

# Analysis of Netnographic Methods on Account Activities on Social Media Actors

# Ita Nulita1<sup>1</sup>, Henri Subiakto<sup>2\*</sup>, Titik Pudji Rahayu<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1,2,3</sup>Universitas Airlangga Surabaya, Surabaya, Indonesia

# Abstract

The information generated by the hate spread of accounts on social media after the 2019 presidential election is increasingly widespread even though the political contestation has ended. The emergence of warring political accounts on social media continues to this day. This study aims to analyze accounts that act as actors who spread hate speech issues on social media, especially on Facebook and Instagram. The method used is netnography. The results of the study show that, first, there is a network of actors who control accounts on social media. Second, the discovery of groups of accounts that act as actors, namely the Counter-Government Actor Group and the Pro Actor Group. Therefore, it can be concluded that this war on social media uses an offensive pattern that is used as a way of self-defense.

Keywords: actor roles, issues, social-media.

Paper type: Research paper

\***Corresponding author**: henri.subiakto@fisip.unair.ac.id Received: 29 August 2022; Received in revised from: 20 October 2022; Accepted: 30 October 2022; Available online: 31 October 2022

**Cite this document:** Subiakto, Henri. dkk. (2022). Analysis of Netnographic Methods on Account Activities on Social Media Actors. *The Journal of Society and Media*, 6(2), 466-485. DOI: 10.26740/jsm.v6n2.p466-485

#### **INTRODUCTION**

The spread of information that caused hate speech by accounts on social media after the 2019 presidential election continued even though the political contestation was over, even the hate speech that was spread increasingly enlivened the virtual world, especially on social media Facebook and Instagram. In both social media, the spread of hoaxes and hate speech is becoming more and more widespread, this can be seen from the results of the 2018 Daily Social Survey of 2032 internet users in Indonesia showing that 81.25% of respondents received hoaxes or incitement to hatred through social media (Ali-Fauzi, 2019).

A result of continuous exposure to hate speech on social media, it can make a person's behavior become fanatical which causes the opposing groups' pros and cons to be sharper. This is what makes the two groups increasingly sharp in attacking each other like the war on social media. This study on the war on social media states that cyber warfare on social media has formed both groups that are actively producing discourse, opinions, information, issues, and rumors through media social (Syahputra, 2017). This is related to the concept of "Like War", which is a battle for attention with the aim of winning the war, by building narratives and people's emotions without stopping spreading content on social media.

In this regard, the concept of "Like War" is also explained that social media is used as a powerful, cheap, and easy tool of war to win, the war, by controlling the narrative, exploiting the dominance of the opponent, spreading false information online that seems genuine (can be deceiving the truth), exaggerating success by undermining the opponent, thereby inspiring wider fear and panic (Singer, 2018).

However, this war on social media cannot be separated from the role of actors who make various activities on social media more dynamic, where one actor stimulates the other. The role of this actor is as an intermediary on social media to stimulate each other in a group that has similar interests to carry out attacks or denials on different groups which at a certain point can trigger a cyber war. Cyber warfare can be understood as a situation where there is a process of denial, deception, denial, destruction with the intended purpose of the sender, to attack or counterattack (Harris, Konikoff, and Petersen, 2013), manipulate, disinformation with various modifications of information through various ways that can influence

and disrupt the enemy in infrastructure aspects. and decision-making, which can also be threatening (both soft and rough) on the actual information that has been submitted by the government, for example or other relevant parties (Hutomo, 2016, p. 91-103) (Buchanan, 2020).

To more deeply reveal a phenomenon above, the researcher uses the Netnography method, which is a research method to understand the interaction of society and its culture through the internet network, so the Netnography method seeks to reveal the cultural or cultural vision of social groups that are built from human interaction in the virtual world of the internet. , this is in line with ethnographic research in the real world (Kozinets, 2019; Kozinets, Dolbec, and Earley, 2014; Morais, Santos, and Gonçalves, 2020).

The novelty in this research compared to other netnographic research is that this research focuses on hate speech netnography by social media actors that are "deliberately" created for political purposes. In addition, the media used in this study were Facebook and Instagram, while previous studies such as those of Waruwu and Nik Amul focused more on Twitter (Waruwu and Vera, 2020) (Lia, 2021). For this reason, this study aims to analyze communities or accounts that act as actors who spread hate speech on social media, especially on Facebook and Instagram.

## **METHODS**

This researcher uses the netnographic research method, where this method is similar to ethnography but in the virtual realm of the internet, which is a research method to understand society and culture formed by human interaction through the internet network and seeks to reveal the cultural vision of social groups that are built from human interaction in internet virtual world (Kozinets, 2019). The use of this method is relevant because the internet has grown more than a means of interaction and communication but rather a cultural world. This is in line with the development of language, values, technology, and the structure of society that uses the internet (Fuchs, 2007).

In the Netnography method, it encourages researchers to fully become part of either directly or indirectly with the research subjects. Researchers use computers and global internet networks as a means to collect data (Padricelli, Punziano, and Saracino, 2020). That is, the existing data is only obtained from interactions in internet forums, chat rooms, mailing lists, blogs, or internet virtual social networks under study. There is no physical presence or direct face-to-face communication in the virtual realm of the internet, everything happens through representations of text, images, videos, and audio that are present on computer screens mediated through the global internet network (Kern, 2014; Nadler, 2020). Physical absence requires researchers to conduct interviews, and mediated observations (Bengry-Howell; Wiles 2011). Community conversations under study can only be observed through community conversation rooms on social media such as accounts on social media (Welch et al. 2016; Živković, Gajić, and Brdar, 2014).

It was further explained that human behavior is not just an individual desire, but is related to the values that exist in the group. Something that is built and reproduced through the actions of its members. Through this they build a shared identity, meaning, belief, and cultural vision (Sherif, 2015). Two-way communication between users or community members is also less observable because this process tends to use private means of communication such as private chat or private messages, this tends to be limited because not all users want to open the contents of the communication (Pratama, 2017, p.92-93).

In interpreting the data, the netnographic researcher uses text analysis, because all of the netnographic research data are in the form of text, images, audio, and video in digital form. The use of this text analysis begins by outlining the users' ideas, classifying, finding patterns among related aspects, examining the interrelationships of all elements, asking about the motivations behind them, testing and further examining the data, and then reading the data for the culture represented by Coding, Nothing, Abstracting and Comparing, Generalizing, and Theorizing (Kozinets, 2010, Miles, 2014).

To understand the data obtained, the researcher analyzed hermeneutics to present questions from each answer to get a complete answer. This effort is carried out by thinking reflectively and deeply about the answers and questions obtained from someone's posts on the internet. This can include what, how and why the post was uploaded. Researchers must answer it holistically, both from the point of view of the person who uploaded the post or the community where it belongs. Even researchers need to try to understand the originator and the community that responds to the post. This can be achieved if the community's interactivity is relatively high as indicated by the large number of posts (Kozinets, 2010).

In developing the data analysis of this netnographic research, the researcher took several steps as follows (Kozinets, 2010, Miles, 2014): (1)Abstracting and comparing, researchers build interpretations of the data by identifying patterns, processes, relationships, differences, or similarities based on the categorization that has been made. (2)Checking and Refinement, the researcher returns to the observed field to check the flow of data collection. Researchers not only check the completeness of the data but are also able to improve understanding of the data. This can be shown from the ability of researchers to understand patterns, differences, plots, similarities or processes of the phenomenon under study (Xu and Storr, 2012).

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

## Issues That Generate Hate Speech and Trigger War on Social-Media

Often the issues that are uploaded on social media cause hate speech which is accompanied by various insults or blasphemous comments whether it smells of SARA, insults, blasphemy, provocations, spreading false news and others, this is what triggers wars on social media. In Singer's book "Like a War – The Weaponization of Social Media", that these issues are raised to be used as weapons of war on social media, namely continuously raising high volumes of issues and being spread on various social media, this issue continues to rolled out repeatedly and quickly done until the followers are affected (Singer, 2018).

Of the various issues that arise, the researcher summarizes issues related to politics and is often used as a discourse by accounts on social media, both by groups that are against the government and groups that are pro-government, and these issues can lead to hate speech and further triggering wars on social media, namely 1) Issues about the PKI, 2) Issues on Leadership, 3) Issues about political parties; 4) Issues on Religion and Religious Leaders (Ulama), including the issue of Habib Rizik and the criminalization of Ulama, which are described as follows:

#### **Issues about PKI**

These issues about the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) have been around for a long time, especially during the leadership of the Second President of the Republic of Indonesia, Suharto, every year the G30S PKI film is shown so that the generation born in the 1980s becomes familiar and the events presented in the film are embedded (Conroe, 2012). The film with a fairly long duration of about 4.5 hours tells the heinous incident of the murder of 6 generals and 1 TNI officer who was then dumped in Lubang Buaya, this incident by Bung Karno, the First President of the Republic of Indonesia, was called the Gestok (October One Movement, 1965) (Saefullah, 2022).

However, since the reform era with the approval of President BJ Habibie at that time, the screening of the G30S PKI film was stopped by Lt. Gen. (ret) Yunus Yosfiah because there were many controversies over the film's content that had to be rectified and the film was considered as propaganda during the New Order government. The pros and cons of the film continued during the reign of President SBY, the screening of the film was re-appointed by the then TNI Commander, Gen. Gatot Nurmantyo. Furthermore, during the administration of President Jokowi until now the screening of the film was stopped again.

From this phenomenon, it is known that there are pros and cons to the screening of the G30S PKI film. Of course, this issue becomes very interesting, where it turns out that every year this phenomenon is always rolled out by accounts on social media, especially before September 30 or October 1 (van Heeren, 2014). This raises many allegations that the issue is deliberately raised for political purposes.

As stated by the Governor of Lemhanas, Lt. Gen. TNI (Ret.) Agus Widjoyo, that the issue of the emergence of the PKI often follows the political movements of a person, which sometimes arises suddenly by attacking a group or a figure who is deliberately raised to attract sympathy from people, especially the Indonesian people, who simply cannot forgetting the atrocities of the PKI incident that had been instilled since 1965. Another opinion about the emergence of the PKI issue was from the Executive Director of the Indonesian Public Institute Karyono Wibowo who stated to CNN.com that the PKI issue was indeed managed by a number of political elites who were used as propaganda tools to bring down political opponents namely by scaring the public about the rise of the PKI. This kind of fear propaganda is deliberately spread because there are still parties who need this issue for their sake (Miller, 2018).

Like during the 2014 presidential election, this issue was widely rolled out to bring down Jokowi as a Presidential Candidate by his political opponents at that time who was rumored to be Jokowi as a PKI, but Jokowi's slander as a PKI failed when it was proven that Jokowi was elected President of the Republic of Indonesia at that time, the failure to raise the issue of the PKI was not became a deterrent because during the 2019 Presidential Election this issue was raised again by Jokowi's political opponents, even more crowded and can be said to have succeeded in influencing the community, namely by seeing the many comments that lead to hate speech in every discourse about this issue posted by accounts in the media social (Wahyuningroem, 2013). Although it is said to have succeeded in influencing the community of social media users, this issue again failed to bring down political opponents with the election of Jokowi for the second time as President of the Republic of Indonesia. It is known that until now, the PKI issue is still a weapon for Jokowi's political opponents to attack and overthrow him. The issues regarding the PKI can be seen in the following figure:

# Figure 1. Offensive Issues about PKI Counter Government Accounts.



Source: Various Instagram Facebook Accounts, 2019-2021

# Figure 2.



## **Defensive Issues about PKI Pro-Government Accounts**

Source: Various Instagram Facebook Accounts, 2019-2021

From the two pictures, of course, the issue of the PKI is increasingly being rolled out, especially between the counter-government groups and pro-government groups, which can be explained that: (1) Account groups that act as actors who are against the government tend to roll out the PKI issue offensively, attacking with various frightening information. This illustrates that these attributes seem to have been found in the Jokowi administration and then burned, so that people believe that the cruel PKI has resurrected in this country (Ritonga, Nugroho, and Handoko, 2019). In addition, various lectures were re-uploaded by those who were against the government to scare the public with the PKI issue. In fact, hate speech often appears in the comments column such as, "PKI minions", "PKI children", PKI dogs, "Watch out for the PKI Has Risen", "The Danger of the PKI Ruining the Homeland", "PKI China", "PKI Bastard" and others. (2) Meanwhile, the group of accounts that acted as pro-government actors on issues related to the PKI tended to be defensive. Due to the lack of clarity about the origin of the discovery of these attributes, it is considered as slander or not true. This group also uploaded various narratives that the issue of the PKI had not been sold because there was no evidence of the rise of the PKI in Indonesia.

#### **Issue About Leadership**

The issue of leadership on social media was re-rolled, where accounts that played actors on social media competed to win over the leadership they liked and overthrow the leadership they didn't like. This issue begins with fanatical support for certain characters to then vilify, insult and spread hate speech against characters they don't like. This is what makes the community polarize, namely groupings and social segregation (in-group and out-group) between 2 fanatical support groups until the term "cebong and kampret" arises (before the 2019 Pilpres and after) which continues to be intensive. badmouthing each other to trigger a war on social media that is getting hotter and splitting society.

Judging from the activities of these accounts it can be concluded that: 1) Between the groups that are against the government and those that are progovernment, they have their own leaders who are fanatically supported; 2) For groups who are against the government, supported figures include Anies Baswedan, Gatot Nurmantyo, Rizal Ramli, Edy Rahmayadi, Rocky Gerung, Fadli Zon, Fahri Hamzah and others; 3) For pro-government groups, supported figures include Basuki Cahaya Purnama (Ahok), Ganjar Pranowo, Ridwan Kamil, Deny Siregar, Permadi Arya and others; 4) From the two groups, symptoms of mutual suspicion (prejudience) emerged between one another; 5) Between groups have an excessive sense of fear (paranoid) if the character they do not like wins or vice versa; 6) Intergroups with like-minded interests have their own interests (ethnocentristic), which do not want to see the greatness of a character who is not supported by discrediting, making satire or parody narratives as a means of war to overthrow; 7) Each group has a nickname or label each, namely "Cebong and Kampret."

#### **Issue about Political Parties**

The issue of political parties stems from the counter-government group who hates the political party bearing the "Bull" symbol, namely the "Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle" (PDI-P). This party is the political party that President Jokowi won in the 2014 and 2019 presidential elections, which took the first position in gaining votes and seats in the DPR.

The counter-government group hated the party because of their suspicions about the party's victory. They feel cheated and do not believe in getting votes in the 2019 presidential election, so they spread hate speech on social media. Various hate speeches that demeaned Megawati's dignity and honor, for example giving her the nickname "Ma'am the bull", spreading a badly edited photo of Megawati, and spreading the hashtag #TangkapMegaBubarkanPDIP which was bustling on social media. Various kinds of hate speech discourses that have become issues as a tool of war to attack the Bembang Banteng party include: 1) The party bearing the symbol of the Bull chaired by Megawati Soekarno Putri is considered to have the power to control President Jokowi. Whatever the President's policy is considered the decisive one is Megawati Soekarno Putri (Lay 2018). In this case, President Jokowi is considered a puppet who carries out the orders of the party chairman; 2) The party bearing the symbol of the Bull is often rumored to be a hotbed for the PKI. It was this production of fear that became the weapon to overthrow this party; 3) The party with the symbol of the Bull is rumored to be the most corrupt party, because many party members are involved in corruption cases; 4) The party bearing the symbol of the Bull always displays an image which is considered disgusting by the counter-government groups. This is because there are many billboards with pictures of Puan Maharani accompanied by the slogan "Flap the Wings of Diversity" which are installed along roads throughout Indonesia.

# **Issue about Habib Rizieq**

Habib Rizieq Shihab was the founder of an organization called the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) on August 17, 1998 at the Al-Umm Islamic Boarding School, Tangerang. FPI has a fairly large number of group members, which are spread throughout Indonesia. This group also strongly supports Habib Rizieq as a cleric, who was later named Laskar Pembela Islam which is considered a controversial group because it often conducts sweeps (raids), against immoral activities such as gambling and prostitution (Pausacker 2020).

These raids are intensively carried out, especially in the month of Ramadan which is considered to be able to damage the sanctity of the month of Ramadan, they also raid nightclubs (cafes or discotheques) and stalls that are open during the day by forcibly closing and taking their wares because they are considered to interfere with the fasting worship of Muslims (Duncan 2014).

This is what makes many people angry and emotional to see the behavior of the FPI group which is considered too rude and even brutal when carrying out the raid. People's anger is widely expressed on social media accompanied by hate speech against the FPI group. In this regard, Singer's book "Like a War -Win the Net, Win the Day" states that emotions can influence the mindset of the audience on social media and spark anger. Strong communities can influence others. Therefore, to reduce the turmoil that arose as a result of the war of hate speech on social media between groups supporting Habib Rizik and those who were against the group's actions, the government dissolved FPI. In addition, the government had previously arrested Habib Rizik on charges of committing a crime against the FPI leader.

## **Issue about Criminalization of Ulama**

The issue of criminalization of ulama is very intensively carried out by counter-government groups. This group feels that the government has criminalized ulama. The criminalization of ulama in this case can be interpreted as the existence of certain parties (such as the government or officials) who commit evil acts against the ulama. It is not the ulama who have done evil, but it is the ulama who have been investigated and are in the process of being placed as illegal (Sahlan et al. 2019). In this case, the use of the phrase criminalizing the ulama is an attempt to reject the parties supporting the ulama against the government or officials who seem to criminalize the ulama (Salam 2021) (Luthan 2009).

Then, it is this difference of views that has led to the emergence of a "war" regarding the issue of criminalizing the ulama. First, the counter-government group, which is a group that supports the ulama, spreads the issue of the criminalization of the ulama that the ulama they support have been abused by the government. This group spreads various issues that ignite emotions as in Singer's book, "Emotion: Pull the Heartstrings, Feed The Fury", by igniting emotions that affect the mindset of the audience on social media so that it can also inflame the anger of other supporters. The issues that are spread on social media Facebook and Instagram can be seen in the following picture:

#### Figure 3.





Source: Various Instagram Facebook Accounts, 2019-2021

Second, for groups of accounts that are pro-government, they tend to continue to carry out enforcement activities because they understand that what the government or officials have done to these ulema is in accordance with applicable law. This is because, for them, the ulema has taken actions that are considered unlawful by distributing lectures containing elements of hate speech in which there are elements of SARA, intolerant narratives and insults to the government.

# Figure 4.

# Actor Network of Counter Government Accounts Group.



Source: Research Findings, 2022

Through this picture, the theory of Van Djik's actor network can be explained, namely the existence of a network of connected actors from groups of countergovernment accounts, both personal accounts, blue ticks, and admin accounts that are stimulated by issues created and controlled by actors, namely the issue of issues related to politics. Such as the rise of the PKI, Jokowi's poor leadership, corruption, and issues related to religion or ulama. Actors as previously described, lead to those who have extensive knowledge, many followers, and are able to convince these issues so as to create a wider network to support the existing issues.



#### Figure 5.

Actor Network of Pro-Government Accounts Group.

Source: Research Findings, 2022

It is known that the pro-government group actor network is almost the same as the counter-government actor network. But what makes the difference is the stimulation of the issues raised. The issues that arise in this group are the result of attacks by opposing issues which are then countered well through political issues as well as issues of religion and religious leaders. The political issues that were disseminated were by uploading information on the success of the Jokowi administration in the field of toll road construction from Java to Papua which had never been done by the President before. Then, news about the provision of cheap basic food cards, land certificates for the people, and others. This is of course intended to get a good image for the Jokowi government so that it can fend off slander from opposing groups about bad governance. In addition, it is also intended to discredit political figures who are supported by opposing groups. Meanwhile, issues related to religion and religious leaders also discredit religious leaders who are at odds with the government.

# Analysis of Netnographic Methods on Actors' Activities That Cause War on Social-Media

The netnographic analysis in this study looks at the role of accounts as actors in both the counter-government and pro-government groups which are described in the following table:

# Table 1.

# Analysis of Netnography Checking and Refinement of Account Roles as Counter-Government Actors on Social-Media Facebook and Instagram.

No			se of the Pattern	Issues as Tools of War		War Strategy
		Offensive	Defensive	Politic	Religion and Religious Leaders	
1	Private account	Attacking personally/pr ivately	-	Attacks on Leadership and Political Parties, stigmatizing the PKI	The existence of criminalizati on of scholars, intimidation of Islam	Spreading false information but making it look real so that it can deceive the truth.
2	Blue Tick Account	Attack all Government Policies	-			Provoking doubt so that followers do not trust the opponent with information that discredits the opponent
3	Admin Account	Attacking inappropriate government and personal policies	-	Attacks on Leadership and Political Parties	The existence of criminalizati on of scholars	Provoking doubt so that followers do not trust the opponent with information that discredits the opponent
4	Bots Account	Attacking personally or inappropriate government policies	Defendin g supported accounts	Attacks on Leadership and Political Parties, stigmatizing the PKI	Criminalizati on of Ulama, Intimidation of Islam, Khilafah	Provoking doubt so that followers do not trust the opponent with information that discredits the opponent

# Table 2.

# Analysis of Netnography Checking and Refinement of Account Roles as Pro-

No	Accounty Type	The Purpose of the Upload Pattern		Issues as Tools of War		War Strategy
		Offensive	Defensive	Politic	Religion and Religious Leader	
1	Private account	Attacking personally/pr ivately	Parry the opponent's attack	Attack on the opposing- supported Leadership.	Attacks on clerics who are considered intolerant and attack the government	Building a good narrative and success from the government.
2	Blue Tick Account	Attacking personally/pr ivately	Parry the opponent's attack	Creating a good image of the government	Attacks on clerics who are considered intolerant and attack the government	Provoking doubt so that followers do not trust the opponent with information that discredits the opponent
3	Admin Account	Attacking personally/pr ivately	Parry the opponent's attack		Attacks on clerics who are considered intolerant and attack the government	Building a good narrative and success from the government.
4	Bots Account	Attacking personally/pr ivately	Defending supported accounts	Attack on the opposing- supported Leadership.	Attacks on clerics who are considered intolerant and attack the government	Provoking doubt so that followers do not trust the opponent with information that discredits the opponent

# Government Actor in Social-Media Facebook and Instagram.

Through the netnographic analysis carried out, it is known that between the account groups that act as counter-government actors and the account groups that act as pro-government actors, there are similarities, namely the account groups that act as counter-government actors have the aim of an offensive upload pattern, namely both attacking personally to individuals who are not liked in Jokowi's government, including President Jokowi's personal. But there is a slight difference in the blue tick account which only attacks on policies that are not liked.

Meanwhile, issues that trigger wars and are used as tools for war on social media generally upload similar political issues aimed at the leadership of President Jokowi and the political parties that support Jokowi which are considered bad by this group. In addition, this group also often stigmatized the PKI against individuals and parties it despised. Apart from these political issues, religious issues and religious leaders are also often an attack on the Jokowi government. Various issues regarding the criminalization of ulama and intimidation of the Islamic religion are deliberately "fried" to be used as a means of attack.

Meanwhile, groups that act as pro-government actors have the same purpose for uploading patterns, namely both Defensive and Offensive. As explained earlier that this group was initially defensive to ward off the opponent's attack but eventually also went offensive by attacking back. This group attack on average is directed personally at individuals who are supported by opponents by discrediting them so that followers do not believe in these individuals. As with political issues, attacks were aimed individually at Anies Baswedan, Gatot Nurmantyo, Said Didu, and others, while on issues of religion and religious leaders, attacks were aimed individually at Habib Riziek, Ustad Bahar Bin Smith, Ustad Maher Attuwailibi, Ustad Sugik M. Nur, and others.

## CONCLUSION

Through this research, it can be concluded that, firstly, the network of actors who control groups of counter-government and pro-government accounts is deliberately used to attract social media users and their followers. Second, groups of accounts that act as counter-government actors have the same goal of an offensive upload pattern. Third, groups that act as pro-government actors have the same goal of uploading patterns, namely both Defensive and Offensive.

#### **Funding Acknowledgments**

There is no funding on this research.

#### About the Author

Ita Nulita is a doctoral student at the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Airlangga University, Surabaya, which focuses on studies in the socio-political world. Meanwhile, Henri Subiakto is a Professor of Communication at Airlangga University since 2015. Then, Titik Pudji Rahayu is an academic who focuses on communication policy studies.

#### REFERENCES

- Ali-Fauzi, Ihsan et al. 2019. *Melawan Hasutan Kebencian*. Jakarta: Pusat Studi Agama & Demokrasi (PUSAD), Mafindo.
- Bengry-Howell; Wiles, R. ;. Nind &. Crow. 2011. "A Review of The Academic Impact of Three Methodological Innovasion: Netnography. Child-Led Research and Creative Research Methods." ESRC National Centre for Research Methods 1(11).
- Buchanan, Ben. 2020. The Hacker and the State: Cyber Attacks and the New Normal of Geopolitics. Harvard University Press.
- Conroe, Andrew Marc. 2012. "Generating History: Violence and the Risks of Remembering for Families of Former Political Prisoners in Post-New Order Indonesia."
- Duncan, Stephen Riley. 2014. "The Rebel Cafe: America's Nightclub Underground and the Public Sphere, 1934-1963."
- Fuchs, C. 2007. Internet and Society: Sosial Theory in The Information Age. London: Routledge.
- Harris, Bryan, Eli Konikoff, and Phillip Petersen. 2013. "Breaking the DDoS Attack Chain." *Institute for Software Research* 1–16.

- van Heeren, Katinka. 2014. "Histories, Heroes, and Monumental Frameworks." Pp. 79–105 in *Contemporary Indonesian Film*. Brill.
- Hutomo, Setio Budi H. 2016. Perang Informasi Dalam Dunia Militer Dan Bisnis. Dalam Iswandi Syahputra (Eds), Perang Semesta Dalam Kajian Budaya Dan Media. Bandung: Simbioasa Rekatama Media.
- Kern, Richard. 2014. "Technology as Pharmakon: The Promise and Perils of the Internet for Foreign Language Education." *The Modern Language Journal* 98(1):340–57.
- Kozinets. 2010. Netnography: Doing Ethnographic Research Online. London, England.
- Kozinets, Robert V. 2019. Netnography: The Essential Guide to Qualitative Social Media Research. Sage.
- Kozinets, Robert V, Pierre-Yann Dolbec, and Amanda Earley. 2014. "Netnographic Analysis: Understanding Culture through Social Media Data." *Sage Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis* 262–75.
- Lay, Cornelis. 2018. "Hometown Volunteers: A Case Study of Volunteer Organizations in Surakarta Supporting Joko Widodo's Presidential Campaign." *The Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies* 36(1):79–105.
- Lia, Nik Amul. 2021. "Demokrasi Virtual Dan Hasrat Dalam Menyampaikan Ujaran Kebencian Di Media Sosial Instagram." *An-Nida: Jurnal Komunikasi Islam* 13(1):51–68.
- Luthan, Sahman. 2009. "Asas Dan Kriteria Kriminalisasi." *Jurnal Hukum* 16(1):1–2.
- Miller, Stephen. 2018. "Zombie Anti-Communism? Democratization and the Demons of Suharto-Era Politics in Contemporary Indonesia." Pp. 287–310 in *The Indonesian Genocide of 1965*. Springer.

- Morais, Greiciele M., Valdeci F. Santos, and Carlos A. Gonçalves. 2020. "Netnography: Origins, Foundations, Evolution and Axiological and Methodological Developments and Trends." *The Qualitative Report* 25(2):441–55.
- Nadler, Robby. 2020. "Understanding 'Zoom Fatigue': Theorizing Spatial Dynamics as Third Skins in Computer-Mediated Communication." *Computers and Composition* 58:102613.
- Padricelli, Giuseppe Michele, Gabriella Punziano, and Barbara Saracino. 2020.
  "Virtual vs Digital: Examples of Netnography and Digital Ethnography in Tourism Studies for a Comparison between Methods." *Athens Journal of Social Sciences* 8:1–20.
- Pausacker, Helen. 2020. "Habib Rizieq Shihab and Ariel Peterpan: Law, Morality and the Digital Era." Pp. 463–89 in *Crime and Punishment in Indonesia*. Routledge.
- Pratama, Bayu Indra. 2017. *Etnografi Dunia Maya Internet*. edited by Tim UB Press. Malang: UB Press.
- Ritonga, RAJAB, E. Nugroho, and DANIEL Handoko. 2019. "Struggle of Meaning and the Jokowi Myth in the 2018 Asian Games Opening Video." Jurnal Komunikasi: Malaysian Journal of Communication 35(1):137–55.
- Saefullah, Hikmawan. 2022. "Transformations of Youth Resistance: Underground Music Scene and Islamic Politics in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia."
- Sahlan, Muhammad, Suci Fajarni, Siti Ikramatoun, Ade Ikhsan Kamil, and Iromi Ilham. 2019. "The Roles of Ulama in the Process of Post-Conflict Reconciliation in Aceh." Society 7(2):251–67.
- Salam, Aprinus. 2021. "Apa Itu Kriminalisasi Ulama?" REPUBLIKA.CO.ID,.
- Sherif, Muzafer. 2015. Group Conflict and Co-Operation: Their Social Psychology. Psychology Press.

- Singer, PW &. Emerson. 2018. LikeWar : The Weaponization Of Social Media. Chapter 8. New York, United State: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company.
- Syahputra, Iswandi. 2017. "Demokrasi Virtual Dan Perang Siber Di Media Sosial : Perspektif Netizen Indonesia." *Jurnal ASPIKOM* 3(3):457–75.
- Wahyuningroem, Sri Lestari. 2013. "Seducing for Truth and Justice: Civil Society Initiatives for the 1965 Mass Violence in Indonesia." *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 32(3):115–42.
- Waruwu, Dian Fermina Mawati, and Nawiroh Vera. 2020. "Ujaran Kebencian Di Media Sosial (Studi Netnografi Di Akun Instagram@ Prof. Tjokhowie)." AGUNA: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi 1(1):55–69.
- Welch, Vivian, Jennifer Petkovic, J. Pardo Pardo, Tamara Rader, and Peter Tugwell. 2016. "Interactive Social Media Interventions to Promote Health Equity: An Overview of Reviews." *Health Promotion and Chronic Disease Prevention in Canada: Research, Policy and Practice* 36(4):63.
- Xu, Mengxuan Annie, and Gail Blair Storr. 2012. "Learning the Concept of Researcher as Instrument in Qualitative Research." *Qualitative Report* 17:42.
- Živković, Radmila, Jelena Gajić, and Ivana Brdar. 2014. "The Impact of Social Media on Tourism." *Singidunum Journal of Applied Sciences* 758–61.