. Review of General Psychology Vol. 8. No. 2. 111-121. Diunduh dari <http://assets.com.umn.edu/assets/71514.pdf>. Pada 1 Desember 2020 pukul 09.19.

- Belarminus, Robertus. 2017. Jokowi: Saya Indonesia, Saya Pancasila, kalau Kamu?. <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/05/30/06171451/jokowi.saya.indonesia.saya.pancasila.kalau.kamu>. Diakses 21 Oktober 2020 pukul 19:08.
- Bennett, W. L. 2012. The Personalization of Politics: Political Identity, Social Media and Changing Patterns of Participation. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 644, 20-39.
- Blossom, J. 2009. *"Content Nation-Surviving and Thriving as Social Media Changes Our Work, Our Live and Our Future"*. Willey Publishing, Inc: India.
- Rochman, Meuthia & Ganie-Rochman Awan. 2015. "Sosiologi Korupsi, Isu, Konsep, dan Perdebatan. Jakarta: UI Press,
- Boeree, C. Goerge. 2008. *"General Psychology"*. Yogyakarta: Prismsophie
- Bogaert, Van D Knapp. 2009. Confidentiality and Privacy: What is the Difference?. Volume 51. Issue 3. Pp. 194-195.
- Both, Anne & Peter McCawley. 1983. "Ekonomi Orde Baru ". Terjemahan. Jakarta: Penerbit LP3ES.
- Bourdieu & Wacquant. 1992. *"An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology"*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press.
- Bourdieu, P. 1984. *"Distinction"*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Bourdieu, P. 1990. *"In Other Words: Essay Towards Reflexive Sociology"*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Bourdieu, P. 1990. *"The Logic of Practice"*. (R. Nice, Ed). California: Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. 1991. *"Language and Symbolic Power"*. John Thompson: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. 1994. Rethinking the State: Genesis and Structure of the Bureaucratic Field. *Sociological Theory* 12(1), 1-18.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *"Disctinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste"*. Cambridge, MASS: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1989. *Social Space and Symbolic Power*. *Sociological Theory* Vol. 7 No. 1: 14-25. Diunduh dari <http://voidnetwork.gr/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Social-space-and-symbolic-power-by-Pierre-Bourdieu.pdf>. Pada 8 September 2019 pukul 16:00.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1990. *"The Logic of Practice"*. California: Stanford University Press.

- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1996. *"The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of Literary Field"*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bowman, S & Willis, C. 2003. "We Media: How Audiences are Shaping the Future of News and Information". Report for The Media Center at The American Press Institute. Diunduh dari http://hypergene.net/wemedia/download/we_media.pdf. Pada 17 Desember 2020 pukul 11:30.
- Brummet, Barry. *"Rhetorical Dimensionas of Popular Culture"*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press.
- Bruns, A. 2008. *"Blogs, Wikipedia, Second Life, and Beyond: From Production to Produsage"*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc.
- Bruns, Axel. 2010. *"News Produsage in a Pro-Am Mediasphere: Why Citizen Journalism Matters"*, dalam Graham Meikle and Guy Reyden. *"New Online: Transofrmations and Continuties"*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bucher, T. 2012. Want to Be on Top? Algorithmic Power and the Threat of Invisibility on Facebook. *New Media & Society* 14: 1164-1180.
- Budiardjo, Miriam. 2008. *"Dasar-dasar Ilmu Politik"*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Budiardjo, Miriam. 1998 (edisi revisi). *"Partisipasi dan Partai Politik"*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- Bullock, H. E & Wyche K. F dkk. 2011. Media Images of the Poor. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(2), 229-246.
- Bungin, Burhan. 2006. *"Sosiologi Komunikasi: (Teori Paradigma dan Diskursus Teknologi di Masyarakat)"*. Jakarta: Kencana Pranada Media Group.
- Bungin, M. Burhan. 2008. *"Konstruksi Sosial Media Massa"*. Jakarta: Kencana.
- Buntoro, G.A. 2017. Analisis Sentimen Calon Gubernur DKI Jakarta 2017 di Twitter. *Integer Journal Maret*, 1(1), 32-41.
- Burhan, Bungin. 2008. *"Konstruksi Sosial Media Massa"*. Jakarta: Prenada Media Group.
- Cahya, Kahfi Dirga. 2016. Bila Jadi Wagub Sandiaga Sumbangkan Gaji dan Tunjangan ke Anak Yatim dan Dhuafa. <http://megapolitian.kompas.com/read/2016/10/18/13224151/bila.jadi/wagub.sandiaga.su.mbangkan.gaji.dan.tunjangan.ke.anak.yatim.dan.dhuafa>. Diakses 29 Oktober 2020 pukul 22:08

- Cahyono, Heru. 1998. "Pengkopkantib Jenderal Soemitro dan Peristiwa 15 Januari '74. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan.
- Campbell, Richard & Christopher R. Martin. 2012. "*Media & Culture an Introduction to Mass Communication*". New York: Bedford/ST.Martin's
- Campbell, Richard & Christopher R. Martin. 2012. "*Media & Culture an Introduction to Mass Communication*". New York: Bedford/ST.Martin's
- Campbell, V. 2017. *The Importance of Citizenship: Theoretical Issues in Studying Citizen Journalism in International Context*. In J. Tong & S. H. Lo (Eds). Digital Techonology and Journalism: An International Comparative Perspective (pp. 191-213). Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gunter, B. 2003. "*News and The Net*". Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Cardon, Dominique. 2010. "*La Democratie Internet, Promesse et Limites*". Paris: Seuil.
- Carina, Jessi. 2016. Pilkada DKI 2017 Resmi Diikuti Tiga Pasang Cagub-Cawagub. [http://kompas.com/megapolitan/read/2016/10/24/17335191/pilkada.dki.2017.resmi.diikuti.i.tiga.pasang.cagub-cawagub](http://kompas.com/megapolitan/read/2016/10/24/17335191/pilkada.dki.2017.resmi.diikuti.tiga.pasang.cagub-cawagub). Diakses 10 Mei 2021 pukul 21:57.
- Carina, Jessi. 2017. Anggaran Kolam Air Mancur DPRD DKI Masuk Lagi, Nilainya Rp 620 Juta. <http://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2017/11/20/10381521/anggaran-kolam-air-mancur-dprd-dki-masuk-lagi-nialinya-rp-620-juta>. Diakses 29 Oktober 2020 pukul 20:58
- Carina, Jessi. 2017. Sandiaga Pakai Pelembab Bibir Saat Dampingi Anies Wawancara. <http://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2017/12/13/05432331/sandiaga-pakai-pelembab-bibir-saat-dampingi-anies-wawancara>. Diakses 30 Oktober 2020 pukul 10:24.
- Carpenter, S. 2008. How Online Citizen Journalism, Publication and Online Newspaper Utilized Objective Standar. J&MC Quarterly, 85(3).
- Castell, Manuel. 1996. "*The Informational Economy and the Process of Globalization*". Dalam "*The Rise of the Network Society*". Oxford: Blackwell Publisher
- Castell, Manuel. 2002. "*The Internet and the Network Society*". In B. Wellmann & C. Harythornwaite (Eds.). "*The Internet in Everyday Life*". Malde, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Castells, M. 2000. "*The Rise of the Network Society, 2nd edn*" Oxford: Blackwell.
- Castells, M. 2007. "*The Rise of Network Society (Second Edition)*". Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

- Castells, M. 2009. *"Comunicaion y Poder (Communication and Power)"*. Madrid, Spain: Alianza Editorial.
- Castells, M. 2011. *"The Rise of Network Society: The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture (Vol.1)"*. Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons.
- Castells, Manuel. 1997. *"The Information Age Economy, Society & Culture, Vol.2: The Power of Identity"*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Castells, Manuel. 2001. *"The Internet Galaxy"*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Castells, Manuel. 2010. *"The Rise of the Network Society"*. United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Cesaero, Giovanni. 2011. *"From the Work of Consumption to the Work of Prosummers"* dalam Wasko, Janet, Murdock, Graham, and Sousa, Helena (ed.). *"The Handbook of Political Economy of Communications"*. West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell. page 403-435
- Chania, ER. 2018. Dewan Pers: Media Online Ada 43.300, Tapi Cuma 0,04 Persen yang Profesional. <http://merdeka.com/peristiwa/dewan-pers-media-online-ada-43300-tapi-cuma-004-persen-yang-profesional.html>. Diakses 8 September 2019 pukul 9:14
- Chaterine, Rahel Nanda. 2020. Menang: Angka Perceraian Meningkat Selama Covid-19. <http://news.detik.com/berita/d-5266413/menag-angka-perceraian-meningkat-selama-covid-19>. Diakses 26 Maret 2021 pukul 00:38
- Chomsky, N & Herman, E.S. 1994. *"Manufacturing Consent"*. London: Vintage.
- CNN Indonesia. 2019. Riwayat Pemilu, Wajah Buram Orba hingga Titik Balik Reformasi. <http://cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20190411132451-32-385322/riwayat-pemilu-wajah-baru-buram-orba-hingga-titik-balik-refromasi/2>. Diakses 20 Agustust 2019 pukul 20:53
- Correia, Joao Carlos. 2004. A Fragmentacao do Espaco Publico: Novos Desafios Etico-politicos. <http://bocc.ubi.pt/pag/correia-joao-carlos-fragmentacao-do-espacopublico.pdf>. Diakses 5 Mei 2021 pukul 07:51.
- Coulrdy, N & Curran J. 2003. *"The Paradox of Media Power"*. In N. Couldry & J. Curran (Eds.), *Contesting Media Power: Alternative Media in a Network World* (pp. 3-15). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Craig, Robert T & Heidi L. Muller. 2007. *"Theorizing Communication: Reading Across Traditions"*. London, Thousand Oaks, California, New Delhi: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Cribb, Robert [ed.]. 1990 *"The Indonesia Killings of 1965-1966: Studies from Java and Bali"*. Clayton, Victoria, Australia: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies Monash University.

- Croteau, D. 2006. "The Growth of Self-Produced Media Content and the Challenge to Media Studies". *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 23(4): 340-344.
- Crouch, Harold. 1998. *"The Army and Politics in Indonesia"*. USA: Cornell University Press.
- Crouch, Harold. 1999. "Militer dan Politik di Indonesia". Terjemahan. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan.
- Curtin, P.A & Gaither, T.K. 2007. *"International Public Relations: Negotiating Culture, Identity, and Power"*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Curtrice, J & Norris P. 2004. "E-Politics? The Impact of the Internet in Political Trust and Participation". In A. Park, J. Curtrice, K. Thomson, C. Bromley, & M. Philips (Eds.). *British Social Attitudes: The 21st Report* (pp. 99-116). London, UK: SAGE Publications.
- Dahlberg, L. 2007. The Internet, Deliberative Democracy and Power: Radicalizing the Public Sphere. *International Journal of Media & Culture Politics*. 3(1), 47-64.
- Dahlgren, Peter. 2000. *"Television and the Public Sphere: Citizenship, Democracy and the Media"*. London: SAGE Publication.
- Dahlgren, Peter. 2000. *"Television and the Public Sphere: Citizenship, Democracy and the Media"*. London: SAGE Publication
- Dahlgren, Peter. 2000. *"Television and the Public Sphere: Citizenship, Democracy and the Media"*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Defianti, Ika. 2017. Imbas Pilkada 2017, Jakarta jadi Kota Intoleransi?. <http://liputan6.com/news/read/316569/imbaspilkada-2017-jakarta-jadi-kota-intoleransi>. Diakses 10 Mei 2021 pukul 07:26.
- Destyawan, Dennis. 2017. Intoleransi di Jakarta Meningkat Selama Masa Kampanye Pilkada DKI. <http://tribunnews.com/amp/metropolitan/2017/03/23/intoleransi-di-jakarta-meningkat-selama-masa-kampanye-pilkada-dki>. Diakses 10 Mei 2021 pukul 07:30.
- Deuze, M. 2011. *"Media Life"*. Malden: Polity Press.
- Devereux, Eoin. 2003. *"Understanding The Media"*. London: Sage Publication.
- Dewan Pers. 2017. Mendorong Profesionalisme Pers Melalui Verifikasi Perusahaan Pers. *Jurnal Dewan Pers* Edisi 14 [Juni]. Diunduh dari <http://dewanpers.or.id/assets/ebook/jurnal/715-BUKU%20JURNAL%20DEWAN%20PERS%2014%20INDONESIA.pdf>. Pada 19 Agustus 2019 pukul 13:45.

- Dinta, Yesinta. 2017. Takut Dijadikan Meme, Sandi Ogah Upload Video Rapat di Youtube. <http://jawapos.com/metro/metropolitan/11/12/2017/takut-dijadikan-meme-sandi-ogah-upload-video-rapat-di-youtube>. Diakses 30 Oktober 2020 pukul 09:17.
- Doyle, G. 2002. *“Media Ownership: The Economics and Politics of Convergence and Concentration in the UK and European Media”*. London: Sage
- Du Gay, O. (Editor). 1997. *“Production of Culture. Culture of Production”*. London: Sage.
- Du Gay, P et. al. 1997. *“Doing Cultural Studies: The Story of Community Problems”*. London: Sage.
- Eaman, R. 2009. *“Historical Dictionary of Journalism”*. Maryland: Scarecrow Press Inc.
- Edrianto, Kristian. 2016. Jelang Pilkada 2017, Hanya DKI Jakarta yang Paling Rawan Isu SARA. <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2016/11/28/17051701/jelang.pilkada.2017.hanya.dki.jakarta.yang.paling.rawan.isu.sara?page=all#page2>. Diakses 10 Mei 2021 pukul 06:58.
- Edstrom, Maria, Andrew T. Kenyon & Eva-Maria (eds.). 2016. *“Blurring the Lines Market-Driven and Democracy-Driven Freedom of Expression”*. Sweden: Ale Tryceteam AB.
- Edwards, L.M.S & Hodges, C.E.M. (Eds.). 2011. *“Public Relations, Society and Culture: Theoretical and Empirical Exploration”*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Effendy, O.U. 2005. *‘Ilmu, Teori dan Filfasat Konunikasi’*. Bandung: Citra Aditya Bakti.
- Endy. 2017. Dipakai Sendiri, Dana Operasional Wagub DKI Tak Jadi buat Zakat. <http://beritabatavia.com/detail/31490/dipakai-sendiri-dana-operasional-wagub-dki-tak-jadi-buat-zakat>. Diakses 29 Oktober 2020 pukul 22:17.
- Eriyanto. 2002. *“Analisis Framing”*. Yogyakarta: LKIS.
- Eriyanto. 2005. *“Analisis Framing: Konstruksi, Ideologi dan Politik Media”*. Yogyakarta: PT. LKiS Pelangi Aksara.
- Eriyanto. 2011. *“Analisis Isi: Pengantar Metodologi untuk Penelitian Ilmu Komunikasi dan Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial Lainnya”*. Jakarta: Kencana Prenada.
- Eriyanto. 2012. *“Analisis Framing: Konstruksi, Ideologi dan Politik Media*. Yogyakarta: LkiS.
- Fashri, Fauzi. 2007. *“Penyingkapan Kuasa Simbol: Apropriasi Refleksi Pemikiran Pierre Bourdie”*. Yogyakarta: Juxtapose.
- Fashri, Fauzi. 2016. *“Pierre Bourdieu Menyikapi Kuasa Simbol”*. Yogyakarta: Jalasutra.

- Fatmawati, Nur Indah. 2017. Sandiaga: Pakai Sepatu Diatur Pergub, Hebat Banget. <http://news.detik.com/berita/d-3693948/sandiaga-pakai-sepatu-diatur-pergub-hebat-banget>. Diakses 30 Oktober 2020 pukul 16:22.
- Fauconnier, G & M Turner. 2002. *"The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind's Hidden Complexities"*. New York: Basic Books.
- Fauconnier, G. 1994. *"Mental Spaces: Aspect of Meaning Construction in Natural Language"*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fauconnier, G. 1997. *"Mapping in Thought and Language"*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fayakhun, Andriani. "Demokrasi di Tangan Netizen". Jakarta: RM Books.
- Fealy, Greg. 2017. Bigger than Ahok: Explaining the 2 December Mass Rally. Artikel online lama Indonesia at Melbourne. di lama <http://indonesiatmelbourne.unmelb.edu.au/bigger-than-ahok-explaining-hajartas-2-december-mass-rally/>. Diakses 24 Mei 2021 pukul 13:51.
- Feith, Herbert. 1995. "Soekarno-Militer dalam Demokrasi Terpimpin". Terjemahan: Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan.
- Feith, Herbert. 1999. "Pemilihan Umum 1995 di Indonesia". Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer.
- Ferdianto, Rifky. 2017. Kontroversi Kata Pribumi di Pidato Gubernur Anies Baswedan. <http://fokus.tempo.co/read/1025633/kontroversi-kata-pribumi-di-pidato-gubernur-anies-baswedan/full?view=ok>. Diakses 27 Oktober 2020 pukul 19:29.
- Fleurbaey, M. 2002. *Development, Capabilities, and Freedom*. Studies in Comparative International Development (SCID), 37(2). pp. 71-77
- Flew, Terry. 2001. *"New Media: An Introduction"*. UK: Oxford University Press.
- Flew, Terry. 2002. *"New Media: An Introduction"*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Flichy, Patrice. 2010. *"Le Sacre de l'amateur, Sociologie des Passions Ordinaries a l'ere numerique"*. Paris: Seuil
- Flournoy, Don Michael [ed.]. 1989. "Analisis Isi Surat kabar-surat kabar Indonesia. Terjemahan. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Foster, E. K. 2004. *Research on Gosip: Taxonomy, Methods, and Future Directions*. Review of General Psychology Vol. 8, No. 2. 78-99. Diunduh dari

<http://smg.media.mit.edu/library/Foster.gossipreview.pdf>. Pada 1 Desember 2020 pukul 09.21.

Foucault, Michel. 1986. *Of Other Spaces*. *Diacritics* No. 16, 22-27.

Foust, James C. 2005. *“Online Journalism: Principles and Practices of News for the Web”*. Scottsdale: Holcomb Hathaway.

Franklin, Bob. 2005. *“Key Concept in Journalism Studies”*. New York: Sage Publication.

Friedman, Thomas L. 2005. *“The World is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-first Century”*. United States: Farrar, Starus and Giroux.

Fuchs, C. 2014. *“Social Media A Critical Introduction”*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publication, Ltd.

Fuchs, C. 2014. *Social Media and the Public Sphere*. *TripleC*, 12(1), 57-101.

Fuchs, Christian & Marisol Sandoval. 2014. *“Critique, Social Media and the Information Society”*. New York: Routledge

Fuchs, Christian & Vincent Mosco. 2015. *“Marx in the Age of Digital Capitalism”*. Leiden: Brill.

Fuchs, Christian. 2011. *“Foundation of Critical Media and Information Studies”*. New York: Routledge.

Fuchs, Christian. 2014. *Social Media and the Public Sphere*. *Journal for a Global Sustainable Information Society*, 12(1): 57-101. Diunduh dari <http://triplecat/index.php/triplec/article/view/552>. Pada 5 Mei 2021 pukul 22:37.

Fukuyama, Francis. 1995. *“Trust: the Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity”*. New York: Free Press.

Furhoff, Lars. 1973. *Some Reflections on Newspaper Concentration*. *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 21(1): 1-27.

Gagliardone, Iginio et. al. 2015. *Countering Online Hate Speech*. Paris: UNESCO Publishing.

Gane, N & Beer, D. 2008. *“New Media, the New Concept”*. New York: Berg.

Gay, Paul du. 2004. *“Identity in the Age of the New Economy”*. UK: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.

Gazali, Effendi. 2004. *“Communication of Politics and Politics of Communication Indonesia: A Study on Media Performance, Responsibility and Accountability*. Nijmegen: Doctoral

Thesis Radboud University. Diunduh dari
[//http:repository.ubn.ru.nl/bitstream/handle/2066/19550/19550.pdf?sequence=1](http://http:repository.ubn.ru.nl/bitstream/handle/2066/19550/19550.pdf?sequence=1). Pada 6
Agustus 2019 pukul 22:59.

- Gee, J. P. 2005. *“An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method”*. New York: Routledge.
- Graham, N. 1986. *“Contribution to a Political Economy of Mass Communication. Media, Culture and Society”*. London: Vintage.
- Gramsci, Antonio. 1971. *“Selections from the Prison Notebook”*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Grenfell, Michael. 2008. *“Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concept”*. Trwobridge: Cromwell Press.Hall,
- Griffin, E. 2012. *“A Frist Look at Communication Theory: Eight Edition”*. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Guervitch, Michael et al. *Political Communication -- Old and New Media Relationship*. ANNALS of the American Axademy of Political and Social Science 625(1): 164-181. Diunduh dari http://researchgate.net/publication/249666712_Political_Communication_-_Old_and_New_Media_Relationships. Pada 4 Oktober 2020 pukul 12:57
- Gunadha, Reza & Ummi Hadyah Saleh. 2017. Sandiaga Uno: Saya Berharap Banyak Investor Tiongkok ke Jakarta. <http://suara.com/news/2017/12/16/190515/sandiag-uno-saya-berharap-banyak-investor-tiongkok-ke-jakarta>. Diakses 30 Okotber 2020 pukul 13:16
- Gunadha, Reza. 2017. Acara Anies-Sandi Bikin Macet 10 Kilometer di Jalur Puncak. <http://suara.com/news/2017/10/21/143000/acara-anies-sandi-bikin-macet-10-kilometer-di-jalur-puncak>. Diakses 21 Oktober 2020 pukul 17:23.
- Gunelius, Susan. 2011. *“30-Minutes Social Media Marketing”*. United States: McGraw-Hill Companies.
- Habermas, J. 1984. *“Theory of Communicative Action”*. Boston: Beacon.
- Habermas, J. 2000. *“The Public Sphere”*. Dalam P. Maris, & S. Thornham (Penyunt), *“Media Studies: A Reader”* (hal. 92-98). New York: New York University Press.
- Habermas, Jurgen. 1987. *“The Theory of Communicative Action”*. Boston:: Beacon Press.
- Habermas, Jurgen. 1989. *“The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into Category of Bourgeois Society”*. Thomas Burger (terj.). Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Habermas, Jorgen. 1996. *"Between Facts and Norms Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy"*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Habibi, Yasin. 2017. Masuk Ancol Gratis, Tim Sinkronisasi: Itu Janji Anies-Sandi. <http://republika.co.id/berita/nasional/jabodetabek-nasional/17/10/05/oxcfup409-masuk-ancol-gratis-tim-sinkronisasi-itu-janji-aniessandi>. Diakses 28 Oktober 2020 pukul 17:22
- Hacker, Kenneth L & Jan A. G. M. Van Dijk (ed). 2000. *"Democracy Digiral: Issues Theory and Practice"*. London: Sage Publication
- Hagar, Douglas. 2014. Campaigning Online: Social Media in the 2010 Niagara Municipal Elections. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* Vol. 23 No. 1 pp. 74-98. Diunduh dari https://www.academia.edu/6240220/The_Use_of_Social_Media_in_the_2010_Niagara_Municipal_Elections. Pada 12 September 2019 pukul 10:24.
- Hakim, Rakhmat Nur. 2021. UU ITE yang Memakan Korban dari Prita Mulyasari hingga Baiq Nuril. <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2021/02/16/1792471/uu-ite-yang-memakan-korban-dari-prita-mulyasari-hingga-baiq-nuril?page=all#page2>. diakses 4 Mei 2021 pukul 09.47.
- Hall, S. 1995. *"Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Pratices"*. Londo: SAGE.
- Hall, Stuart. 1997. *"Represntation and Signifying Practices"*. Disunting oleh Stuart Hall. London: Sage Publications and The Open University.
- Hall, Stuart. 2003. *"The Work of Representation"Representation: Cultural Representaion and Signifying Practies*. Ed. Stuart Hall. London: Sage Publication.
- Hamad, Ibnu. 2004. *"Konstruksi Realitas Politik dalam Media Massa"*. Jakarta: Granit.
- Harahap, Krisna. 2003. *"HAM dan Upaya Penegakannya di Indonesia"*. Bandung: Grafiti Kuntjoro.
- Harahap, Krisna. 2003. *"Pasang Surut Kemerdekaan Pers di Indonesia"*. Bandung: PT Grafitri.
- Hardiman, Fransisco Budi. 1993. *"Menuju Masyarakat Komunikatif"*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.
- Hardiman, Fransisco Budi. 2009. *"Menuju Masyarakat Komunikatif: Ilmu, Masyarakat, Politik dan Postmodernisme menurut Jorgen Habermas"*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius
- Hareyah, Y. 2021. Komodifikasi Budaya Lokal dalam Iklan: Analisis Semiotik pada Iklan Kuku Bima Energi Versi Tari Sajojo, In: *Prosiding Seminar Nasional Menggagas Pencitraan Berbasis Keatifan Lokal*. Purwokerto: Ilmu Komunikasi FISIP Universitas Jenderal Soedirman.

- Harlon, Summer & Thomas J. Johnson. 2011. *Overthrowing the Protest Paradigm? How The New York Times, Global Voices and Twitter Covered in Egyptian Revolution*. International Journal of Communication Vol. 5. Hlm. 1359-1374. Diunduh dari <http://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/viewFile/1239/611>>. Pada 3 September 2019 pukul 17:53.
- Haryanto, Andy & Nila Chrisna Yulika. 2017. Pengakuan Lengkap Sindikat Saracen Jasriadi. <http://liputan6.com/news/read/3075259/pengakuan-lengkap-ketua-sindikata-saracen-jasriadi>. Diakses 23 April 2021 pukul 14:34.
- Haryatmoko, 2003. Menyingkap Kepalsuan Budaya Penguasa. Dalam Basis No. 11-12, Th.52, November-Desember 2003, hal. 4-22.
- Haryatmoko. 2003. "Menyikapi Kepalsuan Budaya Penguasa". Yogyakarta: Kanisius.
- Hasan, Akhmad Muawal. 2017. Sentimen Anti-Cina di Indonesia Awet Usai Pilkada Jakarta. <http://tirto.id/sentiment-anti-cina-di-indonesia-awet-usai-pilkada-jakarta-cwpg>. Diakses 4 Juni 2021 pukul 21:06.
- Hassan, Robert. 2004. *"Media, Politics and the Network Society"*. New York: Open University Press.
- Hassan, Robert. 2004. *"Media, Politics and the Network Society"*. New York: Open University Press.
- Hesmondhalgh, David. 2006. Bourdieu, the Media and Cultural Production. *Media, Culture & Society*, 28(2): 211-231
- Hiariej, Eddy O. S. 2014. "Prinsip-Prinsip Hukum Pidana". Yogyakarta: Cahaya Atma Pustaka.
- Hidayat, Avit. 2017. Masjid Tolak Salatkan Pemilih Ahok, Begini Reaksi Warga. <http://metro.tempo.co/read/850115/masjid-tolak-salatkan-pemilih-ahok-begini-reaksi-warga/full?view=ok>. Diakses 10 Mei 2021 pukul 07:10.
- Hidayat, Avit. 2017. Survei LSI: Sentimen Agama Menentukan di Pilkada DKI. <http://pilkada.tempo.co/read/839339/survei-lsi-sentimen-agama-menentukan-di-pilkada-dki/full?view=ok>. Diakses 25 Mei 2021 pukul 08:19.
- Hidayat, Raja. 2016. Cerita di Balik Situs Postmetro dan Seward. <http://tirto.co.id/cerita-di-balik-situs-postmetro-dan-seward-b9WN>. Diakses 21 April 2021 pukul 14:41.
- Hill, David T & Krishna Sen. *"The Internet in Indonesia New Democracy"*. New York: Routledge.

- Hill, Hal. 1997. *"Indonesia's Industrial Transformation"*. Singapore: ISEAS (Institute of South East Asian Studies).
- Hintz, 2014. "Outsourcing Surveillance-Privatising Policy: Communications Regulation by Commercial Intermediaries". *Birkbeck Law Review* 2(2), pp. 349-367.
- Hodges, C.E.M & Edwards, L.M.S. 2014. *"Public Relations Practicioners"*. In *The Cultural Intermediaries Reader*. Smith Maguire J & Matthews, J. (Eds.). London: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Hodkinson, Paul. 2011. *"Decline of the National Public: Commmercialization, Fragmentation and Globalization"*. In, Paul Hodkinson. *Media, Culture and Society: an Introduction* (pp. 173-193). London: SAGE.
- Hohenberg, John. 1968. *"The News Media: A Journalist Looks His Profession"*. New York ect: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.
- Horkheimer, M & Adorro, T. W. 1976. *"The Culture Industry: Enlightmen as Mass Deception"* (J. Cumming, Trans). In *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (p. 120-167). New York: Contuum International Publishing.
- Hrvatin, Sandra B. & Brankica Petkovic. 2004. *"Media Ownership and Its Impact on Media Independence and Pluralism"*. Ljubljana, Slovenia: Peace Institute.
- Huda, Larissa. 2017. Ancol Batal Gratis, Sandiaga: Pengunjung Mayoritas Orang Mampu. <http://metro.tempo.co/read/1031878/ancol-batal-gratis-sandiaga-pengunjung-mayoritas-orang-mampu>. Diakses 28 Oktober 2020 pukul 17:30
- Ibrahim, Gibran Maulana. 2017. Polisi: Saracen Bermotif Ekonomi, Kliennya Bermotif Politik. <http://news.detik.com/berita/d-3615811/polisi-saracen-bermotif-ekonomi-kliennya-bermotif-politik>. Diakses 23 April 2021 pukul 14:29.
- Ibrahim, Idi Subandy. 1997. *"Lifestyle Ectasy: Kebudayaan Pop dalam Masyarakat Komunitas Indonesia"*. Yogyakarta: Jalasutra.
- Idris, Firze A. 2021. Marcus Gideon: Kami Tak Boleh Naik Bus dan Lift, Panitia Lepas Tangan!. <http://kompas.com/badminton/read/2021/03/19/13482718/marcus-gideon-kami-tak-boleh-naik-bus-lift-panitia-lepas-tangan?page=all#page2>. Diakses 22 Maret 2021 pukul 10:40.
- Ihsanuddin. 2017. Dilaporkan ke Polisi karena "Hate Speech", Pendiri Seword.com Anggap Salah Alamat. <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/10/11/21140311/dilaporkan-ke-polisi-karena-hate-speech-pendiri-sewordcom-anggap-salah?page=all#page2>. Diakses 27 April 2021 pukul 14:18.

- Innis, Harold Adams. 1964. *"The Bias of Communication"*. Toronto. University of Toronto Press.
- Iosifidis, P & Wheeler M. 2015. The Public Sphere and Network Democracy: Social Movements and Political Change?. *Global Media Journal*, 13(25), 1-17. Diunduh dari <http://globalmediajournal.com/open-access/the-public-sphere-and-network-democracy-social-movements-and-political-cahnge.php?aid=64445> Diunduh pada 5 Mei 2021 pukul 21:51.
- Ismail, Taufik. 2017. Ahok-Djarot Dominasi Pemberitaan Pilkada DKI di Media Online. <http://tribunnews.com/amp/metropolitian/2017/02/12/ahok-djarot-dominasi-pemberitaan-pilkada-dki-di-media-online>. Diakses 9 Mei 2021 pukul 07:50.
- Iyengar, S. 1991. *"Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues"*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jackall, Robert & Janice M. Hirota. 2000. *"Image Makers: Advertising, Public Realtions, and the Ethos of Advocacy"*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jacobs, Mark D & Nancy Weiss. H. 2005. *"The Blackwell Companion to the Sociology of Culture"*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Jati, Wasisto Raharjo. 2016. *Cyberspace, Internet, dan Ruang Publik Baru: Aktivisme Online Politik Kelas Menengah Indonesia*. *Jurnal Pemikiran Sosiologi* Vo.l. 3 No. 1 [Januari]. Diunduh dari <http://journal.ugm.ac.id/jps/article/view/23524/15521>. Pada 1 September 2019 pukul 14:29.
- Jati. Wasisto Raharjo. 2016. Aktivisme Kelas Menengah Berbasis Media Sosial: Munculnya Relawan dalam Pemilu 2014. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik* Vol. 20 No. 2 [November] pp. 147-116. Diunduh dari <https://jurnal.ugm.ac.id/jsp/article/view/24795/16030>. Pada 12 Oktober 2019 pukul 14:11
- Jenkins, David. 2010. *"Soeharto & Barisan Jenderal ORBA: Rezim Militer Indonesia, 1975-1983"*. Depok. Komunitas Bambu. Terjemahan.
- Jenkins, H. 2006. *"Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide"*. New York: University Press.
- Jenkins, Henry. 2006. *"Fans, Blogger and Gamers, Exploring Particiaptory Culture"*: New York: University Press.
- Jhally, Sut. 1990. *"The Codes of Advertising Fetishism and the Political Economy of Meaning in the Consumer Society"*. New York: Routledge.

- Johnson, John W. 2011. "Peran Media Bebas". Office of International Information Program U.S Department of States.
- Jones, Steven G. 1997. *"The Internet and Its Social Landscape"*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Jorgensen, R. F. 2001. *"Internet and Freedom of Expression"*. Sweden: Raoul Wellenberg Institute.
- Jurnalis. 2017. Top News (4): Siapa Pemilik Situs Seward.com?. <http://nasional.okezone.com/amp/2017/02/19/337/1622461/top-news-4-siapa-pemilik-situs-seword-com>. Diakses 21 April 2021 pukul 14:32.
- Kalposka, I. 2019. *"A Political Theory of Post Truth"*. Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kami, Indah Mutiara & Fino Yurio Kristo. 2016. "Beda UU ITE Ini 7 Poin Utama Revisi UU ITE yang Mulai Diberlakukan Hari Ini. <http://news.detik.com/berita/d-3356235/ini-7-poin-utama-revisi-uu-ite-yang-mulai-diberlakukan-hari-ini>. Diakses 20 Desember 2020 pukul 11:37.
- Kami, Mutiara Indah. 2016. MUI Nyatakan Sikap Soal Ucapan Ahok Terakit Al Maidah 51, ini Isinya. <http://news.detik.com/berita/d-3318150/mui-nyatakan-sika-soal-ucapan-ahok-terkait-al-maidah-51-ini-isinya>. Diakses 25 Mei 2021 pukul 08:24.
- Karlinah, Siti dkk. 1999. "Komunikasi Massa". Jakarta: Penerbit Universitas Terbuka
- Kaufman, A. 2006a. *Capabilities and Freedom*. *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 14(3). pp. 289-300
- Kearney, A. T. 2018. Sustaining Indonesia's Economy Expansion. http://iberglobal.com/files/2018/indonesia_atkearney.pdf. Diunduh 7 Mei 2021 pukul 14:22.
- Kelana, Adhy. 2017. Ironis, APBD Melonjak Tapi Subsidi Daging Murah Dihapus. <http://wartakota.tribunews.com/2017/11/21/ironis-apbd-melonjak-tapi-orang-miskin-di-jakarta-makin-susah-makan-daging>. Diakses 29 Oktober 2020 pukul 21:18.
- Keller, Douglas. 2010. "Budaya Media, *Cultural Studies*, Identitas, dan Politik: Antara Modern dan Posmodern. Yogyakarta: Jalasutra.
- Kellner, D. 1989. Boudrillard: A New McLuhan? Essay. <http://gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner/flash/kellneraung8.sw>. Diakses 12 Februari 2021 21:40.

- Kellner, D. 2002. Cultural Studeis. Multiculturalism and Media Culture. <http://gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner/papers/SAFEcs.htm>. Diakses 12 Februari 2021 pukul 21:29.
- Kellner, Douglas. 1995. *"Culture Studies, Identity and Politics between the Modern and the Postmodern"*. London: Routledge.
- Kiansantang, Jennar dkk. 2017. HEADLINE: Saracen, Komplotan Penjual Ujaran Kebencian. <http://liputan6.com/news/read/3070416.headline-saracen-komplotan-penjual-ujaran-kebencian>. Diakses 23 April 2021 pukul 14:20.
- Kinder, D. R & Sanders, L. M. 1990. Mimicking Political Debate with Survey Questions: The Case of White Opinion on Affirmative Action for Blacks. *Social Cognition*, 8, 73-103.
- Koran Sindo. 2017. Menghadapi Era Digital. <http://nasional.sindonews.com/read/1234725/18/menghadapi-era-digital-1503955719>. Diakses 4 September 2019 pukul 13:29.
- Kovach, Bill & Tom Rosentiel. 2001. *"The Element of Journalism: What Newspeople Should Know and Public Should Expect"*. New York: Crown Publishers.
- Kurniawan, Moch. Nunung. 2017. Jurnalisme Warga di Indonesia, Prospek dan Tantangannya. *Makara Sosial Humaniora* Vol. 11 No. 2 [Desember] pp. 71-78. Diunduh dari <http://lib.ui.ac.id/file?file?=digital/2017-1/20441797-87-88-1-PB.pdf>. Pada 8 September 2019 pukul 14:13
- Kuwado, Fabian Januraius. 2017. Jokowi Lantik Djarot Saiful Hidayat sebagai Gubernur DKI Jakarta. <http://amp.kompas.nasional/read/2017/06/15/09442101/jokowi.lantik.djarot.saiful.hidaya.r.sebagai.gubernur.dki.jakarta>. Diakses 21 Oktober 2020 pukul 13:21.
- Laughney, D. 2007. *"Themes in Media Theory"*. New York: Open University Press.
- Lefebvre, Henry. 1991. *"The Production of Space"*. diterjemahkan oleh Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Basil Blackwel.
- Lim, M. 2017 Freedom to Hate: Social Media, Algorithmic Enclaves, and The Rise of Tribal Nationalism in Indonesia. *Critical Asian Studies* Vol. 39(3).
- Lim, M. 2017. Freedom to Hate: Social Media, Algotihmic Enclaves and the Rise of Tribal Nationalism in Indonesia. *Critical Asian Studies*, 49(3), 411-427. <http://doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2017.1341188>.
- Lim, Merlyna. 2002: *CyberCivic Space in Indonesia: From Panopticon to Pandemonium*. International Development and Planning Review, Liverpool University Press Vol. 24 No.

- 4, pp. 383-400. Diunduh dari http://academia.edu/214238/Lim_M.2002_CyberCivic_Space_in_Indonesia_From_Panopticon_to_Pandemonium. Pada 3 September 2019 pukul 17:44.
- Liputan6. 2004. Koran Tempo Terbukti Menghina Tomy Winata. <http://liputan6.com/news/read/70518/ikoran-tempo-terbukti-menghina-tomy-winata>. Diakses 19 Agustus 2019 pukul 11:10.
- Litbang Kompas. 1999. "Partai-Partai Politik Indonesia, Ideologi, Strategi, dan Program. Jakarta: Kompas.
- Lopulalan, Henry. 2017. Ada Tikus dan Kecoak di Rumah Anies-Sandi, Pemprov DKI Anggarkan Rp 266 Juta. <http://tribunnews.com/metropolitan/2017/11/21/ada-tikus-dan-kecoak-di-rumah-anies-sandi-pemprov-dki-anggarkan-rp-266-juta>. Diakses 29 Oktober 2020 pukul 21:32.
- Lovink, G. 2016. "*Social Media Abyss*". Cambridge. UK: Polity Press.
- Luiten, Jan van Zanden & Daan Marks. 2012. "Ekonomi Indonesia, 1800-2010: Antara Drama dan Keajaiban Pertumbuhan. Jakarta: PT Kompas Media Nusantara dan KITLV Jakarta, terjemahan Abdul Wahid.
- Lull, James. 1998. "Media Komunikasi Kebudayaan, Suatu Pendekatan Global". Jakarta: Yayasan Obor.
- Magnis-Suseno, Frans. 2004. 75 Tahun Jugen Habermas. Dalam Basis No. 11-12 Tahun ke-53 Nov-Des 2004 Hlm.10,11.
- Makah, Masmimar. 1997. "Pojok Sebagai Penyalur Kritik" dalam Prisma, No. 10 (Oktober). Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Manan, Abdul. 2018. Ancaman Baru dari Digital Laporan Tahunan AJI 2018. Jakarta Selatan: Aliansi Jurnalis Independen (AJI)
- Mardani. 2013. Di 5 Momen ini Tak Seharusnya SBY Ucapkan Prihatin. <http://merdeka.com/politik/di-5-momen-ini-tak-seharusnya-sby-ucapkan-prihatin.html>. Diakses 21 Oktober 2020 pukul 19.00.
- Marijan, Kacung. 2010. "Sistem Politik Indonesia: Konsolidasi Demokrasi-Pasca Orde Baru". Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group.
- Martini, Rina. 2014. Analisis Peran dan Fungsi pers Sebelum dan Sesudah Reformasi Politik di Indonesia. Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Vol. 13 No. 2 [Agustus]. Diunduh dari <http://media.neliti.com/media/publications/101204-Id-analisis-peran-dan-fungsi-pers-sebelum-d.pdf>. Pada 12 Agustus 2019 pukul 20:22.

- Martono, Nanang. 2012. "Kekerasan simbolik di Sekolah: Sebuah Ide Sosiologi Pendidikan Pierre Bourdieu". Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana.
- Marx, Karl. 1978. "*The German Ideology*". The Marx-Engels Reader. 2nd ed. Edited by Robert C. Tucker. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc.
- Mas'ood, Mochtar. 1996. "Lembaga Kepresidenan dan Resep Pengendalian Politik di Indonesia" dalam Risa Noer Arfani [ed]. *Demokrasi Indonesia Kontemporer*. Jakarta: Grafindo Persada.
- Mason, P. 2012. "*Why It's Kicking Off Everywhere: The New Global Revolutions*". London, UK: Verso Press.
- Matanasi, Petrik. 2018. Sejarah Korpri dan Cara Soeharto Mempolitisasi Pegawai Negeri. <http://tiro.id/sejarah-korpri-dan-cara-soeharto-mempolitisasi-pegawai-negeri-c97N>. Diakses 6 Agustus 2019 pukul 21:13.
- Mazzocco, D.W. 1994. "*Networks of Power*". Boston, MA: The Free Press.
- McChensey, Robert. 2013. "*Digital Disconnect: How Capitalism is Turning the Internet Against Democracy*". New York: New Press.
- McCombs & Shaw. 1993. The Evolution of Agenda-Setting Research: Twenty-Five Years in the Marketplace Ideas. *Journal of Communication* 43(2). <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01262.x>
- McCombs, M. 2014. "*Setting the Agenda*". Cambridge 2nd ed (ed.). Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- Mcginley, P. 1959. "*A Lost Priviledge*". New York: Viking Press.
- McIntyre, L. 2018. "*Post Truthi*". Massachusets: The MIT Press.
- McLuhan, Marshall. 1962. "*The Gutenberg Galaxy: the Making of Typographic Man*". Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- McLuhan, Marshall. 1962. "*The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man*". Toronto: Univeristy of Toronto Press.
- McQuail, D. 2003. "Teori Komunikasi Massa". Jakarta: Penerbit Erlangga.
- McQuail, Denis. 2011. "Teori Komunikasi Massa". Edisi 6 Buku 1. Jakarta: Salemba Humanika
- McQuail, Denis. 2000. "*Mass Communication Theory*". Califronia: SAGE Publication ltd.
- McQuail, Dennis. 1989. "Teori Komunikasi Massa". Jakarta: Erlangga.

- Merheim, J.B. 1986. *"A Model Agenda Dynamic Communication Yearbok, 10, Newburry"*. Mc Laughein (ed.). California: SAGE Publication.
- Moeljanto, D.S & Taufik Ismail. 1995. *"Prahara Budaya: Kilas-Balik Ofensif LEKRA/PKI dkk (Kumpulan Dokumen Pergolakan Sejarah)*. Jakarta: Penerbit Mizan.
- Mosco, Vincent. 2010. *"The Political Economy of Communication"*. Second Edition. London: Sage.
- Mosco, Vincent. 2009. *"The Political Economy of Communication. Ssecond Edition"*. London: Sage Publication
- Moyo, L. 2009. "Digital Democracy: Enchancing the Public Sphere. Dalam G. Creeber & R. Martin (Penyunt). *"Digital Cultures: Understanding New Media* (hal. 139-150). New York: McGraw Hill.
- Mubarak A, Hafiz. 2019. Kamus Istilah Pemilu: Dari mana Asalnya Cebong dan Kampret. <http://bbc.com/indonesia/trensosial-47653910>. Diakses 27 April 2021 pukul 23:19..
- Muqoddas, Bursyro. *"To Fulfill and To Protect"*: Membaca Kasus-Kasus Aktual tentang Hak Asasi Manusia". Yogyakarta: PUSHAM UII.
- Murdock, Graham & Peter Golding. 1973. *"For a Political Economy of Mass Communications"*, The Social Register 10: 205-234.
- Murray, Mary. 1995. *"The Law of the Father?"*. London: Routledge.
- Nabi, Robin L & Oliver Mary Beth. (Penyunting). 2009. *"Media Process and Effects"*. California: Sage.
- Nailufar, Nibras Nada. 2016. Survei SMRC: 75 Persen Warga DKI Puas dengan Kinerja Ahok. <http://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/xml/2016/20290451/survei.smrc.75.persen.warga.dki.puas.dengan.kinerja.ahok>. Diakses 24 Mei 2021 pukul 11:00.
- Nailufar, Nibras Nada. 2017. Ini Hasil Rekapitulasi Suara Putaran Kedua Pilkada DKI Jakarta. <http://kompas.com/megapolitan/read/2017/04/30/06030941/ini.hasil.rekapitulasi.suara.putarankedua.pilkada.dki.jakarta>. Diakses 10 Mei 2021 pukul 22:09.
- Napoli, PM. 2013. The Algorithm as Instituion: Toward a Theoretical Framework for Automated Media Production and Consumption. In: Media in Transition & Conference. Massachusetts, Instiute of Technology , Cambridge, MA, 3-5 May.
- Narisari, Sekar Langit. 2021. 6 Jenis Eating Disorder, Kenali Gejalanya agar Cepat Tertangani. <http://amp.kompas.com/lifestyle/read/2021/03/23/084623620/6-jenis-eating-disorder-kenali-gejalanya-agar-cepat-tertangani>. Diakses 26 Maret 2021 pukul 14:40.

- Nasrullah, Rulli. 2001. *"Komunikasi Antara Budaya di Era Budaya Siber"*. Jakarta Kencana Prenada Media Group
- Nasrullah, Rusli. 2012. *"Komunikasi Antar-Budaya di Era Budaya Siber"*. Kencana Perdana Jakarta: Media Group
- Nasuha, Witri. 2018. 5 Media Massa yang Dibredel di Era Orba. <http://nasional.okezone.com/read/2018/12/11/337/1989898/5-media-massa-yang-dibredel-di-era-orba?page=1>. Diakses 6 Agustus 2019 pukul 23:16.
- Nasution, Adnan Buyung. 1995. *"Aspirasi Pemerintah Konstitusional di Indonesia: Studi Sosio-Legal atas Konstituante 1956-1959. Terjemahan"*. Jakarta: PT Pustaka Utama Grafiti.
- Nimmo, Dan. 2000. *"Komunikasi Politik: Komunikator, Pesan dan Media"*, Terj. Tjun Surjaman. Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Nisbet, EC & Myers TA. 2010. Challenging the State: Transnational TV and Political Identity in the Middle East. *Political Communication* 27: 347-366.
- Noor, Juliansyah. 2012. *"Metodologi Penelitian: Skripsi, Tesis, Disertasi dan Karya Ilmiah"*. Jakarta: Prenadamedia Group.
- Nordestreng, K. 2007. "Mths About Press Freedom". *Brazilian Journalism Research*, 3(1), 16-30.
- Nugroho, Kelik Wahyu. 2017. Sejarah Dwifungsi ABRI dan Isu TNI Berpolitik. <http://kumparan.com/@kumparannews/sejarah-dwifungsi-abri-dan-isu-tni-berpolitik>, Diakses 6 Agustus 2019 pukul 13:27.
- Nugroho, Y Sirgar, M. F & Laksmi S. 2013. *"Memetakan Kebijakan Media di Indonesia"*. Jakarta: Centre for Innovation Policy and Governance.
- Nurgoho, Bagus Prihantoro. 2017. Ini Data 7 Provinsi, 18 Kota dan 76 Kabupaten di Pilkada 2017. <http://news.detik.com/berita/d-3421244/ini-data-7-provinsi-18-kota-dan-76-kabupaten-di-pilkada-2017?single=1>. Diakses 7 Mei 2021 pukul 21:58.
- Nurlatifah, M & Prajarto, N. 2012. "Fungsi Malfungsi, dan Disfungsi Media Baru". Dalam W. M Adiputra. *"Media Baru Studi Teoritis & Telaah dari Perspektif Politik dan Sosiokultural"* (hal 47-92). Yogyakarta: FISIPOL UGM.
- Nurudin. 2004. *"Komunikasi Massa"*. Pustaka Belajar: Bandung.
- Nurudin. 2009. *"Jurnalisme Masa Kini"*. Jakarta: Rajawali Pers.
- Oetama, Jakob. 1987. *"Perspektif Pers Indonesia"*. Jakarta: Penerbit LP3ES.

- Osborne, Richerd & Borin Van Loon. 2005. "Seri Mengenal dan Memahami Sosiologi". Batam: Scientific Press.
- Oswell, David. 2006. "*Culture and Society*". London: Sage Publication Ltd.
- Palczewiski, Z. 2010. *A Private Sphere: Democracy in a Digital Age*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Pamungkas, Arie Setyaningrum. 2016. Produksi Ruang dan Revolusi Kaum Urban Menurut Henri Lefebvre. <http://indoprogress.com/2016/01/produksi-ruang-dan-revoulsi-kaum-urban-menurut-henri-lefebvre>. Diakses 15 Maret 2021 pukul 14:51.
- Pan, Z. & Kosicki, G. M. 1991. Influencing Opinion Responses Through Question Framing: Does It Make Any Difference? Paper presented at the annual conference of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Boston, MA.
- Pan, Z. & Kosicki, G. M. 1993. Framing Analysis: An Approach to News Discourse. *Political Communication*, 10(1), 55-75.
- Papacharissi, Zizi. 2002. "The Virtual Sphere, The Internet as a Public Sphere". *Jurnal New Media & Society* Vol. 4 No. 1. Hlm. 9-27. Diunduh dari <http://victorsampedro.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/Papacharissi-The-Virtual-Sphere-Revisted-Handbook.pdf>. Pada 3 September 2019 pukul 22:17.
- Pariser, E. 2011. "*The Filter Bubble: What the Internet is Hiding from You*". New York: Penguin.
- Patrick, Jonathan. 2019. Asal Usul Kelahiran Buzzer. <http://cnnindonesia.com/teknologi/20181210015736-185-352342/asal-usul-kelahiran-buzzer>. Diakses 12 Oktober 2019 pukul 22:56
- Pellegrini, L. 2008. *An Argument for Criminal Hoaks*. Disertasi. University of Southern California.
- Pratama, A. B. 2016. *Ada 800 Ribu Situs Penyebar Hoaks di Indonesia*.
- Pember, D. R & Calvert Clay. 2011. "*Mass Media Law*". New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Pertiwi, Wahyunanda Kusuma. 2018. Masyarakat Kelas Menengah ke Bawah Dominasi Internet di Indonesia. <http://tekno.kompas.com/read/2018/02/22/07520057/masyarakat-kelas-ke-bawah-dominasi-internet-di-indonesia>. Diakses 2 September 2019 pukul 13:24.
- Pertiwi, Wahyunanda Kusuma. 2019. Facebook Jadi Medsos Paling Digemari di Indonesia. <http://tekno.kompas.com/read/2019/02/05/11080097/facebook-jadi-medsos-paling-banyak-digemari-di-indonesia/> Diakses 2 September 2019 pukul 14:41.
- Piliang, Yasraf Amir. 2008. "Hipersemiotika: Tafisr Cultural Studies atas Matinya Makna". Yogyakarta: Jalasutra.

- Pilliang, Yusuf Amir. 2011. "Dunia yang Dilipat: Tamasya Melampaui Batas-Batas Kebudayaan". Bandung: Matahari.
- Poesponegoro, M.D & Notosusanto. N. 2009. "Sejarah Nasional Indonesia VI". Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.
- Poster, M. 1995. "Cyberdemocracy: *Internet and the Public Sphere*". In D. Porter (Ed.). *Internet Culture*. London: Routledge
- Prasetia, Andhika. 2017. Jurus Ahok-Djarot Vs Anies-Sandi Kampanye di Medsos. <http://news.detik.com/berita/d-3455602/jurus-ahok-djarot-anies-sandi-kampanye-di-medsos>. Diakses 10 Mei 2021 pukul 23:03.
- Prasetyo, Antonius Galih. 2012. Menuju Demokrasi Rasional: Melacak Pemikiran Jorgen Habermas tentang Ruang Publik. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik* Vol. 16 No. 2 [November] (169-185). Diunduh dari <http://jurnal.ugm.ac.id/jsp/article/view/10901/8142>. Pada 2 September 2019 pukul 22:40..
- Pratama, Akhdi Martin. 2016. Pilkada DKI Jakarta Dominasi Pemberitaan dan Perhatian Masyarakat. <http://kompas.com/megapolitan/read/2016/10/27/16105981/pilkada.dki.jakarta.dominasi.pemberitaan.dan.perhatian.masyarakat>. Diakses 11 Mei 2021 pukul 22:18.
- Pratama, Aswab Nanda. 2018. Riwayat Pilkada di Indonesia. <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2018/06/27/06000041/riwayat-pilkada-di-indonesia?page=all#page2>. Diakses 11 Mei 2021 pukul 22:53.
- Pratama, Rizky Kevin. 2021. Tim Bulu Tangkis Indonesia Dipaksa Mundur, All England Bergema di Twitter. <http://amp.kompas.com/tekno/read/2021/03/18/09500017/tim-bulu-tangkis-indonesia-mundur-all-england-bergema-di-twitter>. Diakses 22 Maret 2021 pukul 10:59.
- _____. 2020. Luna Maya dan Deddy Corbuzier Jadi Juri Ajang Indonesia's Next Top Model 2020. <http://kapanlagi.com/amp/showbiz/selebri/luna-maya-dan-deddy-corbuzier-jadi-juri-di-ajang-indonesia8217s-next-top-model-2020-ccf24.html>. Diakses 24 Maret 2021 pukul 10:10.
- Pratomo, Yudha. 2019. APJII: Jumlah Pengguna Internet di Indonesia Tembus 171 Juta Jiwa. <http://tekno.kompas.com/read/2019/05/16/03260037/apjii-jumlah-pengguna-internet-di-indonesia-tembus-171-juta-jiwa>. Diakses 1 September 2019 pukul 13:25.
- Prihatmoko, Joko J. 2003. "Pemilu 2004 dan Konsolidasi Demokrasi". Semarang: LP3i.
- Purba, Amir. 2006. Perkembangan Kehidupan Pers dari Masa Rezim Orde Baru ke Masa Rezim . *Jurnal Wawasan* Vol. 12 No. 1 [Juni]. Diunduh dari <http://repository.usu.ac.id/bitstream/handle/123456789/16007/was-jun2006->

- Purnama, Hadi. 2011. *Media Sosial di Era Pemasaran 3.0. Corporate and Marketing Communication*. Jakarta: Pusat Studi Komunikasi dan Bisnis Program Pasca Sarjana Universitas Mercu Buana. Pp 107-124.
- Purnamasari, Deti Mega. 2017. Takut Diintip Warga, Jendela Balai Kota DKI Jakarta Ditutupi Gorden. <http://beritasatu.com/iman-rahman-cahyadi/megapolitan/4651427/takut-diintip-warga-jendela-balai-kota-dki-ditutupi-gorden>. Diakses 29 Oktober 2020 pukul 21:47.
- Puspa, Faradilla. Duduk Perkara Dipaksa Mundurnya Indonesia dari All England 2021. <http://kompas.com/badminton/read/2021/03/19/06200048/duduk-perkara-dipaksa-mundurnya-indonesia-dari-all-england-2021?page=all#page2>. Diakses 19 Maret 2021 pukul 21:38.
- Putri, Virginia Maulita. 2019. Profil BJ Habibie. Presiden Ketiga Indonesia yang Berulang Tahun ke-83. <http://detik.com/news/berita/d-4599984/profil-bj-habibie-presiden-ketiga-indonesia-yang-berulang-tahun-ke-83>. Diakses 11 Agustus 2019 pukul 14:49.
- Radsch, Courtney C. 2016. *Cyberractivism and Citizen Journalism in Egypt*. United States: Palgrave Macmillan US.
- Railon, Francois. 1985. *Politik dan Ideologi Indonesia: Pembentukan dan Konsolidasi Orde Baru, 1966-1974*. Terjemahan. Jakarta: Penerbit LP3ES.
- Rajab, Budi. 2004. "Negara Orde Baru: Berdiri di Atas Sitem Ekonomi yang Rapuh. *Jurnal Sosiohumaniora* Vol. 6 No. 3 [November]. Diunduh dari <http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/soiohumaniora/article/views/5528>. Pada 6 Agustuts 2019 pukul 3:11.
- Ramadhiani, Arimbi. 2014. Jasmev: Ribuan Relawan Jokowi di Medsos Tak Dibayar. <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2014/04/23/1348163/Jasmev.Relawan.Jokowi.di.Medso.s.Tak.Dibayar>. Diakses 12 Oktober 2019 pukul 23:04.
- Ramdhani, Jabbar. 2016. Inilah Akun Media Sosial Resmi Kampanye Para Paslon Cagub-Cawagub Jakarta. <http://news.detik.com/berita/d-3331494/inilah-akun-media-sosial-resmi-kampanye-para-paslon-cagub-cawagub-jakarta>. Diakses 10 Mei 2021 pukul 13:17.
- Ricklefs, M.C.2005."Sejarah Indonesia Modern 1200-2004". Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Widiasarana Indonesia
- Ridhoi, M. Ahsan. 2017. Pakar LIPI: Pilgub DKI 2017 Terburuk dalam Sejarah Pilkada. <http://titro.co.id/pakar-lipi-pilgub-dki-2017-terburuk-dalam-sejarah-pilkada-cmq>. Diakses 10 Mei 2021 pukul 07:20.

Riswandi. 2009. "Komunikasi Politik". Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu.

Ritzer, George & Douglas J. Goodman. 2004. "Teori Sosiologi Modern". Jakarta: Kencana.

Ritzer, George & Douglas J. Goodman. 2008. "Teori Sosiologi (Dari Teori Sosiologi Klasik Sampai Perkembangan Teori Sosiologi Modern)". Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana.

Ritzer, George & Douglas J. Goodman. 2015. "Teori Sosiologi Modern". Jakarta: Prenada Media.

Ritzer, George & Goodman J. Douglas. 2011. "Teori Sosiologi Modern". Edisi Keenam. Jakarta: Prenada Media Group.

Ritzer, George. 2003. "Teori Sosial Postmodern". Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana.

Riyadi, Eko. 2007. "Mengurangi Komplektisitas HAM". Yogyakarta: PUSHAM UII.

Rizky, Fahreza. 2017. Konten Fitnah yang Dihapus Seword.com Dinilai Mengandung Unsur Pidana. <http://nasional.okezone.com/amp/2017/02/22/337/1624724/konten-fitnah-yang-dihapus-seword-com-dinilai-mengandung-unsur-pidana>. Diakses 22 April 2021 pukul 14:28.

Rogers, E. M. 1986. "*Communcation Technology The New Media in Society*". New York: The Free Press.

Rohim, Syaiful. 2016. "Teori Komunikasi: Perspektif, Ragam, dan Apilikasi". Jakarta: PT. Rineka Cipta.

Romli, Asep Syamsul M. 2012. "Jurnalistik Online: Panduan Mengelola Media Online. Bandung: Nuansa Cendikia.

Rose, Peter I, et. al. 1982. "*SOCIOLOGY, Inquiring Into Society*". New York: St. Martin's Press

Ruslan, Rosady. 2008. "Kiat dan Strategi Kampanye *Public Relations*". Jakarta: Rajawali Pers.

Rutherford, O. 2000. "*Endless Propaganda: The Advertising of Public Goods*". Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Sagala, Kamilov. 2017. Komparasi PNPB Penyiaran dan Telekomunikasi tidak Relevan. http://mediaindonesia.com/amp/amp_detail/106897-komparasi-pnbp-dan-telekomunikasi-tidak-relevan. Diakses 6 Agustus 2019 pukul 23:10

Sahdan, G. 2004. "Jalan Transisi Demokrasi". Bantul: Pondok Edukasi

- Saleh, Rahmat. 2004. Potensi Media Sebagai Ruang Publik. Jurnal Thesis Vol. III/No. 2, Mei-Agustus 2004, Jurnal Penelitian Ilmu Komunikasi Departemen Ilmu Komunikasi UI.
- Samah, Kristin & Fransisca Ria Susanti. 2014. “Berpolitik Tanpa Partai, Fenomena Relawan dalam Pilpres”. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Sambrook, Richard. 2005. Citizen Journalism and the BBC, Nieman Report. Vol. 49 No. 4.
- Sanusi, M. 2014. “Kenangan Inspiratif Orde Lama & Orde Baru. Jogjakarta: Saufa.
- Saptohadhi, Satrio. 2011. Pasang Surut Kebebasan Pers di Indonesia. Jurnal Dinamika Hukum Vol. 11 No. 1 [Januari]. Diunduh dari <http://dinamikahukum.fh.unsoed.ac.id/index.php/IDH/article/view/85/36>. Pada 5 Agustus 2019 pukul 15:03.
- Sari, Nursita. 2017. Dibentak Tukang Ojek, Sandi Bilang “Ini Penghinaan Kepala Negara”. <http://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2017/11/03/12404341/dibentak-tukang-ojek-sandi-bilang-ini-penghinaan-kepala-negara>. Diakses 28 Oktober 2020 pukul 16:23
- Sari, Nursita. 2017. OK OCE Tak Akan Beri Modal Usaha, Hanya Bantu Akses Pinjam ke Bank. <http://kompas.com/megapolitan/read/2017/12/14/17302991/ok-oce-tak-akan-beri-modal-usaha-hanya-bantu-akses-pinjam-ke-bank>. Diakses 30 Oktober 2020 pukul 10:31.
- Sari, Nursita. 2017. Sandi Yakinkan FIBA Agar Jakarta Dipilih Jadi Tuan Rumah Piala Dunia Basket 2023. <http://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2017/10/190852251/sandi-yakinkan-fiba-agar-jakarta-dipilih-jadi-tuan-rumah-piala-dunia>, Diakses 28 Oktober 2020 pukul 11:29.
- Schaefer, Richard T. 2006. “*SOCIOLOGY, A Brief Introduction*”. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Schinkel, W & Noordegraaf M. 2011. Professionalism as A Symbolic Capital: Materials for A Bourdieusian Theory of Professionalism. Comparative Sociology. 10(1): 67-96.
- Schmid, Christian. 2008. “*Henri Lefebvre’s of The Production of Space, Towards A Three-Dimensional Dialectic*”. dalam “*Space Difference, Everyday Life, Reading Henri Lefebvrei*”. Editor Kanisha Goonewardena. Routledge: New York.
- Semma. 2008. “Sejarah Pers di Indonesia”. Jakarta: LP3S.
- Sen, Krishna & David T. Hill. 2011. “*Politics and The Media in Twenty-First Century Indonesia*”. Routledge: New York.
- Setiawan, Sakina Rakhma Diah. 2018. Tahun 2017, Pengguna Internet di Indonesia Mencapai 143,26 Juta Orang. <http://ekonomi.kompas.com/read/2018/02/19/161115126/tahun-2017->

pengguna-internet-di-indonesia-mencapai-14326-juta-orang?page=all#page2. Diakses 20 Mei 2021 pukul 22:34.

- Setijadi, Charlotte. 2017. *Chinese Indonesian in the Eyes of the Pribumi Public*. © ISEAS Yusof Ishak Institue. <http://hdl.handle.net.11540/7545> Diakses pada 7 Mei 2021 pukul 08:40
- Severin, W. J. 2011. "Teori Komunikasi: Sejarah, Metode dan Terapan di Dalam Media Massa (5 ed.). (S. Hariyanto, Penerj). Jakarta: Kencana.
- Wimmer, R. 2003. *"Mass Media Research an Introduction"*. USA: Wadsworth.
- Shoemaker, Pamela J & Stephen D. Reese. 1996. *"Mediating The Message"*. New York: Longman Publisher.
- Siena, Ibnu. 2016. Sandi Punya Program Oke Oce, Warga Bakal Diberi Modal & Tempat Usaha. <http://merdeka.com/politik/sandi-punya-program-oke-oke-warga-bakal-diberi-modal-tempat-usaha.html>. Diakses 30 Oktober 2020 pukul 10:13.
- Sjahril, T & M. Sjureich. 1971. "Garis Besar Perkembangan Pers Indonesia. Djakarta: SPS (Serikat Penerbit Surat kabar).
- Smith, Edward C. 1986. "Pembredelan Pers di Indonesia". Terjemahan. Jakarta: PT Pustaka Grafitipers.
- Smith, Maguire J & Matthews J. 2012. Are We All Cultural Intermediaries Now? An Introduction to Cultural Intermediaries in Context. *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 15(5). 55-62.
- Smith, R. K. M, et. al. 2008. "Hukum dan Hak Asasi Manusia". Yogyakarta: PUSHAM UII.
- Smuthe, Dallas W. 1954. "Reality as Presented by Television in Counterclockwise Perspectives on Communication", 61-74. Boulder, Co: Westview Press.
- Smythe, Dallas W. 1977. "Communication: Blindspot of Western Marxism. In Counterclockwise: Perspectives on Communication". edited by Thomas Guback. 266-291. Boulder, Sans Franscico, Oxford: Westview Press.
- Smythe, Dallas W. 1977. *"Communication: blindspot of Western Marxism"*. Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory Vol. 1(3):1-27. Diunduh dari <https://journals.uvic.ca/index.pjp/ctheory/article/view/13715/4463>. Pada 22 September 2020 pukul 21.58.
- Smythe, Dallas. W. 1982. *"Dependency Road"*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Sobur, Alex. 2009. "Analisis Teks Media Suatu Pengantar untuk Analisis Wacana, Analisis Semiotik dan Analisis Framing". Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya.

Sobur, Alex. 2012. "Analisis Teks Media". Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya.

Soja, E.W. 1996. "*Thirdspace: Journeys To Los Angeles and Other Real-And-Imagined Places*". Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Soja, EW. 2009. Thirdspace: Toward A New Consciousness of Space and Spatiality. In: Ikas K and Wagner G (eds) *Communicating in The Third Space*: New York: Rputledge, pp.49-61.

Solis, B. 2001. "*Social Media Bible: Tactics, Tools and Strategies for Business Success*". New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

Solove, Daniel J. 2007. "*The Future of Reputation Gossip, Rumor, and Privacy on the Internet*". London: Yale University Press.

Sopia, Santi. 2020. Redaktur Republika Bicara Beda Jurnalisme Warga dan Wartawan. <http://republika.co.id/berita/qjsae1423/redaktur-republika-bicara-beda-jurnalisme-warga-dan-wartawan>. Diakses 10 Juli 2021 pukul 14:33.

Sorlin, Pierre. 1994. "*Mass Media*". London: Routledge.

Straubhaar, J. D & Rose, R. L. 2006. "*Communication Media in the Information Age Second Edition*". Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Striphas, T. 2015. Algorithmic Culture. *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 18(4-5): 395-412.

Stromback, Jesper. 2010. "A Framework for Comparing Political Market-Orientation". Dalam Lees-Marshment, Jennifer; Stromback, Jesper; dan Rudd, Chriss. (Eds)/2010. "*Global Policitical Marketing*". London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Groups.

Stromback, Jesper. 2017. Ancetecedents of Political Market Orientation in Britain and Sweden: Analysis and Future Research Propositions. *Journal of Public Affairs* 7:79-89.

Stuart (Ed.). 1997. "*Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices*". London: Sage Publication

Sugiharto, Jopbie. 2017. Kaleidoskop 2017: Pilkada Brutal Gubernur DKI Jakarta. <http://metro.tempo.co/read/1045103/kaleidoskop-2017-pilkada-brutal-gubernur-dki-jakarta/full?view=ok>. Diakses 9 Mei 2020 pukul 21:56,

Sukri, Al & Chelsy Yesicha. 2017. Analisis Framing Berita Penangkapan Gubernur Riau Annas Maamun di Surat Kabar Riau Pos dan Tribun Pekanbaru. *Jurnal Komunikasi Global* 6:224-226.

- Sumadiria, Haris. 2005. "Jurnalistik Indonesia: Menulis Berita dan *Feature*: Panduan Praktis Jurnalis Profesional". Jakarta: Simbiosis Rekatama Media.
- Sumandoyo, Arbi. 2018. Mengenal secara Dekat Muslim Cyber Army. <http://titro.id/mengenal-secara-dekat-muslim-cyber-army-cFwM>. Diakses 24 Mei 2021 pukul 14:08.
- Sunarjo, Djoenasi S. 2004. "Opini Publik". Yogyakarta: Liberty.
- Supriadi, Yadi. 2017. Relasi Ruang Publik dan Pers Menurut Habermas. Kajian Jurnalisme Vol. 1 No. 1 hal. 1-20. Diunduh dari <http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/kajian-jurnalisme/article/download/12228/6399>. Pada 2 September 2019 pukul 21:57.
- Surahman, Sigit. 2014. Representasi Perempuan Metropolitan dalam Film 7 Hari 7 Cinta 7 Wanita. Jurnal Komunikasi, Vol. 3 No. 1, Sept-Des 2014. Hlm. 43.
- Surjomihardjo, Andurrachman et al. 2002. "Beberapa Segi Perkembangan Sejarah Pers di Indonesia". Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas.
- Suwirta, Andi. 2008. Dinamika Kehidupan Pers di Indonesia pada Tahun 1950-1965: Antara Kebebasan dan Tanggung Jawab Nasional. *Jurnal SOSIOHUMANIKA* Vol. 1 No. 2. Diunduh dari <http://journals.mindamas.com/index.php/sosiohumanika/article/view/336/335>. Pada 5 Agustus 2019 pukul 14:49.
- Suwirta, Andi. 2018. Pers dan Kritik Sosial pada Masa Orde Baru: Studi Kasus Pers Mingguan Mahasiswa Indonesia di Bandung, 1966-1974. Jurnal Indonesia untuk Kajian Pendidikan Vol. 3 No. 2 '[September]'. Diunduh dari <http://ejournal.upi.edu/index.php/mimbarardik/article/view/13949/8089>. Pada 6 Agustus 2019 pukul 13:24.
- Swanson, David L. & Mancini, Paolo. 1996. "*Politics, Media, and Modern Democracy: An International Study of Innovations in Electoral Campaigning and Their consequences*". Westport: Praeger.
- Swartz, David. 1997. "*Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*". Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Syahputra, I. 2018. Demokrasi Virtual dan Perang Siber di Media Sosial; Perspektif Netizen Indonesia. Jurnal ASPIKOM, 3(3), 457. <http://doi.org/10.24329/aspikom.v3i3.14>.
- Tamburaka, Apriadi. 2012. "Agenda Setting Media". Jakarta: Rajawali Pers.
- Tanumbraka, A. 2013. "Literasi Media: Cerdas Bermedia Khalayak Media Massa". Jakarta: Rajawali Pers Raja Grafindo Persada.

- Though in Italy: A Potential Politics. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp.133-150.
- Tim LSPP. 2005. "Media Sadar Publik". Jakarta: Lembaga Studi dan Pembangunan.
- Tim Merdeka. 2019. Ini Isi Supersemar yang Dipakai Letjen Soeharto Gerak Cepat Bubarkan PKI. <http://merdeka.com/amp/peristiwa/ini-isi-supersemar-yang-dipakai-letjen-suharto-gerak-cepat-bubarkan-pki>. Diakses 4 Agustus 2019 pukul 15:02
- Toffler, A. 1992. *"The Thrid Wave: Gelombang Ketiga"*. Jakarta: Pantja Simpati.
- Trager, R & Dickerson, D. I. 1999. *"Freedom of Expression in The 21 Century"*. California: Pina Forge Press.
- Turner, M. 1993. *"Reading Minds: The Study of English in the Age of Cognitive Science"*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Turner, M. 1996. *"The Literary Mind"*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Uchjana, Onong Effendi. 1993. "Ilmu, Teori, Filfasat Komunikasi". Bandung: PT. Citra Aditya Bakti.
- Ucu, Kartika Raharja. 2018. Kronologi Terbitnya Supersemar dan Kejatuhan Sukarno. <http://republika.co.id/berita/selarung/suluh/18/03/11p5f1vi282-kronologi-terbitnya-supersemar-dan-kejatuhan-sukarno>. Diakses 4 Agustus 2019 pukul 15:09.
- UNESCO, 2011. *"Freedom of Connection. Freedom of Expression: The Changing Legal and Regulatory Ecology Shaping the Internet"*. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO. 1980. *"Perface"*. Dalam Uboajah, Frank Okwu, Communication Polities in Nigeria. Paris. Unesco.
- UNESCO. 2004. "Glosarium Toolkit Kebebasan Berekspresi bagi Aktivis Informasi tentang Kebebasan Berekspresi". France: The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
- Urbaningrum, A. 1999. "Ranjau-Ranjau Reformasi: Potret Konflik Pasca Kejatuhan Soeharto". Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada.
- Urrichio, W. 2011. The Algorithmic Turn: Photosynth, Augmented Reality and the Changing Implications of the Image. *Visual Studies* 26:25-35.
- Utomo, Wisnu Prasetya. 2013. Menimbang Media Sosial dalam Marketing Politik di Indonesia: Belajar dari Jokowi-Ahok di Pilkada DKI Jakarta 2012. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik* Vol. 17 No. 1 [Juli] (67-84). Diunduh dari

<https://jurnal.ugm.ac.id/jsp/article/view/10894/8135>. Pada 11 September 2019 pukul 15:12

- Van Dijck, Jose. 2013. *"The Culture of ConnectivityL A Critical History of Social Media"*. USA: Oxford University Press.
- Van Dijk, Rose. 2013. *"The Culture of Connectivity: Critical History od Social Media"*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Van Dijk. 2013. *"The Network Society"*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Vegh, Sandor. 2003. *"Classifying forms of Online Actisim. In Cyberactisim: Online Activism in Theory and Practice"*, eds. Martha McCaughey and Michael D. Ayers, 71-95. New York: Routledge.
- Venus, Antar. 2004. *"Manajemen Kampanye: Panduan Teoritis dan Praktis dalam Mengefektifkan Kampanye Komunikasi"*. Bandung: Simbiosis Rekatama.
- Wahyuni, H. I. 2013. *"Kebijakan Media Baru di Indonesia"*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Wahyuni, Indah Hermin. 2000. Relasi Media-Negara-Masyarakat dan Pasdar dalam Era Reformasi. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik* Vol.4 No. 2 [November]. Diunduh dari <http://jurnal.ugm.ac.id/jsp/article/view/11120>. Pada 11 Agustus 2019 pukul 15:12.
- Wahyuningsih, Sri. 2014. Keatifan Budaya Lokal Madura sebagai Media Persuasif (Analisis Semiotika Komunikasi Rolam Barthes dalam Iklan Samsung Galaxy Versi Gading dan Giselle di Pulau Madura). Vol.1 No.2 Hlm. 173.
- Warren, Giannina & Dinnie, Keith. 2018. Culture Intermediaries in Place Branding: Who Are They and How They Construct Legitimacy For Their Work and For Themselves?. *Tourism Managemnt*, 66 pp. 302-314.
- Weber, M. 1930. *"The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism"*. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Wedhaswary, I. D. 2009. *"Perkembangan Warga di Indonesia (Studi Kasus pada Metro TV, Radio Elshinta, Kompas.com, Penyingkul.com. Universitas Gadjah Mada.*
- Weiser, Eric B. 2001. *The Functions of Internet Use and Their Social and Psychological Consequences*. *Journal of CyberPsychology & Behavior* Vol.4 No. 6, Mary Ann Liebert, Inc. Diunduh dari http://researchgate.net/publication/11559128_The_Functions_of_Internet_Use_and_Thei_r_Social_Psychological_Consequences/link/560a150808ae1396914b9d6f/download. Pada 4 September 2019 pukul 16:54.

- Westin, Alan. 1967. *"Privacy and Freedom"*. New York: Atheneum.
- _____. 2017. Ini Bukti Seward.com Media Abal-Abal. <http://nasional.okezone.com/amp2017/02/19/337/1622335/ini-bukti-seword-com-media-abal-abal>. Diakses 25 April 2021 pukul 10:06.
- Wibowo, Hari Laksono. 2015. Media Sosial Makin Jadi Primadona Kampanye Pilkada. <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2015/09/25/15130071/Media.Sosial.Makin.Jadi.Primadona.Kampanye.Pilkada?page=all>. Diakses 12 Oktober 2019 pukul 11:10.
- Widodo, Yohanes. 2010. Menyoal Etika Jurnalisme Kontemporer: Belajar dari *OhmyNews*. Jurnal ASPIKOM Vol.1 No. 1 [Juli]. Diunduh dari <http://jurnalspikom.org/index.php/aspikom/article/download/7/4>. Pada 8 September 2019 pukul 10:02.
- Wijana, Eleonara Padmasta E. 2021. Pelecehan di Malioboro Viral, Wawalkot Jogja Minta Petugas Bersikap Sopan. <http://jogja.suara.com/read/2021/02/09/094105/pelecehan-di-malioboro-viral-wawalkot-jogja-minta-petugas-bersikap-sopan?page=all>. Diakses 25 Maret 2021 pukul 23:47.
- Wilhelm, Anthony G. 2003. "Demokrasi di Era Digital Tantangan Kehidupan Politik di Ruang Cyber". Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- William, D. 2006. Why Game Studies Now? Gamers Don't Howl Game. *Games and Culture*. 1, 13-16.
- William, R. 1989. *"Raymond Williams on Televisin: Selected Writing"*. Preface by R. Williams. ed. A. O'Connor. London: Routledge.
- Williams, R. 1989. *"Resource of Hope: Culture, Democracy, Socialism"*. London: Verso.
- Williams, Raymond. 1983. *"Keyword"*. London: Fontana
- Williams, Raymond. 1990. *"Television"*. Second Edition. London: Routledge.
- Willmott, H. 1994. *"Bringing Agency (Back) into Organization Analysis"*. In: Hassard J and Parker M (eds). *Towards a New Theory of Organization*. London: Routledge, pp.87-130.
- Wilson, I. 2017. Jakarta: Inequality and the Poverty of Elite Plularism. New Manda, 1-8
- Winters, J.A. 1999. "Dosa-dosa Politik Orde Baru". Jakarta: Djambatan.
- Yuliahsaridwi, Dwi, 2015. Pemanfaatan Twitter Buzzer untuk Meningkatkan Partisipasi Pemilih Muda dalam Pemilihan Umum. *The Messenger* Vol. VII No. 1. Edisi Januari 2015.

Yunazeardi, Iqbal. 2018. Pemilu 1999, Pertama Setelah Reformasi. <http://era.id/read/Q9UeW6-pemilu-1999-pertama-setelah-reformasi>. Diakses 12 Agustus 2019 pukul 20:52.

Zajats, Antoni. 2010. *“Cultural Changes in the Knowledge Civilization University of Rzeszow”*. Poland: Rzeszow.