Toxic Positivity Content Uploads on Instagram in Encouraging the Growth of Hustle Culture Gen Z

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Abstract

Exposure to toxic positivity content uploads on Instagram during the pandemic, has motivated some Gen Z to act hustle. This research uses a virtual ethnographic approach to be able to see digital interactions, media making processes, and individual motivation in interpreting toxic positivity content on Instagram which can build Gen Z Surabaya to act hustle. This research shows that there are factors in the scope of friendship, frame of reference, field experience, to family in building motivation to act hustle through consumed toxic positivity content. It can be concluded that Instagram is a medium for the media making process in turning content into an action that can affect the lives of its users.

Keywords: Toxic Positivity, Hustle Culture, Virtual Ethnography, Gen Z

1. INTRODUCTION

Refers to the level of stress tolerance that everyone has is different. There are many factors that influence individuals to feel disgusted with encouraging sentences (Soerjoatmodjo & Jaya, 2020). Robinson said that it is very possible for the Millennial and Z generations to adopt a hustle lifestyle. About 45% of Hustlers post their "productivity" activities on social media, as a symbol of dedication and commitment (Balkeran, 2020). Instagram as a social media with the fourth position in Indonesia has succeeded in changing some of the world’s stigmas in unexpected ways. One of them is changing the way people think, turning something ordinary into a viral phenomenon, creating new trends, and driving social activities (Brooks, 2018; Populix, 2022). Instagram greatly influences cultural shifts, how do people communicate, to change individual consumption habits (Rohmah, 2019; Syahreza & Tanjung, 2018).

Social media activities are favored by 191.4 million Indonesians who spend an average of 3 hours 14 minutes doing activities on all social media networking platforms and there are 99.15 million Instagram users with a percentage of female users 52.3% and male users. male 47.7% (We Are Social, 2022). Meanwhile, Instagram users aged 18-24 years in Indonesia reach 37 million of the total number of internet users (NapoleonCat, 2022). Most Instagram users in Indonesia come from Generation Z, namely people born
between 1998 and 2010. Generation Z or Gen Z is also known as the Internet Generation (IGen) because they were born and grew up when the internet was already developing rapidly and globally (Achmad & Ida, 2019; Malafitri et al., 2022; Rahman et al., 2021; White, 2017).

Exposure to uploading social media content about productivity during a pandemic has motivated some Gen Z to stay productive. Especially with the presence of various postings of quotes or videos that contain the meaning "you have to be productive no matter what the situation" on Instagram. The condition for carrying out productive activities by ignoring one's own condition (time, mind, energy, financial, and social) is called Toxic Positivity (Goodman, 2022). Gen Z experiences contamination from hustle culture, by developing a busy, productive lifestyle continuously. The title of being someone who likes hustling is the pride of some Generation Z (Christina & Shasita, 2022; McCrindle & Fell, 2019). Proud to have a hustle culture that works excessively is the dark side of toxic positivity (Goodman, 2022).

The development of Hustle Culture in Indonesia can be seen through the community's efforts to meet the needs of life that cannot be met by the local government. This makes people try to be able to meet their needs, while people who have the burden of responsibility for three generations, namely, parents, themselves, and their younger siblings. Therefore, this research focuses on how uploading Toxic Positivity content on Instagram plays a role in encouraging the growth of Hustle Culture Gen Z in Surabaya City, using a virtual ethnographic approach.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

Using a qualitative research method with a virtual ethnographic approach, which is a method that can describe a society, and human life that has a holistic, integrative nature, thick description, as well as qualitative analysis with the intention of obtaining a native point of view (Achmad & Ida, 2018; Hine, 2000). The researcher uses a virtual ethnographic approach to find out the dynamics of the variety of toxic positivity consumed by informants so that digital interaction relationships can be identified in developing hustle actions. This is assisted by Depth Interviews, Observations, and Documentation on users (Hine, 2017; Oktaviana et al., 2021; Ramadani et al., 2021).

To conduct this research, there are at least five procedures carried out in virtual ethnographic research namely: a) Community Identification, after identifying informants who are deemed suitable for research, the researcher gives full rights to informants to identify problem of the topic under study to be willing to become an informant of this research or not. b) Negotiation, the researcher then negotiates to be able to observe and conduct interviews online or offline and re-explain the research topic raised. c) Make contact, the researcher then makes direct contact with the informant by asking for his availability in observing social media, the informant's personal life, to the types of content consumed on a daily basis to get proper information and urgency that can be researched. d) Interviews, researchers then conduct interviews with the provision of observations that have been obtained from informants. e) Research Results and Analysis, the researcher carried out ethnographic records of the results obtained and analysis (Achmad et al., 2020; Putra & Achmad, 2022).

Virtual observations and virtual interviews were carried out in November 2021– April 2022, while interviews were conducted in April 2022. There were four informants in this study, namely: @Salshapermata, @Yustikaokta, @Chacharahma_, @Sandraberliana_. The unit of analysis used is multimodal text. Multimodal analysis emphasizes that verbal and nonverbal communication tools have an important role in interpreting a meaning (Baldry & Thibault, 2006; O'Halloran & Smith, 2012). Because of this statement, the researcher determines the unit of multimodal analysis in the form of
posts on Instagram social media, both text, photos and videos that contain toxic positivity and encourage people, especially Generation Z, to hustle excessively.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Role of Social Media Instagram in the Media Making Process

With this Instagram becomes a medium with high opportunities in accelerating the flow of information in the globalization and modern era. Instagram is an entirely visual platform whose main purpose is, of course, as a medium for sharing images and videos for its audience. Various features have been provided, designed to make it easier for users to share information by posting photos or videos in the form of IG Stories, feeds, advertising services, questions/polls, hyperlinks, portfolios, and various filters. Existing elements can increase the interest of Instagram users to further utilize online media with new ideas and facilitate the media making process (Fatimatuzzahro & Achmad, 2022; Murniasih et al., 2021).

The media making process on Instagram is huge because there are production features that make it easier for users to create content. One of them is IG Stories, users can immediately create short-form photo or video content to interact with the audience using existing features such as questions, polls, quizzes, links, countdowns, using hashtags, GIFs, adding music, mentions, locations, replying to something, topics, create avatars and use available emojis. Then there is Reels, a 90-second video posting feature, users can add captions, filters, 1x to 5x speed, layouts, timers, tag people, locations, edit video covers, remix videos, edit clips, to music.

After the content produced is shared, users usually add hashtags to be able to group content, and target audiences according to the hashtags written, although not a few hashtags are used that are not aligned with the content created, these are used by users to reach markets outside the target audience of the content that has been produced. The available share feature can make the content produced spread much faster, through this feature users can disseminate content, interact and influence more audiences to react by providing replies in the form of direct messages, comments in the column, and increasingly spreading content in the environment around the audience. These features make it easier for the media making process to occur through uploaded content.

Type of Content and Its Intensity

Digital creativity currently produces a variety of content that contains a lot of information and is consumed by audiences in their daily lives. People in the current era of web 2.0 technology are actively using media technology in all aspects of life, of course this has a considerable influence on communication patterns and changes people's perspectives and thinking. As with content that contains a charge to do something, as shown in Figure 1. The content invites you to always be productive in any situation, even though at that time the COVID-19 outbreak was having a high transmission rate.
Another example if the content posted on social media will always cause various effects and responses to the audience who consumes it (Figure 2). The type of content shared on social media has meaning for each type, usually in the content there is meaning in the form of a sign or symbol that is persuasive in nature which aims to make the audience interested and follow the message conveyed, so that the audience can make a decision whether to act further or not regarding the content it has consumed (Achmad & Melani, 2022; Anggarini et al., 2022; Rochmana et al., 2022).

“...Usually Toxic Positivity videos are like that, yes, the Day in My Life or mini vlogs. because that can make you affected too, because starting to compare how come he can do that in a day, how come I’m just like this... All kinds of things, usually just career tips and make up” (Interview with SP, 23 years old, 6 April 2021).

Figure 1: Instagram post @falwan_rg (a call to stay productive even during a high pandemic. Source: https://www.instagram.com/p/B_bWripjNVo/)

Figure 2: an example of the content seen by the SB informant and the reactions of users in the comment's column.
Informant SP said that the type of content that can affect self-thought patterns is the type of content from day in my life (everyday) to mini vlogs, this is a media making process that occurs in informants so that it has the effect of being happy to compare one's life path. The favorite content of informant SP is in the form of career tips and about make-up, this is indeed the informant's favorite and is considered to make the informant relax a little. It is different with informant YOC who prefer to consume entertainment content to refresh their brains after daily activities such as day in my life which motivates them. Informant YOC avoided heavy content such as achievement or motivational content so that they were not affected by the message content of the content.

"On Instagram now I'm more often looking for entertainment content to refresh my brain hehe, because if I see heavy content like that, I play social media for entertainment and try to avoid content that makes it heavy, but if it's passed from friends, there are a few yes, really stupid" (Interview with YOC, 24 years old, 6 April 2021).

The informant YOC added that the type of content accepted by everyone is indeed different, for example, if content containing achievements is exposed to high school youth, feelings of discomfort may arise. While informants AR and SB chose to consume entertainment content such as fangirling and other hobbies, but this did not rule out the possibility for informants AR and SB to consume motivational content.

Content that is consumed at a certain time has some serious effects for informants. The ideal time to play social media is 30 minutes per day, if it goes beyond that there will be a drastic increase in mental well-being (Ananda et al., 2022). The effect of continuously being exposed to social media, people will continue to be motivated to be consumptive and competitive. The mass media makes this a reality which is considered patent and indirectly follows the reality that exists on social media. Informants SP, AR, YOC, and SB have different intensities in using Instagram. It is very important to know how intense and who the accounts are consumed to be able to describe how big the impact of media involvement is for the informants.

"Usually I play IG for 2-3 hours at a time to research work content hehehe, at night after office hours because the traffic is higher and it's as simple as there is time at that time" (Interview with SP, 23 years old, 6 April 2021).

Meanwhile, the informant AR said that the intensity of time in social media ranged from 3 to 5 hours during breaks or at night. In contrast to the statement of informant SB who admitted that the intensity of social media use was growing rapidly during the COVID-19 pandemic.

"Yes, because during Covid, the intensity of playing social media grew and didn't go anywhere either. Finally, seeing that post, how come you can still get an achievement like that, and you really need a social media detox for achievement content" (Interview with SB, 23 years old, 7 April 2021).

"If you play Instagram, how long does it take? It also depends, if you're in the mood, don't open it for 5 minutes and then open, close, open and close, but the intensity, if you total it for at least 1 hour, don't play it that long" (Interview with YOC, 24 years, 6 April 2021).

The intensity of the informants in playing Instagram is very diverse. The informants also added that currently Instagram is not the only media consumed, but also TikTok, and Twitter.
How Informants Get Exposure to Content

There are many ways for someone to get exposed to social media, one of which is by accident or on purpose. Several informants said that they sometimes accidentally get exposure to positive content on social media via the Instagram homepage from accounts they have followed.

"... if you’re not looking for it, but it’s like getting it, right? Sometimes we scroll, but we just get it... but because I just follow them, I get exposed to content like that, especially on Tik Tok." (Interview with SB, 23 years old, 7 April 2021).

The informant SB added that if it is possible to see posts from friends or influencers who he thinks are worthy of being emulated (Figure 3). Similar statements were made by several other informants.

"... I don't think I'm rich with special accounts, but I follow them like influencer figures, which I think is good. those who give inside are like they might have good achievements too, like that." (Interview with SB, 23 years old, 7 April 2021).

The SB informant admitted that he got exposure through accounts he deliberately followed, especially on social media Tik Tok, the informant believed that Tik Tok has had a significant impact because of its diverse content and always appears on the homepage even though we do not follow the account.

"Mom, close friends, family... I also follow accounts like that, even every day I no longer have to see people who easily lead to achievements, I also follow things that motivate me" (Interview with AR, 23 years old, 6 April 2021).

Similar to the statement above, informant YOC is often accidentally exposed to content containing Toxic Positivity.

"If the quotes are deliberately missed, you don't understand what the e-IG algorithm is, but if you look at the progress posts, where should the posts appear, after what, that should appear occasionally... only if it’s from a friend, for example, posting and he give spirit quotes. Or is he still working on stories, cheers, and so on" (Interview with YOC, 24 years old, 6 April 2021).

Figure 3: Informant SP gets exposure to content and their responses.
**Toxic Positivity and Built-in Motivation**

Toxic Positivity is the belief to always have positive thoughts no matter how difficult the situation is. Forcing yourself to always be positive has massive negative effects, one of which is that a person will reject negative emotions, and force himself to be fine and end up accumulating negative emotions which can lead to uncontrollable anger later. An example of Toxic Positivity is when a bad situation occurs, such as losing a job, and the environment around you unconsciously forces you to always think positively by saying the phrases "There might be a silver lining", "don't be sad" to represent words of encouragement to cheer up.

![Image of Toxic Positivity](https://www.instagram.com/p/B_SmPR5jihz/)

The post in figure 4 is an example of content that can make informants feel that they must always be productive regardless of the situation. The YOC informant felt that the post affected his brain's performance to find a way out of what he had felt. This shows that the existence of media making in a post can influence someone in making decisions in their daily life.

“If the quotes are meant to be missed, it is just that from these posts, sometimes that's how it is. You shouldn't be in a hurry, because quotes are like "let's get excited" come on, come on, it's lazy, skip doesn't need urgent quotes, it's just that quotes often miss, yes, it's positive, it's really good, but sometimes I get sick of seeing it” (Interview with YOC, 24 years old, 6 April 2021).

People will tend to give advice or input if we don't seem to have activities like they usually do. The impact is that someone tends to do all kinds of activities so they are not labeled as lazy, someone will tend to feel guilty if they take a break, this is usually called Toxic Productivity. From the results of the research conducted, it shows that the Toxic Productivity carried out by SP Informants is caused by too much media exposure received in the form of content that contains achievements and tips to always be productive.

“I used to feel that at the start of this pandemic, ohh, you have to be productive, you have to do this, because you see most of your friends' posts, how come this situation is still cool, huh?” (Interview with SP, 23 years old, 6 April 2021).
Informants AR and YOC added that the Toxic Positivity on Instagram is higher because it is supported by social media characteristics that are more prominent in visuals and makes this a construction with strong psychological pressure on the audience.

“Because in my opinion, Instagram is really a place for Toxic Positivity because, uh, what are the characteristics of Instagram itself, which emphasizes visuals and achievements, in my opinion, it's different from other social media. In my opinion, sometimes Toxic Positivity makes us even more depressed because things that shouldn't be made into constructions are made into constructions in a way, uhh, the pressure isn't the pressure I have to do, but it seems more like psychological pressure, like more satire, that's it... so make that person has standards because they feel that society conceptualizes things at the present age and in the future it's like a template like that” (Interview with AR, 23 years old, 6 April 2021).

"In my opinion, this is toxic positivity because not everything goes smoothly according to the quote earlier, not everything can be positive, right? Yes, it's true, being positive isn't always positive, right, because everyone has their own background, right, so from that earlier, a different interpretation emerges, right, even if we see the same post" (Interview with YOC, 23 years, 6 April 2021).

This statement was also supported by the informant SB who frankly said that the achievement content that he often consumed had a competitive impact on the informants themselves.

"Yeah, this is it, if for example I'm motivated, I'll definitely try to take action like that. broadcast pi sometimes insecure it makes me motivated too, yes insecure but it doesn't really make me down, yeah it makes me, I can't be like this ae like that, and I have to do something so I'm not insecure. yes, if I want to have an achievement like them, how can I achieve that" (Interview with SB, 23 years old, 7 April 2021).

FOMO (Fear of Missing Out) This is a social media phenomenon that has occurred due to the influence of content consumed by social media audiences, someone who has high FOMO intensity will feel compelled to stay up to date and will often check their social media to stay informed. and what activities are going on. This arises because of the influence of the environment, internal self, and social media that supports the acceleration of the flow of information that seems to create new things that must be tried in this generation (Oberst et al., 2016; Przybylski et al., 2013)

“This is like FOMO hahaha, afraid of being left behind shay, yes afraid of being left behind afraid of not having a decent life, if I don't catch up. We humans can't see ourselves in 5 years, and what we can do is create it …” (Interview with AR, 23 years old, 6 April 2021).

Social media makes a large construction in the media making process that occurs. On this topic, audiences are constructed to be afraid of being left behind in everything and become competitive. Social media is a priority for improving performance in various aspects, therefore a benchmark emerges that is sufficient to influence the audience who consumes it. The audience becomes more focused on the activities shown on social media and compares them to the reality of everyone (Zhang & Vos, 2019).

"... because social media has shaped me into a FOMO person who is afraid of being left behind, more afraid of missing out on info... more afraid of
missing out or for example afraid of opportunities that are actually good but because I deactivated Instagram or uninstalled it I'm going to go too far” (Interview with SP, 23 years old, 6 April 2021).

"... just because I opened it earlier I thought, how come it's normal every day, why do they have a lot of activities going here and there, ... because it's quite effective, the dance sequence of the children's story" (Interview with YOC, 24 years old, 6 April 2021).

The informant SB chosed to normalize multitasking in hustle and often compared himself with other people because of the reality he saw in the circle of friends. "Not from the family, sis, but for another reason I feel anxious, right? There are lecture statements outside the classroom that are also important, so I'm fine because I have anxiety about the future. If for example I don't have experience in the world of work, I feel Yes, there was a fear like that, that's why I was okay, and I saw that my friends seemed normal when there were lots of achievements in competitions. and what's interesting is that I have a KKN friend and he does internships in 3 places, and I see that as normal and I feel like I'm lacking like that” (Interview with SB, 23 years old, 7 April 2021).

Every individual has a full role to play in experiencing toxic positivity. As for individual motivation in carrying out toxic positivity activities that lead to hustle, the background is, among others, the individual's Field Experience and Frame of Reference. How individuals perceive social media as a channel of information motives is closely related to the satisfaction of curiosity and preferred interests. These activities make individuals gain a sense of peace through the information that has been consumed. The individual's field experience, namely the family's internal environment and mindset that has shaped personal identity, causes individuals to identify themselves with the values contained in the media in order to enhance and develop individual self-worth.

"The factors behind me, when I saw that there was an influencer, I was motivated and I wanted to take action like that. and there is part of my field experience to do that. if I still have more confidence in my capability. hmm, maybe it looks like I'm narcissistic, but I'm more into achievement, something that smells like education, like he can go to college here, etc. So that's what makes me like, I believe that I have the ability to achieve the same thing. yes, maybe even though he has privileges like the others, I believe that I am biased" (Interview with SB, 23 years old, 7 April 2021).

This communication is established because of individual Frame References and Field Experiences, which have an effect on informants because the communication that occurs has similarities with references to habits, culture, religion, to beliefs and information experiences experienced by individuals (Gashya & Alamiyah, 2019).

“... but if it relates, it's motivated, but from social media I feel it's a bit too much sometimes. but if my friends post this, I'm triggered, because I know and understand the environment …. well, there are some from the family right hahahha” (Interview with YOC, 24 years old, 6 April 2021).

“... sometimes it motivates me that I'm the last child, my sister works in a nice place, and my brother also has a settled work life and I haven't. well that's what triggers me actually what motivates me are things like that, because I'm the last child and I have a benchmark for success in the eyes of my family, so I feel like oh yes I've to run" (Interview with R, 23 years, 6 April 2021).
"... when I was little, my father's family, my father's family, my father and mother were separated, but it's like my father's family must know that my mother and I have to feel like we can still do salsa like that, so I feel like I want to show it to you. everyone was like me like that, until finally they found me on social media oohh salsa looo now it's like this, like that nad, maybe yeah hahaha" (Interview with SP, 23 years old, 6 April 2021).

Someone tends to do something based on a motivation that is considered very meaningful. Like the motivation brought by the informants which is based on family encouragement, the informants can responsively do things that they feel can reduce what they feel.

**Toxic Positivity’s role in developing Hustle**

The positive poison in social media has a massive effect on the audience who consumes it, it makes many people feel small about the feelings they are experiencing, so that the positivity they see is subconsciously pushed into them. Social media is the focus, in this case users usually choose to share the positive things in their lives rather than the less positive facts that are often experienced at certain times. The process of making media on social media is supported by the type of content, the intensity of use, how to be exposed to content, to the field experience and frame of reference for everyone (Hanna et al., 2011; Radin, 2021).

Several informants said that the result was the formation of a hustle mindset so as not to be left behind, which is commonly called FOMO (Fear of Missing Out). The impact of this is that many audiences feel overtaken by the standards on social media. The audience will feel strange and sad if they are left behind by something they think is related to their life on social media. As a result, audiences will begin to compare personal timescales with those of others. Of course, this is what makes hustle culture pass through by many audiences, especially the millennial generation and generation Z. As stated by the informant AR below:

"... so it's like my timeline changes, for example I see my friend who has already achieved his achievement even though my timeline is a bit long, the planning is for example 3 months or 4 months, and I feel like wow this kid can do it, that means I have to more able to hustle more than him ..." (AR Interview, 23 years, April 06, 2021).

AR informant's statement about the timeline that often changes due to the influence of hustle has similarities with the statements of several other informants.

"... I used to be tired, to be honest, because of work, organization, college, but now I think how come I can do that but I forget how it feels, and now I'm getting used to it. Both times, sis hahahaha. the negative is that hustle culture is the result of capitalism, right? In fact, time is only for work and pursuit of achievements.

The timelines of my friends on social media had the effect of continuing to be a hustle so that he would reduce comparing himself to other people. Sometimes it feels like we are often together but how come his timeline is really fast, so sometimes thoughts of comparison arise. but if influencers don't go too hard, yes, if friends sometimes get triggered like that" (Interview YOC, 24 years old, 6 April 2021).
Many feelings are generated in establishing a hustle, while feelings of uncertainty in running it, but the positive effects of hustle give some positive luck to support the performance of the informants. One of them was felt by the SB informant, who stated that there was indeed a feeling of confusion about always being a hustle because it was not easy to do. Apart from feeling rushed, the positive impact he felt was quite diverse, one of which was reduced overthinking and increased self-performance. The informants were satisfied with the lack of feeling because they were quite busy so they did not have time to think too much, even though on the other hand they felt tired of the main thing.

“I feel confused when I hustle, I'm happy or vice versa, because on the one hand I feel really tired, but on the other hand I feel over-inking, and my over-inking doesn't affect me anymore after I hustle, maybe because I don't have over-inking time anymore when I hustle . I'm tired, but I also feel satisfied that I'm not over-inking anymore… but on the other hand, what does hustle do, it makes us feel like self-improvement…” (Interview with SB, 23 years old, 7 April 2021).

Similar statements were also experienced by other informants, they said that if many things happen, fatigue causes the body's resistance to decrease and makes it easy to get sick.

“What I feel after the hustle is that it's easy to get tired... yesterday 2021 I was told by the doctor I had endometriosis, he said, you're too stressed. if girls often do that, don't take it for granted because if it's not treated, it can turn into a cyst. maybe because I overexerted myself I was too mean to myself so that's how it is... actually being satisfied is temporary, but maybe we don't know how much we limit ourselves, it's just that there must be a feeling of satisfaction, I've done this, worked it out, finished it, it just feels like that” (Interview with SP, 23 years old, 6 April 2021).

“But after I resigned, I didn't want to do anything because I was tired. but at that time I was still in college and I met my friends, uh, it turned out to be good, right? Hahaha. but I feel good anyway because I have activities finally. the problem is it's more cramped at home hahaha... But experience is important, right... but yeah, the negative impact is that it's rare to finally have time for family and friends” (Interview with YOC, 24 years old, 6 April 2021).

The correlation between these positive poison posts is felt, someone will try to adapt by adjusting to their environment. This is felt even stronger when someone with a state of depression or low self-esteem consumes Instagram and sees content that contains positive poisons, which will lead to high competitive feelings. That's because social media, especially Instagram, only posts positivity and is considered as true reality by someone who sees it.

“At first I didn't realize it and I was afraid that I was burnt out but the impact on me was really felt like at that time I felt my intelligence ability when I was in college was decreasing, yes I felt how come I wasn't like before, how come I couldn't connect and then stuck if for example I'm looking for ideas, then in the end I'm tired and need healing, but apparently 2 months after the healing I was burnt out again. So yeah, I think burn out is a long-term impact of this” (Interview with SB, 23 years old, 7 April 2021).

This hustle culture has a positive impact, one of which is the achievement of the goals or achievements you want to achieve. Because of the hard work that a person undergoes, he will increasingly experience an increase in self-actualization, this is felt
satisfied by some people to be able to become what they want. The experience gained was varied and abundant in addition to sufficient material income (Savitri, 2020; Tundo, 2019).

“... what does this hustle do, it makes us look like self impovement, and then it's really far ouch, thinking about it hahahaha can build a country to be even more advanced, right, because the people are always working hard. so for me there are two sides, good and bad” (Interview with SB, 23 years old, 7 April 2021).

"Well, that's okay in my opinion, like hustle is a choice or maybe he's happy and comfortable like that, there are people who heal but the healing works, he's stressed but he works lol there are people like that lol" (Interview with SB, 23 years, 6 April 2021).

4. CONCLUSION

It was concluded that content containing toxic positivity on Instagram could be considered as positive poison, if the viewing audience experienced self-demotivation and felt they had similarities in terms of experience. Of course there must be limitations when playing Instagram, it's good if you experience self-demotivation to play less or look for motivation on Instagram social media. Several informants agree that toxic positivity is indeed used as fuel to act hustle. Some informants added that hustle is not always bad, but it can be seen as good if individuals can organize feelings and boundaries so they don't experience burn out (fatigue).

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