

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Akbar, D., & Arianto, I. D. (2025). Analisis Jaringan Komunikasi pada Tagar #Peringatandarurat dalam Sosial Media X (Twitter). *Nusantara: Jurnal Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial*, 12(3), 944–955.
- Arizona, Y., Harijanti, S. D., Palguna, I. D. G., Susanti, B., Anggraini, T., Noviantika, T., & Wafi, M. A. (2023). *Skandal Mahkamah Keluarga: Eksaminasi Publik Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi Nomor 90/XXI/2023 Mengenai Batas Usia Calon Presiden dan Wakil Presiden*.
- Aspinall, E., & As'ad, M. U. (2016). Understanding family politics: Successes and failures of political dynasties in regional Indonesia. *South East Asia Research*, 24(3), 420–435.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0967828X16659571>
- Aspinall, E., & Berenschot, W. (2019). *Democracy for Sale: Pemilihan Umum, Klientelisme, dan Negara di Indonesia* (E. Riyadi, Penerj.). Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Aspinall, E., & Sukmajati, M. (2015). Patronase dan Klientelisme dalam Politik Elektoral di Indonesia. Dalam E. Aspinall & M. Sukmajati (Ed.), *Politik Uang di Indonesia: Patronase dan Klientelisme pada Pemilu Legislatif 2014* (hlm. 1–49). Penerbit PolGov.
- Baker, J. (2023). Reformasi Reversal: Structural Drivers of Democratic Decline in Jokowi's Middle-Income Indonesia. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 59(3), 341–364.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00074918.2023.2286020>
- Berenschot, W., & Aspinall, E. (2020). How clientelism varies: comparing patronage democracies. *Democratization*, 27(1), 1–19.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2019.1645129>
- Bima, M. R., & Jacob, J. T. (2023). The Age Threshold for Presidential Nominations in the Perspective of Dignified Justice Theory: Why is there a Court of Family (Mahkamah Keluarga) Issue? *Jurnal IUS Kajian Hukum dan Keadilan*, 11(3), 403–422.
<https://doi.org/10.29303/ius.v11i3.1301>
- Bria, I. R., Suandika, I. N., & Suryana, K. D. (2024). Pelanggaran Kode Etik oleh Hakim Mahkamah Konstitusi terkait dengan Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi Nomor 90/PUU-XXI/2023. *Nusantara Hasana Journal*, 4(4), 61–76.

- Bruns, A., & Burgess, J. (2015). Twitter Hashtags from Ad Hoc to Calculated Publics. Dalam N. Rambukkana (Ed.), *Hashtag Publics: The Power and Politics of Discursive Networks: Vol. DF Vol. 103*. Peter Lang Publishing.
- Bruns, A., & Highfield, T. (2015). Is Habermas on Twitter? Social Media and the Public Sphere. Dalam A. Bruns, G. Enli, E. Skogerbo, A. O. Larsson, & C. Christensen (Ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Social Media and Politics* (1st ed., hlm. 56–73). Routledge.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315716299>
- Bruns, A., & Stieglitz, S. (2013). Towards More Systematic Twitter Analysis: Metrics for Tweeting Activities. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 16(2), 91–108.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2012.756095>
- Cherkaoui, A., El Beqqali, O., & Alami, S. (2020). Democracy in the time of social media: Towards a standard approach. *ACM International Conference Proceeding Series*, 97–102.
<https://doi.org/10.1145/3419604.3419801>
- Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2023). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (Sixth). SAGE.
- Darmadi, Sonni, A. F., Ismail, A., & Wahyuddin. (2025). Analisis Netnografi atas Diskursus Publik Terkait Skandal Mahkamah Konstitusi dalam Video “Bocor Alus Politik” di YouTube. *Sospol: Jurnal Sosial Politik*, 11(1), 100–119. <https://doi.org/10.22219/jurnalsospol.v11i1.37515>
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2018). *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln, Ed.; 5th ed.). Sage Publications.
- Fachlevi, S., Unde, A. A., & Hasrullah, H. (2024). Analisis Sentimen Publik pada Tagar #KawalPutusanMK di Media Sosial X. *Jurnal Syntax Admiration*, 5(10), 4232–4241. <https://doi.org/10.46799/jsa.v5i10.1691>
- Fairclough, N. (2013). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language* (2nd ed.). Routledge.
- Fatimatu Zahra, N., & Dewi, D. S. K. (2021). The Pattern of Joko Widodo’s Political Dynasty Practices. *Journal of Local Government Issues (LOGOS)*, 4(1), 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.22219/logos.v4i1.15407>
- Fuchs, C. (2021). *Social Media: A Critical Introduction* (3rd ed.). Sage.

- Fukuoka, Y. (2013). Oligarchy and Democracy in Post-Suharto Indonesia. *Political Studies Review*, 11(1), 52–64. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1478-9302.2012.00286.x>
- Gerbaudo, P. (2012). *Tweets and the Streets: Social Media and Contemporary Activism*. Pluto Press.
- Gilardi, F., Gessler, T., Kubli, M., & Müller, S. (2022). Social Media and Political Agenda Setting. *Political Communication*, 39(1), 39–60. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2021.1910390>
- Gillespie, T. (2018). *Custodians of the Internet: Platforms, Content Moderation, and the Hidden Decisions That Shape Social Media*. Yale University Press.
- Grimaldi, D. (2019). Can we analyse political discourse using Twitter? Evidence from Spanish 2019 presidential election. *Social Network Analysis and Mining*, 9(1). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13278-019-0594-6>
- Hadiz, V. R., & Robison, R. (2013). The Political Economy of Oligarchy and the Reorganization of Power in Indonesia. *Indonesia*, 96(1), 35–57.
- Hagen, L., Neely, S., Keller, T. E., Scharf, R., & Vasquez, F. E. (2022). Rise of the Machines? Examining the Influence of Social Bots on a Political Discussion Network. *Social Science Computer Review*, 40(2), 264–287. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0894439320908190>
- Hamid, M. A., Basid, A., & Aulia, I. N. (2021). The reconstruction of Arab women role in media: a critical discourse analysis. *Social Network Analysis and Mining*, 11(1). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13278-021-00809-0>
- Hapsari, M. S., Sabiq, A., & Sobandi, K. R. (2024). Tagar #MosiTidakPercaya dan #MahkamahKeluarga: Peran Media Sosial Instagram sebagai Wacana Protes Dinasti Politik Presiden Jokowi. *JISPAR, Jurnal Ilmu Sosial, Politik dan Pemerintahan*, 13(1), 376–396.
- Indrayana, D. (2023). *Menyelamatkan Mahkamah Konstitusi Menyelamatkan Indonesia*. <https://dennyindrayana.com/2023/10/30/mahkamah-keluarga-gate/>
- Jost, J. T., Barberá, P., Bonneau, R., Langer, M., Metzger, M., Nagler, J., Sterling, J., & Tucker, J. A. (2018). How Social Media Facilitates Political Protest: Information, Motivation, and Social Networks. *Political Psychology*, 39, 85–118. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12478>

- Kenawas, Y. C. (2023). The irony of Indonesia's democracy: The rise of dynastic politics in the post-Suharto era. *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics*, 8(3), 748–764.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/20578911231195970>
- Kidd, D., & McIntosh, K. (2016). Social Media and Social Movements. *Sociology Compass*, 10(9), 785–794.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12399>
- Kurniawan, R. (2025). Patronage Networks and Power Disparities: The Legacy of Political Patronage in Indonesia's Governance and Democracy. *Jurnal Politik Profetik*, 13, 1–32.
<https://doi.org/10.24252/profetik.v13i1a1>
- 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. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2017.1341188>
- Lim, M. (2025). *Social Media and Politics in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108750745>
- McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The Agenda-setting Function of Mass Media. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36(2), 176–187.
- McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1993). The Evolution of Agenda-Setting Research: Twenty-Five Years in the Marketplace of Ideas. *Journal of Communication*, 43(2), 58–67.
- McCombs, M. E., Shaw, D. L., & Weaver, D. H. (2014). New Directions in Agenda-Setting Theory and Research. *Mass Communication and Society*, 17(6), 781–802.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2014.964871>
- McNair, B. (2011). *An Introduction to Political Communication* (5th ed.). Routledge.
- Messina, C. (2007, Agustus 25). *Groups for Twitter; or A Proposal for Twitter Tag Channels*. Factory Joe.
<https://factoryjoe.com/2007/08/25/groups-for-twitter-or-a-proposal-for-twitter-tag-channels/>
- Mietzner, M. (2012). Ideology, money and dynastic leadership: The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, 1998-2012. *South East Asia Research*, 20(4), 511–531. <https://doi.org/10.5367/sear.2012.0123>
- Mietzner, M. (2014a). Oligarchs, Politicians, and Activists: Contesting Party Politics in Post-Suharto Indonesia. Dalam M. Ford & T. B. Pepinsky (Ed.), *Beyond Oligarchy: Wealth, Power, and Contemporary*

- Indonesian Politics* (hlm. 99–116). Cornell University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.7591/9781501719158-008>
- Mietzner, M. (2024a). Jokowi's Pyrrhic Victory: Indonesia's 2024 Elections and the Political Reinvention of Prabowo Subianto. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 46(2), 187–215. <https://doi.org/10.1355/cs46-2a>
- Mietzner, M. (2024b). The limits of autocratisation in Indonesia: power dispersal and elite competition in a compromised democracy. *Third World Quarterly*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2024.2317970>
- Mietzner, M. (2025). Flirting with Autocracy in Indonesia: Jokowi's Majoritarianism and its Democratic Legacy. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 1–19.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/18681034251318053>
- Mietzner, M., & Honna, J. (2023). Elite opposition and popular rejection: the failure of presidential term limit evasion in Widodo's Indonesia. *South East Asia Research*, 31(2), 115–131.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/0967828X.2023.2236542>
- Mietzner, Marcus. (2014b). *Money, power, and ideology: political parties in post-authoritarian Indonesia*. NUS Press.
- Muhammad, H. A., & Anggara, D. (2021). Fenomena Konstruksi Politik Dinasti pada Pilkada Serentak Tahun 2020 di Kabupaten Batang Hari. *Sospol: Jurnal Sosial Politik*, 7(2), 161–175.
<https://doi.org/10.22219/sospol.v7i2.15160>
- Mukti, H. H., & Rodiyah. (2020). Dynasty Politics in Indonesia: Tradition or Democracy? *Journal of Law and Legal Reform*, 1(3), 531–538.
<https://doi.org/10.15294/jllr.v1i3.38090>
- Muntaha, M., & Arianto, P. (2024). Political Satire on Social Media Responding to The Constitutional Court's Decision on Vice President Age Eligibility for the 2024 Elections. *NIVEDANA: Jurnal Komunikasi dan Bahasa*, 5(2), 128–141.
<https://doi.org/10.53565/nivedana.v5i2.1048>
- Nggilu, N. M., Ahmad, Rivaldi Moha, M., Apripari, & Muhtar, M. H. (2024). Abusive Constitutional Court: dysplasia and the destructive power of Constitutional Court decisions. *Estudios Constitucionales*, 22(2), 69–99. <https://doi.org/10.4067/S0718-52002024000200069>
- Nugraha, M. Y. S., Ayuningtyas, F., & Muqsith, M. A. (2024). Connective Action dan Hashtag activism di Twitter/X Case Studi: Pemilihan

- Presiden 2024 Pendekatan Social Network Analyst. *Perspektif*, 13(3), 717–726. <https://doi.org/10.31289/perspektif.v13i3.11033>
- Nur Rahmah, A., & Maulia, S. T. (2024). Politik Dinasti dalam Perspektif Demokrasi di Indonesia. *Journal of Practice Learning and Educational Development*, 4(2), 118–125. <https://doi.org/10.58737/jpled.v4i2.285>
- Palenewen, J. D. O., & Yanur, M. (2022). Penerapan Sistem Pemilu di Indonesia Pasca Reformasi. *Wacana: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Interdisiplin*, 09(02), 502–520.
- Pardosi, P., Muttaqim, H., & Sugeng, I. S. (2024). Social Media Activism: The Rise of Digital Movements in the Global South. *Cognitionis Civitatis et Politicae*, 1(6), 391–401. <https://doi.org/10.70177/politicae.v1i6.1542>
- Pariser, E. (2011). *The Filter Bubble: What the Internet is Hiding from You*. The Penguin Press.
- Poell, T., & Van Dijck, J. (2015). Social media and activist communication. Dalam C. Atton (Ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Alternative and Community Media* (1 ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315717241>
- Rahma, A. A., Oktaviani, A. A., Hofifah, A., Ahda, T. Z., & Nugraha, R. G. (2022). Pengaruh Dinasti Politik terhadap Perkembangan Demokrasi Pancasila di Indonesia. *Jurnal Kewarganegaraan*, 6(1), 2260–2269.
- Rambukkana, N. (2015). *Hashtag Publics: The Power and Politics of Discursive Networks* (N. Rambukkana, Ed.; Vol. 103). Peter Lang Publishing.
- Santoso, P. (2024). Public attention to Indonesian dynastic politics: an analysis of social media networks. *The Journal of International Communication*, 1–27. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13216597.2024.2365268>
- Saputra, J. A., & Marwan, M. R. (2023). Analisis Jaringan Komunikasi pada Tagar #TANGKAP2ANAKJOKOWI dalam Media Twitter. *Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 12(1), 1–9.
- Saputri, R., Mutiarin, D., & Sukarno, M. (2024). Social Movement on Social Media: #TolakPengesahanRKUHP and #ReformasiDikorupsi. *Nyimak Journal of Communication*, 8(1), 21–36.
- Sari, D. K., Kumorotomo, W., & Kurnia, N. (2022). Delivery structure of nationalism message on Twitter in the context of Indonesian netizens.

- Social Network Analysis and Mining*, 12(1).
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s13278-022-01006-3>
- Sembiring, R., & Simanihuruk, M. (2018). Politik Dinasti dan Desentralisasi. *Talenta Conference Series: Local Wisdom, Social, and Arts (LWSA)*, 1(1), 092–098. <https://doi.org/10.32734/lwsa.v1i1.148>
- Setiadi, R. (2024). Kontroversi Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi Nomor: 90/PUU-XXI/2023 sebagai Jalan Pintas Kepentingan Dinasti Politik. *Kultura: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial*, 2(8), 277–284.
<http://jurnal.kolibi.org/index.php/kultura>
- Shmargad, Y., & Sanchez, L. (2022). Social Media Influence and Electoral Competition. *Social Science Computer Review*, 40(1), 4–23.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0894439320906803>
- Sopian, N. L. (2014). Political Dynasties and The Emergence of Local Oligarchs in Post Suharto Indonesia and The Philippines. *Paper diajukan untuk memenuhi persyaratan kuliah tentang Politics of Southeast Asia pada the Department of Political Science, Northwestern University*.
https://www.academia.edu/download/33580774/Political_Dynasties_and_The_Emergence_of_Local_Oligarchs_JournalVer_Edit.pdf
- Sulistiyowati, S., Maharani, D. N., Maharaja, G. B., & Manoppo, H. P. (2024). Refleksi Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi pada Pemilihan Presiden Tahun 2024 Terhadap Politik dan Demokrasi Indonesia. *Qanuniya: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*, 1(1), 10–25.
<https://doi.org/10.15575/qanuniya.v1i1.826>
- Syanur, A. D. M., A.W. Shantih, I. B., & Lucy Afrilia. (2023). Politik Dinasti Di Indonesia: Tinjauan Kritis Terhadap Penerapan Demokrasi Di Era Kepemimpinan Presiden Jokowi. *Kultura: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum, Sosial, dan Humaniora*, 1(3), 17–26. <http://jurnal.kolibi.org/index.php/kultura>
- Tesnohlikova, O. (2021). Humor and satire in politics: Introducing cultural sociology to the field. *Sociology Compass*, 15(1).
<https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12842>
- Ulum, M. B. (2020). Indonesian Democracy and Political Parties After Twenty Years of Reformation: A Contextual Analysis. *Indonesia Law Review*, 10(1), 29–44. <https://doi.org/10.15742/ilrev.v10n1.577>
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2008). *Discourse and Power*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2010). Critical Discourse Studies in Context and Cognition. Dalam *Lecture CADAAD*. John Benjamins.

- Van Klinken, G. (2009). Patronage Democracy in Provincial Indonesia. Dalam O. Törnquist, N. Webster, & K. Stokke (Ed.), *Rethinking Popular Representation* (hlm. 141–159). Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230102095>
- Wasserman, S., & Faust, K. (1994). *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications*. Cambridge University Press.
- Winters, J. A. (2011). *Oligarchy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Winters, J. A. (2014). Oligarchy and Democracy in Indonesia. Dalam M. Ford & T. B. Pepinsky (Ed.), *Beyond Oligarchy: Wealth, Power, and Contemporary Indonesian Politics* (hlm. 11–34). Cornell University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7591/9781501719158-004>
- Winters, J. A. (2016). Electoral Dynamics in Indonesia: Money Politics, Patronage and Clientelism at the Grassroots. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 52(3), 405–409. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00074918.2016.1236653>
- Wright, S., Graham, T., & Jackson, D. (2016). Third Space, Social Media, and Everyday Political Talk. Dalam A. Bruns, G. Enli, E. Skogerbø, A. O. Larsson, & C. Christensen (Ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Social Media and Politics* (hlm. 74). Routledge.
- Wulandari, A. Y. O. (2024). Analisis Yuridis Pelanggaran Etik pada Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi Nomor 90/PUU-XXI/2023. *Proceedings Series on Social Sciences & Humanities*, 17, 120–124. <https://doi.org/10.30595/pssh.v17i.1103>
- Yaqub, U., Chun, S. A., Atluri, V., & Vaidya, J. (2017). Analysis of political discourse on twitter in the context of the 2016 US presidential elections. *Government Information Quarterly*, 34(4), 613–626. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.giq.2017.11.001>