

#gagalkanomnibuslaw movement: How simulacra sparks mass action

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Abstract

The hash-tag #gagalkanomnibuslaw used by the twitter "social media " users appears as a form of virtual protest of Indonesian people aiming at the Indonesian government. Information about Omnibus Law (UU Cipta Kerja) has been growing rapidly on social media since the popularity of the hash-tag increased. Unfortunately, the popularity of this hash-tag has made various information without references (hoaxes) which further confuses the original essence of the Movement. Based on that, The overall study objective is to find out how the false reality created by the hash-tag #gagalkanomnibuslaw is able to move the mass. This is a qualitative study using Jean Baudrillard's concept of simulacra to analyze the case. The result shows that the participants of the movement were trapped in simulacra, where the false reality of the information in cyberspace was used as a reference in carrying out both virtual and nonvirtual protest.

Keywords: #gagalkanomnibuslaw, simulacra, uu cipta kerja, sosial media

Introduction

The formation of self-identity is a long and complex process, which requires continuity from the past, present and future (Schwartz & Halegoua, 2015). The formation of self-identity does not occur in a vacuum. Aspects of the social world play an important role in the formation of a stable identity (Pan, Lu, Wang, & Chau, 2017). This study looks at self-identity from a different perspective, where the media plays an important role in the process. Self-identity is self-awareness to explain who one is, so that one feels as a person who is unique and different from other people (Berzonsky, 2010; Escalas et al., 2013).

The development of information and communication technology has changed several aspects of people's lives. One of them is in terms of channeling aspirations. The community is now not limited to relying on an extension of the House of Representatives to voice their complaints, inputs, and aspirations. The presence of various online media has facilitated the process of conveying these aspirations. Or in other words, online media has made it easier for people to participate in the democratic process in Indonesia. One of the online media intended in this discussion is social media, where social media users interact and communicate through the help of internet networks. The presence of these media marks a shift in communication media from classic media (electronic and print media) to new internet-based media. Social media has also become a channel and information center covering education, socio-culture, economics, law, politics, and other various information(Kholisoh1 et al., 2022)

Some of the roles of social media in democracy include the public is more open to the government's performance, able to express various opinions through various social media, help to oversee the running of government, oversee political issues, and even make it easier for people to create an online social movement, including online protest movements. As a consequence, social media plays an important role in spreading the fake news (Hoax) (Kholisoh1 et al., 2022). Hoaxes not only damage humans at the individual level, but it also have an impact on the destruction of the social order of society, even countries with all the complexities of diversity it has (Fensi, 2018) In Indonesia itself, we can find plenty social movements caused by massive information circulate in social media, one of them is the public protests against the government due to the ratification of "UU Cipta Kerja" or also known as Omnibus law by the People's representative council or DPR on October 5, 2020, which then resulted in various protests on social media and led to a mass action on October 8, 2020. This mass action was allegedly due to digital information propaganda carried out

by various community organizations as well as student organizations and civil society individually through social media. This can be traced through the Twitter "posts" which contain various disappointments and criticisms as well as various invitations to reject the UU Cipta Kerja thus, social media presents a constructive and argumentative narrative that emphasizes that social media users can easily express their aspirations regarding the UU Cipta Kerja. This was revealed by a study entitled "Media Sosial sebagai Saluran Aspirasi Kewargaan: Studi Pembahasan RUU Cipta Kerja" written by Arianto (Arianto, 2021)

The Omnibus Law, or UU Cipta Kerja, was officially ratified by the DPR in a plenary meeting on October 5, 2020. The agreement was taken at a plenary meeting held at the DPR building, Senayan, Jakarta and attended by Coordinating Minister for the Economy Airlangga Hartarto, Minister of Manpower Ida Fauziyah, Minister of Environment and Forestry Siti Nurbaya Bakar, Minister of Finance Sri Mulyani, Minister of Home Affairs Tito Karnavian, Minister of ATR/BPN Sofyan Djalil, and Minister of Law and Human Rights Yasonna Laoly (Tim Detikcom, 2020). The job creation law itself consists of more than 1000 pages, with 15 chapters and 186 articles.

It regulates employment to the environment (Maharani, 2020). Reporting from Tirto.id, there are several articles of the work copyright law that are considered problematic, these articles include, first, Article 77A which allows an increase in overtime work for certain sectors. In other words, employers can add working time as desired. Second, article 88C which abolishes the City/Regency minimum wage (UMK). It is then feared that this could lead to the imposition of a minimum wage that is evenly distributed in all cities and regencies, regardless of differences in the cost of living in each region. Third, is Article 93 paragraph 2 of the Manpower Law. Where special leave for woman on their first day of menstruation, getting married, baptizing their children, wife giving birth/miscarriage, are abolished (Debora, 2020).

It is true that people armed with social media will be able to intervene in government policies, this can be in the form of online protests or mass action movements formed through cyberspace. Previous study about online movement, especially the one started with the hashtag that eventually gained mass attention is found with the title "Understanding The Online Movement For #Hariprabangsanasional", the hashtag #Hariprabangsanasional had took over twitter during early February 2019. This trending topic was popularized by AJI Indonesia to protest against the government's policy that has the possibility of threatening the press freedom (Yusriana et al., 2021). The previous study has similar issues with the study in this paper, both are focusing on how a hastag can move the mass movement. Based on the pre-research conducted by searching for related information circulating in social media about UU Cipta Kerja, It has been found that several groups of people support the ratification of UU Cipta Kerja as well as those who are against it are debating with each other on social media. Here are a few screenshots illustrating the differences on both sides idea about UU Cipta Kerja.

Picture 1. The arguments of social media users who support the UU Cipta Kerja



Source: www.twitter.com/herman_chou73 & www.twitter.com/arsabangsa

Picture. 2 The arguments of social media users who against the UU Cipta Kerja



Source: www.twitter.com/raffimuhammad720 & www.twitter.com/nidstay

In the case of UU Cipta Kerja, the information circulating on social media is then consumed by the audience without any filter, the audiences took whatever news that has been spread in cyberspace and considered it as a reality. As a result, this condition then worsens the situation. The online protest then triggered a mass action that erupted into an act of burning public facilities, one of which was the Transjakarta shuttle bus, causing state losses to reach 45 billion (Fahreza et al., 2022). Social media in this case has succeeded in creating its own reality which is then considered real by the community. The fake reality that arises here is caused by simulacra, or according to Jean Baudrillard it is a condition where everything becomes a copy that depicts things that either had no reality to begin with, or that no longer have an original (Oktavianingtyas et al., 2021)).

Fake reality in this case is including the false information circulating in the social media that people believe as a truth, an absolute reality. Even more real than what actually happened in Senayan there when the DPR passed the Omnibus law. Unfortunately, people who only get information from fake realities on social media are competing to convey their voices online and even take to the streets as the real actions. Some have lost the essence of the value of the movement. According to the pre-research data, it is found that two participants who delivered their voice online with the purpose to look critical and insightful among their group, not because they really wanted to thwart the UU Cipta Kerja. They did not even read the text directly, how would they know what they were demanding? Social media with all its power is indeed useful for guarding democracy in this country. But then, the hyperreality nature (a reality that transcends reality itself) of social media has made people trapped in a world that Jean Baudrillard calls Simulacra (Oktavianingtyas et al., 2021).

The main focus here is the discourse that has emerged on social media about the dangers of the UU Cipta Kerja which stated above, it has encouraged various levels of society to voice their actions on social media, especially twitter through the hash-tag #gagalkanomnibuslaw. But unfortunately, on the pre-research interview on a social media "twitter" users who used the hash-tag #gagalkanomnibuslaw shows that he joined the hash-tag hype for having fun so that he doesn't miss the trend. This then came to the attention of the author that an object in the form of a hash-tag that appears to channel the people's voice so that the government is willing to thwart the law, but for some people that hash-tag is an object to achieve certain social values. This certain social value also known as "sign value" which according to Jean Baudrillard "sign value" predominate over use value (Kellner, 2019). In other words, if we connected it with issue in this paper, the use value or

the function value of hash-tag #gagalkanomnibuslaw has lost its natural purpose, this hash-tag has turned as a social sign for several people that has lost in the hyperreality of social media. This Hyperreality arise as an element of the simulacrum created by the technology, or in this case is social media (rozi, 2021)

Baudrillard in Oktavianingtyas (2021) defines simulation as a process of representation of an object which is ultimately considered to replace the original object. The representation itself then becomes real and is considered more real than the original object (Baudrillard & Glaser, 1994). In simulation, things become abstract when real objects and representations come together. The simulation is surrounded by references that are coupled to each other. Furthermore, the simulation builds an object representation with a sign system. The sign system not only imitates, duplicates, or even parodies the original object, but also becomes a substitute for the actual sign (Baudrillard & Glaser, 1994). Simulation determines the public's view of reality. When an object that can attract people's interest such as art, houses, household needs and so on is displayed through various media with ideal models, this is where the boundaries between simulation and reality get mixed up (Azwar, 2014). This simulation then raises the sign-value, the sign value of an object. This sign-value arises from a simulation that has been constructed in such a way as to form an image, the representation no longer refers to the actual object description. This will later be referred to as Simulacra.

In other words, the simulation of distorted reality is simulacra. If the simulation represents a reality, then in the simulacra, the reality that is represented has lost its reference. It is no longer visible which one is right and which one is wrong, which one is real and which one is fictitious. Besides the blurring of the boundaries of reality, another consequence of the existence of simulacra is the loss of the essence and meaning of things. Between the essential and the non-essential is lost. Likewise with morality, simulacra manage to confuse good and bad, beautiful and unbeautiful, right and wrong. Everything has been mixed up, so what is found is emptiness or no reference (Piliang, 2004). Simulacra has the nature of hyperreality, Hyperreality creates a condition in which falsehood mingles with authenticity, the past mingles with the present, facts mingle with fabrications, signs merge with reality; lie is compounded with truth. There is no more reality, there is only hyperreality. The resulting impact of hyperreality is the existence of public trust in reality which is not reality. Simulacra traps humans into believing that what is displayed by the simulation behind a monitor layer is real.

Based on this background, the researcher wants to find out more about how the fake reality created by the hash-tag #gagalkanomnibuslaw is able to move the masses. As for the purpose of this paper, it is hoped that it will become a philosophical thought about how people easily fall into a false reality created on social media. Therefore, digital literacy is needed to sort out the circulating realities so as not to be provoked into certain issues.

Method

This research uses a qualitative approach that intends to understand phenomena about what is experienced by research subjects such as behavior, perceptions, motivations, actions and others holistically and by means of descriptions in the form of words and language, in a special natural context by utilizing various natural methods (Moleong, 2017). The primary data collection technique uses the personal experience method, where this experience reflects the ideas, ideas and meanings of certain individual experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2009). Therefore, the researcher only focuses on one informant who uses the hash-tag #gagalkanomnibuslaw but interprets the hash-tag in a different way.

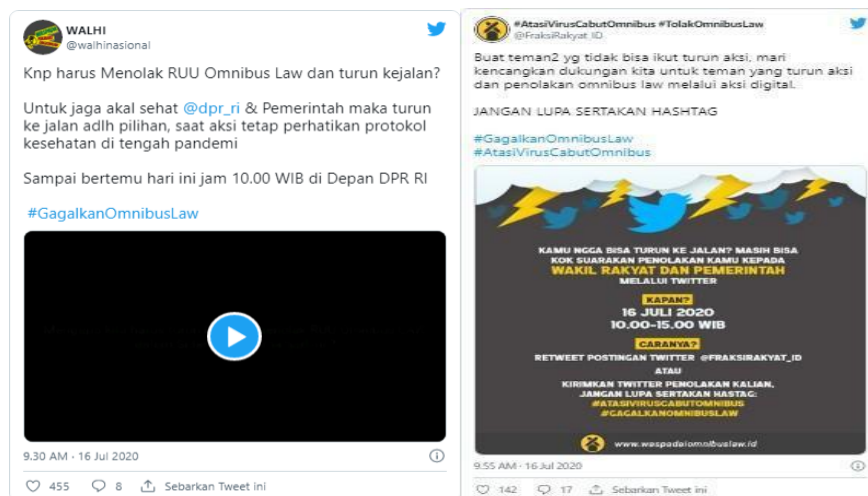
Subject of this study is an informant named Agus and the object of the study is the hash-tag #gagalkanomnibuslaw. Agus (not his real name), he uses the hash-tag as a form of solidarity with his group, which is a group of K-POP lovers. By explaining Agus' participation as a K-POP lover who also participates in using the hash-tag #gagalkanomnibuslaw, it is expected to be able to explain how a hash-tag has a different sign or "sign value" for certain individuals. For secondary

data, observations of the #gagalkanomnibuslaw movements were also carried out on Instagram media. The data taken is an Instagram viral image related to the #gagalkanomnibuslaw mass movement but by bringing other ornaments and certain slogans that eliminate the main essence of the movement. In additional, literature studies are also used to collect related data to explain the existing situation.

Results and Discussion

After the observation conducted in a few related online articles, it's found that the point that are considered problematic inside of "UU Cipta Kerja" have been confirmed as hoax information by the Ministry of Communication and Information (Retaduari, 2020). One of them is regarding the point of the abolition of leave, that if we read carefully, Article 79 states that rest and leave times are still regulated and they still receive full wages. Menstrual leave, maternity leave also receive full wages (not abolished). And it is regulated in another article. In addition to hoaxes regarding leave, it can also be ascertained that several articles that are considered problematic by the mass media and social media users are a misunderstanding. Because the public and the media did not refer to the original text of the law. Unfortunately, this rumor has already spread, the reality has been formed in cyberspace that the Job Creation Act is a cilaka law (dangerous) and has made people burn with anger. Several community organizations began to vocally voice their rejection of the omnibus law even before the DPR passed the bill. The refusal was expressed through the hash-tag (#)gagalkanomnibuslaw The following is an example of an online protest using the hash-tag which was uploaded by the Twitter account @walhinasional which has more than 156,000 followers. And the @Fraksirakyat_ID account which has 5,500 followers.

Picture 3. #gagalkanomnibuslaw



Source: <http://Twitter.com/Walhinasional> http://Twitter.com/fraksirakyat_ID

According to CNN Indonesia, the hash-tag #gagalkanomnibuslaw became popular and reached more than 10 thousand tweets as of July 16, 2020. This hash-tag continued to appear until its peak on October 5 to October 8 and became a national trending topic, more than one million social media users echoed the hash-tag. Not only that, the hash-tag was detected as still being used until December 2021 (CNN Indonesia, 2020). UU Cipta Kerja has now officially become a law after it was signed by President Jokowi and the Minister of Law and Human Rights Yasonna Laoly on Monday, November 2, 2020. The 1,187-page law has been included in "Lembaran Negara tahun 2020" number 245. The process of enacting the law did not go smoothly, before and after the omnibus law was ratified by the DPR on October 5, various civil society groups including students, organizations, society, and the celebgrams take online action and offline action as a form of complaint against the government.

How The Participant Represents The Hash-tag (#) *gagalkanomnibuslaw* in Twitter

One thing that is interesting is that Agus (Participant-Research Subject) is part of Kpopers (Korean music fans) Indonesia. He and hundreds of other kpopers joined the hash-tag #*gagalkanomnibuslaw*. One of the tweets belonging to the kpopers account that received more than 1 million retweets which also inspired Agus to echo the hash-tag came from @ustadchen.

Picture 4. A threads of *Ominibus law*



Source: <https://twitter.com/ismailfahmi/status/1313171902978945025/photo/1>

@ustadchen wrote a thread (status series) regarding his complaints against the Omnibus Law, followed by various hash-tags, one of which was #*gagalkanomnibuslaw*. This tweet was liked by hundreds of Twitter users and retweeted by more than 1000 users. Agus, is one of the individuals who was inspired by @ustadchen. With a background of both KPOP fans, Agus' enthusiasm is even more to jump into political debates on social media with other kpopers in the name of cohesiveness. Agus himself in his twitter account wrote the following things:

“kpopers enggak Cuma peduli sama girlband & boyband, kpopers juga peduli sama bangsa ini. Jadi mari #gagalkanomnibuslaw”

And the second tweet was:

“Yuk siapa yang mau ikutan aksi dijalan, pake atribut kpop juga boleh #gagalkanomnibuslaw”

After the author conducted an interview with Agus, it was discovered that Agus had no knowledge of the contents of the UU Cipta Kerja, and even Agus himself had never seen or downloaded the manuscript. Agus is only guided by the information circulating in the market. Two pieces of information that Agus believes are problems from the omnibus law are issues regarding leave and unlimited working hours, which are later known as hoax information. Agus himself only found out that the information was a hoax after the researchers showed the real information during the interview session.

Agus, in writing his "tweet" which voiced the failure of the omnibus law did not at all involve the core problem of the Omnibus Law. In fact, Agus seems to want to prove that kpopers also care about the country's problems. Although he himself didn't know which matter was the issue here. Agus is just one of thousands of kpopers and other civil society members who seem careless in following this movement. It can be concluded that Agus presented the hash-tag #*gagalkanomnibuslaw* as a means of proving that he as kpopers does not only care about girl bands and boy bands, but also cares about the nation's problems. Unfortunately, the problem of the nation that is being discussed here has lost its reference. I don't know which problem it refers to. Because what Agus believes to be a problem is a false reality that is not true.

The Hyperreality On Twitter Is Able To Move The Masses

Virtual space on social media, especially Twitter, has inserted a lot of information about the UU Cipta Kerja which later became a separate polemic in the midst of the great flow of globalization. Because the openness of space for anyone to convey this information has allowed false messages through social media posts that cannot be accounted for. As a result, it is as if the UU Cipta Kerja is only presented as a law full of dangers. The reality of social media which is filled with hoax news has certainly created a new reality in the social media space, the formation of opinions without being supported by the truth of the data has become a common thing.

Before social media was available, Baudrillard (Baudrillard & Glaser, 1994) assumed that mass media such as television were fields where people were drawn into a simulated world. He called it Simulakra, where the existing reality is a pseudo reality, an artificial reality (hyper-reality). This seems to be relevant when it comes to social media Twitter, which has attracted users to protest virtually through the hash-tag #gagalkanomnibuslaw. Movement participants who thwarted the UU Cipta Kerja, including Agus, in this case, are conducting demonstration simulations conducted through cyberspace. Then what's wrong with this?

It is the hyperreality, created from various information without references which then inflames the anger of social media users, they believe this is real. They believe that the information circulating is true, real, more real than the content of the UU Cipta Kerja itself. The online protest as a form of virtual demonstration is a simulation created as a result of the hyperreality of the rumors spread on social media. Again, according to Jean Baudrillard, contemporary people live in the world of simulacra (pictures, images or representation of an event that has replaced experience). In this case, the hash-tag #gagalkanomnibuslaw is used by Twitter users to describe their rejection of the UU Cipta Kerja. But is it true? Do these individuals really reject the copyright law? Or they are actually being "ignorant" about the enactment of the UU Cipta Kerja because their purpose is actually to gain the value as someone who is caring about the country and considered up to date with the current political situation. Or do they actually just randomly follow this hash-tag trend?

More than 1 million people have enlivened the hash-tag, it can be said that there may be some of the participants who really see a problem with this omnibus law, but the author also believes that some of them, including Agus, are figures who are only trapped in simulacra, a fake reality who believe in the monstrous image of omnibus law. In other words, people like Agus have lost the original reference of UU Cipta Kerja, instead they chose to trust an unsourced reference or hoax. So it is right to say that humans now live in a world full of simulations, nothing is real outside of simulation. "Hyperreality has created a condition in which falsehood mingles with authenticity, facts mixed with hoaxes, signs merge with reality; lies are compounded with truth" (Jauhari, 2017)

Baudrillard then also argues that the use of virtual space has changed concrete objects into abstract ones, and then the abstract objects are adapted by society into real objects again and again. The #gagalkanomnibuslaw movement is an abstract activity adapted from mass demonstrations in general. It is called abstract because the form of activity that is created is based on a screen mediated by the internet network. Social users use texts and images to represent their complaints. This online protest then resulted in real activities in the form of mass movements that took to the streets. What Jean Baudrillard said is true that virtual space can turn real things into abstract, and abstract into real, repeatedly.

One of the mass movements that took place on the streets was known to have occurred on October 8, 2020. This movement occurred after social media, especially Twitter, were busy voicing the hash-tag #gagalkanomnibuslaw. Too many people who express opinions result in mixed information which is believed by demonstrators to be true. Here you can see how people are trapped in simulacra. People are trapped in the hash-tag #gagalkanomnibuslaw as a reality that considers omnibus law to be dangerous. This reality is becoming more real with the circulation of various information that has lost references. This then resulted in the realization of the Movement which was just an abstraction of #gagalkanomnibuslaw into a real action that ended in brutality. If people are not rash and don't swallow the reality that is presented on social media, maybe this mass riot can be prevented.

What Is The Value Of The Sign Created By The Movement According To Agus?

Jean Baudrillard, in Jauhari (2017) argues that "In constructing an image there are four phases, namely when a sign is used as a reflection of a reality, when a sign has covered and misled reality itself, when a sign covers the nothingness in reality, and finally the sign becomes something that has nothing to do with reality" in the previous discussion, it was known that the sign in the form of the hash-tag #gagalkanomnibuslaw already contained a lot of misleading information which later covered the essence of the omnibus law itself.

The production of signs for the Movement does not only stop at the hash-tag #gagalkanomnibuslaw which indicates public concern for government policies. But then a new trend emerged in the form of people competing to provide information about the UU Cipta Kerja that developed on Twitter to various other media, such as whatsapp groups, facebook, insta stories, and so on, regardless of whether the information is true or not. Agus, is one of the figures who also shares information with these hash-tags to the family-owned whatsapp group in order to become an information pioneer.

In other languages, Agus wants to be considered an "expert" in the growing case phenomenon. The #gagalkanomnibuslaw movement, which was originally a form of resistance to government policies, has now developed for individuals like Agus to show how knowledgeable they are. #gagalkanomnibuslaw not only carries the image of a "knowledgeable individual", but for Agus, by enlivening the hash-tag he also wants to establish solidarity with fellow kpopers so that he is accepted into the kpopers community that houses him. Including the action on the road, Agus also participated in the action as a form of solidarity with his community. It is no longer a form of struggle to thwart the omnibus law.

Agus, only one individual who is trapped in a sign that no longer represents the original reality. Various false realities attached to the hash-tag #gagalkanomnibuslaw also made other people follow the mass movement on the streets that did not show the attempt to thwart the omnibus law. Examples are the following:

Picture 5. The participants of #gagalkanomnibuslaw movement



Source: <http://instagram.com/anyageraldine> & <https://madura.tribunnews.com/2020/10/08/posterunik-hingga-baper-warnai-demomahasiswa-tolak-uu-cipta-kerja-di-dprd-sumenep-sindir-dpr-ri>

As seen above that participants in the mass action of the #gagalkanomnibuslaw movement carried a sign board written "walau DPR tak punya hati, Anya Geraldine selalu dihati" until it finally appeared on the social media page of the celebgram Anya Geraldin. Likewise with a group of female students who carried a board sign written "'DPR- Medot janji patah hati tetap aksi!" Are these students heartbroken but still willing to take action? Who knows. The boards containing

figurative language seemed to prove that the mass action participants who took to the streets after the #gagalkanomnibuslaw hash-tag were not only to demand the failure of the omnibus law. One thing that can be drawn from these photos is “the need to exist”.

With the existence of social media, people now have the convenience of communicating and obtaining information. Social media with its internet technology has erased the boundaries between the real and the unreal. The ease of access and the difficulty of implementing controls have made it possible for anyone to upload anything at any time on the Internet. A jumble of information has built a reality without reference. Likewise with the #gagalkanomnibuslaw Movement which started as a form of online protest. It seems that not all Movement participants understand what they are fighting for.

This movement, for some people like Agus, is no longer to thwart the omnibus law, but to prove one's existence. Whether the omnibus law was thwarted or not, they no longer care. Social media is recognized by many academics as a medium that can strengthen national demonstrations, but unfortunately, social media or "web 2.0" and cyberspace as Andrew Jakubowicz puts it, is the dark side of the western world that has mixed reality. And now it is not only happening in the western world, but has hit the whole country, including Indonesia. Thus, in order not to be trapped in a false reality, or the world of simulacra, it is important to always be wise in sorting and choosing information circulating on social media. Likewise, when a trend appears virtually, such as the #gagalkanomnibuslaw hash-tag trend, people will not be aware of the false image that appears along with the popularity of the hash-tag. It seems that by any means it is impossible to dispel the false reality created from the virtual world. This is a consequence of the rapid development of information and communication technology that we cannot avoid.

Conclusion

The new “sign” that was formed from the original goal of this Movement has tarnished the struggle of people who actually saw a problem with the UU Cipta Kerja and took it to the street movements in the hope that their demands would be heard by the people's representatives. Agus, and other agus outside there has trapped in simulacra, and believed in a false image of the #gagalkanomnibuslaw movement. This false reality is the consequence of the existence of a virtual space that is more real than reality itself. Just like what Baudrillard said ““We live in a world where there is more and more information, and less and less meaning” as well as what happened to the #gagalkanomnibuslaw movement. The information that is juxtaposed with the hash-tag is produced repeatedly by many social media users which then makes the hash-tag lose its original meaning. The #gagalkanomnibuslaw movement is just one phenomenon that has lost its reference. The author believes that there are many online and offline social movements that are carried out not just to make social change but to show and mark the existence of its participants through the false realities that are created behind it.

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