



*CORRESPONDENCE

Fransisca Benedicta Avira Citra
Paramita, ✉
citraparamita@untag-sby.ac.id

RECEIVED 12 March 2026

ACCEPTED 14 April 2026

PUBLISHED 30 April 2026

CITATION

Paramita FBAC (2026)
Discursive Construction of Digital
Economy and Identity in TikTok
Live (A Critical Discourse
Analysis of Live Tiktok
@Hepibor86).
*Communica : Journal of
Communication*. 4(2), 89-100.
doi:
10.61978/communica.v4i2.1466

TYPE Original Research

PUBLISHED 30 April 2026

DOI

10.61978/communica.v4i2.1466

VOL. 4 Issue 2 April 2026

COPYRIGHT

© 2026 Paramita. This is an
open-access article distributed
under the terms of the Creative
Commons Attribution License
(CC BY). The use, distribution
or reproduction in other forums
is permitted, provided the
original author(s) and the
copyright owner(s) are credited
and that the original publication
in this journal is cited, in
accordance with accepted
academic practice. No use,
distribution or reproduction is
permitted which
does not comply with these
terms.

Discursive Construction of Digital Economy and Identity in TikTok Live (A Critical Discourse Analysis of Live Tiktok @Hepibor86)

Fransisca Benedicta Avira Citra Paramita

Universitas 17 Agustus 1945 Surabaya, Jawa Timur, Indonesia

Abstract

This study aims to analyse the discursive constructions of the digital economy and community identity within the Joged Sadorb phenomenon on the TikTok live streams of the @Hepibor86 account. The study employs a qualitative approach using Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis. The research corpus consists of publicly accessible TikTok live stream material from January to March 2026, including live clips, five selected screenshots, screen recordings, and traces of audience interaction in the form of comments and virtual gifts. The dataset was purposively limited based on the involvement of community groups in the broadcasts, the intensity of digital economic interactions, the emergence of jargon and recurring communication patterns, and the representation of performance practices relevant to the research focus. Analysis was conducted across three dimensions—text, discursive practices, and social practices—to examine language choices, performance patterns, mechanisms of content production and consumption, and their relationship to the platform's economic logic. The research findings indicate that Joged Sadorb functions not only as entertainment and a source of additional income, but also as a space for the negotiation of local identity, digital visibility, and collective performativity. The findings also reveal practices of the commodification of the body, entertainment, and empathy, where expressions of local culture are repeatedly displayed to attract the audience's attention and secure gifts as economic value. Therefore, this phenomenon does not simply supplant traditional cultural values, but rather reflects a shift in meaning, an adaptation of cultural practices, and the monetization of local expressions within TikTok's attention economy.

KEYWORDS

sadorb dance; tiktok; behavioral transformation; digital economy.

Introduction

The Joged Sadorb dance was first created by Gunawan as the originator in 2019-2020, starting with live broadcasts on TikTok while working. Joged Sadorb emerged from Gunawan's activities working as a traveling tailor in Jakarta while simultaneously live streaming on Gunawan's TikTok social media account. During the live broadcasts, Gunawan received gifts from viewers, which he realized could become a source of income. Subsequently, Gunawan decided to focus on live streaming activities by creating an activity that involved dancing, which later became known as "Joged Sadorb." This is shown in the screenshot of the TikTok account of the originator of Joged Sadorb as follows. (See [Figure 1](#)). The Joged Sadorb phenomenon was pioneered by Gunawan, a travelling tailor, who

began live streaming on TikTok between 2019 and 2020. Initially, this activity took place via the @sadb0r86 account, where Gunawan received digital appreciation in the form of gifts from viewers, which he subsequently recognised as an economic opportunity. However, the dynamics of the platform necessitated a transition in digital identity when the @sadb0r86 account was deactivated following its owner's involvement in legal issues related to online gambling in 2024, which subsequently gave rise to the new account @Hepib0r86. This transition from @sadb0r86 to @Hepib0r86 is analytically significant as it demonstrates the resilience of digital economic discourse at the grassroots level; although the formal identity (account name) changed, the accompanying discursive practices and patterns of economic interaction continued and even flourished within the new ecosystem. The information was also reported in an online news article on (Ridwan, 2024), stating that following the incident, the name Sadb0r86 was changed to hepib0r86, with Gunawan remaining as the Live Director.

Media coverage has framed Joked Sadb0r as a phenomenon linked to changes in working patterns and sources of income within the context of rural communities. However, in this study, such media reports are treated as contextual discourse rather than as direct evidence of widespread sociological change. Based on the researcher's digital observations of TikTok Live broadcasts on the @Hepib0r86 account, the repeated appearance of collective joked performances, calls to send virtual gifts, and audience interaction through comments and gift-giving indicate that live streaming functions as a monetised digital activity for its participants. At an analytical level, these observed patterns can be understood as part of the attention economy, wherein visibility, audience engagement, and emotional responses are translated into potential economic value. Therefore, this study does not simply conclude that such practices have replaced traditional forms of work across the community, but rather interprets Joked Sadb0r more carefully as a discursive space where rural actors negotiate digital opportunities, platform logic, and emerging forms of performative labour. According to (Haq, et al., n.d., 2025), live streaming via the social media platform TikTok has given rise to a new pattern of participation based on virtual gifts, which has become a phenomenon known as online begging (the solicitation of donations via live streams). Virtual gifts are driven by emotional, social and entertainment motivations, which encourage viewers to send gifts that have monetary value.

The development of digital technology has drastically transformed the social and economic landscape of society. Platforms like TikTok are now not only spaces for entertainment but also new economic arenas based on performance and presence. (Sulianta, 2025) also states that increasingly advanced technological developments bring revolutionary impacts to various sectors. Digitalization has made the dissemination of information faster and more widespread among the public.

The Joked Sadb0r phenomenon, popularized by the TikTok account Hepib0r86, has become a concrete example of how rural communities that were previously not involved in the digital ecosystem have now transformed into active participants in the digital economy. TikTok live streams are not just a form of entertainment, but have become a primary source of income for some community members (Ashari &

Chandrabuwono, 2025).

This notion is also expressed by (Syahril et al., 2025) that "Joked Sadb0r" is not merely used as entertainment but as a new strategy to increase community income through "saweran" or gifts from the audience. This phenomenon has a positive impact but also a negative impact at the same time. The positive impact experienced is the increased creativity of the community through the use of social media to create economic opportunities, and it demonstrates the community's quick adaptation to technology. However, other impacts can also be felt through the significant transformation of community behavior due to the use of TikTok social media.

This transformation is not simple, as society is starting to shift work activities from physical and informal sectors to digital work centered on entertainment. Life schedules are adjusted to strategic live-streaming times, daily activities are organized to meet content production needs, and social relationships are influenced by the demands of digital engagement. Dancing rituals, calling out the names of top donors, and designing performance settings are no longer merely spontaneous activities, but have become part of a collective work system governed by algorithms and the culture of digital attention.

However, this change poses a problem because in a system driven by the logic of platform capitalism, this form of digital work does not always bring freedom. On the contrary, it can also give rise to dependence on algorithms, performative pressure, and even covert exploitation of local identities and the collective body of society. This assumption is also stated by (Matondang, Arizona & Purba, El Rezel, 2021) who argues that today's society is dependent on the use of social media and social media algorithms. In general, each person spends at least 20 hours per week on social media.

Joked Sadb0r shows how villagers respond to digital opportunities, but also how they indirectly submit to the logic of the global digital economy that demands performance, continuity, and popularity. This shows that today's society only focuses on the culture of virality and submits to algorithms rather than the structural factors of existing society. This assumption is also stated by (Sazali, 2025) that today's society is more focused on individual behavior without considering structural factors. The existence of social media algorithm design, the culture of virality, and the lack of a monitoring system for the ethical use of social media.

Media reports, such as those published by suara.com, suggest that public participation in the Joked Sadb0r phenomenon has had significant economic implications, with claims of earnings reaching tens of millions of rupiah per month for certain groups. The report also highlights changes in material living standards, such as home renovations and motor vehicle ownership among villagers. However, in the context of this research, this data is positioned as contextual background or public discourse developing in the media, rather than as a sociological generalisation applicable to the entire village population. Analytically, this information indicates a shift in work orientation from the traditional agricultural sector towards the digital performance sector, which requires further examination through the lens of discursive practice. Rather than drawing rigid causal conclusions, this study views these reports as part of the construction of the 'digital success' discourse that encourages residents to negotiate their identities and working hours on the TikTok platform.

The assumption is that activities carried out by villagers are generally physical activities such as farming,

raising livestock, and so on. Historically, social status in village communities was generally determined by factors such as permanent employment, land ownership, or formal education level. These values represented economic stability and a respected social position within the traditional social structure. However, in the context of contemporary digital society, there has been a significant shift in determining symbols of social status (Huda, 2022).

In the Joged Sadbor phenomenon, which has developed through the TikTok platform, social status no longer entirely depends on traditional indicators, but rather shifts to digital measures determined by the logic of social media and platform algorithms. The number of live streaming viewers, the amount of gifts received from viewers, as well as the completeness of technological equipment such as ring lights, microphones, and cameras, now serve as new markers of a person's social position within the community.

Status symbols that were once based on physical productivity are now replaced by forms of digital symbolic capital, derived from visibility, performative appeal, and the capacity to mobilize public attention. This shift signifies a profound transformation in the value structure of society, while also illustrating how the digital economy participates in reconstructing social relations and status hierarchies within local communities. This assumption is also stated by (Husna & Bakhri, 2025) that social status has long been present in social structures and signifies a shift in the value structure of society. The existence of economic symbols, social practices, and lifestyles through social media has created new standards of living in society.

Furthermore, this transformation also impacts the meaning of cultural activities carried out by the community. Joged, which was previously practiced as a form of collective entertainment or local artistic expression in traditional social spaces, has now shifted in meaning to become a performative activity aimed at monetization and the collection of digital gifts. This change indicates how cultural values, originally rooted in expression, togetherness, and social rituals, are now

being reframed within a digital economic logic based on performance and visibility.

In the practice of Joged Sadbor, the identity and self-worth of the local community begin to be defined by how well they can capture the audience's attention in the virtual space, receive gifts from viewers, and maintain popularity through continuously produced content. The act of dancing and mentioning the names of supporters is no longer merely a form of spontaneous entertainment but has evolved into a collective ritual with symbolic and economic functions. This activity becomes a normalized routine, celebrated, and even a source of pride for the community. This assumption is also agreed upon by (Mahda et al., 2025) that digital culture shapes patterns of social expression as seen in how society negotiates identity through dance expression and gives rise to ideological claims from foreign cultures.

This phenomenon shows how local culture not only undergoes a transformation in form and function, but also becomes integrated into the mechanisms of digital capitalism, where cultural expressions are commodified for the economic interests of platforms. Joged no longer stands as an autonomous cultural symbol, but rather becomes an instrument in the survival strategies of communities amid economic and social changes driven by digital technology.

In recent years, social media such as TikTok has revolutionized the way people produce and consume entertainment. This assumption is also stated by (Sri Mega Hayatulnupus, 2025) TikTok social media is not just an entertainment platform but has expanded its function to become a business field. There has been a shift from a passive media consumption paradigm to a more active and participatory social media. Currently, TikTok is not only a platform for self-expression but also opens up new opportunities for a performance-based digital economy. The live streaming feature on TikTok even allows users to earn income through digital gifts given by viewers. However, behind this openness and economic opportunity, there are fundamental issues regarding power relations, exploitation, and social value transformation that need to be critically examined.

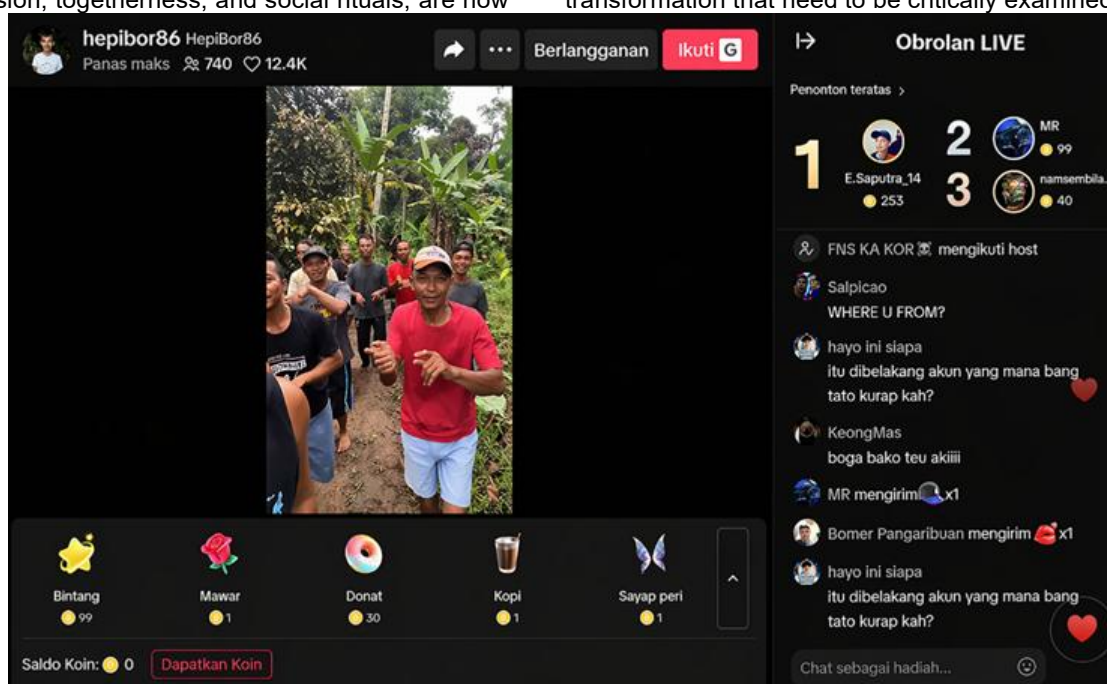


Figure 1. Screenshot of Hepibor86 account
Source : Researcher documentation results

Although studies on the TikTok Live phenomenon in Indonesia are beginning to emerge, the majority of existing literature still tends to focus on aspects of consumer behaviour, digital marketing strategies, or legal analyses relating to online begging practices. There remains a theoretical gap in understanding how rural communities negotiate identity and labour through complex discursive constructions. More specifically, this article distinguishes itself from previous research by not limiting itself to discussing TikTok Live as a space for monetisation, requests for digital donations, or a general form of digital labour, but rather by examining it as an arena of discourse production that brings together local identity, performative labour, power relations, and platform logic within a single analytical context. Thus, the novelty of this research lies in the use of Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis framework to dissect the Joged Sadbor phenomenon on the @Hepibor86 account, viewing it not merely as a descriptive viral trend, but as an arena of meaning-making between local creativity and the demands of platform capitalism. The main scholarly contribution of this article is to demonstrate how the process of cultural platformisation operates at the grassroots level, as the bodies, expressions, and collective rituals of communities are reconstructed into digital commodities with economic value. Consequently, this study not only fills a gap in the literature regarding the sociolinguistic and ideological impacts of digital labour on communities that were previously relatively outside the global ecosystem, but also offers a more nuanced perspective on how intimacy, empathy and visibility are mobilised to underpin the sustainability of the digital economy.

Methods

Research Type

This study employs a qualitative approach using Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis model. The research corpus comprises live broadcast material from the TikTok account @Hepibor86, which was systematically observed during the period January–March 2026. More specifically, the analysed material comprises [number] purposively selected live stream sessions, 5 selected screenshots, and [number] screen recordings documented during the non-participant digital observation process. The selection of the corpus was based on several criteria, namely the collective engagement of users in the performance, the intensity of digital economic interaction through the giving of virtual gifts, the emergence of jargon or recurring communication patterns, and visual representations of the performance relevant to the research focus. The units of analysis in this study include the verbal utterances of the host and participants, forms of audience interaction through comments and gifts, and performative visual elements such as dance formations, the arrangement of the performance space, and symbols appearing in the live stream. Thus, the analysis focuses not only on verbal text but also on discursive practices and visual representations that shape the construction of the digital economy and community identity within the TikTok Live space. To ensure the transparency of the research process, the analysis was conducted by applying

Fairclough's three dimensions as follows:

1. Textual Analysis (Micro-level), which focuses on linguistic elements such as vocabulary and metaphors, the visual structure of the setting, and the audio elements that shape the visual identity of Joged Sadbor.
2. Discursive Practice (Meso-level), which involves analysing the content production process (the organisation of participants in the dance) and consumption patterns (audience responses through comments and the giving of digital rewards as a form of control over the content).
3. Socio-Cultural Practices (Macro-level), where the focus is on linking field findings with the context of platform capitalism, the shift in the value of labour from the physical sector to digital performance, and the economic dynamics of society in Indonesia.

This is also stated by (Kusuma et al., 2024) that critical discourse analysis methods are capable of revealing social and cultural discourses formed through discursive practices, texts, and social practices. In this study, the researcher positioned themselves as an external observer conducting non-participatory digital observation. The researcher acknowledges the limitations of the interpretative process, in that this analysis focuses on screen reality and does not encompass the personal psychological motivations of the participants outside the platform. To ensure validity, a comparison was made between discourse on social media and credible reports on the phenomenon to ensure that the interpretation remains objective and grounded in the available evidence.

Population and Sample/Informants

The primary data for this study consists of TikTok live stream content from the @Hepibor86 account, which was publicly posted between January and March 2026. The data sample was selected purposefully by choosing two live stream sessions most relevant to the research focus, along with five selected screenshots representing patterns of interaction, collective performance, and the practice of giving virtual gifts. In the context of this research, the unit of analysis is not the individual as an informant, but rather digital archive units comprising verbal utterances, audience comments, visual symbols, and forms of performativity emerging within the live streams. The selection of these units of analysis is based on the emergence of recurring communication patterns, the intensity of audience engagement, and their relevance to discussions regarding the digital economy, identity, and commodification within the Joged Sadbor phenomenon.

Data Collection Procedures

Data collection in this study was conducted through systematic digital observation procedures and documentation of live broadcast archives. The stages of data collection are outlined as follows:

1. Non-Participant Digital Observation The researcher conducted direct observations during the live streaming sessions of the TikTok account @Hepibor86. The

observations were carried out during the peak hours of the broadcast, specifically between 1:00 PM and 5:00 PM WIB, to capture the most intense interaction dynamics. During this process, the researcher recorded communication patterns, dance durations, and the frequency of virtual gifts given by the audience.

2. The analysis material was documented in the form of five selected screenshots archived during the observation process. The selection of screenshots was based on several criteria, namely: (a) the visualisation of the formation of the group of dancers, (b) the appearance of expressions of gratitude or specific jargon when receiving a gift, and (c) the display of audience interaction through comments indicating a two-way relationship between the performer and the audience. The entire archive was arranged chronologically to facilitate the discourse analysis process.
3. Literature Review and Field Notes To support the interpretation of digital data, the researchers used field notes that recorded initial impressions and the situational context during the broadcast. In addition, a literature review was conducted on credible news documents and previous research journals regarding platform capitalism and local culture. This literature serves as a triangulation tool to strengthen the analysis of primary data obtained from the TikTok platform.
4. Digital Ethical Considerations This research upholds the ethics of social media research. Considering that the data is taken from publicly accessible platforms (TikTok Live), the researchers remain attentive to privacy aspects by focusing solely on the public behavior of participants within the context of cultural performance. The usernames of viewers that appear in the screenshots are blurred or anonymized in the manuscript to protect the privacy of individuals in the digital public space.

Data Analysis

The collected data was then analyzed using Fairclough's three-dimensional approach, which includes text analysis, discursive practices, and sociocultural practices. Text analysis is used to identify language structures, word choices, and narratives in the content, discourse practice analysis is used to understand how texts are produced, distributed, and consumed; while socio-cultural practice analysis is used to connect discourse with a broader context, namely how the Joked Sadbor phenomenon reflects changes in community behavior, the commodification of local culture, and the dominance of digital capitalism (Wijaya, 2023).

This is also stated by (Kusuma et al., 2024) that there are three stages in data analysis by Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, namely the first stage begins with text analysis, at this stage it is carried out to identify the main themes, style of language, and representations used in each post. The second stage involves analyzing discursive practices, which examines how a post is

produced and consumed by the audience, including analyzing the responses of followers who leave comments. The final stage involves analyzing social practices, which connects the text with prevailing social, cultural, and ideological norms.

The data collected was then analysed using Fairclough's three-dimensional approach, which encompasses text analysis, discursive practices, and socio-cultural practices. Text analysis was used to examine linguistic structure, word choice, and narrative within the content, whilst discursive practice analysis was employed to understand how the text is produced, distributed, and consumed (Panggabean et al., 2025). Meanwhile, socio-cultural practice analysis was used to link the discourse to a broader context, namely how the Joked Sadbor phenomenon reflects changes in community behaviour, the commodification of local culture, and the dominance of digital capitalism.

The data analysis process in this study was conducted in stages by adapting Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis model, which encompasses three dimensions is textual analysis, discursive practices, and social practices. This analytical protocol was designed to explore the interrelationships between the digital texts appearing in TikTok Live broadcasts and their underlying social context. In the first stage, the researcher identified textual and visual elements such as word choice, jargon, verbal expressions, performance settings, and symbolic patterns appearing in the broadcast material. In the second stage, the researcher analysed how content is produced, organised, and consumed through interactions between the host, participants, and the audience, including via comments and the giving of virtual gifts. In the third stage, all these findings are linked to the broader social context, particularly in relation to the attention economy, platform capitalism, digital labour, and the commodification of local cultural expression. Through this procedure, the analysis focuses not only on the content itself, but also on the processes of meaning making and power relations at work within live-streaming practices on TikTok:

1. Textual Analysis (Micro Level) At the initial stage, the researcher conducts a dissection of the text and visual structure by using Diction and Jargon, such as the use of specific terms like "asik-asik manju." This is further explored thru visual and audio elements by observing the background of the village atmosphere, up to the jedag-jedug music pattern that has become a hallmark of the performance.
2. (Meso Level) Discourse Practice Analysis The second stage focuses on the process of production and consumption of discourse, examined thru the question of how this content is collectively produced and consumed by the TikTok audience. The focus of this research is on the production mechanisms, which include the division of broadcast time and the coordination of dance movements they use. Audience interaction also becomes an important part of this data analysis stage, seen thru the live chat feature and the

giving of virtual gifts, which serve as tools for audience control based on the duration and type of dance displayed. In addition to the two aforementioned aspects, there is the interpretation by the researcher that shifts the focus from the dance video to the power relations displayed.

3. Analysis of Socio Cultural Practices (Macro Level) The final stage involves synchronizing textual and discourse findings with a broader social context. At this stage, it raises the question of whether there is an impact from this phenomenon on the social structure and values upheld in society. The answer to this question is shown thru the logic of the TikTok social media algorithm, which forces a behavioral shift from the agrarian sector to the digital economy sector. In addition, there is also the observation of commodification at work thru TikTok Live content. Next, in the final stage, is the stage of drawing analytical conclusions.

Result and Discussion

Transformation of Community Behavior as Cultural Transition

This study focuses on how the Joged Sadbor phenomenon, popularized through the TikTok account Hepibor86, has shaped and transformed the behavior of the community, especially the rural community who are the main subjects and actors in the live streaming performances. According to (Widyawati, 2022), socio-cultural transformation is a scientific concept or, one might say, an analytical tool for understanding changes in the world, at least in two contexts: from pre-modern to modern, or from the pre-change to the post-change phase.

Based on observations of various TikTok Live sessions, it was found that there is a recurring communication structure that has become a distinctive pattern in each broadcast. This structure consists of an opening by the host who greets the audience and introduces the live session, followed by the playing of sadbor-style jedag jedug music, then collective joged dancing performed by people of various ages, invitations to give gifts, and closing with expressive expressions of gratitude. The verbal narrative is very informal, full of jargon typical of the TikTok community, such as “gaskeun,” “ayo tambah rame,” “serok woi,” or “parah nih giftnya,” which indicates the formation of a new language based on the digital community. In fact, the hosts' style of speech and facial expressions have developed into a distinctive and recognizable cultural identity.

The documentation of the TikTok Live and examples of comments from the TikTok account Hepibor 86 are as follows. (See [Figure 2](#)).

The above description shows a new understanding of the use of technology and the digital economy, as demonstrated by the fact that the majority of members who participated in the live stream were members of the

community in that area. In the broadcast, a group of people continued to dance because the number of gifts kept increasing.

Based on observations of live-streaming content, Joged Sadbor demonstrates a pattern of digital performance utilisation that serves not only as entertainment but is also linked to economic opportunities through TikTok's virtual gifting system. The active engagement of participants in the performances indicates that the body, expressions, and performance style are constructed in a format that aligns with the demands of visibility and interaction on the platform. Consequently, these findings are positioned as an analysis of patterns of representation within digital content, rather than as a direct claim regarding the internal awareness or understanding of the community. This assumption is reinforced by (Tanjung, n.d.) who states that the social media platform TikTok demonstrates a process of cultural mediation and encourages the commodification of culture through the representation of traditional values. This seems to confirm that there is a shift in cultural values within the community, driven by the use of technology and economic changes undertaken by the villagers. This view is also expressed by (Harist, 2024) who states that a shift in cultural values refers to changes and shifts in values brought about by communities or individuals. The factors contributing to this shift in cultural values include social and economic changes, technological advancements, and intercultural interactions. Cultural value shifts usually occur gradually, depending on the response to changes in the cultural context and the wider social environment.

This collective knowledge and awareness is evident in the way the community arranges lighting, costumes, and even determines the strategic timing of live broadcasts to attract more viewers. Not only adults, but children and the elderly also participate, showing the internalization of performative values in everyday life. Meanwhile, in terms of social context, significant changes can be seen in the patterns of interaction and social structures within the community. Public spaces that were previously used for traditional activities have now been transformed into digital stages. Village streets and residents' yards have been transformed into live TikTok performance arenas, complete with sound systems, colorful lighting decorations, and artificial backdrops. People's behavior in these spaces has also changed: dancing, which used to only occur during celebrations, has now become a routine activity and is even considered a job. The boundaries between private and public spaces have become blurred, just as the boundaries between real life and digital life have begun to overlap. The community produces performances with the awareness that they are being “watched” by viewers from outside their area, and this shapes a kind of collective image consciousness. They begin to negotiate with the TikTok algorithm, trying to create live sessions that are entertaining, interactive, and “invite gifts.”

The above assumption then reinforces the assumption of (Amalia Putri Sangadji et al., 2024) who understands that the existence of TikTok algorithms that are packaged in a

more attractive and entertaining way shows the dynamics of competition between content that takes advantage of opportunities and aims to develop more effective digital marketing strategies through TikTok social media.

Moreover, this phenomenon also indicates a transformation in the social structure within the community itself. New roles have emerged, such as main host, admin, lighting coordinator, and star dancer, all of whom are involved in the logic of live content production. This assumption is also stated by (Rifai & Hutabarat, 2025) who explains that the social media platform TikTok is a very strategic medium for building virtual communities and supporting performances other than performing arts and so on. Power relations within the community have also shifted; it is no longer just the neighborhood head or local figures who determine social dynamics, but TikTok hosts and account owners have become key actors who manage broadcast times, show concepts, and the distribution of gifts. This shows that the joged sadbor phenomenon not only affects symbolic and cultural dimensions but also touches upon structural aspects of society. Communities that previously had no access to performance spaces now find a new stage through TikTok. This phenomenon opens up opportunities for micro-economics, but it also carries the potential for a shift in values, where bodily expression and entertainment become primary sources of social and economic capital. In this context, people's bodies become the main medium for attracting attention, negotiating identity, and at the same time earning income.

TikTok has become a new arena that requires citizens to adapt, learn technology, understand the psychology of digital audiences, and develop collective creativity. This change happens quickly and spontaneously, yet it is deeply rooted in the social consciousness of the community as an effort to survive and express themselves amid the changes of the times and the digital economy.

According to (Saragih, 2024) TikTok is currently a news distribution platform that provides opportunities for many media outlets and communities to reach a wider audience more easily through a more engaging visual and narrative approach. TikTok media uses faster, more dynamic, and more entertaining visuals and moving text.

The Joged Sadbor phenomenon on the @Hepibor86 account cannot be viewed merely as a spontaneous activity, but rather as a structured discursive practice characterized by recurring communication patterns. Based on digital observations, it was found that there is an "unwritten script" governing how villagers interact with a global audience through the TikTok screen.

Textual Analysis and Recurring Performance Patterns
At the textual level (micro level), the performance patterns in @Hepibor86's live streams demonstrate strict consistency. The researcher identified the use of repetitive jargon such as "Asik-asik manjur" and "Gaskeun abah," which are uttered in unison when a gift is received. These verbal phrases are not merely expressions of gratitude, but rather an "economic mantra" that serves to validate the presence of the donor (gifter). Examples of screenshots of these recurring performance patterns are as follows. (See [Figure 3](#))

The visual data depicts a semi military style formation, in which villagers line up and perform synchronized dance movements as soon as the audio signal (thumping music) begins. Here, the researcher distinguishes between observation (villagers dancing in formation) and interpretation (the villagers' bodies have been disciplined by the logic of digital performance for monetary value). This communication structure creates a discourse suggesting that collective joy can be "purchased" and "commanded" through digital symbols.

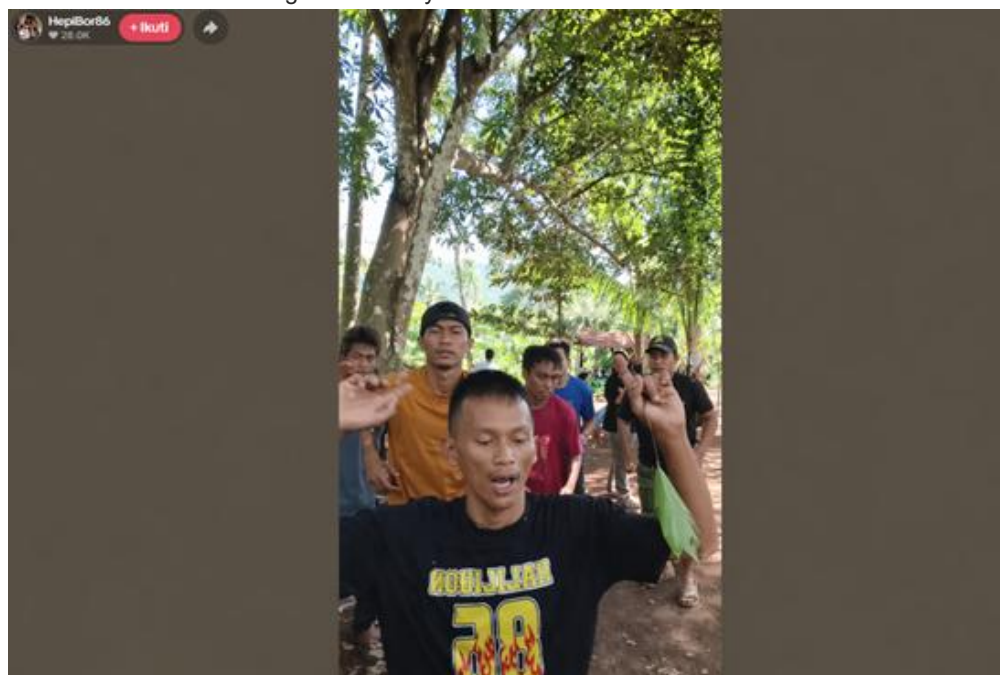


Figure 2. Screenshot of Hepibor 86 account
Source : Researcher documentation results

Cultural Transition and Power Relations (Meso and Macro Levels) link these findings to Fairclough's model, with the dimension of discursive practice evident in how the discourse of "easy work" is produced and distributed. A cultural transition occurs when activities once considered entertainment or social rituals (such as dancing together) are now constructed as primary work. Empirical evidence shows that participants in these live streams span various age groups, indicating that this digital economic discourse has permeated the family structures in the village from a sociocultural perspective (macro level), these discursive patterns reinforce the transition from an agrarian society to a society of the spectacle. The use of a rural setting which contrasts sharply with advanced live-streaming technology highlights the tension between local identity and the demands of global platforms. Researchers interpret this as a form of identity commodification, where the purity of the rural atmosphere is "sold" as an aesthetic backdrop to elicit audience sympathy and engagement. Thus, the cultural transition here does not signify the loss of local values, but rather the subjugation of those values under the control of digital capitalism's algorithms.

TikTok Media as a Means of Transforming Community Behavior and Culture

The increasingly widespread use of the social media platform TikTok reflects not only changes in communication patterns but also a cultural shift within society. As one of the newer social media platforms, TikTok serves as an ideological apparatus that shapes the values, ways of thinking and behaviour of social media users. The transformation of cultural identity occurring in this digital era is reinforced by the nature of the virtual space, which openly allows individuals to express themselves more freely but, conversely, gives rise to obstacles such as cultural conflict and dehumanisation. According to (Aini et al., n.d. 2026), the existence of digital

platforms demonstrates a consumerist attitude amongst the public and illustrates how popular culture can shape contemporary communication patterns in society.

The argument that the social media platform TikTok is one of the platforms driving the transformation of social norms in this digital media era is also put forward by (Kurniawati, 2025) who states that in this digital media era, the transformation of social norms is a complex phenomenon that will occur alongside the rapid growth in the use of information and communication technologies. Social norms, which were originally used as unwritten rules demonstrated through the behaviour of individuals in society, have shifted significantly with the development of digital culture, particularly through the social media platform TikTok.

One of the current trends is the 'Joged Sadbor' phenomenon, which has taken TikTok Live by storm; it not only provides entertainment but has also transformed people's behaviour in various aspects of daily life. One notable change is the increased boldness of village communities to appear in digital public spaces, something that was previously considered taboo or unusual. Communities that used to be reserved and hesitant to appear on camera now actively compete to take part in live streaming. This change also affects communication patterns, with residents starting to imitate the speaking style of TikTok hosts, using popular phrases such as "gift-in dulu," "mantap parah," or "turunin bintangnya," both in digital spaces and in everyday interactions. This digital language has seeped into local conversations as a form of symbolic adaptation to TikTok culture.

According to (Kelejan et al., n.d.) TikTok social media emphasizes algorithms and prioritizes user interests. This allows short and entertaining content to go viral more quickly. This phenomenon has had an impact on people's mindsets, leading them to seek new livelihoods that can generate money more quickly.



Figure 3. Screenshot of Hepibor 86 account



Figure 4. Screenshot of Hepibor 86 account
Source : Researcher documentation results

In addition, there has also been a transformation in the economic orientation of the community. Many residents who previously did not have a steady job now use joded sadbor activities as a source of additional income. Digital gifts such as flower stickers, rockets, or lions on TikTok are seen as a form of donation or appreciation that has real value because they can be converted into cash. This has fostered a new behavior of self-branding, even within the village community context, where residents begin to pay attention to their appearance, dancing style, and ways to attract viewers in order to receive more gifts. The community has also started to implement strategies like timing broadcasts, promoting on social media, and creating separate TikTok accounts to showcase their performance clips, similar to professional content creator strategies (Fadilla, 2025).

Another transformation can be seen in the way people manage public spaces. House yards, village roads, or community halls have been turned into performative stages equipped with spotlights, loudspeakers, and mobile phone cameras connected directly to TikTok. This shows a shift in the function of space and time in society, where social spaces that used to be communal and relaxed have now become areas for content production and entertainment that are scheduled and directed toward monetization. According to (Ambarwati et al., n.d.), the monetization features on TikTok, such as the TikTok Creator Fund, AdSense, endorsements, and live shopping, create a wide variety of revenue streams and reach a very broad market. This has influenced perceptions about work and careers among today's society. Society has also experienced collective behavioral changes, such as the emergence of new habits of gathering in the evening, no longer for social gatherings or religious ceremonies, but rather to dance together in front of the camera.

This phenomenon indicates that TikTok serves as a discursive space where community behavior is

reconfigured through live streaming activities that facilitate platform-mediated solicitation. Rather than merely encouraging traditional begging, this practice represents a shift toward digital gift-seeking, where individuals mobilize social interaction and digital performance to secure economic appreciation. This is demonstrated through comments or remarks made during live streams, such as:

("Terimakasih kakak cantik gift'nya") 'Thank you, beautiful sister, for the gift'

("Naikin lagi gais, tap-tap layar ya")'Up it again, guys, tap the screen'

("Yang ada di akun hepibor sehat selalu")'May everyone on the hepibor account always be healthy'

As noted by (Ramdani et al., 2025), the global prevalence of 'gift-asking' activities on TikTok Live highlights a broader trend in the platformization of labor. From an analytical perspective, this activity does not simply replicate offline begging, but rather introduces a sophisticated strategy of digital monetization that relies on the 'attention economy.' Consequently, what appears as a simple request for support is actually a complex negotiation of digital labor, where the performer's visibility and the audience's empathy are synthesized into a new form of digital economy.

This phenomenon also shows how the platformization of culture (Nieborg & Poell, 2018) operates at the grassroots level. TikTok has become the main medium that reshapes cultural behavior, from entertainment aesthetics, ways of expressing oneself, to patterns of consumption and production of identity. Villagers who were previously not directly affected by the currents of digital capitalism are now integrated into its ecosystem, turning their bodies into visual commodities ready for mass consumption. In this context, the transformation of community behavior through joded sadbor demonstrates that digital media not only shapes opinions but also helps regulate lifestyles, habits, and social values on a micro scale.

The Joded Sadbor phenomenon, as presented through the TikTok account Hepibor86, implicitly constructs and

reproduces a number of critical discourses related to power relations, the digital economy, and the negotiation of identity among lower-class communities in the media space. The most dominant discourse is that of the digital people's economy, where marginalized communities previously excluded from the media capitalism ecosystem are beginning to position themselves as active subjects in attention-based economic production. Through bodily expression and togetherness in dancing, citizens present an alternative narrative about how grassroots communities can "survive" through creativity and collaboration in digital media, without relying on formal channels such as permanent employment or government assistance. Discussions regarding digital capitalism, which is beginning to position small communities centred on entertainment content, are also highlighted by (Sarasati et al., n.d.), who argues that the emergence of alternative forms of monetisation is shaping a system of digital capitalism. This has the effect of exploiting digital communities or workers through a narrative of freedom, entertainment and participation.

In addition to this, changes or transformations in cultural values also have several implications for the traditional values that form the character and identity of a nation. (Ubaidullah, n.d. 2025) also notes that changes in cultural values within society are influenced by developments in social media, amongst other factors. This brings about both positive and negative impacts simultaneously. The positive impacts felt by society include broadening horizons and promoting inclusivity, strengthening public awareness of diversity, and facilitating cultural collaboration between groups. The negative impacts that also arise include the erosion of traditional values that previously characterised the nation's cultural identity.

The Discourse of Commodification Through Joged Sador

On the other hand, this discourse also shows the commodification of the body and entertainment, where society, including children and the elderly, is presented as objects of spectacle to attract viewers and solicit gifts. This creates a new dynamic of power relations between viewers (as gift contributors) and performers (as those who must continuously capture attention). In this context, gifts are no longer seen merely as a form of support, but rather as a symbol of power that governs the behavior of performers; for example, those who dance more expressively or perform more attractively will receive more gifts.

The discourse on commodification presented in Hepibor86's TikTok live stream content also refers to the practice of commodifying empathy, as shown through the appearance or arguments constructed in the following live broadcast. (See [figure 4](#))

The above broadcast shows that the phrases "ayogiftlagidong" and "terimakasihgiftnya" indicate the commodification of empathy by the owner of the Hepibor86 account and the community performing Joged

Sador on TikTok. There were also those who commented, "they're looking for money" and "they need donations." The notion of the commodification of empathy, which has now spread widely among the public, particularly through TikTok live streaming, is also mentioned by (Bias Cakrawala et al., n.d.) who states that the commodification of empathy demonstrated through TikTok's live feature is relevant to practice at this time. This is done because the behavior of "online begging" is practiced with the aim of making a profit.

In addition, there is also a discourse of cultural resistance, where communities use global platforms like TikTok to showcase local values. This discourse is also reinforced by (Pasaribu, 2026) argument that the TikTok platform has become an arena for the representation of identity, solidarity, and even resistance to social norms. The TikTok platform also reflects changes in the culture of communication in modern society. Currently, social values have shifted to a visual culture that emphasizes appearance and popularity over intellectual and moral substance.

Group dances, the use of dangdut music or traditional remixes, and the village atmosphere presented as the backdrop of performances reflect a form of identity negotiation between global and local cultures. Communities are not only consumers of digital popular culture but also producers of discourse that embed values of mutual cooperation, togetherness, and local expression within global media formats. In this context, Joged Sador can be seen as a symbolic practice that blurs the boundary between the dominance of popular culture and the revitalization of village culture, representing a distinctive form of glocalization.

Through the Critical Discourse Analysis approach, it can be concluded that the Hepibor86 account is not merely a viral entertainment account, but rather a discourse production space that reflects changes in social structure, the reproduction of digital power, and the cultural dynamics of the lower-class society now present in the global social media space. Behind the dance moves and laughter appearing on the screen, there is a complex struggle of meaning between expression, exploitation, representation, and symbolic resistance of marginalized communities in the digital landscape.

Based on the analysis presented, the commodification observed in the Joged Sador phenomenon on the @Hepibor86 account indicates a synchronization between residents' physical activities and the platform's economic logic. This is also demonstrated in the content explanation provided below.

The conclusion regarding digital exploitation in this context is not a moral assumption, but an empirical finding based on observations of broadcasts lasting nearly 24 hours in rotation, as illustrated in the image excerpt above, which shows that they streamed live together for 35 hours non-stop. This pattern demonstrates that the bodies of villagers have been integrated into a content production system demanding ceaseless performativity to maintain algorithmic visibility.

Theoretically, this live-streaming space functions as a

discursive production space where the identity of rural poverty or simplicity is repackaged as an aesthetic appeal. Findings indicate a reliance on viewer interactions through virtual gifts to determine the sustainability of a dance performance. This reflects an unequal power dynamic; viewers act as producers dictating the narrative, while villagers become commodified subjects.

However, it is important to clarify that this phenomenon also contains elements of symbolic resistance. Empirically, residents' choice to leave traditional agricultural work for the digital sector can be interpreted as an exercise of their agency in breaking through structural economic constraints in rural areas. Rather than merely being passive victims, the residents of @Hepibor86 utilize this platform as an instrument of negotiation against economic marginalization. Thus, the commodification that occurs is ambivalent: on the one hand, it is a form of submission to platform capitalism (empirical finding), but on the other hand, it is a pragmatic survival strategy through the utilization of the discourse of attention (theoretical interpretation). The alignment between field evidence and Fairclough's framework confirms that Joged Sadbor is a site where local cultural values and the logic of the global market clash and negotiate.

Conclusion

This study shows that the Joged Sadbor phenomenon presented through the TikTok account @Hepibor86 can be understood as a platform-based discursive representation of how digital economy practices, power relations, and local identity are negotiated in live-streaming content. Based on Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis, the findings indicate that TikTok Live functions not only as entertainment, but also as a mediated space in which meanings of work, visibility, and collective performance are constructed and circulated within the platform environment.

References

- Aini, F., Rahmah, A., & Aeni, N. (n.d.). SIKAP KONSUMTIF SEBAGAI BUDAYA POPULER DAN KOMUNIKASI ANTAR BUDAYA DALAM PLATFORM DIGITAL. In *JANUARI* (Number 1).
- Amalia Putri Sangadji, F., Cahya Syah Fitri, A., Anzelia Sitanggang, D., Hidayat, R., & Ikaningtyas, M. (2024). PERAN MEDIA SOSIAL TIKTOK SEBAGAI PLATFORM UNTUK PENGEMBANGAN BISNIS DI ERA DIGITAL. In *Jurnal Pengabdian Kepada Masyarakat* (Vol. 4, Number 1). https://jurnal.fkip.samawa-university.ac.id/karya_jpm/index
- Ambarwati, R., Wijaya, S., & Surakarta, M. (n.d.). PENGARUH EKONOMI KREATOR DIGITAL TERHADAP PENDAPATAN GENERASI Z DI PERKOTAAN: STUDI DI TIKTOK DAN YOUTUBE INDONESIA (Vol. 09, Number 03).
- Arizona Matondang, Z., & El Rezel Purba, D. (2021). Penerapan Algoritma Bayes Terhadap Pengguna Sosial Media yang Ketergantungan.
- Ashari, A., & Chandrabuwono, A. B. (2025). *Komunikasi Interaktif dalam Pemanfaatan Live Streaming TikTok sebagai Penghasilan Tambahan di Kalangan Remaja* (Vol. 2, Number 3). <http://jtam.ulm.ac.id/index.php/persuasi>
- Bias Cakrawala, J., Rahma Permatasari, A., Khoirunnisa, W. O., Kemal Elsyifa, A., Phitaloka, M., & Purwaningtyas, F. (n.d.). Komodifikasi Empati: Eksplorasi Fenomena "Ngemis dan Nyawer" Online di Media Sosial TikTok Empathy Commodification: The Exploration of Online "Ngemis Nyawer" Phenomenon on TikTok. *Jurnal Ilmu Pengetahuan Dan Teknologi Komunikasi*, 26(1), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.17933/iptekkom.26.1.2024.1-14>
- Fadilla, Zahra., Y. Yosie., V. Savri., F. (2025). *Strategi Pengembangan Konten Digital Kreator Pemula Pada Media Sosial. Sarjana thesis, Institut Agama Islam Negeri Curup*. INSTITUT AGAMA ISLAM NEGERI CURUP .
- Haq¹, S. H., Fauzi², A., Saing³, B., Maulana⁴, P., Sahrul⁵, S., & Ahmad, A. A. (n.d.). *Implementasi Kebijakan Pemerintah Indonesia Dalam Mengendalikan Konten Negatif "Ngemis Online" Di Platform Media Sosial Tiktok*. 2(1), 2025. <https://doi.org/10.63217/orbit.v2i1.193>
- Harist, M. Q. Al., & P. (2024). *PERGESERAN NILAI-NILAI BUDAYA DALAM KOMUNIKASI PADA REMAJA JORONG MUNGKA TENGAH MENGGUNAKAN APLIKASI TIKTOK*. 3(1), 79–95. <https://doi.org/10.31958/kinema>
- Kelejan, D. F., Lidya, P., Rantung, R., Mintardjo, C. M. O., Soegoto, A. S., Ogi, I. W. J., Tinggi, S., Petra, I. E., Sam, U., & Manado, R. (n.d.). *Kajian Historis Media Sosial: Dari Pengguna Media Sosial Biasa Menjadi Konten Kreator Sukses di Era Digital. Tangkoko Jurnal Manajemen Dan Akuntansi*, 11(1), 1–10. Retrieved <https://ejournal.stiepetrabitung.ac.id/index.php/JT>
- Kurniawati, D. (2025). *Transformasi Pendidikan Abad 21 dalam Merealisasikan Sumber Daya Manusia Unggul Menuju Indonesia*

The transformation of community behavior is reflected in various aspects, such as increased courage to appear in digital public spaces, changes in social interaction patterns from being primarily local to global, and adaptation to a gift-based digital economy system. Villagers who previously were not involved in content creation have now become the main actors in live performances, indicating a shift in roles and values within their social structure. Group dancing activities are no longer merely local entertainment but have also become a form of self-performance aimed at attracting attention and gaining economic appreciation through the TikTok platform.

Discursively, this phenomenon presents a contradiction between expression and exploitation, between entertainment and commodification. Citizens' bodies become a visual medium exchanged for gifts, while digital platforms serve as ideological spaces where power relations between viewers and performers take place. Nevertheless, the community is not entirely passive; they demonstrate forms of symbolic resistance through the use of local music, a spirit of collectivity, and village aesthetics elevated to the global realm. Thus, Joged Sadbor can be understood as a space of negotiation between the dominance of digital capitalism and the cultural creativity of the local community.

This analysis reveals that the discursive construction of Joged Sadbor highlights a tension between creative expression and digital commodification. This is demonstrated through the performers' bodies and movements, which serve as a visual medium for digital-based economic growth through online donations. It is important to note that these findings are based on the interpretation of digital content and interaction patterns observed on the TikTok account Hepibor86. The transformation identified here refers to a discursive shift within the digital media sphere, not across the entire community.

- Emas. 2045. *Jurnal Basicedu*, 7(5), 3309–3321. <https://doi.org/10.31004/basicedu.v7i5.5030>
- Kusuma, A., Al Barqi, M. F., Faisal, A., Ulum, B., Dan, K., Islam, P., & Dakwah, F. (2024). *COMMUNICATIVE: (53-66) ANALISIS WACANA KRITIS DALAM MEDIA SOSIAL INSTAGRAM TENTANG "WANITA KARIR" MODEL ANALISIS NORMAN FAIRCLOUGH*. <https://doi.org/10.47453/Adhi>
- Mahda, M., Erawati, D., & Afifah, N. (2025). Fenomena Joget THR 2025. *Maharsi*, 7(2), 53–67. <https://doi.org/10.33503/maharsi.v7i2.1638>
- Nafisah Nailal Husna, & Syamsul Bakhri. (2025). DINAMIKA HABITUS DIGITAL DAN KONTESSTASI MODAL SIMBOLIK: ANALISIS BUDAYA FLEXING PADA GENERASI Z DALAM LANSKAP SOSIAL INDONESIA. *SABANA: Jurnal Sosiologi, Antropologi, Dan Budaya Nusantara*, 4(3), 485–496. <https://doi.org/10.55123/sabana.v4i3.7332>
- Nieborg, D. B., & Poell, T. (2018). The platformization of cultural production: Theorizing the contingent cultural commodity. *New Media and Society*, 20(11), 4275–4292. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444818769694>
- Nurul Huda, S. (2022). Perubahan Struktur Sosial Ekonomi Masyarakat Perdesaan. *JCIC: Jurnal CIC Lembaga Riset Dan Konsultansi Sosial*, 4(2), 31–36. <https://doi.org/10.51486/jbo.v4i2.79>
- Panggabean, S., Sinurat, M., Simorangkir, N. A., Sitorus, C., & Hutasoit, M. (2025). *ANALISIS WACANA KRITIS NORMAN+ FAIRCLOUGH PADA YOUTUBE HELMY YAHYA BICARA, "NGOBROL BISNIS DENGAN SULTAN CILIK 1 MILYAR."* 9(4).
- Pasaribu, D. I. Armayanti, S. Mursida, P. Amelia, N. Arbiyah, F. (2026). 2418-Article Text-7566-1-10-20260303. *At Tawasul: Jurnal Komunikasi Dan Penyiaran Islam*, 1, 24–43.
- Ramdani, M. Z., Nasution, F., Afriansyah, R. P., & Ananda, D. A. V. (2025). Representasi Eksploitasi Kemiskinan dalam Konten TikTok Goyang Sadbor. *Jurnal Audiens*, 6(3), 470–481. <https://doi.org/10.18196/jas.v6i3.555>
- Ridwan, M. (2024, April 6). Gunawan Sadbor Dibebaskan dari Tahanan, Kini jadi Happybor dan Direktur Live. *Jawapos.Com*.
- Rifai, A. R., & Hutabarat, R. E. (2025). Kacamata Gen Z Dalam Seni Pertunjukan: Potensi Pendapatan Ekonomi Kreatif Pada Anggota Sanggar Goong Prada Surabaya. *Jurnal Ekuilnomi*, 7(3), 703–714. <https://doi.org/10.36985/gr8r7s21>
- Saragih, M. Y. (2024). TRANSFORMASI MEDIA TIKTOK SEBAGAI RUANG BARU JURNALISTIK ADAPTASI MEDIA TRADISIONAL TERHADAP TREN DIGITAL. *Humanity Journal*, 5(1).
- Sarasati, F., Rusadi, U., & Nurhayati, K. (n.d.). Transformasi Konsep Komodifikasi Audiens pada Platform Media Digital Youtube sebagai Pelanggengan Kapitalisme.
- Sazali, H. (2025). Krisis Etika Komunikasi di Media Sosial: Analisis Multidisipliner terhadap Peran Algoritma, Literasi Digital, dan Regulasi dalam Mewujudkan Ruang Publik Digital yang Bertanggung Jawab. In *Jurnal Indonesia : Manajemen Informatika dan Komunikasi (JIMIK)* (Vol. 6, Number 2). <https://journal.stmiki.ac.id>
- Sri Mega Hayatulnupus. (2025). Transformasi Komunikasi Masyarakat Modern Melalui Tiktok: Analisis Partisipatif Generasi Z. *Bashirah: Jurnal Komunikasi Dan Penyiaran Islam*, 6(1), 94–106. <https://doi.org/10.51590/bashirah.v6i1.1060>
- Sulianta, F. (2025). *Masyarakat Digital: Tren, Tantangan, dan Perubahan di Era Teknologi* (F. Sulianta, Ed.). Self-Publishing.
- Syahril, Karović, & Aris. (2025). Sadbor Dance and Digital Saweran: A Legal Review of Begging Practices in the Digital Era. *European Journal of Privacy Law & Technologies*, (1), 1. <https://doi.org/10.57230/ejplt251mafsskaa>
- Tanjung, M. A. (n.d.). *Journal of Mandalika Social Science Tiktok Sebagai Ruang Dialog Kultural Generasi Z dan Tradisi Lokal*. Retrieved <https://journal.institutemandalika.com/index.php/jomss>
- Ubaidullah. (n.d.). *Dampak Media Sosial terhadap Perubahan Nilai-nilai Budaya di Kalangan Generasi Muda* (Vol. 5, Number 2). Retrieved <https://dmi-journals.org/deiktis/index>
- Widyatwati, K. (2022). TRANSFORMASI SOSIAL BUDAYA MASYARAKAT PASCA PANDEMI COVID 19. *Sebatik*, 26(1), 387–395. <https://doi.org/10.46984/sebatik.v26i1.1855>
- Wijaya, T. (2023). *LINGTERSA (Linguistik, Terjemahan, Sastra) Construction of Tokopedia Squad Ad Publicity Discourse: A Study of Norman Fairclough Critical Discourse Analysis*. 04(01), 11–019. <https://doi.org/10.26594/register.v6i1.idarticle>