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INFLUENCERS AS DIGITAL LABOR IN LOCAL TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

INFLUENCER SEBAGAI TENAGA KERJA DIGITAL DALAM PENGEMBANGAN PARIWISATA LOKAL

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ABSTRACT

The tourism sector serves as a key driver of regional economic growth. One indirect strategy to promote local destinations is through social media influencers, who act as digital workers. This study explores the phenomenon of influencers as digital laborers in the context of tourism development in Indonesia, focusing on content creation, production autonomy, and content commodification. Using a qualitative phenomenological approach, the research draws on digital labor theory and tourism communication, based on interviews with six local influencers affiliated with Generasi Pesona Indonesia (GenPI). Additional data were sourced from journals, books, blogs, and informants' social media content. Analysis was conducted using Atlas.ti. Findings reveal that the influencer communication process involves competencies in production, distribution, interaction, public persona, relationship building, and persuasive ability. Influencers play multiple roles as content creators, multipliers, moderators, and protagonists. The outputs include content, audience reach, engagement, personalization, peer influence, authenticity, and perceived credibility. These outputs are disseminated across digital platforms, leading to outcomes in the form of broader content distribution and network expansion. Ultimately, the influencers' impact is visible in strengthened digital interaction and regional tourism visibility.

Keywords: Digital Labour, GenPi, Influencer, Local Tourism,

ABSTRAK

Sektor pariwisata menjadi penggerak utama perekonomian daerah. Salah satu strategi promosi tidak langsung adalah melalui peran influencer media sosial yang berfungsi sebagai pekerja digital. Penelitian ini bertujuan mendeskripsikan fenomena influencer sebagai pekerja digital dalam pembangunan pariwisata Indonesia, dengan fokus pada pembuatan konten, produksi, dan kebebasan memilih konten wisata. Metode yang digunakan adalah kualitatif dengan pendekatan fenomenologis, berlandaskan konsep tenaga kerja digital, influencer, dan pengembangan pariwisata. Data primer diperoleh melalui wawancara dengan enam influencer lokal dari komunitas Generasi Pesona Indonesia (GenPI), sementara data sekunder berasal dari jurnal, buku, blog, dan media sosial informan. Proses analisis dilakukan dengan bantuan perangkat lunak atlas.ti. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa proses komunikasi influencer melibatkan kompetensi produksi dan distribusi konten, interaksi, persona publik, kualitas hubungan, dan kemampuan memengaruhi. Influencer menjalankan berbagai peran seperti pembuat konten, pengganda, moderator, dan protagonis. Output yang dihasilkan mencakup konten, jangkauan audiens, interaksi, personalisasi, efek sosial, keaslian, dan kredibilitas. Distribusi konten dilakukan melalui berbagai platform digital, dengan dampak pada perluasan jaringan dan intensitas interaksi dalam ekosistem digital pariwisata.

Kata kunci: Fenomenologi; GenPI; Influencer; Pariwisata Daerah; Pekerja Digital

INTRODUCTION

Social media influencers are increasingly popular in Indonesia today. Thus, the activity of creating digital content and disseminating it through social media is unavoidable, and the practice has been around since the proliferation of various digital platforms. Based on We Are Social Hootsuite in January 2023, internet penetration in Indonesia has reached 77% of 212.9 million internet users, an increase of 10 million (+5.2%) year-on-year growth. This growing internet penetration and obscene digital platforms give rise to the assumption that social media will also have "too much power", which is more prominent in some emerging markets.

This phenomenon is gaining attention due to the increasing influence of content creators on social media (especially YouTube). It is recognised that the rise of social media and the diminishing popularity of television and other conventional media have redefined the meaning of celebrities and stars. Besides, there is also referred to as a celebrity endorser. Celebrity endorsers are individuals who are well-known by the public for their achievements to help promote product to gain the trust of consumers in buying interest (Fantini et al., 2023)

YouTube content creators as celebrity endorser receive their income from AdSense can reach billions of rupiah in just one month (Törhönen et al., 2021). Information technology connects users to communicate from anywhere at any time (Voelpel et al., 2004; Brynjolfsson dan McAfee, 2014; Walton & Nayak, 2021). YouTube content creators are considered to have more power to influence viewers compared to traditional celebrities through TV adverts and other media. The authenticity, approachability, and engagement of YouTube celebrities are often perceived more positively than the highly orchestrated advertising messages carried by conventional celebrities. In the context of tourism, influencers have an active role in communicating tourism, namely by inviting, as well as persuading potential tourists. In an effort to brand or introduce tourism, effective promotions carried out by travel bloggers as influencers are one way to provide information on recommendations for the latest tourism spots (Sitepu & Sabrin, 2020).

Based on data from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 2018 published in databooks,

Indonesia's foreign exchange earnings from the tourism sector from 2009 to 2019 reached 17.6 billion US dollars. Therefore, the role of the tourism sector is very important in the sustainability of Indonesia's development. However, in March 2020, Indonesia was in a state of Covid-19 pandemic which resulted in the economy stagnating, tourism activities were stopped and temporarily closed to prevent the spread of the Covid-19 virus. Besides, Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises also suffered losses due to the movement of limited community activities. This will certainly have an impact on the country's foreign exchange earnings which have decreased or decreased. Meanwhile, according to Bank Indonesia (BI), tourism is one of the most effective sectors to boost Indonesia's foreign exchange (Rahma, 2020). Therefore, the strategic role of influencers can mediate messages and influence people in the digital environment or commonly referred to as netizens or net citizens where the information shared can be accessed quickly and easily with an impact that has the potential to go viral. The virality that occurs can be influenced by several factors such as interesting and unique content, content that is aesthetic or cinematic as expected, or content that contains trending issues.

However, beyond marketing persuasion, content creators in digital media also seem to show a stronger socio-cultural impact in public life. These celebrities in digital media seem to be able to not only increase millions of subscribers or followers but also convince and persuade their subscribers to accept certain ideas or perspectives of reality. Or, at the very least to direct their attention to what information to look for, or certain events to watch. For example, the popularity of influencers can be one of the alternatives used indirectly to promote regional tourist destinations. For example, Ulfa Alhanif as one of Semarang's influencers has an Instagram account with 27,000 followers. On Instagram, Ulfa creates photo content on Semarang tourist destinations and then her followers respond with likes and comments. This is how influencers communicate or distribute messages through the media when branding tourism products with their own characteristics and with the advantages of popularity. Hsu & Tsu (2011), stated that a blogger can provide current and advanced information to consumers. Therefore, influencers as opinion leaders who can informed through social media to influence online audiences.

Advances in information and communication technology have an impact on the community's economy especially in tourism sector while triggering behavioural changes and community gaps created by internet dependence. Even internet dependence creates a phenomenon of society as digital labour (Fuchs, 2016). Karl Marx's thoughts are important to understanding the dynamics that occur in the phenomenon of digital labour. Marx called our dependence on the internet and digital communication a "fetish", an object of worship that we use as a substitute for more authentic social and human relationships (Jones, 2018). Humans today are isolated, separated from others, even more familiar with digital avatars (Fosso Wamba et al., 2021), virtual friends, virtual worlds of their creation, and so on, all of which rob us of communication with our fellow humans as human beings. Furthermore, Schyff et al., (2020) argue that individuals may prevent individuals from reinventing themselves due to finding a "new life" in cyberspace, which impacts their psychological and social lives. A good life with technology has more social than individual impacts (Coeckelbergh, 2018). Most social media users (94.5%) actively engage and contribute on social media (We Are Social Hootsuite, 2023). Information shared includes lifestyle, fashion, beauty, travel, and food & drink.

Previous studies discuss digital technology (Guy, 2019), digital culture (Kushlev et al., 2017). Meanwhile, this research focuses on how digital society in Indonesia rests on Fuchs' thinking to prove that communication is a material practice, how labour and language are built on it reciprocally, and how communication is a dialectical institution in the construction of meaning in every social order.

Based on the phenomenon of digital culture in Indonesia, the research problem in this proposal is how to understand the phenomenon of social media influencers in relation to digital workers. Are influencers as content creators' "workers" free to choose the type of work (content) they want to produce? Do content creators only serve tourist destination owners to produce commodified content? What forms of commodification exist on the internet and how do they work? The purpose of this research is to describe the phenomenon of Influencers as Digital Workers in Indonesian Tourism Development in terms of content creators, content production and freedom in the selection of tourism content.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Digital Labour

Digital labour is a concept that has become an important cornerstone of discussion in the political economy of the Internet (Burston, Dyer-Witheford dan Hearn 2010; Fuchs dan Dyer-Witheford 2013; Scholz 2012; Fuchs & Sevignani, 2013). Social media is a commodity container for internet media users as a commodity created by digital workers (Fuchs, 2022). This is because social media users generate online attention, big data, and online social relationships that are the basis of targeted advertising. While audiences generate content meaning, users of Google, Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, Instagram, etc. also generate big data, content, and social relationships. They are prosumers (producing consumers). There is constant real-time surveillance of online behaviour which is used for ad targeting i.e. personalised ads. Algorithms predict user interest in commodities. Ad prices are often set based on algorithmic auctions that use pay-per-view or pay-per-click modes. Facebook and Google are not communication companies, but the largest advertising agencies in the world, thus capitalising on social media. In the social media industry as capitalisation, there are several elements of exploitation of digital workers, among others: (1). Coercion: Users are ideologically forced to use commercial platforms to engage in communication, sharing, and the creation and maintenance of social relationships, without which their lives would be less meaningful. (2). Alienation: Companies, not users, own the platforms and the profits they create. (3). Appropriation: Users spend time on internet platforms because of targeted advertising. Digital labour creates social relationships, profile data, user-generated content and transaction data (browsing behaviour) (Fuchs, 2014).

Social Media Influencer (SMI)

Freberg et al. (2011) define influencers as a new type of "third-party endorser" who shapes audience attitudes through blogs, tweets, and other social media use (Hudders et al., 2021). Meanwhile, Enke & Borchers (2019) define Social Media Influencers (SMI) as "ordinary,

everyday Internet users who gather relatively large followings on blogs and social media through textual and visual narratives of their personal lives and lifestyles, engage with their followers in digital and physical spaces, and monetise their followers by integrating 'advertorials' into blog or social media posts" (Jin et al., 2019).

To be able to see how the strategic communication process undertaken by SMI is described in Macnamara's (2018a) integrated evaluation model as a framework. Table 1. illustrates the classification of the communication process into inputs, activities, outputs, outcomes, and impacts.

Table.1 Communication process of Social Media Influencers

Input	Role	Output	Outcome	Impact
Concent production competences	Content creator	Content	Effective and efficient impact	
Content distribution competences	Multiplicator	Reach		
Interaction competencies	Moderator	Interaction		
Public persona	Protagonist	Personalization		
Relevant number of relationships		Relevant contacts		
Relationship quality		Peer effects (authenticity, credibility)		
Ability to influence	influence			

Source: Enke & Borchers, 2019

In the input, SMIs in the context of content production competencies have various competencies that are relevant in producing successful content on social media such as creating tutorials, challenges, product reviews. SMIs as content creators develop visuals and narrative styles.

Content distribution competences: SMIs understand how to distribute content through social media channels that successfully capture the attention of their audience. SMIs understand the dynamics and algorithms of different social media so that they can appropriately distribute content. For example, with hashtags, thumbnails, links, upload timings, clickbait titles.

Interaction competencies are a key characteristic of social media compared to traditional mass media, allowing for dialogue and two-way communication (Solis & Breakenridge, 2009; Enke & Borchers, 2019). SMIs initiate, encourage and direct interactions on social media. In simple terms, the interactions that occur on social media is at least in the form of mutual commenting or giving a mark on messages or videos uploaded by others (Sinambela & Ariska, 2023). For example, they invite their audience to share and comment on their content or posts and comment on each other's comments, hold raffles, and ask followers to propose and discuss the next content topic. Such activities are important for SMI as they signal accessibility (Marwick, 2015a; Enke & Borchers, 2019).

Public personas. SMIs create a public persona, which can be consumed by other social media users (Abidin & Ots, 2016; Marwick, 2015b). Within the public persona, SMIs engage in self-branding. SMIs establish a certain number of relationships with other social media users. First, certain relationships can be relevant, i.e., certain target audiences (followers, subscribers) are stakeholders (e.g., consumers) of the organisation. Second, the number of relevant relationships can be significant, i.e., the number of target audiences has exceeded a minimum threshold that depends on the purpose for which the content was created.

According to Enke & Borchers (2019), relationship quality materialises when SMIs build relationships with other social media users as peer-to-peer relationships, for example, as friendships (García-Rapp, 2017) or even egalitarian friendships (Abidin & Thompson, 2012), mentoring (Berryman & Kavka, 2017), or as relationships based on a sense of equality (Jerslev, 2016).

Tourism Development

Tourism development refers to the initial stage and growth phase. It is related to offering alternative solutions to the tourism sector by providing standards of tourism quality, tourist demand, the tourism sector, and the communities in which they are travelling (Tölkes, 2018; Fianto & Andrianto, 2022). Sustainable tourism development promotes the engagement of the general public to be more interested in natural and cultural preservation, more significant environmental and human health and safety awareness, and local and regional

economies (Benur dan Bramwell, 2015; Fianto & Andrianto, 2022).

The tourism development goals can be achieved through four main strategies, including preserving natural and cultural resources, maintaining the economic health of communities, and promoting complex consumer journeys that preserve natural and cultural resources for future generations (Sharma et al., 2020). Thus, tourism development is related to social change, which affects value systems, individual behaviour, family relations, collective lifestyles, moral behaviour, and other factors. This is reinforced by Huttasin's (2008) statement that divides the social impact of tourism into two levels: (1). micro individual exchanges between individuals and (2). macro social impacts, which refer to broader patterns of change in physical, cultural, and social behaviour (Lei et al., 2023).

METHOD

To investigate the phenomenon of Influencers as Digital Workers in Indonesian Tourism Development in terms of content creation, content production and freedom in selecting tourism content, this paper draws on a qualitative research study (Bruhn Jensen, 2021) with a phenomenological approach (Creswell & Clark, 2018). Methods consisted of semi-structured informal interviews. Six participants were recruited from the influencer community as well-known as GenPi (Generasi Pariwisata Indonesia).

Table 2. List of Participant

Informant	Name	Instagram Account	Number of Instagram Follower
1	Zain	@zain_kagawa	10.4K
2	Dinda	@dininna_	2403
3	Heni Ika	@henytinokiki_	2308
4	Adik Masjoni	@adikmasjoni_	1734
5	Lintang Pradita	@andreanylp	1893
6	Mohammad Saifudin	@din__adventure	12K

Source: Indrayani et al., (2023)

The data were analysed in a transcendental phenomenological procedure (Moustakas, 1994) through a process of epoche description, transcendental phenomenological reduction, imaginative variation, synthesis of meaning and essence. To code the interview scripts and

create a network, we used ATLAS.TI.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Influencer Competence in Tourism Content

Influencer competence in creating tourism content based on the input process which includes background, content distribution competence, content production competence, interaction competence, relationship quality, ability to influence and public persona.

Figure 1. Input Influencer



Source: Indrayani et al., (2023)

The influencer's background is the basis of how they conduct their activities in digital media. Some influencers stated that they became influencers because of their hobby and personal interest in travelling. Influencers always feel that there are special moments when exploring new places that should be immortalised. However, over time, influencers join tourism communities that allow them to collaborate and create content based on co-operation.

"I do about 80 per cent of the shooting or video myself and 20 per cent involves the help of others. I also attended various trainings, such as public speaking, photography, and videography, which helped improve the quality of my content. I also learnt from the experience of participating in competitions and winning several times, which shows the improvement in my skills", influencer 1

Content Production Competence. To sharpen their competence in content production, some of the things they focus on are the importance of up-to-date information, attention-grabbing editing skills, and copywriting skills to create persuasive sentences. Influencers believe that

engaging content is content that can clearly convey information to the audience, whether through words, videos, photos, symbols, or stories contained within. In addition, the appearance of the content is also important, with stable and clear videos and images that are not blurry or broken. Choosing a good angle depends largely on the lighting and the characteristics of the object being captured.

Influencers attend various trainings, such as workshops and seminars, as well as webinars, especially those related to storytelling. Storytelling training is important because telling stories about tourist attractions can be a tool to enhance regional reputation and economic development in the digital age (Bassano et al., 2019). To gain attention, Influencers use a variety of techniques, including the use of voice-over (VO) or additional audio in the video, in-video text, or automated audio, depending on the situation. In addition, Influencers always pay attention to visual techniques and seek to adapt content to current trends, such as the use of videos that are preferred by audiences.

Content Distribution Competency. In developing content distribution competencies, influencers realise that content is not always limited to images, videos, or audio; it can also be writing, such as blogs. Therefore, it is important to choose the appropriate type of content that suits each influencer's interests, both unpaid and paid content. Another thing to consider in content distribution is its duration, as each platform has a different duration focus. There are short duration platforms such as TikTok and Reels, and long duration platforms such as YouTube. In addition, the use of hashtags that are relevant to the content is also important to expand audience reach (van Dijck, 2019).

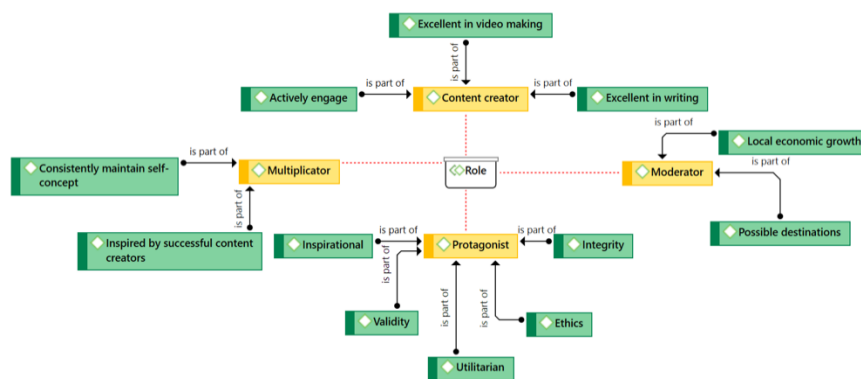
Influencers carefully select content types, platforms, and posting times to match audience preferences. Platform characteristics matter—YouTube relies on keyword-rich titles, Instagram favors visuals and consistent posting, while TikTok prioritizes video. Influencers develop interactional competence by delivering clear, relatable, and engaging content, often using storytelling, polls, or calls to action to boost interaction. They value feedback, welcome suggestions, and may use multilingual communication to expand their reach.

Relationship quality is key; influencers aim to entertain, inform, and build cultural appreciation, even when facing criticism. Their influencing ability lies in delivering meaningful content that encourages reflection and positive action. Many focus on culture and nature, aiming to inspire deeper travel experiences rather than superficial visits.

Public persona is shaped by a consistent message centered on nature, culture, humility, and inspiration. Influencers see themselves as agents of positive change, aiming to benefit others through their content. They embrace constructive criticism, stay authentic, and remain driven by their passion to inspire and help others, especially youth, to pursue meaningful and impactful journeys.

Influencers' Role in Local Tourism Development

Figure 2. Influencers' Role



Source: Indrayani et al., (2023)

Content Creator. As a content creator, influencers have learnt that the quality of content is very important. This involves shooting images and videos with special attention to good visual and audio composition. For writing-based content, the quality of writing cannot be ignored either. This is especially true if the influencer is creating paid content. Interviewees said that the price or rate charged in content creation is also adjusted to the difficulty level of the content to be produced. The more difficult or complex the content, the higher the price or rate the influencer charges. In addition, the more interactions the influencer gets, the higher the rate the influencer can charge.

Creativity is also key in creating content. For example, content creation requires tools and techniques for taking pictures or videos. Creativity needs to be honed through practice and experimentation. For example, there are influencers who have their own blog named [11 | http://netnografiikom.org/index.php/netnografi](http://netnografiikom.org/index.php/netnografi)

siklimis.com which is used to disseminate content. On the other hand, there are influencers who create recommendation content, such as "what to do for a day in Semarang". This requires more effort as the influencer has to visit various places to provide accurate recommendations. The quality of the content and the information delivered to the audience is paramount in their role as content creators.

Although influencers' work as content creators can be considered a profession, they still run it with a spirit of passion. It started as a hobby, then became a job, and now influencers see it as a profession that also provides significant income. Apart from creating content, some influencers also plan to develop a tour and travel business, in line with their passion for tourism. In addition, influencers dream of becoming a more nationally recognised content creator.

Moderator. As a moderator in the world of tourism content, influencers have seen many positive responses from the public who are starting to realise the tourism potential in various places that may have previously gone unnoticed. In this role, influencers are constantly striving to be equipped so that they can be a reliable source of tourism information for their audience. Influencers focus on providing up-to-date information on tourist attractions that may not be visited by many people. For the narrative of the story, they always try to take inspiration from my personal experience when exploring the place, so that the story delivered feels more authentic and does not seem contrived.

Influencers also believe that the role of tourism content, especially through travel and exploration, has a huge positive impact, especially in supporting the creative economy, small and medium enterprises, and the economic growth of local communities. In addition, inviting influencers to participate in tourism events can help to enliven the event and reach more audiences. The most important thing for the influencer is that he/she wants the information to be recognised more than him/her as an individual. The influencer hopes that the audience will not only recognise him/her as a moderator, but also recognise works that can convey important information about interesting tourist attractions.

Multiplicator. As a multiplicator in the world of tourism content, influencers often seek inspiration from content creators who have been successful on various social media platforms such as Instagram, YouTube, and TikTok. They seek to understand their success patterns in creating engaging and relevant content for their audience.

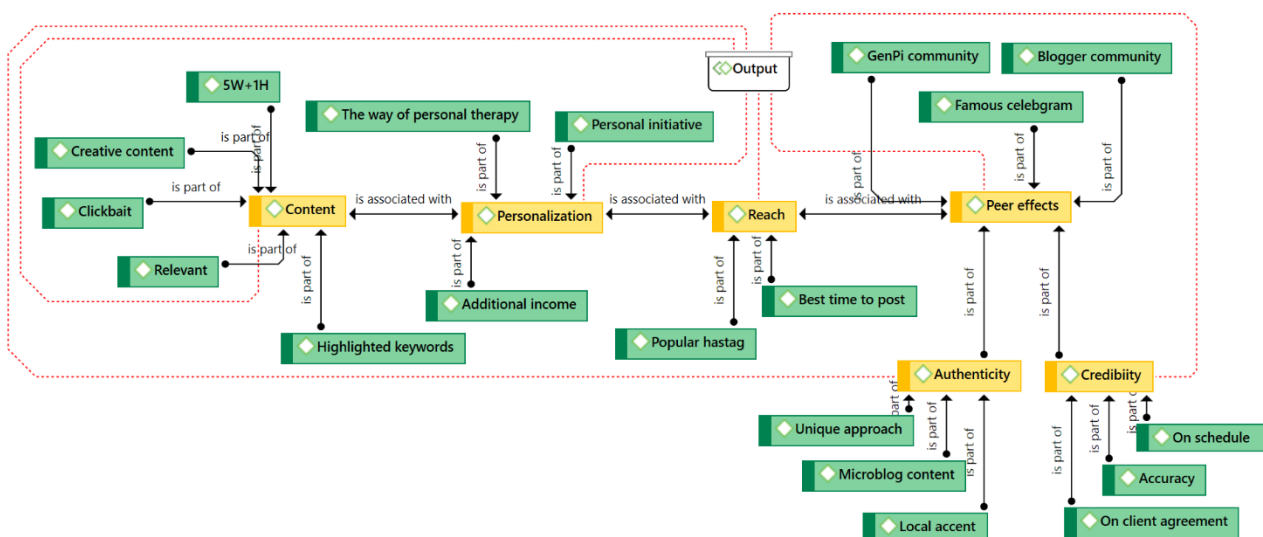
In addition, influencers also pay attention to the right time to upload content, such as Instagram which has a "prime time" in the morning, while YouTube is more active in the evening. Video duration is also a concern, where they endeavour not to exceed one minute to keep the audience's attention and be consistent in the content presented.

Social media platforms such as Instagram, TikTok, and YouTube are the main tools in disseminating tourism content. Influencers believe that the key to success in the role of multiplicator is consistency. By uploading content on a regular, weekly basis, they can maintain the value of their social media accounts and continue to build connections with an increasing audience.

Protagonist. As a protagonist in the world of tourism content, influencers are characterised as perfectionists. They hold a core principle in this role, which is to "beneficial people." This principle guides influencers in creating content that is informative, inspiring and beneficial to the audience. In carrying out this role, ethics are very important. Influencers always adhere to journalistic ethics and social media ethics. They are committed to not spreading slander, not engaging in politics, SARA, or immoral content. Influencers also undergo a rigorous screening process to ensure that every narrative delivered has validity and integrity. The interviews revealed that influencers aspire to be recognised as inspirational, useful and charismatic in the tourism content. With every experience gained, both knowledge and experience, they hope to provide inspiration, knowledge, and tolerance to their audience and contribute positively to developing local tourism.

Getting Results: Output, Outcome and Impact

Figure 3. Output Influencer



Source: Indrayani et al., (2023)

Content. Each medium has different content characteristics. Blogs tend to require expertise in wordplay to attract readers with a catchy title. While for photos and videos, the title may not have as big a role, the focus is more on taking interesting pictures and editing. It is important to maintain attractive editing and relevant information in each type of content created.

"I usually cease shooting as many shots as necessary and then mix them with relevant music, fonts, narration, and subtitles to create a cinematic effect inspired by the creations of various famous content creators."

Engaging content should be relevant to the current state of affairs, follow trends, and provide concise yet complete information. Creativity is key, and sometimes ideas come out of the blue when influencers are creating content. However, for larger projects or paid partnerships, there are SOPs to follow, including the use of keywords that are highlighted.

In travelling content, such influencers create content like a journalist, covering the 5W+1H (Who, What, Where, When, Why, and How) to provide complete information to the audience. The content should also be informative in terms of audio, visual, and narrative. Regardless of the type of content created, storytelling is the key to making content informative and engaging. In storytelling, the 5W+1H must be clear and integrated with appropriate visuals.

Personalisation. In creating content, influencers have a distinctive personalised approach. They capture small moments that others may take for granted, but for influencers, they have value. Content creation for influencers is not a profession, but rather an outlet for hobbies and personal interests. Today, influencers still make content creation a personal initiative and not a main source of income.

Influencers get inspiration from the desire to be themselves. Interacting with different people from different backgrounds and cultures while travelling the diversity of this world. This allows influencers to learn different languages, cultures and ways of life, which in turn enriches life experiences. The key word in this journey is optimism in living life. Another is the influencer who considers the world of photography and content as therapy. It is her way of healing herself,

coping with stress, and developing creativity. In her journey as a content creator, she aspires to continue creating and making a positive impact on others.

Peer Effect. The influence of the peer group has a significant impact on influencers' development as content creators. Influencers have had many opportunities to participate in various activities that allow them to channel their hobbies into positive things. Inspiration comes from the people around them, especially from the GenPI community that has brought various valuable experiences. In addition, meeting senior and professional bloggers provides additional insights.

Social media has also been a significant source of inspiration in the influencer's journey as a content creator. Influencers often come across already famous celebgrams with interesting content. While not copying them exactly, influencers modify and adapt their style in unique ways.

Authenticity. In an effort to remain authentic and differentiate themselves from others, influencers choose a unique approach in interacting with the audience and in the content created. For example, calling out the word "markicek" to engage the audience creates a closer and more personalised bond. Influencers also focus on microblog content, which allows for short but meaningful messages. Then, some have a special nickname "rek" to address the audience intimately. The interviews showed that influencers also enriched my content with a distinctive East Javanese accent. In addition, there is also an influencer using the name "Si Klimis" which is used as a brand name because of the klimis hairstyle that has become his identity.

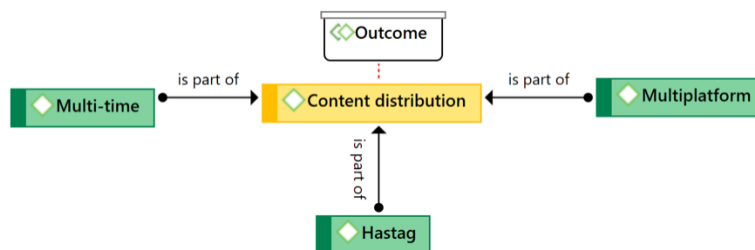
Credibility. To maintain trust in the co-operation and partnership carried out by the influencer is to provide the best results in accordance with the initial agreement. When there is an agreement to deliver the best, he makes sure to really deliver the best in the project. This includes paying attention to the client's expectations and goals so that the content produced matches their expectations. Influencers are also very time-conscious when it comes to posting content. If they have set posting hours, they endeavour to always stick to the agreed schedule. This is important to maintain professionalism and give trust to clients and partners.

In addition, in maintaining trust, influencers also communicate well with partners or clients. They often ask questions and understand their expectations well before starting a

project. If there is information that needs to be verified, they do not hesitate to find out more so that the information shared in the content remains accurate and trustworthy. All these efforts are made to maintain and enhance credibility in the tourism industry.

Reach. To increase the reach of the content, influencers usually use some popular hashtags such as #diindonesiaaja, #gaspol, #wonderfulindonesia, and #dijatengaja. In addition, they also choose times that are considered appropriate for posting content, such as evenings on weekdays or during weekends.

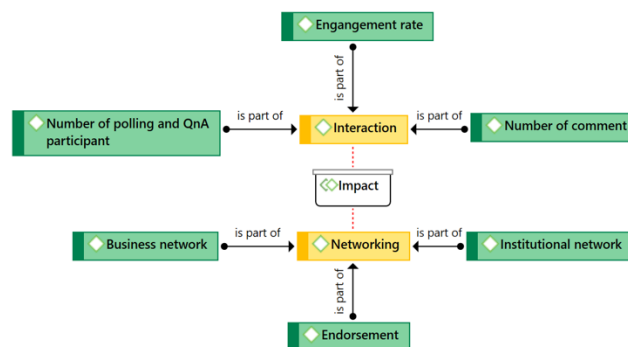
Figure 4. Outcome Influencer



Source: Indrayani et al., (2023)

Content Distribution. Content distribution focuses more on popular social media platforms, such as TikTok and Instagram Reels, as well as YouTube. Influencers also pay attention to the optimal time to publish content on these platforms. For example, on Instagram, the best time is between 7am - 8am, 12pm, or 6pm. While on TikTok, the right time is at the same hour. For YouTube, they tend to publish content at 23.00 - 24.00. In addition, influencers are also active in using hashtags that are relevant to the content being shared. This helps my content to be found by a wider audience on these platforms. They also often use links to blogs or YouTube when the content requires it, such as to provide more information or direct the audience to a specific product. The social media focused on for content distribution are Instagram, TikTok, and personal websites. In addition, they also follow the guidelines and operational standards set by certain communities or organisations, such as GenPi (Generasi Pesona Indonesia), which has specific hashtags to contribute to the promotion of national tourism, such as #diIndonesia.

Figure 5. Impact



Source: Indrayani et al., (2023)

Networking. Networking in tourism has provided many valuable experiences and helped influencers build relationships. Being active in the tourism community allows influencers to get involved in events and partnerships that they might not have otherwise. Influencers also can establish partnerships with various parties, such as media partners or sponsors, which allows the products or destinations they promote to be more widely recognised by the public.

Endorsement models such as visit and review, as well as other roles such as modelling for content, or becoming a copywriter. During the content creation process, it is important to keep building good relationships with partners and related parties, both during and outside the content work. The cooperation that has been established involves various parties, ranging from private brands to government agencies, such as the Tourism Office, District Culture and Tourism Office, and the province. In addition, cooperation with private companies, such as KAI (Kereta Api Indonesia), Traveloka, and various other parties related to tourism.

Interaction. Interaction with followers is an important aspect of running a social media account. Influencers are active in interacting with their audience, especially by replying to some of the comments they leave on posts or stories. Responding to comments is a way for influencers to interact with followers and also as a form of appreciation towards them.

Despite often receiving negative content, influencers try to stay positive and take feedback and criticism well. If there are constructive suggestions or criticisms, they will try to consider and improve the quality of the content. In addition, to build interaction with followers, influencers utilise various features that Instagram has, such as Q&A and polls. Influencers also

always end each content with a question to the audience, so that they feel challenged to respond and participate in the discussion.

Influencers as Digital Labor in Local Tourism Development

To share information on social media, influencers produce content by recording and broadcasting through various digital media platforms. Although it started as a personal initiative in exploring tourism content, influencers also pay attention to the "market share", which is mostly millennial netizens. Fuchs (2016) outlines the close relationship between pop culture and the economy. Popular culture associated with contemporary conditions presents the internet and social media as a means of social connection (Phillips et al., 2017), where users act as prosumers (producers as well as consumers). Society is in a global information network, where "everyone tries to inform themselves" to others and "connections are always being made". Szewczyk (2021) states that every society has access to information, not only consumes information but is also connected in the process of communication and social interaction in the form of virtual behaviour.

CONCLUSION

Tourism influencers have the freedom to create content based on their interests, while also adapting to audience preferences and brand collaborations. They possess various competencies, including content production and distribution, interaction skills, influence, relationship building, and maintaining a public persona. Their roles include content creators, moderators, protagonists, and amplifiers of successful content. As moderators, they help promote local economic growth and tourism in lesser-known areas. As digital workers, influencers constantly produce content, blurring the line between work and leisure. Their labor is monetized through sponsorships, endorsements, and platform incentives, but this also brings challenges such as job insecurity and pressure to stay visible online. Content creation provides both income and a form of self-therapy. The impact of their content can be seen in increased interactions, networks, and tourism endorsements. Future research could examine the nature of digital content produced by tourism influencers, their working conditions, and public responses to their content.

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