

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- A.R, M. Y. (2017). Fenomena Kepemimpinan Politik Jokowi. *Ganec Swara Vol 7 no 1 Maret*, 26-31.
- Agirdas, C. (2015). What Drives Media Bias? New Evidence From Recent Newspaper Closures. *Journal of Media Economics* 28:3, 123-141.
- Ambardi, K. (2017, November 23). Political Polarization and Trust within A Digitally Divided Society. *International Conference on Social and Political Science*. Sleman, Yogyakarta, Indonesia.
- Antoniades, A. (2013). *Ideologies, Media Branding, and The Hostile Media Effect: Muslim Response to Al Jazeera and CNN Coverage*. New Jersey: Princeton University.
- Anugrah Pambudi W, B. S. (2014). *Media Terpenjara: Bayang-bayang Pemilik dalam Pemberitaan Pemilu 2014*. . Yogyakarta: Yayasan TIFA.
- Arceneaux, K., & Johnson, M. (2015). How Does Media Choice Affect Hostile Media Perceptions? Evidence from Participant Preference Experiments. *Journal of Experimental Political Science volume 2*, 12-25.
- Arianto, B. (2014). Fenomena Relawan Politik dalam Kontestasi Presidensial 2014. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Volume 18, Nomor 2, November*, 130-146.
- Ariyanto, A., Hornsey, M. J., & Gallois, C. (2007). Group Allegiances and Perceptions of Media Bias: Taking Into Account Both the Perceiver and the Source. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations Vol 10 (2)*, 266-279.
- Ariyanto, A., Hornsey, M., Morton, T., & Gallois, C. (2008). Media Bias During Extreme Intergroup Conflict: The Naming Bias In Reports of Religious Violence in Indonesia. *Asian Journal of Communication 18(1)*, 16-31.
- Arpan, L. M., & Raney, A. (2003). An experimental investigation of news source and the hostile media effect. *A Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*; 80, 2; ProQuest, 265.
- Barnidge, M., Gunther, A. C., Kim, J., Hong, Y., Perryman, M., Tay, S. K., & Knisely, S. (2017). Politically Motivated Selective Exposure and Perceived Media Bias . *Communication Research 0(00)*, 1– 22.
- Bennett, W. L., & Iyengar, S. (2008). A New Era of Minimal Effects? The Changing Foundations of Political Communication. *Journal of Communication 58*, 707–731.
- Borah, P., Thorson, K., & Hwang, H. (2015). Causes and Consequences of Selective Exposure Among Political Blog Readers: The Role of Hostile

Media Perception in Motivated Media Use and Expressive Participation.  
*Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, 12:2, 186-199.

Chia, S. C., Yong, S. Y., Wong, Z. W., & Koh, W. L. (2007). Personal Bias Or Government Bias? Testing The Hostile Media Effect In A Regulated Press System. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research Vol. 19 No.3*, 313-330.

CNN Indonesia. (2017, April 6). *Pilkada Ciptakan Polarisasi Warga Seperti tahun 1965 dan 1998*. Retrieved from <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/kursipanasdki/20170406215136-516-205601/pilkada-ciptakan-polarisasi-warga-seperti-tahun-1965-dan-1998/#> Juli 8, 2017.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2016, Juli 24). *Relawan Jokowi jadi Pendukung Militan: Salam Dua Periode*. Retrieved from <https://cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20160724234744-32-146743/relawan-jokowi-jadi-pendukung-militan-salam-dua-periode/>, Juli 8, 2017.

Coe, K., Tewksbury, D., Bond, B. J., Drogos, K. L., Porter, R. W., Yahn, A., & Zhang, Y. (2008). Hostile News: Partisan Use and Perception of Cable News Programming. *Journal of Communication* 58, 210-219.

Detik.com. (2017, November 2). *Survei SMRC: Elektabilitas Jokowi Salip Prabowo di Jawa Barat*. Retrieved from <http://www.detik.com/news/berita/3710846/survei-smrc-elektabilitas-jokowi-salip-prabowo-di-jawa-barat>, November 9, 2017.

Dijk, J. v. (2009). Users like you? Theorizing agency in user-generated content. *Media Culture Society DOI: 10.1177/0163443708098245*, 41.

Edelman. (2017). *Edelman Trust Barometer 2017*. New York: Edelman.

Feldman, L. (2014). The Hostile Media Effect. *The Oxford Handbook of Political Communication*, 1-8

Flanagin, A. J., & Metzger, M. J. (2000). Perceptions of Internet Information Credibility. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 515-540.

Giner-Sorolla, R., & Chaiken, S. (1994). The Cause of Hostile Media Judgement. *Journal of experimental social psychology*, 165-180.

Hansen, G. J., & Kim, H. (2011). Is the Media Biased Against Me? A Meta-Analysis of the Hostile Media Effect Research. *Communication Research Reports*, 28:2, 169-179.

- Hartmann, T., & Tanis, M. (2012). Examining the Hostile Media Effect as an Intergroup Phenomenon: The Role of Ingroup Identification and Status. *Journal of Communication*, 1-35.
- Heychael, M., & Dhona, H. R. (2014). *Independensi Televisi Menjelang 2014*. Jakarta: Remotivi.
- Huge, M., & Glynn, C. J. (2010). Hostile Media and the Campaign Trail: Perceived Media Bias in the Race for Governor. *Journal of communication* 60, 165-181.
- Iyengar, S., & Hahn, K. S. (2009). Red Media, Blue Media: Evidence of Ideological Selectivity in Media Use. *Journal of Communication* 59, 19–39.
- Jr, W. P., & Shah, D. V. (2003). The Impact of Individual and Interpersonal Factors on Perceived News Media Bias. *Political Psychology*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 101-117.
- Kim, J., & Park, S.-Y. (2017). The Effects of Generational Identification Accessibility and Normative Fit on Hostile Media Perception . *International Journal of Communication* 11, 2115–2135.
- Kolodzy, J. G. (2014). The Convergence Years. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*. Vol. 69 (2), 197-205.
- Kominfo. (2014, Juli 22). *Siaran Pers*. Retrieved from <https://kominfo.go.id/index.php/content/detail/4078/Siaran+pers+tentang+peringatan+keras+menteri+kominfo+kepada+lmbaga+penyiaran+swasta+televsiti+tvone+dan+metro+untuk+mnaati+tegunan>, Januari 12, 2018.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2017, Januari 3). *Sorotan Media*. Retrieved from [http://kominfo.go.id/index.php/content/detail/8661/indonesia-akan-tindak-penyabar-fitnah-di-media-sosial/0/sorotan\\_media](http://kominfo.go.id/index.php/content/detail/8661/indonesia-akan-tindak-penyabar-fitnah-di-media-sosial/0/sorotan_media), Februari 1, 2017.
- Kompas.com. (2017, Februari 11). *Dikecam. Kekerasan terhadap Jurnalis saat liput Aksi 112*. Retrieved from <https://www.nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/02/11/18050071/dikecam.ke-kerasan.terhadap.jurnalis.saat.liput.aksi.112/>, Desember 17, 2017.
- Korte, R. (2007). A Review of Social Identity Theory With Implication for Training and Development. *Journal of European Industrial Training* 31-3, 166-180.
- KPI. (2017, Desember 12). *Pemberitaan Tidak Netral, KPI Pusat Tegur MetroTV dan TV One*. Retrieved from <http://www.kpi.go.id/index.php/lihat-terkini/38-dalam-negeri/32106-pemberitaan-tidak-netral-kpi-pusat-tegur-metro-tv-dan-tv-one>

- Ksiazek, T. B. (2016). Partisan audience polarization: Beyond selective exposure. *Atlantic Journal of Communication*, 24:4, 216-227.
- Lelkes, Y., Sood, G., & Iyengar, S. (2015). The Hostile Audience: The Effect of Access to Broadband Internet on Partisan . *Forthcoming in the American Journal of Political Science*, 1-57.
- Levendusky, M. (2013). Why Do Partisan Media Polarize Viewers? *American Journal of Political Science*, 1-13.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2017). Partisan Media and Polarization: Challenges for Future. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*, 1-16.
- Levendusky, M., & Malhotra, N. (2015). Does Media Coverage of Partisan Polarization Affect Political Attitudes? *Political Communication* 00, 1-19.
- Lim, M. (2017). Freedom to hate: social media, algorithmic enclaves, and the rise of tribal nationalism in Indonesia. *Critical Asian Studies*, 49:3, 411-427.
- Lin, M.-C., Haridakis, P. M., & Hanson, G. (2016). The Role of Political Identity and Media Selection on Perceptions of Hostile Media Bias During the 2012 Presidential Campaign. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 425-447.
- Merdeka. (2014, Maret 23). *Prabowo Keliling GBK dengan Kuda Sapa Pendukungnya*. Retrieved from <https://www.merdeka.com/politik/prabowo-keliling-gbk-dengan-kuda-sapa-pendukungnya.html>, Desember 17, 2017.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2014, Agustus 22). *Ini Kelompok di belakang Massa Prabowo*. Retrieved from <https://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/ini-kelompok-di-belakang-massa-prabowo.html>, Desember 17, 2017.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2016, Desember 3). *Aji Sesalkan Pengusiran Metro TV dan Kompas saat Aksi 212*. Retrieved from <https://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/aji-sesalkan-pengusiran-metrotv-dan-kompas-saat-aksi-212.html>, Desember 17, 2017.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2017, Desember 17). *Profil Joko Widodo*. Retrieved from <https://www.merdeka.com/joko-widodo/profil>, Desember 17, 2017.
- Messing, S., & Westwood, S. J. (2012). Selective Exposure in the Age of Social Media: Endorsements Trump Partisan Source Affiliation When Selecting News Online. *Communication Research*, 1-21.
- MetroTV. (2017, Desember 12). *Profil Kami*. Retrieved from <https://www.metrotvnews.com/aboutus>, Desember 17, 2017.

- Mutz, D. C. (2006). *Hearing the other side: Deliberative vs. participatory democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Okezone. (2017, Mei 13). *Elektabilitas Dedi Mulyadi Masuk 5 Teratas Tokoh yang Bakal Dicalonkan di Pilkada Jabar*. Retrieved from News: <http://news.okezone.com/read/2017/05/338/1690066/elektabilitas-dedi-mulyadi-masuk-5-teratas-tokoh-yang-bakal-dicalonkan-di-pilkada-jabar>. November 9, 2017.
- Perloff, R. M. (2015). A Three-Decade Retrospective on the Hostile Media Effect. *Mass Communication and Society*, 37-41.
- Pertiwi, M. P. (2014). *Kebenaran Relatif dalam Media Massa: Pengaruh Keanggotaan Partisipan, Keanggotaan Media, dan Status Ingroup-Outgroup terhadap Hostile Media Bias*. Depok: Universitas Indonesia.
- Peterson, E., Goel, S., & Iyengar, S. (2017). *Echo Chambers and Partisan Polarization: Evidence from the 2016 Presidential Campaign*. Stanford: Political Communication Lab Stanford University.
- PrabowoSubiantoInfo. (2014, Januari). *Prabowo Subianto* Retrieved from <http://www.prabowosubianto.info/riwayat-prabowo>
- Prior, M. (2013). Media and Political Polarization. *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.* 16:, 101–127.
- Puji Rianto, R. I. (2014). *Kepemilikan dan Intervensi Siaran: Perampasan Hak Publik, Dominasi dan Bahaya Media di Tangan Segelintir Orang*. Yogyakarta: PR2Media.
- Qodir, Z. (2014, Agustus 16). Orde Kerakyatan untuk Kemandirian. *Harian Kompas*.
- Rakhmat, J. (2009). *Metode Penelitian Komunikasi*. Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Rantona, S., & Widyastuti, M. (2017). Akun Youtube Presiden Jokowi Sebagai Wajah Pembangunan Indonesia . *Seminar Nasional Procen 2017 “Nation Branding”* (13-21). Bandung: UNPAD Press.
- Ruggiero, T. (2000). Uses and Gratifications Theory in the 21st Century. *Mass Communication & Society* 3(1) 2000, 3–37.
- Sugiyono. (2009). *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, dan R&D*. Bandung: Alfabeta.
- Stroud, N. J. (2007). Media Effects, Selective Exposure, and Farenheit 9/11. *Political Communication* 24:4, 415-432.

- Tapsell, R. (2018, Januari 12). *Disinformation Demovracy Indonesia*. Retrieved from <https://www.newmandala.org/disinformation-democracy-indonesia/>. Januari 12, 2018.
- Tirto. (2017, Desember 17). *Profil Joko Widodo*. Retrieved from <https://www.tirto.id/m/joko-widodo-g3>, Desember 17, 2017.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2018, Maret 2). *Mengklaim Bela Ulama. Muslim Cyber Army Produksi Sampah Informasi*. Retrieved from <https://tirto.id/mengklaim-bela-ulama-muslim-cyber-army-produksi-sampah-informasi-cFxp>, Maret 2. 2018.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2018, Maret 2). *Mengenal Secara Dekat Muslim Cyber Army*. Retrieved from <https://www.tirto.id/mengenal-secara-dekat-muslim-cyber-army-cFwM>, Maret 2. 2018.
- Turner, J. (1999). Some Current Issues in Research Social Identity and Self Categorization Theory. *Social identity: Context, commitment, content*, 6-34.
- Vallone, R. P., Ross, L., & Lepper, M. R. (1985). The Hostile Media Phenomenon: Biased Perception and Perceptions of Media Bias in Coverage of the Beirut Massacre. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology Vol. 49, No. 3*, , 577-585.
- Velandika, E. (2016). *Terpaan Berita Media Partisan, Perspsi, dan Preferensi Pemilih Pemula*. Yogyakarta: Universitas Gadjah Mada.
- Vidali, D. S. (2010). Millennial encounters with mainstream television news: Excess, void, and points of engagement. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 20(2), 372–388.
- Viva. (2009, Maret 24). *Sebagain Media Berpihak Pada Partai Tertentu*. Retrieved from <http://politik.news.viva.co.id/news/read/43371-sebagian-media-berpihak-pada-partai-tertentu>, Desember 21, 2016.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2017, Desember 12). *Tentang Kami*. Retrieved from <https://id.vivagorup.co.id/tentang-kami/profil-perusahaan/>, Desember 12, 2017
- Vraga, E. K., & Tully, M. (2015). Media Literacy Messages and Hostile Media Perceptions: Processing of Nonpartisan Versus Partisan Political Information . *Mass Communication and Society*, 1-35.
- Waytz, A., Iyer, R., Young, L., & Graham, J. (2016). Ideological Differences in the Expanses of Empathy. In P. Valdesolo, & J. Graham, *Social Pshycological of Political Polarization*. New York: Taylor & Francis.

- Wei, R., Chia, S. C., & Lo, V.-H. (2011). Third-person Effect and Hostile Media Perception Influences on Voter Attitudes toward Polls in the 2008 U.S. Presidential Election. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* Vol. 23 No. 2.
- Widyastuti, M. (2018). Effect of Partisanship on Hostile Media Effect in Indonesia. Case Study: Jakarta Elections. Presented at *International Conference on Social and Political Science*. Yogyakarta: UGM Press.
- Yun, G. W., Park, S.-Y., Lee, S., & Flynn, M. A. (2016). Hostile Media or Hostile Source? Bias Perception of Shared News. *Social Science Computer Review*, 1-15.