



Toxic Relationship Representation and the Shifting Meaning of Love in TikTok Popular Culture

Ahmad Salman Farid^{1*}

¹*Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri Mandailing Natal, 22976, Indonesia*

Abstract. This study investigates how toxic romantic relationships are represented in TikTok videos and how these representations influence the evolving cultural meanings of love among young users. In the context of digital popular culture, TikTok has emerged as a key site for emotional storytelling and identity performance. Using a qualitative approach and Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), this study analyzed 50 viral TikTok videos and over 1,000 associated comments. Data were selected based on relational themes involving emotional manipulation, dependency, and conflict. The findings identify three dominant themes, (1) the romanticization of toxic behaviors, (2) the ironic or humorous reframing of emotional abuse, and (3) audience identification and normalization of harmful relationship dynamics. Users often interpret such content as relatable, aesthetic, or emotionally resonant. The study argues that TikTok functions not merely as a space of representation but as an emotional and cultural educator where toxic love is reframed and normalized. While some content invites critique, most contributes to shifting emotional norms. The research highlights the implications of these narratives on digital intimacy and the emotional expectations of youth.

Keywords: Toxic Relationships; TikTok; Representation; Emotional Normalization; Digital Love

1. Introduction

Social media has emerged as a dominant cultural force, shaping how people perceive relationships, emotions, and self-expression (Hudson et al., 2015; Strach, 2023). Among these platforms, TikTok (2021) has carved a unique space as a digital arena where users, particularly young people, create, consume, and participate in narratives surrounding personal and romantic experiences. One striking phenomenon within this space is the widespread representation of toxic relationships (Fan et al., 2024; Nadia Nurul Saskia et al., 2023; Parent et al., 2019), often portrayed through humorous reenactments, trending audio clips, or confessional storytelling. These representations blur the line between critique and romanticization, leading to a significant shift in the collective meaning of love from a foundation of mutual respect and emotional safety to a performance of emotional turbulence, power imbalance, and even romanticized pain.

*Corresponding author's email: ahmadsalmanfarid@stain-madina.ac.id, Telp. +6281218181955



Scholarly work has begun to explore the implications of digital intimacy and emotional expression in these spaces. Civila (2023) argues that platforms like TikTok encourage forms of public intimacy, where users make their private romantic experiences visible and narratable, leading to new social norms about what constitutes a normal relationship. These performances do not merely reflect reality but participate in constructing it. Similarly, Geofakta Razali (2022) highlight how TikTok's algorithm disproportionately promotes emotionally extreme content, which includes highly dramatized depictions of toxic relationships. This content circulates widely because of its emotional intensity and aesthetic appeal, reinforcing a model of love that is entangled with dependency, conflict, or suffering.

In terms of discourse, Suarez Estrada (2022) stress that toxicity in social media communication is often misunderstood or downplayed due to the ironic and humorous styles that dominate digital culture. This becomes particularly problematic on platforms like TikTok, where emotionally harmful behaviors such as love-bombing, gaslighting, and emotional manipulation are occasionally repackaged into trends, aestheticized confessionals, or comedic skits (Kusumawardhani & Sari, 2021; Mely Muliati & Nurul Aiyuda, 2022; Susilo, 2020). These forms of representation, while entertaining, obscure the seriousness of emotional abuse and redefine toxic behavior as quirky or even desirable.

Despite growing academic interest in digital relationships, there remains a gap in critical investigations focused specifically on how toxic romantic relationships are framed on TikTok and how they shape shifting understandings of love among its users. Much of the current research centers around platforms like Instagram or YouTube, with less emphasis on the unique narrative and algorithmic dynamics of TikTok (Bray, 2024; Obreja, 2024; Vázquez-Herrero et al., 2022). Furthermore, few studies have synthesized visual cultural analysis with relational communication theories to address the dual role of TikTok as both a mirror and engine of cultural transformation in romantic ideologies.

This research is significant for several reasons. First, it responds to the urgent need to unpack how popular platforms contribute to evolving standards of love and relationship ethics, especially at a time when rates of dating violence and emotional instability are rising among youth populations (Lacasa et al., 2022; Literat & Kligler-Vilenchik, 2021). Second, it offers a media-critical lens for understanding how young people internalize, resist, or reproduce toxic norms in the context of algorithm-driven content exposure. Third, it contributes to digital media literacy by interrogating how seemingly playful content may carry deeper implications for how love, pain, and power are culturally coded.

The objective of this study is to critically examine how toxic relationships are represented on TikTok and how these representations inform the shifting meaning of love in contemporary popular culture. Through discourse and content analysis of selected viral TikTok videos, the research seeks to identify recurring themes, visual and narrative strategies, and audience engagements that frame toxicity as either problematic, normalized, or even aspirational. Ultimately, the study aims to provide insights into how media representations influence young people's emotional and relational worldviews in the digital age.

2. Methods

This study employs a qualitative research design, specifically using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine how toxic relationships are represented on TikTok and how these representations influence the evolving meaning of love among users (Aji Sastra



Jendra, 2021; Nurhabibah et al., 2023; Zhu, 2020). The qualitative approach is appropriate for this inquiry as it allows for deep interpretation of symbolic, visual, and linguistic patterns within cultural texts (Creswell, 2003). By treating TikTok videos not merely as entertainment but as cultural artifacts, this study explores the ideological structures that inform users' understanding of romantic relationships.

Data were collected from TikTok between January and May 2025 through purposive sampling. Search terms such as "toxic love," "gaslighting," "red flags," and hashtags like #toxicrelationship, #relationshipproblems, and #staytoxic were used to identify relevant content. A total of 50 videos were selected based on three criteria: (1) they explicitly depict or discuss toxic romantic dynamics, (2) they received at least 50,000 views, and (3) they include narratable elements (such as dialogue, captions, or music) that support deeper interpretative analysis. To complement the primary data, user comments (maximum 30 per video) were also collected to examine audience reactions and meaning-making.

For the analysis, the study follows Fairclough's three-dimensional CDA model textual analysis, discursive practice, and social practice (Aji Sastra Jendra, 2021). At the textual level, the research identifies key linguistic features, narrative structures, and audiovisual elements that shape how toxic relationships are portrayed. At the level of discursive practice, it explores how these videos reproduce or resist dominant norms about romance, often through humor, irony, or dramatization. Finally, the social practice level situates these representations within broader cultural discourses, such as youth identity, emotional expression, and gendered expectations in romantic life.

The study also analyzes audience engagement by coding themes in the comment sections. This allows for an understanding of how viewers interpret, endorse, criticize, or even emulate the behaviors depicted in the videos. NVivo software is utilized to assist with organizing and coding qualitative data, ensuring systematic analysis and traceability of findings. Through this approach, the study bridges the gap between mediated representation and lived interpretation.

To ensure research validity and reflexivity, triangulation is applied by combining visual, textual, and audience data. Peer review from fellow scholars in digital media studies is employed to cross-check emerging themes. A reflexive journal is maintained by the researcher to acknowledge personal bias and to critically examine their own interpretive position. This methodological framework offers a robust pathway to explore how TikTok functions not only as a platform for content sharing but also as a cultural site where definitions of love and toxicity are constantly negotiated and redefined.

3. Result and Discussion

From the analysis of 50 selected TikTok videos and over 1,000 user comments, three dominant themes emerged: (1) Romanticization of Toxic Behavior, (2) Satirical Reframing of Emotional Abuse, and (3) Audience Normalization and Identification. These themes reveal how toxic relationship dynamics are not only made visible but also emotionally re-coded through the aesthetic and narrative affordances of TikTok.

3.1. Romanticizing Emotional Turmoil: When Toxic Becomes Desirable

The emotional theater of TikTok, love has been assigned new costumes, new scripts, and new stages, stages often bathed in dramatic lighting, melancholic soundtracks, and aesthetically filtered heartbreak. One of the most striking phenomena uncovered in the analysis of popular TikTok videos is the cultural romanticization of behaviors once



universally categorized as toxic: jealousy, possessiveness, manipulation, and even psychological dependency. What used to be red flags in relational health are now stitched into a tapestry of passionate storytelling, framed not as warnings but as markers of deep, all-consuming love.

This is not merely a question of misguided individuals uploading questionable content. It is a symptom of a broader emotional shift taking place in digital popular culture a shift where intensity is privileged over intimacy, and where suffering is equated with sincerity. On TikTok, videos portraying heated arguments, obsessive behaviors, or dramatic emotional highs and lows often trend far beyond more balanced, healthy representations of relationships. They are not only more frequent; they are more popular, more shared, and more emotionally resonant to viewers who interpret such portrayals as authentic, “real,” or even aspirational.

Take, for example, a widely shared video format in which a young woman lip-syncs to the audio line, “He only acts like that because he loves too hard” delivered in a tone of resigned affection. The visuals often include flashbacks of emotional confrontations, scenes of crying followed by tender reconciliation, or symbolic shots like a tightly gripped hand or tear-streaked cheeks under dim bedroom lights. These visual cues are not random; they are carefully curated to elicit empathy, aesthetic pleasure, and emotional recognition. The behaviors being portrayed though toxic in nature are emotionally packaged as part of a grand, tragic love story.

Why does this happen? In part, it reflects what Halverson (2013) calls the representational process, where meaning is constructed and negotiated within cultural codes. When TikTok creators reframe toxic behavior through romantic imagery and narrative styling, they are not just expressing personal experiences; they are participating in the re-coding of what love looks and feels like in a digital context. The platform’s design its short-form content, its algorithm favoring high emotionality, its reliance on trends and shared audios, acts as an amplifier for this emotional aestheticization.

Importantly, this romanticization does not operate in isolation. It thrives in an emotional climate shaped by loneliness, longing, and the search for validation particularly among young users navigating their formative relational experiences. The cultural economy of TikTok rewards emotional expressiveness, which often means dramatized displays of love, heartbreak, and reconciliation. For many, watching or creating these videos becomes a way to process their own relationship challenges, to feel seen, or to perform emotional depth in ways that are socially intelligible and digitally rewarding.

In this emotional economy, toxic behavior is no longer interpreted as harmful, but instead, as evidence of emotional investment. A partner’s jealous outburst is reframed as “he cares too much”; a controlling demand is seen as a symptom of “loving too intensely”; emotional dependency is repackaged as “never wanting to let go.” These reinterpretations are dangerous because they strip the behaviors of their harmful context and embed them within narratives of loyalty, sacrifice, and romantic endurance.

This cultural redefinition of love is particularly concerning when we consider its implications. It fosters a generation of youth who may internalize the idea that love must hurt to be real, that conflict is passion, and that chaos is proof of care. In the worst-case scenarios, this can lead to emotional stagnation, cycles of abuse, or the normalization of patterns that should be challenged not cherished.

The romanticization of toxic relationships on TikTok reflects more than just poor taste or problematic storytelling. It signifies a deeper transformation in how digital youth culture perceives and performs love. As the platform becomes both a mirror and a mold, it



is crucial to critically question what kind of love we are consuming and what kind of love we are coming to desire.

Table 1 Narrative and Visual Strategies Used to Romanticize Toxic Behavior on TikTok

Narrative/Visual Strategy	Description	Emotional Effect	Example TikTok Content
Soft Lighting and Cinematic Filters	Use of dreamy visuals to soften or glamorize scenes of conflict or jealousy	Aestheticizes toxicity as beautiful or meaningful	A slow-motion video of a couple arguing under golden-hour lighting
Melancholic or Poetic Music	Background music that invokes sadness or longing during depictions of conflict	Enhances emotional resonance and empathy	A breakup video set to Billie Eilish or Lana Del Rey music
First-person Confessional Monologues	Emotional storytelling that centers the narrator's pain or attachment	Encourages identification with the narrator's struggle	"He yells, but I know it's because he's scared to lose me" monologues
Use of Popular Phrases or Audio Trends	Lip-syncing to audio that frames jealousy/obsession as love	Reinforces cultural scripts of "intense love"	"If he's jealous, it means he really loves you" soundbites
Juxtaposition of Conflict and Tenderness	Videos that shift from fighting scenes to affectionate moments	Creates a narrative of 'love conquers all'	Clips showing emotional fights followed by passionate make-up scenes
Comment Highlighting and Audience Validation	Pinning comments that agree with toxic portrayals	Normalizes and socially endorses harmful behaviors	Pinned comment: "This is real love—messy but honest" under toxic content

Table 1 illustrates the most common narrative and visual strategies that creators on TikTok use to romanticize toxic behaviors within relationships. The first column identifies the specific strategy (e.g., soft lighting, melancholic music), the second explains its function in reframing emotional harm, the third outlines the emotional impact it has on the viewer, and the fourth provides examples based on real observed content from the platform.

Each strategy is not merely aesthetic; it serves a cultural function to make toxic behavior emotionally palatable, even desirable. When creators pair controlling behavior with soft visuals and sorrowful music, they disarm the viewer's critical lens. When monologues frame jealousy as devotion, they invite empathy rather than scrutiny. These narrative devices are powerful tools that shape how viewers understand, interpret, and eventually replicate these relational dynamics in their own lives.



3.2. Humor and Irony as Double-Edged Discourse

A significant portion of content approaches the topic of toxic relationships through humor, satire, and irony. Creators mimic gaslighting, emotional blackmail, or relationship games in short skits that exaggerate the absurdity of these behaviors. While this may initially seem critical or reflective, the humor often softens the perceived severity of the issue. In several cases, users adopt a tone of ironic detachment, using self-deprecating captions like *“this is just how love works now”* or *“at least we’re toxic together”*. These narratives blend awareness and indulgence, creating a discursive space where emotional harm is simultaneously mocked and normalized. The ambiguity in tone between critique and glamorization, makes it difficult to determine whether such content promotes critical thinking or reinforces dangerous relational ideals.

In the ever-evolving language of TikTok, humor and irony have emerged as powerful tools not just for entertainment, but for emotional storytelling and social critique. Many creators tackle the topic of toxic relationships not through direct confrontation or educational messaging, but via comedic skits, dark humor, and sarcastic commentary. A common format includes exaggerated reenactments of manipulation tactics namely gaslighting, silent treatment, obsessive jealousy all performed with dramatic flair and often set to trending audios or humorous voice-overs. These videos, though laced with absurdity, resonate deeply with viewers who recognize echoes of their own experiences in the hyperbole.

What makes this content complex is its simultaneous critique and celebration of toxicity. On the surface, it may appear that creators are ridiculing problematic behaviors, shedding light on harmful dynamics through satire. However, this comedic framing also softens the emotional blow, transforming behaviors that might otherwise be identified as abusive into punchlines or personality quirks. The self-deprecating caption, *“At least we’re toxic together,”* for example, does more than joke; it reveals a sense of resignation and complicity, where toxicity becomes not only tolerable but expected in modern relationships. This emotional ambivalence blurs the boundary between reflective humor and passive endorsement.

In communication theory, this phenomenon can be linked to polysemy (2021), a term referring to the multiple interpretations a single text can produce. A TikTok skit mimicking gaslighting might, to one viewer, be a biting satire on emotional abuse. To another, it might be seen as a funny and relatable exaggeration of everyday couple drama. This multiplicity of meanings is further complicated by the platform’s participatory culture. Viewers comment with phrases like *“OMG, that’s so me!”* or *“This is literally our love language,”* reinforcing a loop where ironic performances become emotional scripts, internalized and echoed by thousands. In this sense, the content doesn’t just entertain; it subtly educates, shaping how toxic behaviors are cognitively and emotionally processed by its audience.

Moreover, humor allows both creators and viewers to distance themselves emotionally from the seriousness of the content. This psychological distancing can serve as a coping mechanism for those reflecting on their own past or current toxic experiences. But it can also act as a desensitizing force, normalizing emotional dysfunction by wrapping it in the safety blanket of comedy. Over time, repeated exposure to such ironic portrayals can erode critical awareness, making it harder to recognize when lines are crossed in real-life relationships. The more we laugh at toxicity, the less toxic it may appear at least on the surface.



3.3. Audience Identification and the Normalization of Toxic Love

Perhaps most revealing is how viewers interact with these videos. Comment sections are filled with statements of deep identification such as “this is my whole relationship in one video”, “I thought I was the only one,” or “toxic but at least it’s love”. Many users relate personally to the content, even if it portrays harmful or unhealthy dynamics. There is a strong trend of normalizing emotional pain as an expected feature of romance, particularly among young women. Some comments do offer resistance or express discomfort, but these are often drowned out by a larger discourse of empathy and resigned acceptance. In this digital emotional ecosystem, TikTok doesn’t just reflect real-life relationships. It actively reshapes emotional expectations by packaging toxicity into relatable, aesthetically pleasing, and socially validated content.

One of the most striking and consequential phenomena observed in the study of toxic relationship content on TikTok is the depth of user identification with emotionally harmful narratives. Unlike traditional media, where audience engagement is largely passive, TikTok invites constant interaction through likes, shares, duets, and especially comments. These comment sections become intimate confessionals, where users openly declare how deeply the content resonates with their own experiences. Statements such as “This is literally me and my boyfriend,” or “It hurts because it’s true,” are not isolated sentiments, they are echoed thousands of times, forming a digital chorus of emotional recognition. This communal identification reinforces a powerful message: if everyone experiences this kind of love, then maybe it’s just how love works.

This collective narrative is especially prominent among young women and teenage users, who often frame toxic behaviors as rites of passage in romantic development. Emotional pain, confusion, and even manipulation are frequently described with a tone of resigned wisdom, “That’s just what relationships are like at our age.” Such statements reveal not only internalized norms but also the emotional socialization occurring within the TikTok ecosystem. Instead of encouraging critical detachment or boundary-setting, these communities tend to valorize endurance, loyalty, and self-sacrifice, even when those traits are exercised in the context of emotional dysfunction. What was once a red flag is now, in some corners of TikTok, seen as a test of commitment or depth of feeling.

Moreover, the algorithm plays a crucial role in reinforcing these perceptions. TikTok’s recommendation system is designed to push content that aligns with a user’s emotional responses, if a user lingers on a video about toxic love, likes it, or engages with its comments, they are likely to be shown more of the same. Over time, this creates a curated emotional reality, where toxic patterns are not only repeated but normalized through repetition. Drawing from Gerbner’s Cultivation Theory, we can argue that consistent exposure to dramatized, aestheticized, and relatable portrayals of unhealthy relationships begins to shape users’ perceptions of what is typical and acceptable in romantic life. What’s more, because the content is often wrapped in humor or beauty, its messages are absorbed without resistance.

It is essential to highlight that not all viewers accept these narratives uncritically. Many users express discomfort, raise red flags, or try to educate others in the comments. However, these voices are often overwhelmed by the larger affective community that validates toxic behavior as romantic or inevitable. When dissenting opinions appear, they are sometimes dismissed with sarcasm or labeled as “too sensitive” or “not understanding real love.” This phenomenon is an example of discursive silencing, where dominant interpretations of romantic toxicity drown out alternative views that might challenge or



deconstruct harmful norms. In such a climate, the space for emotional reflexivity and relational ethics becomes increasingly narrow, making it difficult for users especially young ones to distinguish between passionate love and performative pain.

3.4. Repackaging Emotional Harm: The Aesthetic and Affective Normalization of Toxic Love on TikTok

The findings of this study indicate a powerful cultural shift in how romantic relationships, particularly those marked by emotional toxicity are being framed, consumed, and interpreted within the TikTok ecosystem. Rather than being condemned, toxic behaviors such as jealousy, manipulation, and emotional dependency are often reimagined as signs of romantic depth or emotional intensity. This reflects what Halverson (2013) describes as the representational process, where meaning is constructed not from fixed truths but from cultural codes that shape how symbols are interpreted. On TikTok, emotional harm is no longer framed as “wrong” or “unhealthy” but is increasingly aestheticized, dramatized, and even celebrated.

One critical factor driving this shift is the platform’s algorithmic logic and performative affordances, which reward emotional expressiveness, dramatic content, and relatability (Zeng & Abidin, 2021). TikTok videos that depict emotionally charged scenarios with high affective value such as tearful monologues, gaslighting skits, or poetic heartbreak edits often go viral due to their resonance with user experiences. As McLean et al. (2024) point out, digital self-performance often blurs the line between authenticity and spectacle, allowing users to dramatize personal narratives in ways that maximize visibility and engagement. This incentivizes creators to “aestheticize” toxic experiences, making emotional pain appear beautiful, profound, or even enviable.

Furthermore, the use of irony and humor in representing toxic dynamics while sometimes functioning as a form of coping or critique can also contribute to a form of affective normalization. According to Bericat (2016), emotions are not just internal states but cultural practices that circulate through bodies, texts, and media, shaping how we relate to the world. In this case, the repeated performance and consumption of toxic tropes, especially through comedic or self-deprecating tones, blurs ethical boundaries and reinforces the idea that love inherently involves suffering. What was once considered red flags, gaslighting, overpossessiveness (2023), emotional instability are reframed as common, even expected, parts of youth romance.

This normalization is most evident in the audience reception. As found in the comment analysis, users often express deep identification with toxic narratives, using phrases like “*this is literally me*” or “*toxic but worth it.*” Such reactions suggest that viewers are not simply passive observers but active meaning-makers who integrate these digital scripts into their emotional self-concepts. Gerbner’s Cultivation Theory (2007) is particularly useful here, repeated exposure to dramatized content influences how audiences perceive reality. Over time, the glamorized depiction of toxic love can shape audience beliefs about what is normal or even desirable in romantic relationships.

TikTok has become a site of emotional pedagogy, where the boundaries between pain and love, abuse and affection, are taught, blurred, and reshaped through algorithmic culture and peer validation. These findings raise important questions about how digital youth culture may be internalizing and perpetuating relational models that prioritize emotional chaos over emotional health. The platform’s convergence of aesthetics, performance, and community has created a feedback loop in which toxic love is not only visible but increasingly consumable.



4. Conclusion

This study reveals that toxic relationships are not only widely represented on TikTok but also redefined through aesthetic, emotional, and performative strategies that recast harmful behaviors as signs of love, loyalty, or passion. The findings show that many TikTok creators romanticize emotional turmoil, using dramatized visuals, melancholic music, and relatable scripts to portray possessiveness, gaslighting, and emotional dependency as normal or desirable relationship dynamics. This is further amplified by user engagement that expresses emotional identification, often interpreting toxicity as an unavoidable or even meaningful element of modern love.

The discussion further indicates that TikTok acts as an affective cultural space where toxicity in romantic relationships is normalized through irony, humor, and peer interaction. The blending of critique and celebration in the content, alongside the intense identification seen in user responses supports the claim that social media, particularly TikTok, is reshaping relational norms and emotional expectations among youth. Referencing Hall's representation theory, Ahmed's affective circulation, and Gerbner's cultivation theory, the study argues that TikTok plays an active role in producing emotional scripts that equate suffering with sincerity, and chaos with connection.

However, the study is limited in its scope, focusing primarily on English-language TikTok content and a specific period of data collection. The findings may not fully capture cultural variations or longitudinal shifts. Future research could explore how different demographic groups (e.g., based on gender, geography, or religious identity) interpret and respond to toxic love content. In addition, deeper longitudinal studies are needed to assess how prolonged exposure to such representations may influence actual relationship behavior, emotional well-being, and expectations in romantic partnerships.

References

- Aji Sastra Jendra, B. (2021). Critical Discourse Analysis Fairclough on The Content of Game FF and PUBG in The Media Tiktok. *JCIC: Jurnal CIC Lembaga Riset Dan Konsultan Sosial*, 3(1). <https://doi.org/10.51486/jbo.v3i1.25>
- Bericat, E. (2016). The sociology of emotions: Four decades of progress. *Current Sociology*, 64(3), 491–513. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392115588355>
- Bray, G. A. (2024). Capturing Consumer Attention: An In-Depth Analysis of TikTok Live Shopping. *Law and Economy*, 3(1). <https://doi.org/10.56397/le.2024.01.04>
- Carston, R. (2021). Polysemy: Pragmatics and sense conventions. *Mind and Language*, 36(1). <https://doi.org/10.1111/mila.12329>
- Chen, X., Lee, C., Hui, C., Lin, W., Brown, G., & Liu, J. (2023). Feeling possessive, performing well? Effects of job-based psychological ownership on territoriality, information exchange, and job performance. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 108(3), 403–424. <https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0001027>
- Civila, S., De Casas Moreno, P., Rojas, A. D. G., & Gómez, Á. H. (2023). TikTok and the caricaturing of violence in adolescent romantic relationships. *Analisi*, 69. <https://doi.org/10.5565/rev/analisi.3632>
- Creswell, J. W. (2003). Creswell, J.W. (2003). Chapter One, "A Framework for Design." *Research Design Qualitative Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*. <https://doi.org/10.3109/08941939.2012.723954>
- Fan, L., Li, L., & Hemphill, L. (2024). Toxicity on Social Media During the 2022 Mpox Public Health Emergency: Quantitative Study of Topical and Network Dynamics. *Journal of Medical Internet Research*, 26, e52997. <https://doi.org/10.2196/52997>



- Halverson, E. R. (2013). Digital Art Making as a Representational Process. *Journal of the Learning Sciences*, 22(1). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10508406.2011.639471>
- Hudson, S., Roth, M. S., Madden, T. J., & Hudson, R. (2015). The effects of social media on emotions, brand relationship quality, and word of mouth: An empirical study of music festival attendees. *Tourism Management*, 47, 68–76. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2014.09.001>
- Kusumawardhani, E., & Sari, D. S. (2021). Gelombang Pop Culture Tik-Tok: Studi kasus Amerika Serikat, Jepang, India dan Indonesia. *Padjadjaran Journal of International Relations*, 3(1). <https://doi.org/10.24198/padjir.v3i1.27758>
- Lacasa, P., Carbonell-Bernal, N., Duran-Bonavila, S., & Contreras-Pulido, P. (2022). Heroes, idols, and youth influencers: cultural industries and identity models in TikTok. *TECHNO Review. International Technology, Science and Society Review / Revista Internacional de Tecnología, Ciencia y Sociedad*, 11. <https://doi.org/10.37467/revtechno.v11i4391>
- Literat, I., & Kligler-Vilenchik, N. (2021). How Popular Culture Prompts Youth Collective Political Expression and Cross-Cutting Political Talk on Social Media: A Cross-Platform Analysis. *Social Media and Society*, 7(2). <https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051211008821>
- McLean, J., Southerton, C., & Lupton, D. (2024). Young people and TikTok use in Australia: digital geographies of care in popular culture. *Social and Cultural Geography*, 25(5). <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2023.2230943>
- Mely Muliati, & Nurul Aiyuda. (2022). Loneliness but Narcissistic! *Jurnal Riset Psikologi*. <https://doi.org/10.29313/jrp.v2i2.1595>
- Nadia Nurul Saskia, Fairus Prihatin Idris, & Sumiaty. (2023). Perilaku Toxic Relationship Terhadap Kesehatan Remaja Di Kota Makassar. *Window of Public Health Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.33096/woph.v4i3.829>
- Nurhabibah, P., Hetilaniar, H., Santoso, B. W. J., & Rustono, R. (2023). A Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis of TikTok FYP Video. *International Journal of Social Science Research and Review*, 6(2). <https://doi.org/10.47814/ijssrr.v6i2.829>
- Obreja, D. M. (2024). When Stories Turn Institutional: How TikTok Users Legitimate the Algorithmic Sensemaking. *Social Media and Society*, 10(1). <https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051231224114>
- Parent, M. C., Gobble, T. D., & Rochlen, A. (2019). Social media behavior, toxic masculinity, and depression. *Psychology of Men and Masculinity*, 20(3). <https://doi.org/10.1037/men0000156>
- Razali, G., & Yulianti, Y. (2022). The Influence of Digital Communication on TikTok Addictive Behavior on Elementary School. *Jurnal Komunikasi Ikatan Sarjana Komunikasi Indonesia*, 7(2). <https://doi.org/10.25008/jkiski.v7i2.760>
- Saefudin, A., & Venus, A. (2007). Cultivation Theory. *Mediator: Jurnal Komunikasi*, 8(1). <https://doi.org/10.29313/mediator.v8i1.1243>
- Strach, S. (2023). Body Image and Social Media Sharing. *Crossing Borders: Student Reflections on Global Social Issues*, 5(1). <https://doi.org/10.31542/cb.v5i1.2528>
- Suarez Estrada, M., Juarez, Y., & Piña-García, C. A. (2022). Toxic Social Media: Affective Polarization After Feminist Protests. *Social Media and Society*, 8(2). <https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051221098343>
- Susilo, D. (2020). Unlocking The Secret of E-Loyalty: A Study from Tiktok Users in China. *International Journal of Economics, Business, and Entrepreneurship*, 3(1). <https://doi.org/10.23960/ijebe.v3i1.73>



- Vázquez-Herrero, J., Negreira-Rey, M. C., & López-García, X. (2022). Let's dance the news! How the news media are adapting to the logic of TikTok. *Journalism*, 23(8). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884920969092>
- Zeng, J., & Abidin, C. (2021). '#OkBoomer, time to meet the Zoomers': studying the memefication of intergenerational politics on TikTok. *Information Communication and Society*, 24(16). <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2021.1961007>
- Zhu, Y. (2020). The Expectation of TikTok in International Media: A Critical Discourse Analysis. *Open Journal of Social Sciences*, 08(12). <https://doi.org/10.4236/jss.2020.812012>

