

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Abdullah, N. N., & Abdul Rahman, M. F. (2015). The Use of Deliberative Democracy in Public Policy Making Process. *Public Policy and Administration Research, Vol.5, No. 3*, 221-229.
- Androutsopoulou, A., Charalabidis, Y., & Loukis, E. (2018). Policy Informatics in the Social Media Era: Analyzing Opinions for Policy Making. *Electronic Participation, epart* (hal. 129-142). Cham: Springer.
- Antara. (2024, Agustus 20). *Mengenal Badan Gizi Nasional dan Alasan Pembentukannya*. Diambil kembali dari Antaranews.com: <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/4274307/mengenal-badan-gizi-nasional-dan-alasan-pembentukannya>
- APJII. (2024). *Survei Penetrasi Internet Indonesia 2024*. Jakarta: APJII (Asosiasi Penyelenggara Jasa Internet Indonesia).
- Bakhsy, E., Messing, S., & Adamic, L. A. (2015). Exposure to Ideologically Diverse News and Opinion on Facebook. *Political Science, 348(629)*, 1130-1132.
- Benson, J. (2023). Is Fake News A Threat to Deliberative Democracy?: Partisanship, inattentiveness, and deliberative capacities. *Social Theory and Practice*, 1-24.
- BGN. (2024). *Tugas dan Fungsi Kami dalam Membangun Generasi Emas Indonesia* . Diambil kembali dari BGN.go.id: <https://www.bgn.go.id/functions-duties>
- Bohman, J. (2004). Realizing Deliberative Democracy as a Mode of Inquiry: Pragmatism, Social Facts, and Normative Theory. *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy New Series 18(1)*, 23-43.
- Boscarino, J. E. (2020). Constructing visual policy narratives in new media: the case of the Dakota Access Pipeline. *Information, Communication, and Society, Vol 22(2)*, 278-294.
- Boyte, H. (2011). Constructive Politics as Public Work: Organizing the Literature. *Political Theory, Vol. 39, Issue. 5*.
- Bruns, A., & Moe, H. (2014). Structural Layers of Communication on Twitter. Dalam A. Bruns, M. Mahrt, K. Weller, J. Burgess, & Puschmann, *Twitter and Society (Digital Formations, Volume 89)* (hal. 15-28). United States of America: Peter Lang Publishing.
- Budiono, A., & Salomo, R. V. (2022). The Relevance of Social Media Adoption for Public Organizations in Policy Making. *Budapest International Research and Critics Institute (BIRCI-Journal): Humanities and Social Science 5(3)*, 24462-24473, <https://doi.org/10.33258/birci.v5i3.6468>.



UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA

Proses Diskursus di Ruang Publik, Analisis Kualitas Opini Publik Terhadap Program Makan Bergizi Gratis

Muhammad Rizal Effendi, Wahyudi Kumorotomo, Prof., Dr., MPP.

Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2025 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

- CISDI. (2024). *Policy Papers Series: Mengkaji Ulang Program Makan Bergizi Gratis, Menilik Tujuan, Anggaran dan Tata kelola Program*. Probolinggo: CISDI (centre for Indonesia's Strategic Development Initiatives. Diambil kembali dari Seri Satu Kajian Program Makan Bergizi Gratis: Menilik, Tujuan, dan Tata Kelola: <https://cisdi.org/riset-dan-publikasi/publikasi/dokumen/seri-satu-kajian-program-makan-bergizi-gratis>
- CNN Indonesia. (2025, 01 31). *Kemenkeu Respons Viral Pendidikan-Kesehatan Cuma Program Pendukung*. Diambil kembali dari CNNIndonesia.com: <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20250131062254-532-1192973/kemenkeu-respons-viral-pendidikan-kesehatan-cuma-program-pendukung>
- Cutlip, S. M., Center, A. H., & Broom, G. M. (2013). *Effective Public Relations: Eleventh Edition*. Essex: Pearson.
- Dahlberg, L. (2011). Re-Constructing Digital Democracy: An Outline at Four Positions. *New Media & Society, Vol. 13(6)*, 855-872, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444810389569>.
- Dahlgren, P. (2015). The Global Public Sphere: Public Communication in the Age of Reflexive Interdependence. *Information, Communication & Society, 18(12)*.
- Esau, K., Friess, D., & Eilders, C. (2017). Design Matters! An Empirical Analysis of Online Deliberation on Different News Platform. *Policy and Internet, Vol.9 (3)*, 321-342.
- Fahmi, U., & Wibowo, c. P. (2017). Ruang Publik Online: Sebuah Dimensi Baru Dalam Proses Pembuatan Kebijakan (Studi Kasus Penggunaan Twitter di Indonesia). *Jurnal Manajemen dan Kebijakan Publik*, 591-605.
- Faulina, A., Chatra, E., & Sarmiati. (2021). Peran Buzzer Dalam Proses Pembentukan Opini Publik di New Media. *Jurnal Pendidikan Tambusai, Volume 5, No. 2*, 2809.
- Filatova, O., Kabanov, Y., & Misnikov, Y. (2019). Public Deliberation in Russia: Deliberative Quality, Rationality, and Interactivity of The Online Media Discussion. *Media and Communication 7(3)*, <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v7i3.1925>.
- Glucksman, M. (2017). The Rise of Social Media Influencer Marketing on Lifestyle Branding A Case Study of Lucie Fink. *Elon Journal of Undergraduate Research in Communications*.
- Habermas, J. (1990). Etika wacana: Catatan tentang program pembenaran filosofis. Dalam J. Habermas, *Kesadaran moral dan tindakan komunikatif* (hal. 43-115). Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Habermas, J. (1991). *The Structural Transformation of The Public Sphere*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

- Hardiman, F. B. (2009). *Demokrasi Deliberatif: Menimbang 'Negara Hukum' dan 'Ruang Publik' dalam Teori Diskursus Jurgen Habermas*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.
- Huang, B. (2020). Analyze the Influence of Internet Public Opinion on Public Policy. *Open Access Library Journal*, 7, 1-9.
- Hudders, L., Jans, S. D., & Veirman, M. D. (2021). The Commercialization of Social Media Stars: A Literature Review and Conceptual Framework on The Strategic Use of Social Media Influencer. *International Journal of Advertising*, Vol. 40, No. 3, 327-375.
- Indonesia.go.id. (2024, November 6). *Ini Tiga Skema Penyaluran Makan Bergizi Gratis*. Diambil kembali dari Indonesia.go.id: <https://indonesia.go.id/kategori/editorial/8750/ini-tiga-skema-penyaluran-makan-bergizi-gratis?lang=1>
- Irani, A., Esterling, K., Park, J. Y., & Faloutsos, M. (2025). A Discourse Analysis Framework for Legislative and Social Media Debates. *Websci '25: Proceedings of the 17th ACM Web Science Conference 2025*, 199-209.
- Kompas. (2024, Agustus 21). *"Peringatan Darurat" Garuda Biru Jadi "Trending Topic" di Medsos*. Diambil kembali dari kompas: <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2024/08/21/17063911/peringatan-darurat-garuda-biru-jadi-trending-topic-di-medsos>
- Kompas. (2024, Juli 18). *Utak-atik Janji Makan Siang Gratis Prabowo, Anggaran Dipertimbangkan Turun ke Rp 7.500 Per Porsi*. Diambil kembali dari Kompas.com: <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2024/07/18/05185291/utak-atik-janji-makan-siang-gratis-prabowo-anggaran-dipertimbangkan-turun-ke>
- Koudenburg, N., & Kashima, Y. (2022). A Polarized Discourse: Effects of Opinion Differentiation and Structural Differentiation on Communication. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 48(7), 1068-1086.
- Kumar, S., & Jha, A. N. (2022). Fake News Goes Viral! Determination and Analysis of Virality of Socially Relevant Events in Digital Governance. *ICEGOV '22: Proceedings of the 15th International Conference on Theory and Practice of Electronic Governance*, 376.
- Kurnia, N., & Savirani, A. (2021). *Big Data untuk Ilmu Sosial: Antara Metode Riset dan Realitas Sosial*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Liu, C., & Ali, N. L. (2022). Co-citation and Bibliographic Coupling Based on Connected Papers: Review of Public Opinion Research in a Broad Sense in The West. *Asian Social Science*, 18(2), 1-29.

- Mcgregor, S. C. (2019). Social Media as Public Opinion: How Journalists Use Social Media to Represent Public Opinion. *Journalism*, 20(8), 1070-1086.
- Medhat, W., Hassan, A., & Karashy, H. (2014). Sentiment analysis algorithms and applications: A survey, *Ain Shams Engineering Journal*, Vol. 5(4).
- Merdeka. (2024, Mei 16). *Meski Pro-Kontra, Program Makan Bergizi Gratis Diyakini Berdampak Positif*. Diambil kembali dari Merdeka.com: <https://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/meski-pro-kontra-program-makan-siang-dan-susu-gratis-diyakini-berdampak-positif-132753-mvk.html>
- Murodi, A., & Setiyoko, Y. (2024). The Role of Social Media in Shaping Public Perception of Politics. *FJAS Formosa Journal of Applied Science*, Vol. 3, No. 12.
- Murphy, J., Link, W. M., Childs, J. H., Tesfaye, C. L., Dean, E., Stern, M., . . . Harwood, P. (2014). Social Media in Public Opinion Research: Executive Summary of The AAPOR Task Force on Emerging Technologies in Public Opinion Research. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 78(04), 788-794.
- Muthhar, M. A. (2016). Membaca Demokrasi Deliberatif Jurgen Habermas dalam Dinamika Politik Indonesia. *Ushuluna: Jurnal Ilmu Ushuluddin*, 2(2).
- Nainggolan, M., Piliang, A., Silalahi, D., Ulandari, R. J., Armanto, S. K., & Silitonga, S. M. (2024). Pengaruh Buzzer di Media Sosial terhadap Pembentukan Opini Publik dalam Pilpres 2024. *Journal Eduaction* 7(1), 550-559.
- Nasrullah, R. (2017). *Media Sosial: Perspektif Komunikasi, Budaya, dan Sosioteknologi*. Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya: hal 11.
- Paliser, E. (2011). *The Filter Bubble: What Internet Hiding for You*. London: Penguin UK.
- Papacharissi, Z., & Oliveira, M. D. (2012). Affective News and Networked Publics: The Rhythms of News Storytelling on Egypt. *Journal of Communication*, 62(2), 266-282.
- Plughoeft, B., & Schneider, I. (2020). Social media as E-participation: Can a multiple hierarchy stratification perspective predict public interest? *Government Information Quarterly*, Vol. 37, issue 1.
- Priyono. (2020). Strategi Percepatan Penurunan Stunting Perdesaan (Studi Kasus Pendampingan Aksi Cegah Stunting di Desa Banyumundu, Kabupaten Pandeglang). *Jurnal Good Governance Volume 16 No. 2*, 150-174.
- Putri, G. R., Maulana, M. A., & Bahri, S. (2023). Perbandingan Algoritma Naive Bayes dan TextBlob Untuk Mendapatkan Analisis Sentimen Masyarakat Pada Social Media. *TEKNIKA Journal Information & Technology*, Vol. 14, No. 3, 213-218.

- PyttigZilig, L. M., Huthchens, M. J., Muhlberger, P., Gonzales, F. J., & Tomkins, A. J. (2018). *Deliberative Public Engagement with Science: An Empirical Investigations*. Springer Nature.
- Qiong, O. (2017). A Brief Introduction of Perception. *CS Canada Studies in Literature and Language*, Vol. 15, No. 4, 18-28.
- Reveilhac, M. (2023). Comparing and Mapping Difference Indices of Debate Quality on Twitter. *Methodological Innovations*, vol. 16 (2), 234-249.
- Rounce, A. D. (2004). Political Actors' Perceptions of Public Opinion: Assessing The Impact of Opinion on Decision Making. *Prepared for the Canadian Political Science Association's Annual Meeting, Winnipeg, Manitoba* (hal. 1-30). Ottawa: Department of Political Science Carleton University.
- RRI. (2024, Mei 13). *Prabowo Beberkan Tujuan Utama Program Susu-Makan Siang Gratis*. Diambil kembali dari RRI.com: <https://rri.co.id/nasional/686729/prabowo-beberkan-tujuan-utama-program-susu-makan-siang-gratis>
- Schmidt, J. H. (2014). Twitter and The Rise of Personal Publics. Dalam K. Weller, A. Bruns, J. Burgess, M. Mahrt, & C. Puschmann, *Twitter & Society* (hal. 3-14). United States of America: Peter Lang Publishing.
- Sekretariat Percepatan Pencegahan Stunting (SPSS). (2019). *Strategi Nasional Percepatan Pencegahan Anak Kerdil (Stunting)*. Jakarta: Sekretariat Wakil Presiden Republik Indonesia (SWPRI).
- Singh, P., Sawhney, R. S., & Kahlon, K. S. (2018). Sentiment Analysis of Demonetization of 500 & 1000 Rupee Banknotes by Indian Government. *ICT Express* 4(3), 124-129.
- Stark, A., Thompson, N. K., & Marston, G. (2021). Public Deliberation and Policy Design. *Policy Design and Practice*, Vol.3 (4).
- Stark, A., Thompson, N., & Marston, G. (2024). Public Deliberation and Policy Deisgn. *Policy Design and Practice*, vol. 4 (4), 452-464.
- Steenbergen, M. R., Bachtiger, A., Spornldi, M., & Steiner, J. (2003). Measuring Political Deliberation: A Discourse Quality Index. *Comaparative European Politics*, 21-48.
- Steiner, J. (2012). *The Fondation of Deliberative Democracy: Empirical Research and Normative Applications*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sudianto, & Usman. (2019). *Opini Publik & Pencitraan*. Depok: Raja Grafindo Persada.
- Sugiyono. (2013). *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, dan R&D*. Bandung: Alfabeta.



- Syaifudin, Y. W., & Puspitasari, D. (2017). Twitter Data Mining for Sentiment Analysis on Peoples Feedback Against Government Public Policy. *MATTER: International Journal of Science and Technology (3)1*, 110-117.
- Szabo, G., Kmetty, Z., & Emese, M. K. (2021). Politics and Incivility in the Online Comments: What is Beyond the Norm-Violation Approach? . *International Journal of Communication 15*, 1659–1684 .
- Tempo. (2024, Mei 26). *Inilah Sederet Kritik Program Makan Siang Gratis yang Kini Diubah Jadi Makan Bergizi Gratis*. Diambil kembali dari Tempo.com: <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1872386/inilah-sederet-kritik-program-makan-siang-gratis-yang-kini-diubah-jadi-makan-bergizi-gratis>
- Tempo. (2024, Mei 31). *Mengapa Skema Program Makan Siang Gratis Berubah?* Diambil kembali dari Tempo.com: <https://koran.tempo.co/read/ekonomi-dan-bisnis/488657/angan-angan-sarapan-bergizi-gratis>
- Tempo. (2025, April 25). *Enam Kasus Keracunan Makanan Program MBG, Terbaru di Cianjur*. Diambil kembali dari Tempo.com: <https://www.tempo.co/hukum/enam-kasus-keracunan-makanan-program-mbg-terbaru-di-cianjur-1237539>
- Trunfio, M., & Rossi, S. (2021). Conceptualising and Measuring Social Media Engagement: A Systematic Literature Review. *Italian Journal of Marketing, Vol. 2021*, 267-292.
- Vesely, A. (2024). Policy Calibration and Policy Acceptability: Assumptions, Evidence, and Practical Implications. *Policy Design & Practice, Vol. 7 (2)*, 176-190.
- We Are Social. (2024, January). *Special Report Digital 2024*. Diambil kembali dari wearesocia: <https://wearesocial.com/id/blog/2024/01/digital-2024/>
- Winarno, B. (2012). *Kebijakan Publik: Teori, Proses, dan Studi Kasus*. Yogyakarta: CAPS.
- Zhang, W., Cao, X., & Tran, M. N. (2013). The Structural Features and The Deliberative Quality of Online Discussions. *Telematics and Informatics, Vol. 30 (2)*, 74-86.
- Zhang, W., Cao, X., & Tran, N. M. (2013). The structural features and the deliberative quality of online discussions. *Telematics & Informatics 30*, 74-86.