



RESEARCH ARTICLE

The Phenomenon Of Sador Dance On Tiktok: Farmers' Weak Weapon In The Spiral Of Silence And Daily Resistance

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Abstract

The Sador dance phenomenon on TikTok shows how Indonesian farmers use social media as a survival strategy amid economic constraints. This trend emerged amidst a difficult economic situation, where many farmers were forced to seek additional income through digital platforms. This study aims to understand the Sador dance as a form of everyday resistance in the context of James Scott's theory and as a response to the Spiral of Silence by Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann. The novelty of this study lies in the effort to connect the socio-economic phenomenon of farmers with the theory of symbolic resistance in the digital era. This study uses a qualitative method with content analysis of the Sador dance video and public responses. The results show that the Sador dance is not just entertainment, but also a hidden medium of expression that reflects farmers' dissatisfaction with unfair economic conditions. The recommendation of this study is the need for more attention from the government to the welfare of farmers through stronger economic support, so that they have alternatives outside of social media to improve their standard of living.

Keyword: Sador dance, everyday resistance, Spiral of Silence, farmers, economy

Introduction

The increasingly popular Sador dance phenomenon on TikTok shows how Indonesian farmers are trying to utilize social media platforms as a source of income. Dance Sador, initiated by a TikTok figure named Gunawan Sador, has become a trend followed by various groups, including farmers in rural areas. In these videos, farmers perform simple dances or dances which are then uploaded in the hope of getting appreciation or donations from viewers. The latest data from several media shows that this trend is not only viral on TikTok, but has also become an alternative economic option for farmers who are struggling financially due to minimal access to decent jobs.

This phenomenon is developing amidst the increasingly worrying economic conditions of farmers. According to BPS data (Indonesia, 2020), the contribution of the agricultural sector to Indonesia's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) continues to decline from year to year. On the other hand, the BPS report also shows that 68% of farmers in Indonesia are still classified as poor or on the verge of the poverty line, with an average monthly income of less than IDR 2 million (Pratama & Fitriana, 2023; Pratiwi & Pangestu, 2022). This indicates a significant economic disparity between farmers and other groups. In addition, the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic has worsened the situation due to falling prices of agricultural commodities, prompting farmers to seek new sources of income through platforms such as TikTok.

This condition shows that the choice of farmers to switch to social media and join the Sador dance trend is not only a form of digital adaptation, but also a survival strategy amidst economic uncertainty. (Mufliha et al., 2021; Pratama & Fitriana, 2023). Unfortunately, this phenomenon is often looked down upon by the public who consider Sador dancing as an "online

begging" activity or even online gambling promotion. (Chasanah, 2023; Syafnil et al., 2022). This shallow understanding can create stigma for farmers who use social media as a means of resistance to their economic limitations. Therefore, an in-depth study of this phenomenon is important to provide a more comprehensive perspective on farmers' economic choices in the digital era.

In understanding the Sador dance phenomenon on TikTok, the theory of everyday resistance put forward by James Scott and the Spiral of Silence theory by Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann are very relevant. James Scott, in his theory, explains that marginalized individuals or groups, such as farmers, often use small-scale resistance strategies without direct confrontation. (Scott, 1972, 1985, 2016). These actions, which he calls everyday resistance, can be hidden or symbolic behavior as a form of resistance to oppressive economic or social structures. In the context of the Sador dance, farmers may not directly criticize the economic system, but they choose social media as an alternative space to survive amidst limitations. (Scott, 2012).

Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann's Spiral of Silence theory explains the tendency of minority groups or marginalized individuals to remain silent or choose other platforms to voice their opinions, especially when concerned about social sanctions. (Noelle-Neumann, 1974, 1991, 1993; Noelle-Neumann & Petersen, 2004). Social media such as TikTok has become a means for farmers to express themselves without having to face direct stigma from society. Thus, the Sador dance trend can be seen as a form of everyday resistance within Scott's theoretical framework, as well as an effort to fight the Spiral of Silence, where social media provides a space for them to speak out without fear of being ostracized.

Several previous studies provide additional perspectives in understanding this phenomenon. First, a study by (Sardjo et al., 2022) about farmers' adaptation to digital technology shows that social media provides new opportunities for farmers to market their products or earn additional income. Second, the study (Permadi, 2024) found that social media use by marginalized groups, such as farmers, can significantly increase economic engagement despite their frequent social stigma. The above studies highlight how viral video trends, such as the Sador dance, have become symbolic protest media for economically underrepresented groups.

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In addition, research from (Hidayat et al., 2023) about the Spiral of Silence among informal workers revealed that social media is often an alternative for them to express their opinions without having to face stigma or social sanctions. Finally, a study by (Muttaqien et al., 2021) shows that symbolic actions on social media are often carried out as a form of criticism of economic injustice, which is expected to attract the attention of the wider community. These five studies strengthen the hypothesis that the Sadbor dance is a small but meaningful form of resistance, and explain the dynamics that occur when marginalized groups use digital media as a means of survival.

This research is important to conduct considering the Sadbor dance phenomenon on TikTok can provide a broader picture of changes in farmers' socio-economic adaptation in the digital era. Although the use of social media among farmers has been discussed in several studies, the aspects of symbolic resistance and deeper economic implications of the Sadbor dance trend have not been widely explored. This research will provide new insights into how farmers overcome economic and social limitations through digital platforms, while also examining this trend as a form of everyday resistance and a response to the Spiral of Silence.

Novelty of this research lies in the effort to link socio-economic phenomena among farmers with more complex theories of symbolic resistance, as well as enrich the literature on digital adaptation of farmers in Indonesia. This research is expected to open new insights into how marginalized groups, such as farmers, utilize digital space as a way to express resistance, maintain their moral economy, and navigate the social stigma they face.

This study uses a qualitative approach to explore the phenomenon of Sadbor dancing on TikTok as a form of adaptation and covert resistance by farmers. This approach was chosen because it allows for an in-depth analysis of the socio-economic context of farmers involved in this phenomenon. (Cheong et al., 2022; Negrón et al., 2023). The main focus is to understand the motivation of farmers to participate in the Sadbor dance trend, as well as public perception of their actions. (Creswell, 1998; Johnson & Christensen, 2024). Through content observation and data analysis from social media, this study explores how farmers utilize digital platforms to survive amid economic constraints.



Figure 1. Research Mindmaps

The source data for this research was obtained from Sadbor dance video content uploaded on TikTok by various users, especially those from the farming community. Each video was analyzed to find patterns of hidden resistance that might be contained in it, such as expressions of social dissatisfaction, emphasis on difficult economic conditions, and interactions with the audience. Public comments and reactions to the videos were also observed, with the aim of understanding public responses and their impact on the general view of farmers.

As an analysis technique, this study uses the theory of everyday resistance from James Scott and the theory of Spiral of Silence from Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann as an interpretative framework. (Alexandre & Aguiar-Corraria, 2021; Lin et al., 2020). Everyday resistance is used to see how farmers use social media as a form of symbolic resistance to the economic limitations they face. (Scott, 1977). Meanwhile, the Spiral of Silence theory helps

explain why social media has become an option for farmers to express themselves without fear of social stigma. Both theories provide a comprehensive perspective in understanding the reasons behind farmers' involvement in this trend.

In the analysis process, the main focus is to find forms of social and economic adaptation carried out by farmers in the Sadbor dance content on TikTok. Through detailed observation of the actions, expressions, and interactions that appear in the video, this study seeks to uncover the deeper meaning of this phenomenon. The results of this analysis are expected to explain how farmers not only adapt to social change, but also utilize digital media as a channel to fight for their conditions under the radar of the general view.

Results and Discussion

Sadbor Dance as a Form of Everyday Resistance In Farmers' Economic Struggle

The phenomenon of Sadbor dance on TikTok, which is increasingly popular among farmers, shows that farmers are trying to earn additional income amidst economic constraints. In the midst of challenging economic realities, farmers who previously depended on agricultural products are now forced to look for other alternatives to meet their living needs. The viral Sadbor dance is one option, because the TikTok platform allows users to earn income through audience interaction, either from gifts or endorsements. With the increasing popularity of Sadbor dance, farmers are trying to take advantage of this moment to earn additional income, although this is still considered controversial among the wider community.

The actions of farmers who choose TikTok as a means to "sell" their dance performances can be seen as a form of resistance against the economic structure that marginalizes them. This concept is in line with the theory of everyday resistance by James Scott, where resistance is carried out subtly and does not directly challenge power. By performing the Sadbor dance on TikTok, farmers do not explicitly criticize their economic conditions, but this action still shows an implicit protest against the injustice they experience. Through social media platforms, they utilize digital space to survive and, in some cases, earn income that may even be more promising than the income they get from farming.

In the context of everyday resistance, the Sadbor dance becomes a form of "weapons of the weak" used by farmers as a survival strategy. This action is a form of non-confrontational adaptation, but contains an implicit message about farmers' dissatisfaction with the economic system that oppresses them. In line with Scott's theory, farmers use TikTok to overcome economic limitations without the risk of direct confrontation. Thus, the Sadbor dance is not just entertainment, but also a way to fight economic injustice through small actions that have deeper meaning.

Table 1. The Concept of Everyday Resistance In the Dance Sadbor Phenomenon

No	The Concept Of Everyday Resistance	Forms Of Resistance In Sadbor Dancing	Example
1	Weak Weapon	Using TikTok as a means of earning additional income	Farmers use Sadbor dance to earn new income outside of farming
2	Covert Resistance	Not criticizing economic conditions directly	Dancing as an economic action without expressing explicit protest against the system
3	Adaptation to Limitations	Choosing alternatives on social media to survive	Farmers turn to digital platforms as farming income declines

In the context of a society that views farmers as part of a marginalized group, the Sadbor dance is a way for farmers to actualize themselves and change public perception of their profession. Usually, farmers are considered to only depend on agricultural products, but with this phenomenon, they demonstrate their ability to take advantage of opportunities that arise from digital technology. With this, farmers have succeeded in showing that they can adapt to technological changes, even though their actions may seem simple or even belittled by some groups. This is what Scott calls a hidden act of adaptation that can have an impact on changing public perception and attitudes towards farmers.

In addition, the TikTok platform allows farmers to access a wider audience, making them part of a larger, more inclusive digital community. When they participate in trends like the Sadbor dance, farmers connect with people from different backgrounds, whom they might not otherwise meet in their daily lives. This not only increases their economic opportunities but also opens up an opportunity to showcase their living conditions to a wider audience. In other words, the Sadbor dance gives them the opportunity to implicitly voice their conditions to the public.

From the perspective of everyday resistance, the existence of farmers on TikTok is also a form of self-defense against the economic pressures they experience. They do not need to give speeches or protest directly, but the message of resistance is in the form of their presence and actions on social media. Every video they upload is a form of expression that challenges the general perception of the farming profession, showing that they also have aspirations to adapt and find new ways to improve their standard of living. This is in line with Scott's concept of hidden transcripts, where farmers use social media platforms to convey criticism of the economic system, even if only in the form of veiled expressions.

This phenomenon shows that farmers have the capacity to resist unfair conditions in ways that do not pose a direct threat, thus minimizing the risk of confrontation. When they participate in the Sadbor dance, they take advantage of the popularity of the trend and use it as an economic and social medium. This is an example of the use of "weapons of the weak" identified by Scott, where groups in marginalized positions use small tactics that allow them to survive and overcome the pressures they face.

Overall, the Sadbor dance is a manifestation of everyday resistance that not only illustrates economic efforts, but also how farmers adapt themselves in the digital landscape. Although this action may be considered simple, its impact on public perception is quite significant, especially in changing the way people view farmers. By looking at this phenomenon, we can better understand how marginalized groups use digital space as a means to survive and express their dissatisfaction. This study shows that social media can function as a space for marginalized groups to adapt, earn additional income, and express their opinions in a safe way. In this context, the Sadbor dance not only functions as entertainment, but also becomes a platform to fight for the welfare of farmers amid economic challenges.

Overcoming the Spiral of Silence: Using TikTok as a Medium of Hidden Expression and Resistance

The phenomenon of TikTok use by Indonesian farmers, especially in the Sadbor dance trend, shows how this social media platform provides a space for them to express dissatisfaction with economic conditions without having to worry about social sanctions. In a society that still looks down on the profession of farmers, the stigma or criticism of the economic situation often makes them reluctant to speak out openly. However, through TikTok, farmers feel freer to show their lives, share their hardships, and even use creative ways such as the Sadbor dance to attract public attention, without directly voicing criticism or protesting the economic system that oppresses them.

In the Spiral of Silence theory proposed by Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, individuals or groups tend not to voice their opinions if they feel that they are part of a marginalized minority group or are afraid of social sanctions. For farmers, speaking openly about their economic hardships may be considered inappropriate or even seen as an attitude that invites pity that is less appreciated in the social norms of society. However, TikTok offers an alternative. Through popular trends such as the Sadbor dance, farmers can convey their conditions without worrying about getting negative responses directly. In this way, TikTok becomes a safe space for farmers to speak up, overcoming the social pressures that previously kept them silent.



Figure 2. TikTok as a Media for Hidden Expression and Resistance

In the context of the Spiral of Silence, TikTok has become a platform that allows them to escape the social pressures that usually silence their aspirations. The Sadbor dance trend, packaged in the form of dances or funny videos, has become a way for farmers to "speak" to the public about their difficult living conditions. Although there is no direct criticism of the system or a particular party, these videos show the economic realities faced by farmers. Their courage to appear on social media is a form of effort to fight the Spiral of Silence, where they are no longer afraid of the stigma or public judgment that may arise when they voice their economic conditions.

TikTok gives them the freedom to express their feelings and life experiences without having to use explicit words. By utilizing popular trends, such as the Sadbor dance, farmers can help convey their economic narrative to a wider audience. This is different from traditional media which might frame their stories in the context of poverty or suffering, while on TikTok, they can choose how they want to present themselves. This is a softer yet powerful form of resistance in voicing their dissatisfaction with the conditions they experience, while also overcoming the psychological barriers that often silence them.

Through this platform, farmers also get the chance to show their human side, inviting the public to see their lives from a more personal perspective. In the Sadbor dance video, viewers not only see the figure of farmers working hard in the fields, but also individuals who are creative and adaptive to technological developments. TikTok allows them to break through the social barriers that have prevented them from appearing and speaking out, while also providing a space for viewers to understand their economic realities in a more empathetic way.

Spiral of Silence also explains why Sadbor dance videos are popular among farmers. In a society that tends to view farming as a profession with stigma, using social media to directly speak out about economic injustice may not always be well-received. However, the lighthearted and entertaining trend of Sadbor dance gives them the opportunity to break through this "circle of silence" without having to challenge existing social norms. By following a common trend, farmers can convey their conditions in a way that is considered safer and more acceptable, while also gaining public attention.

Behind the Sadbor dance, there is a deeper narrative, namely the hope for change in the economic system that is fairer for them. TikTok helps farmers to voice this desire without having

to be seen asking for help or demanding rights explicitly. They use TikTok's popularity to show their lives in a fun way, so that the audience also does not feel intimidated or faced with a reality that is too painful. This is a form of adaptation and covert resistance that can slowly affect public perception of farmers and their welfare.

This phenomenon shows that farmers also have the capacity to overcome the social stigma attached to their profession. By utilizing digital platforms, they are able to change their self-image from being mere manual laborers to being creative and adaptive to changing times. In the context of the Spiral of Silence, this action is a form of courage to appear in a wider public space and break through social barriers that have so far made them unheard. TikTok gives them the power to show their economic conditions in a more positive and socially acceptable way.

Farmers have managed to showcase their plight without eliciting excessive sympathy or pity from the audience by capitalizing on popular trends. This is a smart strategy, where they can convey their message without seeming to beg or give in to the situation. The Spiral of Silence that usually prevents marginalized groups from speaking out can now be overcome with platforms that allow the delivery of messages through symbols that are more easily accepted by the public.

The Sadbor dance phenomenon on TikTok is not just entertainment, but also a form of empowerment for farmers to appear and voice their conditions in a non-confrontational way. In this dance video, there is a strong message about how farmers face tough economic challenges, while also implying that they need attention and support from the community. In this way, TikTok is not only a means of entertainment for farmers, but also a medium that can connect them with the wider community.

Using TikTok as a medium of expression gives farmers the opportunity to fight the social stigma that usually keeps them silent. In the context of the Spiral of Silence, the platform helps them overcome their fear of stigma or public judgment. By packaging their economic message in a light form, they have managed to attract public attention while changing perceptions of the farming profession. TikTok allows farmers to appear as strong, creative, and adaptable individuals, which ultimately invites appreciation from various groups.

Hidden Transcripts In Dance Sadbor: Hidden Expressions of Farmers' Social Dissatisfaction

The viral Sadbor dance phenomenon among farmers on TikTok not only reflects economic efforts, but also implies a veiled expression of their economically marginalized conditions. The actions of farmers who participate in this trend seem simple and fun, but for those who understand the context, this dance is a way to express dissatisfaction with the economic situation they face. Through the Sadbor dance, farmers show their lives in a way that is not directly critical, but still contains a message about hardship and dissatisfaction. This is what James Scott calls hidden transcripts – expressions of resistance that are not conveyed openly but are hidden in everyday actions.

Hidden transcripts is a way for disempowered groups to voice their protests without directly challenging the power or structures that oppress them. For farmers, appearing on TikTok and participating in the Sadbor dance is a form of covert expression that allows them to air their grievances without the risk of direct confrontation. TikTok provides a space for them to display their dissatisfaction with difficult economic conditions in a safe and publicly acceptable way. Their dance videos may not explicitly voice their protests, but for those in similar situations, the messages are clear.

The concept of hidden transcripts is very relevant in understanding why the Sadbor dance has become so popular among farmers. In social conditions that do not allow them to voice their protests openly, social media such as TikTok offers an alternative to voice their dissatisfaction in a covert way. Farmers use the Sadbor dance as a symbol that unites them in one voice, where without having to speak, they can still show the economic realities they face. Thus, TikTok becomes a platform for farmers'

hidden transcripts, a place where they can share their stories in a language that may only be understood by those who experience it.



Figure 3. Hidden Transcripts

Dance Sadbor is not just an entertainment trend; for farmers, it is a space to share stories about their struggles in facing an unfair economic system. Through simple videos, they manage to convey messages about social inequality without having to make explicit statements. This allows them to voice their frustrations without fear of negative responses or direct consequences from the authorities. Thus, Dance Sadbor becomes an effective and safe form of hidden transcripts for farmers to voice their criticisms.

In this context, the Sadbor dance also shows the intelligence of farmers in utilizing social media to convey messages in a veiled manner. They do not need to speak or write explicit criticism, but through their movements and video content, there is an implied message about the difficulties they are experiencing. This is a subtle but powerful form of social resistance, where farmers show the world that they are not satisfied with the existing conditions. For them, TikTok is a platform where their voices, which may usually be marginalized, can now be heard by a wider audience.

This phenomenon shows how farmers use hidden transcripts as a way to respond to the injustices they experience without facing direct threats. By following the Sadbor dance trend, they find a way to complain about their conditions in a safe and inconspicuous way. As a result, the Sadbor dance can be seen as a survival mechanism, where farmers manage to voice their dissatisfaction in a way that only those who have experienced similar difficulties can understand.

Such expressions show how social media can be a tool of social resistance for marginalized groups. In situations where they have few options to voice their protests directly, social media provides a space where they can speak out without fear of punishment or being misunderstood. TikTok, with its nature of allowing light and entertaining content, allows farmers to remain anonymous in their protests. Dance Sadbor, with all its symbolism, becomes a channel for farmers to express their dissatisfaction without having to express it openly.

On the other hand, the Sadbor dance phenomenon also shows how hidden transcripts can function as a tool to strengthen solidarity among farmers. When farmers from various regions join this trend, they show that they are facing the same problem together. Although they do not openly talk about their condition, by joining the Sadbor dance, they show a sense of solidarity that strengthens their position as a group fighting against injustice. In this case, TikTok becomes a tool that connects them and strengthens their sense of togetherness.

Dance Sadbor not only contains entertainment value, but also carries the message that those living under economic pressure can find a way to express themselves. For viewers who understand this context, the Dance Sadbor video provides a view of a reality that may not always be visible in everyday life. They do not just see farmers dancing, but also see how they survive in unfair conditions. In this way, the hidden transcripts in Dance

Sadbor provide information to the public about the economic situation faced by farmers.

As an indirect means of expression, the Sadbor dance provides a space for farmers to respond to their economic conditions without having to deal directly with those in power. They can express their dissatisfaction through symbolism in the dance video without worrying about social or political sanctions. In this way, TikTok becomes a place where farmers can participate in public discussions about their economy without the need for direct confrontation.

Overall, the Sadbor dance phenomenon shows how hidden transcripts allow marginalized groups to communicate in a safe and effective way. For farmers, TikTok has become a platform that allows them to talk about their economic realities, and the Sadbor dance is a veiled expression of their social dissatisfaction. By utilizing non-explicit symbolism and movements, they have managed to send a powerful message to the world about their condition.

In a broader view, the Sadbor dance is a form of intelligent and creative adaptation from farmers in voicing their conditions. They show that even though they do not have much power in terms of economy or politics, they can still voice their dissatisfaction through symbolic means. This phenomenon is proof that hidden transcripts are not only effective in everyday communication but also in the context of social media.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The conclusion of the research on the Sadbor dance phenomenon on TikTok shows that this activity goes beyond mere entertainment and can be understood as a form of everyday resistance in the face of difficult economic conditions. Farmers who follow this trend demonstrate their ability to adapt to social media and use this platform to voice their dissatisfaction with the economic and social limitations they face, without having to face the risk of direct confrontation. Thus, the Sadbor dance can be seen as a way for farmers to convey veiled criticism of the economic injustice they experience.

This phenomenon also has important social implications, where the Spiral of Silence theory helps explain why social media has become an alternative space for farmers to express themselves. TikTok, as a freer platform, allows them to share experiences and living conditions that are often hidden from public view. In this context, social media becomes a channel for hidden transcripts or veiled expressions that show dissatisfaction with the economic system that marginalizes them.

Sadbor Dance on TikTok also underlines the need for more serious attention to the welfare of farmers in Indonesia. This phenomenon should not be underestimated or stigmatized as just an entertainment trend or "online begging." Instead, this phenomenon reflects the structural injustice felt by many farmers, who are forced to seek additional livelihoods outside the traditional agricultural sector. Through the videos they upload, farmers send a strong message to the public about the reality of their lives.

As a recommendation, it is important for policymakers to see this trend as an indication of the urgent need to improve farmers' welfare. Improving decent economic access, better job opportunities, and social support for farmers are steps that need to be taken to help them not only rely on social media as a source of income. Thus, the Sadbor dance phenomenon not only shows farmers' adaptation to digital technology, but also a call for the government and society to provide more substantial support for this marginalized group.

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