

Washatiyah: Journal of Political Islam and Society 1(2), 145-158

Washatiyah:

Journal of Political Islam and Society

<https://propanoramic.com/index.php/wasathiyah/index>

DOI: 10.64595/wasathiyah.v1n2.p145-158



Political Memes as a Medium for Criticism on Platform X

Dyah Ayu Novita^{1*}, Navia Rehan Andien Rizkya²
Hannif Ristiana Shiva³

¹State University of Surabaya, Surabaya, Indonesia

24040564167@mhs.unesa.ac.id

²University of Pembangunan Nasional Veteran Jawa Timur, Surabaya, Indonesia

25024010159@student.upnjatim.ac.id

³Al Azhar University, Cairo, Egypt

hannifshiva7@gmail.com

Corresponding Author : 24040564167@mhs.unesa.ac.id

ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0009-3598-7603>¹, <https://orcid.org/0009-0007-4524-9036>²,
<https://orcid.org/0009-0005-6295-3274>³

Abstract

Political memes have become an increasingly common form of political communication on social media, yet previous studies have paid less attention to how memes construct criticism of government priorities in relation to socioeconomic conditions and perceived public needs. This study aims to examine how political memes on X construct such criticism through Charles Sanders Peirce's semiotic framework. A qualitative descriptive approach was used to analyze five political memes purposively selected from publicly available posts on X between August 2025 and March 2026. The memes were selected based on their use of combined visual and textual elements to criticize government policies, political figures, or related political issues. The analysis focused on the relationship between the representamen, object, and interpretant in each meme. The findings show that political criticism is constructed through numerical comparisons, policy juxtaposition, irony, cultural references, visual incongruity, and symbolic contrasts. These signs connect government policies and priorities with issues of economic inequality, public policy benefits, environmental concerns, energy-sector power, and differences between officials and ordinary citizens. The study contributes to political communication research by showing how Peircean semiotics can explain the construction of political criticism in memes, while also demonstrating how memes connect policy debates with everyday public concerns in digital public discourse.

Keyword: Social criticism, Semiotics, X platform

Paper Type: Research Paper

***Corresponding author:** 24040564167@mhs.unesa.ac.id

Received: 20/05/2026; **Received in Revised From:** 12/08/2026; **Accepted:** 27/08/2026; **Available Online:** 28/08/2026

Introduction

Social media has become an important digital public space in which people exchange information, express opinions, and respond to social and political issues. Beyond interpersonal communication and entertainment, social media enables users to participate in public discussions and express criticism through accessible digital content. One increasingly prominent form is the political meme, which combines visual and textual elements to communicate opinions, satire, and criticism of political and social phenomena.

A meme is a form of visual communication, typically consisting of an image combined with text, that conveys humor, satire, or criticism of a specific phenomenon. With the evolution of social media and digital culture, memes have developed beyond mere entertainment and can be deliberately constructed to express criticism, opinions, and interpretations of political realities. The combination of visual and textual signs allows political memes to communicate complex issues in concise and accessible forms, making them relevant objects for examining how political meanings and criticism are constructed in digital communication.

One widely used social media platform for spreading memes is X (formerly Twitter). X provides a relevant context for examining political memes because its fast-paced and interactive environment facilitates the circulation of political content and public responses to ongoing issues. The platform allows political memes to circulate beyond individual accounts and become part of broader public discussions. In this context, memes can function as accessible forms of political criticism, particularly when they respond to government policies, political figures, and socioeconomic conditions that are being publicly debated.

A notable feature of the X platform is the trending topics function. As a reflection of ongoing public conversations, trending topics can provide an indication of which social and political issues are attracting widespread attention on the platform. This feature is therefore relevant for identifying the broader issue context in which political memes circulate and respond to current public debates. In this study, trending topics are considered as an indicator of issues receiving public attention during the research period, particularly issues related to government policies and socioeconomic inequality.

Previous studies have established the role of political memes as forms of critical political communication. Putra et al. (2023) found that political memes can function as a medium for communicating political criticism, in which the combination of images and textual elements contributes to the construction of critical meanings. Their findings also indicate that memes can direct public attention toward issues considered important by their creators and that the interpretation of a meme is influenced by the political context surrounding its message. These findings demonstrate that political memes can serve as visual forms of public expression through which political issues and criticism are communicated.

Semiotic analysis has also been applied to examine the meanings constructed in political memes. Aziza and Nasrullah (2025) analyzed nine political memes on Instagram using Charles Sanders Peirce's semiotic framework and found that the memes conveyed varied meanings, with many satirizing government policies and the actions of political elites. Their study demonstrates the relevance of Peircean semiotics for interpreting how visual and textual signs communicate meanings that are not always explicitly stated in political memes. Peirce's framework is particularly relevant to the present study because it enables the analysis of how visual and textual signs relate to their objects and generate interpretive meanings within specific political and social contexts.

Although previous studies have demonstrated that political memes can function as critical political communication and that Peircean semiotics can be used to interpret the meanings of political memes, their research contexts differ in platform, political context, and issues examined. Putra et al. (2023) examined political memes on Facebook in the context of criticism of presidential candidates, while Aziza and Nasrullah (2025) examined political memes on Instagram satirizing government policies and political elites. These studies provide important foundations for understanding political memes as forms of political criticism and for interpreting their visual and textual meanings. Less attention has been paid to how political memes circulating on X construct critiques of government policies and priorities by linking them to socioeconomic conditions and perceived public needs in contemporary Indonesian political discourse.

This gap is important because political memes can use visual and textual cues to question policy priorities by contrasting government decisions with broader social and economic conditions and with the needs society deems important. Addressing this gap, this study examines how such criticism is constructed in political memes circulating on X. The novelty of this study lies in examining how political memes on X construct criticism of government policies and policy priorities by relating them to socioeconomic conditions and perceived public needs, using Peirce's semiotic framework.

This study focuses on political memes that criticize government policies and priorities in relation to socioeconomic conditions. The study examines how visual and textual elements in these memes construct meanings of political criticism, particularly by representing government policies, policy priorities, socioeconomic conditions, and public needs. By examining these representations, the study seeks to understand how political memes function as a form of public expression and criticism in contemporary digital discourse.

Accordingly, this study addresses the following research question: how do political memes circulating on X construct criticism of government policies and priorities through visual and textual signs in relation to socioeconomic conditions and public needs? This study aims to examine how visual and textual signs in political memes express criticism of government policies and priorities, drawing on Charles Sanders Peirce's semiotic framework. Theoretically, this study contributes to research on digital political communication and semiotics by applying Peirce's framework to the interpretation of political criticism in memes. Empirically, it provides insight into how political

memes on X reflect public criticism of government policies and priorities in the context of socioeconomic conditions and public needs in contemporary Indonesia.

Methods

This study uses a qualitative descriptive approach to examine how political criticism is constructed in memes circulating on the X platform. A qualitative approach is appropriate because the study focuses on interpreting the meanings conveyed by visual and textual signs rather than measuring the frequency of particular meme types. The analysis uses Charles Sanders Peirce's semiotic framework to examine how signs in political memes refer to particular political and social issues and how these signs produce meanings of criticism. This approach allows the researcher to examine the relationship between visual and textual elements and the political context in which the memes circulate.

The selected memes were publicly posted on X from August 2025 to March 2026 and presented visual and textual elements that functioned together as a meme. The memes were required to contain criticism or satire concerning government policies, policy priorities, political officials, or related political events, and to be relevant to the political or socioeconomic issues examined in this study. In addition, the selected posts demonstrated substantial audience engagement and visibility, as indicated by at least 10,000 likes and post views totaling hundreds of thousands, with the highest-viewed post exceeding 900,000 views. These indicators were used to identify posts that had received substantial public attention and visibility within the broader discussions surrounding the identified political issues.

Five memes were selected because the study prioritizes detailed interpretation rather than a large number of observations. Each meme was treated as an individual unit of analysis and examined in relation to its visual and textual signs and the political context surrounding it. The purpose of the sample was not to statistically represent all political memes on X, but to provide a focused set of relevant cases for examining how political criticism is constructed through signs. The five selected memes met the inclusion criteria and contained sufficient visual and textual elements for in-depth semiotic analysis.

Data collection was conducted through observation and documentation. Observation involved examining political meme posts and discussions on X from August 2025 to March 2026, particularly those concerning government policies, policy priorities, and socioeconomic inequality. Trending topics on X were used to identify issues receiving considerable public attention during the research period. Issues were identified through recurring political discussions appearing in X trending topics and related hashtags during the observation period. In this study, trending topics functioned as an indicator of the broader issue context rather than as a criterion for selecting the memes. After relevant issues were identified, the researcher examined meme posts related to those issues and applied the predetermined sampling criteria. The selected posts were documented by saving the meme images

and recording relevant information.\

Data analysis followed the Miles and Huberman model, which consists of data collection, data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification. These stages were integrated with Peirce's semiotic framework, which was used to interpret the signs contained in the selected memes. In the data collection stage, relevant political memes were identified through observation on X and documented alongside contextual information. In the data reduction stage, the collected memes were screened against the inclusion criteria, and five memes were retained for the final analysis. Posts that did not contain relevant political criticism, were not sufficiently related to the research focus, or did not provide adequate visual or textual material for analysis were excluded.

The data display stage involved presenting each meme as a separate unit of analysis. The visual and textual elements of each meme were first identified and described. The identified signs were then analyzed using Peirce's triadic concept of sign, object, and interpretant. The researcher examined the sign itself, the object or political and social issue to which the sign referred, and the interpretant or meaning produced through the relationship between the sign and its object. The analysis considered both visual and textual elements, including images, words, phrases, captions, symbols, facial expressions, and other elements that contributed to the critical message. The signs were interpreted in relation to the political and socioeconomic context in which the memes circulated so that the analysis did not treat the visual or textual elements as isolated components.

In the final stage, conclusions were drawn from the interpretation of the signs in each meme and then compared across the five cases. The researcher identified similarities and differences in how political criticism was constructed, particularly regarding government policies and priorities, socioeconomic conditions, and perceived public needs.

The memes were purposively selected for their relevance to the research question. This study employs a qualitative approach with a descriptive-analytical research design analytical research aimed at deeply understanding the phenomenon of the commodification of activism on social media. A qualitative approach was chosen because this study focuses on meaning, interpretation, and the social processes occurring within digital activism practices (Widodo et al., 2026). The research objects in this study are activism content on social media, specifically on the Instagram and Tik Tok platforms, which feature social issues and potentially contain elements of political image-building. The research subjects include social media users, content creators, and audiences engaged in digital interactions such as commenting, sharing content, or using specific hashtags. This study seeks to uncover how activism is represented, produced, and consumed in the digital space.

The data collection technique in this study uses purposive sampling, which involves selecting samples based on specific criteria relevant to the research objectives. The criteria used include: content that addresses social issues, has high engagement levels (likes, shares, comments), and contains elements of a narrative of concern or public image (Creswell, 2019). The data used in this study consists of primary and secondary data. Primary data was obtained from direct observation of

social media content and digital documentation, while secondary data was obtained from scientific journals, articles, and literature relevant to the research topic. Thus, the collected data is expected to provide a comprehensive picture of the phenomenon under study.

Data collection techniques were conducted through several methods, namely non-participant observation, documentation, and literature review. Non-participant observation was conducted by observing activism content on social media without directly engaging in interactions. Documentation was carried out by collecting screenshots, captions, comments, and visual elements from the analyzed content. Meanwhile, the literature review was conducted by examining various sources of literature, such as scientific journals, books, and relevant research reports. This technique was used to strengthen the theoretical foundation and to compare the research findings with previous studies.

The data analysis technique in this study employs the interactive qualitative analysis model proposed by Matthew B. Miles and A. Michael Huberman, which consists of three stages: data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions. Data reduction involves selecting and simplifying data relevant to the research focus. Data are presented in the form of descriptive narratives to facilitate understanding of the phenomena under study. Subsequently, conclusions are drawn by interpreting the data based on the established theoretical framework. To ensure data validity, this study employs source triangulation, which involves comparing data from various sources to ensure the consistency and accuracy of the information.

To maintain the trustworthiness of the analysis, the researcher repeatedly reviewed the selected memes and the interpretations produced from them. The visual and textual signs identified during the first reading were checked again against the original posts, and the resulting interpretations were reviewed in relation to Peirce's concepts of sign, object, and interpretant. The researcher also checked the consistency between each interpretation and the political or socioeconomic context of the meme. This process was used to reduce the possibility of interpretations that were not sufficiently supported by the data. The use of explicit sampling criteria, a defined observation period, documented data collection procedures, and a systematic analytical framework also provided a clear basis for tracing how the findings were produced.

The study uses publicly accessible political meme posts from X for academic purposes. The analysis focuses on the content and meanings of the memes rather than on the personal identities of the users who posted them. Personal information that was not relevant to the research was not included in the analysis or reporting. The data were used only insofar as they were necessary to examine the construction of political criticism in the selected memes.

Result and Discussion

First Argumentation

Image	Source
	https://twitter.com/neohistoria_id/status/2037795621185446282?ti=iJykSS8Gs37ufo4bGV1kxg&s=19
	https://twitter.com/kangcomment/status/2033384213265961427?ti=dOprXOLd6H2VfIUIMAwfog&s=19
	https://twitter.com/plisitn/status/2002372544041762830?ti=JeR_f2Ppi7Bf16ax9tgByg&s=19
	https://twitter.com/myshawti/status/1972647853450490312?ti=tQIOOPF4nPMuMncceqUDbw&s=19
	https://twitter.com/plisitn/status/1958892150185500918?ti=YaFpNR1QCIuZr5xf87U2VQ&s=19

The analysis shows that political memes on X construct criticism primarily through contrasts between government priorities and perceived public needs. Across the five memes, criticism is not expressed only through explicit political statements but through the juxtaposition of visual signs, textual elements, numerical comparisons, irony, satire, and intertextual references. Through Peirce's framework, these signs produce interpretations of unequal resource allocation, differences in policy benefits, environmental concerns, concentration of economic power, and perceived socioeconomic inequality.

Digital Activism as a Tool for Political Branding

Research findings also indicate that activism on social media is frequently used as a tool for building a political image by both individuals and public figures. Content addressing social issues is often linked to personal branding, where political actors present themselves as figures who care about society (Islam et al., 2025). This phenomenon indicates a shift in the function of activism from a social movement to a political communication strategy. This aligns with the concept of the culture industry proposed by (Emordi et al., 2026), which posits that culture can be produced and consumed as a commodity possessing both economic and symbolic value.

Based on the content analysis, content with a strong social narrative tends to receive higher engagement than ordinary content. As an illustration, engagement data show that content addressing social issues has a higher average engagement rate than non-social-issue content.

Table 1. Average Engagement of Digital Activism Content

Content Type	Average Likes	Average Shares	Average Comments
Social Issue Content	High	High	Medium-High
Non-Social Issue Content	Medium	Low	Low

The data indicates that social issues hold significant appeal in capturing public attention. However, within the context of commodification, this can be leveraged as a strategy to boost popularity and political image. Thus, digital activism serves not only as a means of advocacy but also as a tool for building social and political legitimacy (Dashti et al., 2023).

Political Participation in Networked Society

Based on the research findings, social media has become a crucial component in shaping public political participation, particularly among the younger generation (Anita Kristina et al., 2026). This aligns with the concept of the network society proposed by Manuel Castells, where information serves as the primary source of power in modern society. Social media enables the rapid and widespread distribution of information, thereby facilitating social and political mobilization. However, participation tends to be fleeting, instantaneous, and driven by content virality.

Based on the interview results, one informant stated:

"I share political information because many of my friends are sharing it, so I join in so I don't

miss out."

This statement indicates that political participation on social media is often influenced by the digital social environment and emerging trends. This suggests that political participation is not always based on critical awareness but also on social factors such as peer pressure and the need for digital presence. Research by (Vestergaard & Schmid, 2026) also shows that social media can enhance political awareness, though it does not necessarily lead to significant changes in political behavior.

Social Media and the Shaping of Political Participation Among the Younger Generation

Social media plays a crucial role in shaping public political participation, particularly among the younger generation. The rapid spread of social and political information makes users are encouraged to participate by sharing content. However, such participation is often influenced by trends and the digital environment (Xie & Wei, 2025). Social media serves as a discursive space for the younger generation to express their social and political views, fostering digital activism through online interactions that form issue-based communities. This engagement enables the emergence of digital solidarity that expands political participation, although it is often temporary in nature and follows current trends (A. Fauzi et al., 2018).

Additionally, political participation on social media is also influenced by social network factors and the need for a digital presence. Users tend to share political information because they follow their digital environment, rather than based on critical awareness of the issues being discussed (Schoettler, 2023). This situation indicates that social media creates a new form of political participation that is more open and accessible, but does not necessarily result in significant changes in political behavior. Thus, young people's engagement in digital activism remains dominated by quick and symbolic participation, which requires strengthening digital literacy to foster more substantive and sustainable political engagement (Shrestha, 2026).

Implications for Digital Literacy and Social Movements

The research findings underscore the importance of digital literacy in distinguishing between substantive and symbolic activism. Without adequate digital literacy, the public tends to consume activism as mere content rather than understanding its goals of social change.

Digital literacy enables social media users to assess the authenticity of information, understand the context of social issues, and identify the motivations behind circulating activist content. With strong digital literacy skills, the public does not merely become information consumers but is also capable of critically participating in public discourse. This demonstrates that digital literacy plays a crucial role in enhancing the quality of social and political participation in the digital sphere (Aarts, 2013).

Furthermore, digital literacy also encourages users to engage in tangible actions beyond the digital space (A. M. Fauzi et al., 2025). Activism no longer stops at symbolic interactions such as

likes, shares, and comments, but evolves into more concrete engagement in the form of advocacy, social campaigns, and community activities. With adequate digital literacy, the public can understand that social change requires sustained collective action. Therefore, improving digital literacy is a crucial step toward restoring activism's role as a means of real and far-reaching social change.

Theoretical Discussion and Implications

Based on the research findings, it can be concluded that activism on social media has shifted from a social movement to a digital commodity possessing both economic and symbolic value. This indicates that social media is not merely a space for participation but also a space for the production and consumption of social meaning (Abdurrahman, 2026). From a Marxist perspective, this reflects a process of commodification, where social value is transformed into exchange value within the digital system. Furthermore, from a cultural industry perspective, activism becomes part of mass-produced cultural products consumed by the public (Conner, 2023).

In line with this, this study also shows that political participation on social media tends to be symbolic and does not always lead to concrete action (Islam et al., 2026). This indicates a gap between digital participation and conventional participation. Therefore, efforts are needed to improve the public's digital literacy so they can distinguish between symbolic and substantive participation. Thus, digital activism can return to its primary function as a means of tangible social change.

Conclusion

Based on the research findings, activism on social media has shifted in meaning from a social movement oriented toward tangible change to a form of digital content that follows the logic of algorithms and the attention economy. Activism is not only used to voice social issues but is also commodified as a digital product designed to attract engagement and leveraged as a political branding strategy by both individuals and public figures. Public participation in digital activism tends to be symbolic (slacktivism), such as sharing, liking, or commenting on content without being followed by concrete actions in the offline world. Additionally, the high level of engagement with social issue content indicates that social themes hold significant appeal, yet also creates opportunities for the exploitation of one's image and popularity. Social media does expand the space for political and social participation, especially for the younger generation, but such participation is often fleeting and trend-driven. Therefore, improved digital literacy is needed so that the public can distinguish substantive activism from merely symbolic actions, enabling social media to be utilized more critically and contribute to tangible social change.

Author Contributions: Conceptualization, D. A. N.; Methodology and data analysis, K. S.; Investigation and data collection, N. R. A. R.; Writing original draft, K. S.; Writing review and editing, D. A. N.; All authors have read and agreed to the published version of the manuscript.

Funding: This research received no external funding.

Institutional Review Board Statement: Not applicable.

Informed Consent Statement: Informed consent was obtained from all the participants involved in the study.

Declaration of Generative AI: I have stated before that this article was written independently, without the use of generative artificial intelligence. The process of writing, drafting, and developing the text content was done independently. Every idea, analysis, argument, and sentence formulation comes from the writer's own thinking and effort. All reference points are clearly provided in accordance with current scientific writing standards. With this statement, I take full responsibility for the truth and integrity of the work produced.

Acknowledgments: The writer sincerely thanks all those who contributed to the completion of this research. Special appreciation goes to the tutors for their guidance, advice, and constructive feedback throughout the study. The author also extends gratitude to the informants for sharing their insights and experiences, which greatly enriched the research. Thanks are also due to the research and

institutional teams for their continuous support and provision of necessary resources. The author recognizes that this research would not have been possible without the help of many individuals, both directly and indirectly. It is hoped that this work will contribute to the advancement of knowledge, particularly in the fields of sociology and political studies.

Conflicts of Interest: This research was conducted independently, free from any external pressures, interventions, or interests related to the topic under discussion. The writer affirms that there are no financial or non-financial conflicts of interest that could influence the objectivity, integrity, or outcomes of the study. The research process, including data collection, analysis, and writing, adhered to established ethical guidelines and academic honesty. Collaboration with specific institutions or individuals did not impact the interpretation or conclusions drawn from the study

References

- Aarts, N. (2013). Networks of outrage and hope—Social movements in the Internet age. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 25(3), 398–402. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ijpor/edt020>
- Abdurrahman, A. (2026). Social media and political protest: Framing and agenda-setting in the Indonesian demonstrations, August 2025. *Online Information Review*, 50(3), 541–563. <https://doi.org/10.1108/OIR-10-2025-0809>
- Anita Kristina, Auliyah Elsa Tsaniyah, & Kamsin, K. (2026). Veblenian Consumption in the Digital Age: Self-Image, Social Status, and the Performance of Distinction. *The Journal of Society and Media*, 10(1), 58–77. <https://doi.org/10.26740/jsm.v10n1.p58-77>
- Bany Mohammed, A., Al-Okaily, M., Qasim, D., Ur Rehman, S., & Abdalla, L. (2025). Digital activism and public opinion: Understanding the role of social media during the Gaza Conflict. *Journal of Islamic Marketing*, 16(11), 3366–3393. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JIMA-03-2024->

0101

- Cabrera, N. L., Matias, C. E., & Montoya, R. (2017). Activism or slacktivism? The potential and pitfalls of social media in contemporary student activism. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 10(4), 400–415. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000061>
- Chaney, D., & Philippe, D. (2026). Defending heritage in the digital age: Polyphonic discourses and the reconfiguration of protest spaces in tourism activism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 118, 104162. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2026.104162>
- Chen, W., & Wang, Y. (2025). Contagious media mobilization: The dynamics of anti-harassment activism on campus. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 111, 103118. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2025.103118>
- Conner, J. O. (2023). Social movements and college student activism. In *International Encyclopedia of Education (Fourth Edition)* (pp. 398–407). Elsevier. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-818630-5.08069-6>
- Creswell, J. (2019). *Research design: Pendekatan metode kualitatif, kuantitatif dan campuran*.
- Dashti, A. A., Gaither, T. K., Al-Kandari, A., Murad, H. A., Almutari, T. M., & Alqahtani, R. (2023). Women's activism as public relations in a patriarchal society: The case of Kuwait. *Public Relations Review*, 49(4), 102350. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2023.102350>
- Elwood, S. (2025). Computational urbanisms & insurgent mediations of the city: Stop the Sweeps. *Digital Geography and Society*, 9, 100145. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.diggeo.2025.100145>
- Emordi, A., F.B., B., & Ibukunoluwa Ruth Olufemi. (2026). Governmental Political Policy and Out-of-School Children in Osun State, Nigeria. *Journal of Religion, Local Politics, and Law*, 2(2), 214–228. <https://doi.org/10.64595/jrlpl.v2n2.p214-228>
- Etim, E., Fatile, J. O., Duke, J. E., Ibikunle, B. Q., & Duru, E. J. C. (2025). Digital activism and collective resistance to police brutality: Systematic review of the quieter and less visible narratives of #EndSARS protest. *Social Sciences & Humanities Open*, 12, 101722. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2025.101722>
- Fauzi, A. M., Maliha, N. F., Handoyo, P., Hanindraputri, E. K., & Ladiqi, S. (2025). Santri Community, Charisma, and the Contrast Political Agency: Electoral Victory and Defeat in Jombang and Mojokerto, Indonesia. *Ascarya: Journal of Islamic Science, Culture, and Social Studies*, 5(2), 224–235. <https://doi.org/10.53754/xzzh8v16>
- Fauzi, A., Sudrajat, A., Affandi, A., & Raditya, A. (2018). Maintaining Identity Political Culture In Indonesia. *Journal of Physics: Conference Series*, 953, 012185. <https://doi.org/10.1088/1742-6596/953/1/012185>
- Gaidos, A., Aumais, N., & Germain, O. (2026). #Balancetastartup: Digital feminist activism and backlash in entrepreneurial ecosystems. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research*, 32(7), 1912–1930. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJEBr-02-2025-0162>

- Han, L., & Liu, Y. (2024). When digital feminisms collide with nationalism: Theorizing “pink feminism” on Chinese social media. *Women’s Studies International Forum*, 105, 102941. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2024.102941>
- Hossain, M. A., Mitu, T. A., Asa, L. A., Zafar, A., Nisha, A. A., & Sarker, M. F. H. (2026). From hashtags to resistance: Social media as a catalyst for political mobilisation in Bangladesh. *Social Sciences & Humanities Open*, 14, 103244. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2026.103244>
- Islam, M. A., Islam, S. M. T., & Van Staden, C. J. (2026). Social movements and country-by-country reporting: A study of multinational companies. *The British Accounting Review*, 58(4), 101724. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bar.2025.101724>
- Islam, M. A., Nur, S., Mahmud, I., Rakiv, M., Nazneen Noor, R., & Moniruzzaman, M. (2025). Gen Z’s digital uprising in Bangladesh: The role of social media in the fall of a political despot. *Social Sciences & Humanities Open*, 12, 102181. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2025.102181>
- Mahjebeen, J., & Jalan, S. (2026). Ecological struggles, identity, and Gandhian praxis: Rethinking political autonomy in Ladakh. *Social Sciences & Humanities Open*, 13, 102356. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2025.102356>
- McDaniel, D. S. (2024). “We’re loud, why aren’t you?” Laura’s social media activism through justice-oriented literacies. *English Teaching: Practice & Critique*, 23(3), 368–387. <https://doi.org/10.1108/ETPC-12-2023-0161>
- Mount, L. (2025). Between emancipatory potential and hierarchical reproduction: Social movement aspirations and class in a South Indian NGO. *World Development*, 196, 107134. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2025.107134>
- Niehoff, S., Reißig, M., & Beier, G. (2026). Aspiration, appearance, argumentation or attack? Reconstructing stakeholder engagement images of German industrial companies on social media. *Corporate Communications: An International Journal*, 31(7), 81–105. <https://doi.org/10.1108/CCIJ-07-2025-0181>
- Putri, I. R., & Pratiwi, E. (2022). Aktivisme digital dan pemanfaatan media baru sebagai pendekatan pemberdayaan masyarakat atas isu lingkungan. *Bricolage : Jurnal Magister Ilmu Komunikasi*, 8(2), 231. <https://doi.org/10.30813/bricolage.v8i2.3303>
- Sabrina, M. & Dhiajeng Putri N. (2026). A Portrait of Self-Branding on Social Media: Understanding Islamic Values and Trends in The Digital Native Generation. *Journal of Religion, Local Politics, and Law*, 2(1), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.64595/jrpl.v2n1.p1-18>
- Schoettler, M. (2023). “Make your feed work for you”: Tactics of feminist affective resistance on social media. *Computers and Composition*, 67, 102762. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.compcom.2023.102762>
- Shrestha, K. (2026). Navigating platform algorithms: Global south feminist activists’ rhetorical and composition practices in digital advocacy on social media. *Computers and Composition*, 80, 102994. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.compcom.2026.102994>

- Vestergaard, L. K., & Schmid, B. (2026). Institutional activism within the local state: Exploring ambitions for deep transformation in Amsterdam. *Environmental Innovation and Societal Transitions*, 59, 101092. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.eist.2025.101092>
- Vogler, R., Wurmstein, A., Schweiggart, N., & Hetsch, K. (2026). Beyond residents and tourists: Media framing of overtourism across transnational communication contexts. *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management*, 42, 101148. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdmm.2026.101148>
- Widodo, S., Kristiyono, J., Aji, G. G., & Zulaikha, Z. (2026). Digital Capitalism and Platform Dependency in Indonesia: Media, Power, and Political Economy. *The Journal of Society and Media*, 10(1), 36–57. <https://doi.org/10.26740/jsm.v10n1.p36-57>
- Winkler-Titus, N., & Crafford, A. (2025). Accounting for radical change: Framing in a social movement leading to a radical change decision. *Journal of Accounting & Organizational Change*, 21(7), 363–385. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JAOC-11-2023-0207>
- Xie, S., & Wei, H. (2025). Left out, stay out? The impact of social exclusion on consumer engagement in brand activism. *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services*, 87, 104447. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jretconser.2025.104447>