ICoBITS
International Conference
on Business, Innovation,
Technology & Science

Digital Escapism and Everyday Resistance: Self-Representation in the #KaburAjaDulu Phenomenon on Platform X

Maria Gracela Fortunata[1]*, Sulih Indra Dewi[2], Latif Fianto[3]

[1,2,3]*Tribhuwana Tunggadewi University, Jl. Telaga Warna, Block C, Tlogomas, Lowokwaru, Malang 65144, East Java, Indonesia*

Keywords

Abstract

The hashtag #KaburAjaDulu has emerged as a popular digital expression among Indonesian social media users, reflecting reactions to socio-economic and political pressures. Rather than merely humorous content, this phenomenon reflects a collective desire to momentarily escape from daily burdens while simultaneously voicing subtle resistance to systemic constraints. This study investigates how users on Platform X construct self-representation through the hashtag as a form of digital escapism and everyday resistance. Employing a qualitative netnographic approach, data were collected through online observation, post documentation, and supporting interviews to interpret the meanings and identity practices embedded in the communication patterns. The findings reveal three dominant forms of identity performance: (1) humor-based coping that reframes stressful realities, (2) digital solidarity that builds communal resilience, and (3) implicit social critique, which functions as a covert resistance to hegemonic pressures. This study demonstrates that #KaburAjaDulu serves not only as a coping mechanism but also as a cultural strategy for negotiating power and identity within Indonesia's digital public sphere. It highlights the growing role of social media as a space where emotional expression, identity construction, and subtle resistance intertwine in everyday life.

1. Introduction

Economic, social, and political pressures in Indonesia have led to psychological exhaustion among the public (BPS, 2024); (Kompas.id, 2025). Job uncertainty, rising living costs, and public policies perceived as unfavorable to the public are the primary triggers for dissatisfaction expressed in the digital space. One manifestation of this expression is the emergence of the hashtag #KaburAjaDulu, which went viral on the platform X in early 2025 (Sinpeng, 2021), (Rosmilawati, 2024) Based on social media monitoring by Drone Emprit, 59.92% of users of the hashtag #Kaburajadulu are male, with the majority from East Java (Harianhaluan.com, 2025) Furthermore, 50.81% of users are in the 19–29 age range, while 38.10% are under 18.

This hashtag reflects the psychosocial condition of a society exhausted by government policies perceived as being biased against the community. Behind the humor and sarcasm in user posts lies a narrative of a desire to

"escape" as a strategy for coping with stress, social reflection, and resistance(Scott, 1990) Social media allows individuals to openly display their identities and connect with a networked public (Boyd, 2010) Furthermore, social media provides a space for individuals to vent emotional distress while also gaining social support from the online environment (Wolfers, 2022) & (Utz, 2022). The #KaburAjaDulu phenomenon illustrates how digital space functions as an escape, where humor and irony are used to alleviate emotional burdens ((Eden, 2013) & Reinecke, 2013). Furthermore, social media use can be a means of coping with stress and maintaining psychological balance (al., 2023)

According to (Lazarus, p. 1984) and (Folkman, 1984), coping strategies are psychological and social mechanisms that individuals and groups use to respond to stressful and uncertain situations. In this context, social media serves as an open space where criticism and resistance can be expressed safely and discreetly, such as through hashtags (Papacharissi, 2015),

(Lazarus, 1984) and (Folkman, 1984) 141–142) classify forms of coping into two main categories: problem-focused coping and emotion-focused coping. Problem-focused coping refers to efforts directed at changing or directly addressing the source of stress, for example, by seeking information, making plans, or modifying the stressful situation (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984) In contrast, emotion-focused coping focuses on regulating emotions that arise from stress, including strategies such as relaxation, seeking comfort, cognitive distancing, or seeking distraction through recreational activities (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984: 150–153).

Escapism, including digital escapism such as watching videos, playing games, or scrolling through social media, and other activities on social media can be understood as part of emotion-focused coping, because this strategy aims to relieve emotions that arise due to stress, without trying to solve or face the problem that triggered it (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984: 150–153). This concept is supported by research showing that digital media consumption can provide emotional recovery and psychological escape from everyday stress (Eden & Reinecke, 2013a) Thus, escapism functions as an adaptive strategy that aligns with the emotion regulation mechanisms in Lazarus and Folkman's coping framework, namely strategies oriented towards managing stress. Individuals use escape activities such as entertainment, distraction, or media consumption to relieve psychological tension.

However, studies on digital escapism as an emotional coping mechanism in the Indonesian context are still limited. Furthermore, research on humor and memes shows that humorous digital expressions are often used to convey social criticism (Leiser, 2022). More broadly, the use of political humor can also function as a form of cultural resistance to social and political pressures (Halversen & Weeks, 2023) The hashtag #Kaburajadulu has become a social phenomenon and represents public disappointment with government policies, perceived inadequate employment conditions, and a domestic socio-political situation perceived as unfavorable to the community. The emergence of this hashtag represents a public response, particularly from the younger generation, who feel burdened by the demands of the economy and daily life (RRI.co.id). Therefore, this study aims to examine how users present themselves through digital escapism and everyday resistance via #KaburAjaDulu.

1.1 Literature Review
A review of previous studies was used to examine previous research for comparisons and to identify research gaps. The first study was conducted by Fredericka Rendy et al. (2024) entitled "The Sadfishing Phenomenon: A Netnographic Study of the Hashtag #TumpukdiTengah on Instagram in Indonesia." Using a netnographic approach, this study explored how Instagram users display emotional vulnerability through hashtags to seek public empathy in the context of sadfishing.

The second study by Mawaaddah (2025), "Analysis of Public Opinion on the Hashtag #JanganJadiDosen on Social Media X (Twitter)," used a qualitative descriptive approach and netnography methods to examine public opinion regarding lecturer welfare. Findings from Brand24 showed a predominance of negative sentiment, demonstrating that social media serves as a perception-shaper through the intermediary agenda-setting process.

The third study by Umar Abdur Rahim and Muhammad Bayu (2025), "Virtual Interaction and Emotional Attachment on TikTok: A Case Study of the Virtual Phenomenon #KaburAjaDulu," showed that virtual interactions through features such as duets, stitches, and comments create bonds among users in response to life's pressures. This hashtag provides a space to showcase the conditions users experience through humor, irony, and melancholic narratives.

These three studies demonstrate that social media is a space for articulating life pressures, as well as social criticism and opinion. However, each emphasizes different aspects. Fredericka Rendy et al.'s (2024) study highlights sadfishing as a search for empathy, but does not address the social resistance dimension. Mawaaddah's (2025) study focuses on public opinion but does not examine how individuals cope with pressure. Rahim & Bayu (2025) emphasize emotion but do not address the social-resistance and attachment within the TikTok community, nor do they examine individual coping strategies or the deliberate construction of digital identities.

This research expands on previous studies by focusing on Digital Escapism and Everyday Resistance as a form of Self-Representation in #KaburAjaDulu. Using a pure netnographic approach (Kozinets, 2010) this research examines communication practices that reflect escapist narratives, subtle critiques, and how individuals manage socio-political pressures through the hashtag #KaburAjaDulu. Thus, this research contributes to understanding the relationship among digital escapism, everyday resistance, and digital identity.

Social Media

Social media is a digital space where users can create and publish content. (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010)define social media as a group of internet-based applications that facilitate the exchange of user-generated content. (Van Dijck, 2013) views social media as a socio-technical system shaped by user practices, digital technology, and political-economic interests. The concept of social presence is also important, referring to the perception of others' presence in digital interactions(Biocca et al., 2003). This presence is reinforced by features such as likes, comments, and reactions. Social media also has high media richness because it supports text, images, and video, thereby reducing communication ambiguity (Park & Lee, 2019).

X (twitter)

As part of social media, the X platform, formerly known as Twitter, is a microblogging service that allows users to publish short messages (tweets) for communication and public interaction. This platform offers fast, concise, real-time communication and supports cross-user conversations. According to (Bruns & Burgess, 2015) Twitter/X functions as a public discourse space that facilitates the instant production and distribution of messages. Over time, X has also become a space for forming public opinion, disseminating information, and expressing collective identity.

The interaction structure on X includes retweets, reply threads, quote tweets, and hashtags, which allow specific topics to be organized and accessed widely. (boyd et al., 2010) explain that retweets are a mechanism for spreading information and affection, extending the reach of messages, and connecting users in broader conversations. X also relies on algorithms to determine content visibility, so users' self-representations are influenced by both personal actions and the platform's technical logic.

After being renamed X in 2023, several changes occurred, including restricting access to certain features, adjusting algorithms, and shifting the business orientation. However, its primary function as an arena for public discourse remained intact. Users continue to utilize X to voice social criticism, share personal experiences, and negotiate their digital identities. In the context of the hashtag #KaburAjaDulu, X serves as a medium where expressions of emotion, humor, and social grievances come together in a shared conversational space. Through hashtags, conversations circulate and shape communication dynamics that reflect users' psychological and socio-political conditions. With its fast and open communication structure, X has become an important platform for understanding how society, especially the younger generation, constructs self-representation through escapism and everyday resistance in the digital realm.

Digital escapism

In the era of increasingly widespread social media use, digital escapism has become a common way for individuals to escape everyday pressures. This phenomenon can be understood through the framework of coping strategies. According to (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984) coping strategies are efforts and behaviors individuals undertake to manage stress, pressure, or specific conditions. (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984) define coping as an individual's adaptive response to stressful situations. In the digital context, coping strategies are evolving as social media offers alternative spaces for emotional regulation, support-seeking, and psychological escape.

Lazarus and Folkman classify coping strategies into two main categories, namely Problem-focused coping: actions aimed at resolving the source of stress, and Emotion-focused coping: efforts to reduce emotional burdens without changing external conditions. On social media, coping tends to be emotional, such as sharing grievances, seeking validation, using humor as a defence mechanism, or joining communities with similar experiences. In digital spaces, coping involves both personal expression and social interaction. According to (Newman et al., 2020) social media enables individuals to obtain social support through comments quickly, likes, and online conversations, thereby strengthening psychological resilience. Coping can also emerge through participation in collective discourse or trends, including hashtags designed to express feelings or voice criticism of stressful situations.

The hashtag #KaburAjaDulu reflects emotion-focused coping, a strategy Folkman uses among younger generations to relieve emotional stress when situations are perceived as uncontrollable. This form of coping aligns with the concept of escapism, a strategy for distancing or diverting attention from the source of stress (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984).

In the digital realm, these practices emerge as forms of digital escapism, such as humor, irony, or brief escapes through content or social media posts. Forms of digital escapism have been shown to function as emotional regulation, helping individuals reduce psychological stress without requiring immediate change in stressful circumstances (Reinecke & Eden, 2013).

Thus, the use of #KaburAjaDulu becomes an emotional expression that illustrates how social media users, especially the younger generation, present themselves through digital escapism as a coping mechanism and as a means of everyday resilience in facing uncertainty and social pressure.

Everyday Resistance

The theory of everyday resistance was introduced (Scott, 1985), who described small, covert, and non-confrontational forms of resistance through humor, satire, and avoidance. (Scott, 1990) later developed the concept of hidden transcripts, namely hidden expressions of criticism that emerge outside formal interaction spaces. (Bayat, 2013) expanded this understanding through the concepts of non-movements and quiet encroachment, namely the scattered actions of ordinary individuals who, together, form a social resistance that is not formally organized.

(Papacharissi, 2015) introduced the concept of affective publics, namely, publics who engage in politics through emotional expression. (Highfield, 2016) emphasized that everyday politics on social media is often expressed through humor, irony, and language. Meanwhile, (Treré, 2019) highlighted the emergence of everyday digital resistance, a practice manifested through creativity, memes, and hashtags.

The hashtag #KaburAjaDulu can be understood as a form of everyday digital resistance. The phrase "kabur" conveys escape and expresses dissatisfaction with social pressures, life's uncertainties, and specific situations. (Milner, 2016) findings on internet humor support the interpretation that young people often use humor and irony to conveymarw social criticism safely. This practice is also related to digital escapism, a psychological escape through digital activities. (Eden & Reinecke, 2013b) emphasized that media use can function as a coping mechanism when individuals need psychological distance from sources of stress.

Self-Representation

Self-representation is how individuals communicate their identity, image, and characteristics through communicative actions, symbols, and interactions. Self-representation is more complex in the digital context because it involves content curation, performativity, and communication choices tailored to an imagined audience.(Goffman, 1959) argued that individuals present themselves like actors managing impressions through frontstage and backstage roles. Social media extends this metaphor by providing a digital space where users continuously strategically manage impressions. (Marwick & boyd, 2011) emphasize that self-representation on social media is performative and oriented toward public perception. Users adjust their language style, visuals, and interaction patterns to shape the image they want to project.

(Hogan, 2010) emphasizes that the digital era enables self-representation not only through direct presentation but also through management, in which users selectively display information according to their goals. Platform algorithms also influence self-representation because content visibility is determined by the technical systems that regulate message distribution.

Self-representation in the hashtag #kaburajadulu articulates identity, reflecting psychological conditions, social demands, and critiques of the situations faced by the younger generation. Users present themselves as tired, frustrated, humorous, critical, or cynical through narratives that are lightly packaged yet rich in meaning. By combining humor, irony, and complaint, users construct self-representations that demonstrate their understanding of broader social conditions. Self-representation through hashtags is also part of the process of finding identity. As many users adapt to escapist narratives, this suggests that digital representation is not only personal but also generational, reflecting how individuals manage stress, seek safe spaces, and build solidarity through shared digital expression.

2. Research Methods

This research used a netnographic approach to examine the hashtag #KaburAjaDulu on platform X as a form of digital escapism, everyday resistance, and self-representation. Netnography (Kozinets, 2010) is an adaptation of ethnography for studying cultural practices in digital spaces, as all interactions in this phenomenon occur online.

The object of this research is uploaded text containing the hashtag #KaburAjaDulu on platform X, including posts, threads, images, memes, and other content reflecting user expression and experiences. The focus of this research is to understand how users engage in digital escapism and everyday resistance, and how they self-represent through this hashtag. The analysis examines the meanings embedded in the text and visual content, as well as the interaction patterns that emerge in digital public conversations.

Data Types and Sources

The data include both primary and secondary sources. Primary data were collected from posts, comments, and visual content containing hashtags via screenshots and crawling, researcher took 21 posts by x users for this research from 167 popular posts with a total reach of 1.2 million accounts. Secondary data were obtained from the literature on coping and self-representation, as well as from interviews to validate findings from online observations.

Data Collection Techniques

Data was collected through digital documentation and interviews. Documentation is the primary technique in netnography, where relevant public posts are compiled. Data crawling was conducted using Brand24's analytics tool to systematically and in real time acquire data. Interviews were conducted with users who had used the hashtag to support primary data discovery.

Data Analysis Techniques

Data analysis was conducted following the netnographic stages according to (Kozinets, 2010), including entrée, data collection and archiving, abstraction and theorization, and reflection and synthesis. The entrée stage was used to gain an initial understanding of the digital community. Data collection and archiving were conducted systematically. In the abstraction stage, findings were linked to (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984) coping theory and (Hall, 1997) representation theory. The reflection stage was used to formulate conclusions and research contributions related to self-representation and coping practices within the hashtag #KaburAjaDulu.

Data Validity

The validity of the data in this study was confirmed through the application of source triangulation and technical triangulation to ensure the credibility of the findings. Source triangulation was conducted by combining three primary data sources: digital documentation, crawled data from Brand24, and interviews as secondary data. The digital documentation included archived user posts, comments, and conversations related to the hashtag #KaburAjaDulu on platform X and Discord. These sources served as the primary basis for the analysis because they depict user communication practices as they occur naturally.

To strengthen manual documentation, this study utilized data crawling through the Brand24 analytics tool. This tool assists in the automatic data collection process, including hashtag frequency, conversation context, keywords, and sentiment. Using Brand24 ensures data completeness and prevents selection bias that might arise when researchers rely solely on manual documentation. Furthermore, interviews served as a verification mechanism to ensure that the researchers' interpretations of hashtag meanings, forms of self-representation, and users' coping strategies align with their experiences.

In addition to source triangulation, this study also employed technical triangulation using documentation and data crawling to capture variations in the form, context, and depth of hashtag-related conversations. Interviews served as a supplementary technique to confirm initial findings and ensure the analysis was not solely reliant on surface data. The combination of documentation, crawling, and interviews ensures this research meets the principle of credibility, as the data were tested across multiple sources and complementary techniques. Consistency was maintained through systematic data collection procedures and consistent use of crawling tools. Furthermore, the research adheres to netnography guidelines (Kozinets, 2010) particularly regarding the authenticity of digital data and the preservation of the original context of conversations. Therefore, data quality in this study was assured through the comprehensive integration of source and technique triangulation.

3. Result and Discussion

Based on the researcher's findings across various posts using the hashtag #KaburAjaDulu, the #KaburAjaDulu phenomenon demonstrates how the younger generation constructs self-representations on social media through digital escapism and everyday forms of resistance. This hashtag serves as an escape from psychological pressure and a space for expressing identity, managing emotions, and conveying implicit social criticism. In practice, users present themselves through a light-hearted, humorous, and collective communication style, yet conveying meanings of exhaustion, dissatisfaction, and critical awareness of the social conditions they face.

The findings of this study indicate that self-representation in the use of the hashtag #KaburAjaDulu primarily emerges through three forms of identity performativity:

(humor-based coping that reframes pressure and oppressive realities; digital solidarity that builds communal emotional resilience; and implicit social critique that conveys subtle resistance to socio-political situations. These three forms illustrate that #KaburAjaDulu functions as an expressive space where digital escapism and everyday critique coexist, shaping the identity of the digital generation as a group that is tired, aware, yet critical and connected.

Humor-Based Coping

Humor appears in the hashtag #KaburAjaDulu, especially when users try to respond to life's pressures, future uncertainty, and unmanageable social demands. Through humor, users present themselves as tired individuals who can still respond to the situation in a lighthearted manner, reframing emotional distress as more tolerable. The humor that emerges often takes the form of hyperbole, dramatization, or self-deprecating remarks that reflect coping strategies.

One of the posts analyzed came from user X with the account name @hanaiffah, who wrote: "Oh my, Indonesia is indeed dark… there is no light at all.. #IndonesiaGelap (#DarkIndonesia) let's #kaburajadulu (#Justrunawayfirst)" (July 27, 2025). The delivery style in this post shows elements of humor, especially in the form of sarcasm and dark humor. The use of phrases such as "Oh my" and the hyperbolic delivery of "Indonesia is indeed dark" indicate that the user is not describing the situation literally. Sarcasm is a form of humor that commonly appears in digital communication, especially when users want to criticize a problematic situation while conveying it in a light-hearted or mocking manner (Attardo, 2001) In this context, irony arises when the user contrasts a serious situation (dissatisfaction with the state of the country) with a deliberately casual style of language that seems joking.

Furthermore, this post can be classified as humor, that is, humor arising from negative experiences, stress, or frustration, packaged in a comical form to reduce emotional burdens (Martin, 2007). This type of humor is often used as a coping strategy to maintain psychological Wellbeing when individuals face pressure or unstable political situations. This aligns with the concept of coping, where individuals use humor to reduce stress and create emotional distance from problems (Lefcourt & Martin, 1986). The use of the hashtag #kaburajadulu further strengthens the humorous aspect. This kind of expression can be understood as a form of everyday resistance in which users express social criticism in a non-confrontational manner through jokes (Scott, Weapons of the weak: Everyday forms of peasant resistance, 1985).

This humorous narrative not only reflects an individual's emotional response but also illustrates how netizens use comic style as a form of self-representation and a coping strategy for the socio-political pressures they experience in their daily lives. In @hanaiffah's post, self-representation is evident in how the user frames herself as a tired, frustrated individual yet still able to respond to social situations with humor. Language choices like "AU ah" and the hyperbolic phrase "Indonesia is indeed dark" create a digital persona that speaks figuratively rather than literally, presenting herself as someone aware of the country's condition but choosing to express her dissatisfaction in a relaxed, humorous style.

In this way, the user portrays himself as part of a younger generation that processes life's pressures through humor, giving the impression of someone relatable, honest, and bold enough to criticize, yet in a non-confrontational manner. The use of the hashtag #KaburAjaDulu reinforces this self-presentation by demonstrating his positioning within a group seeking to "escape."

Through a combination of casual language, irony, and hashtags, this post portrays him as a socially aware, critical individual, while maintaining humor as a means of emotional control and demonstrating closeness to an audience who shares similar experiences.

Digital solidarity

A form of digital solidarity was also evident in one post linking the hashtag #KaburAjaDulu with information about the naturalization process in Germany. In the post, the user wrote: "Those who want to #kaburajadulu, please do. Now moving to Germany is easier and faster," posted by the account @NdrewsTjan on July 7, 2025, while sharing news about the ease of obtaining a German passport through a digital system. This series of messages shows how users not only express personal disappointment with social conditions in Indonesia but also build solidarity by offering information deemed relevant to others experiencing similar concerns.

By share their experiences and complaints on social media then receive support from other users, so that social media becomes a means of coping with stress (Nabilla et al., 2024) In the context of the hashtag #KaburAjaDulu, this practice demonstrates how self-representation within a group frustrated with the state of the country is expressed through digital solidarity.

This post also shows how the user presents himself as part of a group of people frustrated and sceptical about Indonesia's socio-political conditions. By linking himself to the discourse of "escaping" the country and sharing information about relocation opportunities, the user creates a self-image as someone who is: Critical, because he demonstrates awareness of the country's situation. Rational and informative, by providing concrete data regarding naturalization options. Emotionally connected to a group of like-minded people, affirming a collective identity as people who are all seeking a "way out."

In the context of netnography, this type of self-representation is an identity strategy in which users present themselves as part of an online community with shared aspirations. This identity is constructed through opinions and the act of sharing information, which strengthens their position within the group (Hogan, 2010) Thus, the digital solidarity in this post is not simply a form of support, but also a medium for users to assert who they are and where they stand in social conversations about the state of the country.

implicit social critique

One of the posts analyzed came from the account @helloarasan, published on July 12, 2025, at 5:56 AM and viewed 329 times. In the post, the user wrote:

"After seeing all the news (e.g., diplomats being murdered and it seems like a cover-up) and discussions with students who are now in Japan, it seems like the most correct thing is to #RunAwayFirst, I swear. In reality, the countries themselves are the ones creating systemic poverty. So why bother holding on?"

In this post, the author combines comments about news deemed covered up, experiences discussing with students living abroad, and the use of the hashtag #KaburAjaDulu as an expression of frustration. The sentence "Actually, the one creating systemic poverty is the country itself" explicitly criticizes the structural conditions in the country of origin. This is a direct critique of the socio-political structure deemed incapable of providing welfare for its citizens. This criticism is not directed at a specific individual, but at the state system as a whole. In the context of netnography, expressions like this show how users use digital spaces to engage in everyday resistance, not through open protest, but through comments that seem "ordinary," spontaneous, and flowing in everyday conversation.

This use of humor and everyday complaints is a form of low-intensity criticism that still contains political meaning. The user presents himself as someone who is: Aware of social issues, especially regarding structural injustice and government transparency. Has global connections, as seen in the mention of discussions with students currently in Japan. This representation marks him as an individual with access to information across countries, allowing him to compare socio-political conditions. It is in a reflective position regarding the country, as seen in the sentence "So what is the point of still holding on?" This is a form of self-positioning as a citizen questioning the sustainability of his future in the country.

The #KaburAjaDulu is a form of harsh criticism of domestic problems that cannot be resolved, one of which is the difficulty of finding employment, as conveyed by informant C (37 years old, worker), who said that the #Kaburajadulu phenomenon is a form of collective statement about whether the government has truly provided the best for the community. This statement emerged along with anxiety over the fate of young job applicants who feel neglected.

"It is more of a social critique of the government. Our country's current situation is not going well; for example, young job applicants are being ignored by the government. This phenomenon raises a common question: is the government truly providing the best for the people? This is a response from those who long for quality public services." (Informant C, interview, July 30, 2025).

Overall, these findings suggest that the hashtag #Kaburajadulu serves as a means of emotional outlet and creates a space where social critique, digital solidarity, and coping strategies emerge and develop. The patterns of self-representation displayed by users reveal how they position themselves amidst socio-political pressures, while also highlighting the role of social media as a platform for expressing the anxieties and hopes of the younger generation.

4. Conclusions

The #KaburAjaDulu phenomenon on Platform X demonstrates how the younger generation uses social media as a means of digital escapism and as everyday resistance to socio-political pressures. Through humor, irony, and implicit criticism, users performatively present themselves, creating self-representations that are public yet still contain a personal dimension. This strategy allows them to navigate complex situations while demonstrating creativity in conveying criticism. The self-representation that emerges through these hashtags represents a spontaneous expression and a form of identity display in the digital space, where users assert their existence, views, and attitudes toward socio-political issues. Thus, #KaburAjaDulu reflects a combination of digital escapism and everyday acts of resistance, while also affirming that social media can be an important arena for young people to express themselves, shape personal narratives, and engage in creative social reflection.

5. References

Attardo, S. (2001). Humorous texts: A semantic and pragmatic analysis. Mouton de Gruyter.

Bayat, A. (2013). Life as politics: How ordinary people change the Middle East. . Stanford University Press.

Biocca, F., Harms, C., & Burgoon, J. K. (2003). Social presence: A cognitive-affective model. Presence: Teleoperators and Virtual Environments, 456–480.

boyd, danah, Golder, S., & Lotan, G. (2010, January). Tweet, Tweet, Retweet: Conversational Aspects of Retweeting on Twitter. 43rd Hawaii International Conference on Social Systems (HICSS). https://www.microsoft.com/en-us/research/publication/tweet-tweet-retweet-conversational-aspects-of-retweeting-on-twitter/

Bruns, A., & Burgess, J. (2015). Hashtag publics: The power and politics of networked discourses. Peter Lang.

Eden, A., & Reinecke, L. (2013a). The Routledge handbook of media use and well-being. Routledge.

Eden, A., & Reinecke, L. (2013b). The Routledge handbook of media use and well-being.

Goffman, E. (1959). The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life. Anchor Books.

Hall, S. (1997). Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices. Sage.

Halversen, A., & Weeks, B. E. (2023). Memeing Politics: Understanding Political Meme Creators, Audiences, and Consequences on Social Media. Social Media + Society, 9(4). https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051231205588

Highfield, T. (2016). Social Media and Everyday Politics. polity press.

Hogan, B. (2010). The presentation of self in the age of social media. Bulletin of Science, Technology & Society, 30, 377–386.

Kaplan, A. M., & Haenlein, M. (2010). Users of the world, unite! The challenges and opportunities of social media. Business Horizons, 53, 59–68.

Kozinets, R. V. (2010). Netnography: Doing ethnographic research online. Sage.

Lazarus, R. S., & Folkman, S. (1984). Stress, appraisal, and coping. Springer.

Lefcourt, H. M., & Martin, R. A. (1986). Seriousness and playfulness: Sources of individual differences in humor. In In H. M. Lefcourt & R. A. Martin (Eds.), Humor and life stress (pp. 51–69).

Leiser, M. (2022). Digital humor and critique. New Media & Society, 24.

Martin, R. A. (2007). The Psychology of Humor: An Integrative Approach. Elsevier/Academic Press.

Milner, R. M. (2016). The World Made Meme: Public Conversations and Participatory Media. MIT Press.

Newman, M. W., Lauterbach, D., Munson, S. A., Resnick, P., & Morris, M. E. (2020). It's not that I don't have problems: Understanding limitations in the expression of empathy online. Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 25, 149–165.

Papacharissi, Z. (2015). Affective publics: Sentiment, technology, and politics. Oxford University Press.

Park, H., & Lee, H. (2019). Effects of media richness and social presence on social networking site attitudes and intentions. Computers in Human Behavior, 213–223.

Reinecke, L., & Eden, A. (2013). Media-induced recovery: The effects of positive versus negative media experiences on recovery experience, energy, and positive affect. Journal of Communication, 1038–1062.

Scott, J. C. (1990). Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts. Yale University Press.

Treré, E. (2019). Hybrid Media Activism: Ecologies, Imaginaries, Algorithms.

Van Dijck, J. (2013). The Culture of Connectivity: A Critical History of Social Media. Oxford University Press.