

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

### Buku

- Aspinall, E., & Mietzner, M. (Eds.). (2010). *Problems of democratisation in Indonesia: Elections, institutions and society*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Barassi, V. (2019). Datafied citizens in the age of coerced digital participation. *Sociological Research Online*, 24(3), 414–429.
- Benkler, Y. (2006). *The wealth of networks: How social production transforms markets and freedom*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press.
- boyd, d. (2010). Social network sites as networked publics: Affordances, dynamics, and implications. Dalam Papacharissi, Z. (Ed.), *A networked self* (pp. 47–66). Routledge.
- DCAF. (2007). *Almanac on Indonesian Security Sector Reform 2007* (PDF). Geneva: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF).
- Diamond, L. (2022). Democratic regression in comparative perspective: Scope, methods, and causes. Dalam *Democratic Regressions in Asia* (hlm. 22–42). Routledge.
- Habermas, J. (1996). *Between facts and norms*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hafidz, T. S. (2006). *Fading away?: The political role of the army in Indonesia's transition to democracy, 1998–2001*. Singapore: Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS).
- Haripin, M., Priamarizki, A., & Marzuki, K. I. (2020). *The Army and ideology in Indonesia: From dwifungsi to bela negara*. Routledge.
- Hine, C. (2015). *Ethnography for the Internet: Embedded, embodied and everyday*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003085348>
- Howard, P. N., & Hussain, M. M. (2013). *Democracy's fourth wave? Digital media and the Arab Spring*. Oxford University Press.
- Isin, E. F., & Nielsen, G. M. (Eds.). (2008). *Acts of citizenship*. London: Zed Books.
- Isin, E. F., & Ruppert, E. (2020). *Being digital citizens* (2nd ed.). London: Rowman & Littlefield International.
- Levitsky, S., & Ziblatt, D. (2024). How democracies die. Dalam *Ideals and Ideologies* (hlm. 73–80). Routledge.
- Liu, Z., & Weber, I. (2014). Is Twitter a publik sphere for online conflicts? A cross-ideological and cross-hierarchical look. Dalam *International Conference on Social Informatics* (pp. 336–347). Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Milovidov, E., & Richardson, J. (2019). *Digital citizenship education handbook: Being online, well-being online, and rights online*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

- Mietzner, M. (2009). *Military politics, Islam, and the state in Indonesia: From turbulent transition to democratic consolidation*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Mulmi, A. R. (2025). *From streets to Discord: How Nepal's Gen Z toppled a government*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. [Tambahkan URL jika ingin konsisten dengan sumber online]
- Papacharissi, Z. (2015). *Affective publics: Sentiment, technology, and politics*. Oxford University Press.
- Pink, S., Horst, H., Lewis, T., Hjorth, L., & Postill, J. (2015). *Digital ethnography: Principles and practice*. London: SAGE Publikations.
- Schedler, A. (2013). *The politics of uncertainty: Sustaining and subverting electoral authoritarianism*. Oxford University Press.
- Tufekci, Z. (2017). *Twitter and tear gas: The power and fragility of networked protest*. Yale University Press.

#### **Jurnal Ilmiah**

- Amalia, A. R., Aqida, A., & Aidah, S. (2025). Kewarganegaraan digital sebagai upaya persiapan menghadapi tantangan perkembangan teknologi. *Indonesian Character Journal*, 2(1).
- Arianto, B., & Handayani, B. (2023). Media sosial sebagai saluran komunikasi digital kewargaan: Studi etnografi digital. *ARKANA: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 2(2), 220–236. <https://doi.org/10.62022/arkana.v2i02.5813>
- Aurellia, D., & Katimin, K. (2025). Arah baru politik di era digital (Perspektif generasi milenial di media sosial). *SOSMANIORA: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora*, 4(2), 231–236.
- Bennett, W. L., Segerberg, A., Anduiza, E., Cristancho, C., & Sabucedo, J. M. (2012). The logic of connective action. *Information, Communication & Society*, 15(5).
- Bermeo, N. (2016). On democratic backsliding. *Journal of Democracy*, 27(1), 5–19.
- Boulianne, S. (2015). Social media use and participation: A meta-analysis of current research. *Information, Communication & Society*, 18(5), 524–538.
- Choi, M. (2016). A concept analysis of digital citizenship for democratic citizenship education in the Internet Age. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, 44(4), 565–607. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00933104.2016.1210549>
- De Putri, S., & Toni, A. (2024). Analisis percakapan netizen pada channel YouTube @TotalPolitik sebagai media ruang publik komunikasi politik. *SOSIOLOGI: Jurnal Ilmiah Kajian Ilmu Sosial dan Budaya*, 26(2), 151–169.
- Emejulu, A., & McGregor, C. (2019). Towards a radical digital citizenship in digital education. *Critical Studies in Education*, 60(1), 131–147.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/17508487.2016.1234494>

- Eriyanto. (2020). Hashtags and digital movement of opinion mobilization: A social network analysis study on #BubarkanKPAI vs #KamiBersamaKPAI hashtags. *Jurnal Komunikasi Indonesia*, 8(3), 175–190. <https://doi.org/10.7454/jki.v8i3.11591>
- Fatanti, M. N. (2014). Twitter dan masa depan politik Indonesia: Analisis perkembangan komunikasi politik lokal melalui internet. *Jurnal IPTEKKOM (Jurnal Ilmu Pengetahuan & Teknologi Informasi)*, 16(1), 17–30.
- Fatimah, S. (2025). Transformasi ruang publik digital: Tantangan sosial dan konstitusional dalam demokrasi era media baru. *Cakrawala: Jurnal Litbang Kebijakan*, 19(1), 67–86.
- Fauzanafi, M. Z. (2016). Searching for digital citizenship: Fighting corruption in Banten, Indonesia. *ASEAS – Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies*, 9(2), 289–294.
- Fathoni, Y. N., Ahmad, A. D., Rushufah, R. R. A., Sipayung, J. B., & Indrawan, J. (2025). Analisis implikasi pengesahan RUU TNI dalam sinergi sipil–militer dan konsolidasi demokrasi di Indonesia. *Global Komunika: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*, 8(1).
- Fridayani, H. D. (2023). Space for publik democracy: The use of the hashtag #sahkanRUUTPKS on Twitter creates a new social movement. *Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan: Kajian Ilmu Pemerintahan dan Politik Daerah*, 8(1), 14–27.
- Gerschewski, J. (2021). *Erosion* or decay? Conceptualizing causes and mechanisms of democratic regression. *Democratization*, 28(1), 43–62.
- Gil de Zúñiga, H., Molyneux, L., & Zheng, P. (2014). Social media, political expression, and political participation: Panel analysis of lagged and concurrent relationships. *Journal of Communication*, 64(4), 612–634.
- Hintz, A., Dencik, L., & Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2017). Digital citizenship and surveillance society introduction. *International Journal of Communication*, 11, 731–739.
- Huda, N. M. (2014). Hak politik Tentara Nasional Indonesia dan Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia pasca reformasi. *Jurnal Hukum Ius Quia Iustum*, 21(2), 203–226.
- Ida, R. (2018). Etnografi virtual sebagai teknik pengumpulan data dan metode penelitian. *The Journal of Society and Media*, 2(2), 130–145.
- Lim, M. (2017). Freedom to hate: Social media, algorithmic enclaves, and the rise of tribal nationalism in Indonesia. *Critical Asian Studies*, 49(3), 411–427.
- Lührmann, A., & Lindberg, S. I. (2019). A third wave of autocratization is here: What is new about it? *Democratization*, 26(7), 1095–1113.
- Malnes, H. A., & Najicha, F. U. (2024). Peran media sosial dalam mencapai civic

- participation pada mahasiswa. *Jurnal Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan*, 8(1), 223–235.
- Marinho, S. P. P., & Carneiro, F. C. (2018). Digital citizenship in schools: nine elements all students should know, in Mike Ribble, Arlington, VA, USA: International Society for Technology in Education, 2015. *Eccos Revista Científica*, (47), 472–476.
- Masrofah, M., Maryani, E., & Rachmaniar, R. (2025). Urgensi kritik sosial oleh selebriti dalam diskursus publik di media sosial X mengenai isu sosial dan politik. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora*, 4(1), 79–90.
- Mursyid, R., & Indriyanti, A. D. (2024). Perbandingan akurasi metode analisis sentimen untuk evaluasi opini pengguna pada media sosial (Studi kasus: Twitter). *Journal of Informatics and Computer Science (JINACS)*, 6(2), 371–383.
- Pamungkas, R. N., Permadi, D., & Florina, I. D. (2024). Strategi humor Gibran Rakabuming dalam komunikasi politik di media sosial X (Twitter). *Jurnal Pemerintahan dan Politik*, 9(3), 175–182.
- Rambe, A. S., Fadilah, H., Ritonga, P. N., Azzahra, S. N., & Harahap, Z. M. (2025). Dinamika komunikasi politik di era digital. *Algebra: Jurnal Pendidikan, Sosial dan Sains*, 5(2), 125–130.
- Richardson, J. W., Martin, F., & Sauers, N. (2021). Systematic review of 15 years of research on digital citizenship: 2004–2019. *Learning, Media and Technology*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17439884.2021.1941098>
- Scheppele, K. L. (2018). Autocratic legalism. *The University of Chicago Law Review*, 85(2), 545–584.
- Sugiarto, N. K. (2018). Bisnis militer pasca Orde Baru. *CosmoGov: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan*, 4(2). <https://doi.org/10.24198/cosmogov.v4i2.17064.g10304>
- Sinamo, D. R., Gultom, G. M., Sinurat, R., & Lumbantobing, R. (2025). Media dan perubahan sosial: Studi kasus penggunaan media sosial dalam kampanye politik dan dampaknya terhadap partisipasi politik. *Jurnal Penelitian Ilmiah Multidisipliner*, 1(3), 223–230.
- Soesilo, A. S. (2014). Jaringan purnawirawan Tentara Nasional Indonesia dalam politik: Relasi sipil–militer pasca reformasi TNI. *Masyarakat: Jurnal Sosiologi*, 19(2), 70–105.
- Theocharis, Y. (2015). The conceptualization of digitally networked participation. *Social Media + Society*, 1(2), 2056305115610140.
- Waldner, D., & Lust, E. (2018). Unwelcome change: Coming to terms with democratic backsliding. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 21(1), 93–113.
- Wijayanto, W., Berenschot, W., Sastramidjaja, Y., & Ruijgrok, K. (2024). The infrastructure of domestic influence operations: Cyber troops and publik

opinion manipulation through social media in Indonesia. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 19401612241297832.

### **Website dan Media Online**

- Aliansi Jurnalis Independen (AJI). (2025, 3 Mei). AJI: Kebebasan pers di Indonesia memburuk. <https://aji.or.id/informasi/aji-kebebasan-pers-di-indonesia-memburuk>
- Al Jazeera. (2025, 17 September). Who is Sushila Karki, Nepal's new 73-year-old interim prime minister. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2025/9/17/who-is-sushila-karki-nepals-new-73-year-old-interim-prime-minister>
- Amnesty International Indonesia. (2025, 15 Maret). Kebut pembahasan RUU TNI di hotel mewah bintang 5: Pemerintah dan DPR menyakiti hati rakyat. <https://www.amnesty.id/kabar-terbaru/siaran-pers/kebut-pembahasan-ruu-tni-di-hotel-mewah-bintang-5-pemerintah-dan-dpr-menyakiti-hati-rakyat/03/2025/>
- Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan Republik Indonesia (BPK RI). (2025). Undang-Undang Nomor 3 Tahun 2025 (PDF). <https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/332934/peraturan-bpk-no-3-tahun-2025>
- CNN Indonesia. (2024, 14 Juli). SETARA Institute tolak revisi UU TNI: Putar balik reformasi. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20240714155840-32-1121089/setara-institute-tolak-revisi-uu-tni-putar-balik-reformasi>
- CSO OGP Indonesia. (2025, 19 Maret). Indonesia stop "jalur belakang" legislasi: Menolak pembahasan RUU TNI yang ugal-ugalan. INFID. <https://infid.org/rilis-pers-cso-ogp-indonesiastop-jalur-belakang-legislasimenolak-pembahasan-ruu-tni-yang-ugal-ugalan/>
- DataReportal. (2025, 25 Februari). Digital 2025: Indonesia. <https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2025-indonesia>
- DataReportal. (2026, 5 November). Digital 2026: Indonesia. <https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2026-indonesia>
- Drone Emprit Academic. (2025, 17 Maret). Analisis percakapan publik: Revisi UU TNI. <https://pers.droneemprit.id/analisis-percakapan-publik-revisi-uu-tni/>
- E-Media DPR RI. (2025, 18 Maret). Revisi UU TNI hanya terkait tiga pasal: kedudukan, perluasan penempatan, dan usia pensiun. <https://emedia.dpr.go.id/2025/03/18/revisi-uu-tni-hanya-terkait-tiga-pasal-kedudukan-perluasan-penempatan-dan-usia-pensiun/>
- Fraksi Partai Gerindra. (2025, 17 Maret). Draf RUU TNI yang beredar di medsos berbeda dengan yang dibahas di Komisi I. <https://www.fraksigerindra.id/draf-ruu-tni-yang-beredar-di-medsos-berbeda-dengan-yang-dibahas-di-komisi-i/>
- Herlijanto, J. (2017, 15 Desember). The current state of military reform in Indonesia: Interview with Lieutenant General (Retired) Agus Widjojo (Part

- 1) (ISEAS Perspective No. 2017/91). ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute. [https://www.iseas.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/pdfs/ISEAS\\_Perspective\\_2017\\_91.pdf](https://www.iseas.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/pdfs/ISEAS_Perspective_2017_91.pdf)
- Hukumonline.com. (2025, 20 Maret). DPR akhirnya setuju RUU TNI jadi UU: Ini 3 substansi yang diatur. <https://www.hukumonline.com/berita/a/dpr-akhirnya-setujui-ruu-tni-jadi-uu%E2%80%933-substansi-yang-diatur-lt67dbbddd68c6f>
- The Indian Express. (2025, 21 September). Nepal PM selected via Discord: How the gaming chat app empowered its Gen Z protestors. <https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/explained-global/nepal-pm-discord-gaming-chat-app-gen-z-protests-10248009/>
- Indonesia at Melbourne. (2025, 4 April). The new TNI Law is about much more than just military dual function. <https://indonesiaatmelbourne.unimelb.edu.au/the-new-tni-law-is-about-much-more-than-just-military-dual-function/>
- JDIH DPR RI. (2025, 20 Maret). DPR sahkan UU TNI, tetap kedepankan prinsip demokrasi. <https://jdih.dpr.go.id/berita/detail/id/55014/t/DPR+Sahkan+UU+TNI%2C+Tetap+Kedepankan+Prinsip+Demokrasi>
- Kementerian Pertahanan RI. (2025, 20 Maret). RUU Perubahan UU TNI disetujui DPR, Menhan tegaskan transformasi TNI. <https://www.kemhan.go.id/2025/03/20/ruu-perubahan-uu-tni-disetujui-dpr-menhan-tegaskan-transformasi-tni.html>
- Komara, I. (2024, 4 Oktober). Survei Indikator: Kepercayaan publik ke TNI 93%, Presiden 85%. detikNews. <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-7572180/survei-indikator-kepercayaan-publik-ke-tni-93-presiden-85>
- Kompas.com. (2025, 19 Maret). Komnas HAM minta pengesahan revisi UU TNI ditunda. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2025/03/19/16515411/komnas-ham-minta-pengesahan-revisi-uu-tni-ditunda>
- Kompas.id. (2025, 24 Maret). Aksi tolak revisi UU TNI di Surabaya ricuh, petasan hingga bom molotov berujung penangkapan 20 orang. <https://www.kompas.id/artikel/aksi-tolak-revisi-uu-tni-di-surabaya-ricuh-petasan-hingga-bom-molotov-berujung-penangkapan-20-orang>
- KontraS. (2025). Aparat keamanan dilarang melakukan tindakan represif: Lindungi hak konstitusional warga negara dalam aksi #TolakRUUTNI. <https://kontras.org/artikel/aparat-keamanan-dilarang-melakukan-tindakan-represif-lindungi-hak-konstitusional-warga-negara-dalam-aksi-tolakruutni>
- LBH Bandung. (2025, 26 Maret). Pers rilis: Massa dipukuli, suara dibatasi catatan kelam penolakan RUU TNI di Jawa Barat. <https://www.lbhbandung.or.id/pers-rilis-massa-dipukuli-suara-dibatasi->

- catatan-kelam-penolakan-ruu-tni-di-jawa-barat/  
 Mahkamah Konstitusi Republik Indonesia. (2023). Putusan (hasil pencarian tahun 2023). <https://www.mkri.id/perkara/persidangan/putusan?search=2023>
- Mahkamah Konstitusi Republik Indonesia. (2025, 4 November). Keterlibatan TNI dalam operasi militer selain perang dipertanyakan. <https://mkri.id/berita/keterlibatan-tni-dalam-operasi-militer-selain-perang-dipertanyakan-24031>
- Nalar Institute. (2025). Research brief TNI–Polri (PDF). [https://nalarinstitute.com/wp-content/uploads/2025/03/Research-brief-TNI-Polri\\_Nalar-Institute.pdf](https://nalarinstitute.com/wp-content/uploads/2025/03/Research-brief-TNI-Polri_Nalar-Institute.pdf)
- OpenParliament.id. (2025, 17 Maret). Revisi UU TNI. <https://openparliament.id/2025/03/17/revisi-uu-tni/>
- Purnamasari, D. D. (2025, 19 Maret). Pembahasan minim partisipasi publik, Komnas HAM minta pengesahan RUU TNI ditunda. Kompas.id. <https://www.kompas.id/artikel/pembahasan-minim-partisipasi-publik-komnas-ham-minta-pengesahan-ruu-tni-ditunda>
- Real Instituto Elcano. (2025, 2 Oktober). Nepal elects its first female prime minister on Discord: What it reveals about social media and democracy. <https://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/en/analyses/nepal-elects-its-first-female-prime-minister-on-discord-what-it-reveals-about-social-media-and-democracy/>
- STRATSEA. (2025, 3 Februari). Is Indonesia’s military leaving the barracks? <https://stratsea.com/is-indonesias-military-leaving-the-barracks/>
- Tempo.co. (2025, 18 Maret). Infografik: Pembahasan tertutup revisi UU TNI. <https://www.tempo.co/infografik/infografik/pembahasan-tertutup-revisi-uu-tni-1221423>
- Universitas Gadjah Mada. (2024, 15 Februari). Ahli hukum UGM Zainal Arifin tanggap kontroversi film Dirty Vote. <https://ugm.ac.id/id/berita/ahli-hukum-ugm-zainal-arifin-tanggap-kontroversi-film-dirty-vote/>
- Wahyuni, W. (2025, 13 Maret). Aturan hukum pelibatan militer di ranah sipil. Hukumonline.com. <https://www.hukumonline.com/berita/a/aturan-hukum-pelibatan-militer-di-ranah-sipil-lt67d2633885828/>
- Wijayanyo. (2023, 27 April). The rise of digital citizenship amidst Indonesia’s democratic regression. <https://pemerintahan.fisip.undip.ac.id/v1/the-rise-of-digital-citizenship-amidst-indonesias-democratic-regression/>
- Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Indonesia (YLBHI). (2025, 24 Desember). Catatan akhir tahun 2025 Yayasan LBH Indonesia: Menebas yang tersisa... <https://ylbhi.or.id/informasi/siaran-pers/catatan-akhir-tahun-2025-yayasan-lbh-indonesia-menebas-yang-tersisa-perusakan-sistematis-sisa-sisa-amanat-dan-semangat-reformasi-indonesia/>