

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alam, S. (2021). Political communication and citizen participation in Indonesian social media campaigns. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*, 25(2), 123–138.
- Basri, F. (2024). Public commentary on MBG budget allocation. *Tempo*.
- Bekkers, V., & Edwards, A. (2016). Legitimacy and democracy: A conceptual framework for assessing governance practices. In *Governance and the democratic deficit* (pp. 35–60). Routledge.
- Bennett, W. L., & Pfetsch, B. (2018). Rethinking political communication in a time of disrupted public spheres. *Journal of Communication*, 68(2), 243–253. <https://doi.org/10.1093/joc/jqx017>
- Bennett, W. L., & Segerberg, A. (2012). The logic of connective action: Digital media and the personalization of contentious politics. *Information, Communication & Society*, 15(5), 739–768. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2012.670661>
- Budiawan, A. (2024). Policy analysis of Indonesia's 2025 budget constraints. *Political Economy and Policy Studies Journal*.
- Camargo, A. M. (2025). Why public sector accounting reforms consistently fail to deliver real transparency and accountability. *Revista DCS*, 22(81), e3202–e3202.
- Crespy, A., Massart, T., & Schmidt, V. (2024). How the impossible became possible: Evolving frames and narratives on responsibility and responsiveness from the Eurocrisis to NextGenerationEU. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 31(4), 950–976.
- Crow, D., & Wolton, L. (2020). Talking policy in congressional campaigns: Construction of policy narratives in electoral politics. *Politics & Policy*, 48(4), 658–699.
- Domenico, M. D. (2021). Political communication in times of crisis: Media, narratives, and legitimacy. *Political Communication*, 38(4), 456–472.
- Druckman, J. N. (2022). Public opinion and political communication: Retrospective and prospective. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 25, 1–19.
- Eddy Cahyono. (2017). *Manajemen strategik komunikasi publik di era digital*. Sekretariat Kabinet. <https://setkab.go.id/manajemen-strategik-komunikasi-publik-di-era-digital/>

ENGİN, E. (2023). ORGANIZATIONAL LEGITIMACY THROUGH STORYTELLING. *International Studies in*, 113.

Fadlallah, R., El-Jardali, F., Nomier, M., Hemadi, N., Arif, K., Langlois, E. V., & Akl, E. A. (2019). Using narratives to impact health policy-making: A systematic review. *Health Research Policy and Systems*, 17(1), 26.

Flick, U. (2007). *Designing qualitative research*. SAGE Publications.

Gesser-Edelsburg, A. (2021). Using narrative evidence to convey health information on social media: The case of COVID-19. *Journal of Medical Internet Research*, 23(3), e24948.

Gray, G., & Jones, M. D. (2016). A qualitative narrative policy framework? Examining the policy narratives of US campaign finance regulatory reform. *Public Policy and Administration*, 31(3), 193-220.

Grossman, E. (2022). Media and policy making in the digital age. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 25, 443–461.

Gupta, K., Ripberger, J. T., & Wehde, W. (2016). Twitter and policy narratives: The case of U.S. nuclear energy policy. *Policy Studies Journal*, 44(2), 131–154.

Hallin, D. C., Mellado, C., & Mancini, P. (2021). The concept of hybridity in journalism studies. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 28(1), 219–237. <https://doi.org/10.1177/19401612211039704>

Hartley, K., Kuecker, G., & Woo, J. J. (2019). Practicing public policy in an age of disruption. *Policy Design and Practice*, 2(2), 163–181.

Hayat, M. A., Nugroho, Y., & Suryani, T. (2021). Digital participation and political mobilisation in Indonesia. *Asian Journal of Political Science*, 29(3), 367–385.

Hornung, J., Fullerton, A. H., & Weible, C. M. (2025). Devil and angel shifts in collective action: A call for integration and improvements. *Policy Studies Journal*, 53(4), 1014–1044.

Idris, I. K. (2018). Government social media in Indonesia: Just another information dissemination tool. *Jurnal Komunikasi: Malaysian Journal of Communication*, 34(4), 337-356.

Jones, M. D., & McBeth, M. K. (2010). A narrative policy framework: Clear enough to be wrong? *Policy Studies Journal*, 38(2), 329–353.

Kementerian Sekretariat Negara. (n.d.). Makan bergizi gratis dan SDM unggul. https://www.setneg.go.id/baca/index/makan_bergizi_gratis_dan_sdm_unggul

- Kemp, S. (2024, February 21). Digital 2024: Indonesia. DataReportal.
<https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2024-indonesia>
- Kim, H. (2015). Social welfare and public education reforms in South Korea. Korean Institute of Public Policy.
- Larsson, A. O. (2021). Instagram and the visual turn in political communication. *Information, Communication & Society*, 24(14), 2069–2085.
- Maharani, P. A., Namira, A. R., & Chairunnisa, T. V. (2024). Peran makan siang gratis dalam janji kampanye Prabowo–Gibran dan realisasinya. *Journal of Law and Social Society*, 1(1), 1–10.
<https://rumah-jurnal.com/index.php/jolasos/article/view/79>
- Mardatila, A. (2025, February 11). Pangkas sana-sini demi makan bergizi gratis. DetikX.
<https://news.detik.com/x/detail/spotlight/20250211/Pangkas-Sana-sini-Demi-Makan-Bergizi-Gratis/>
- McNair, B. (2018). *An introduction to political communication*. Routledge.
- Mergel, I. (2021). Digital service teams and government communication capacity. *Government Information Quarterly*, 38(4), 101599.
- Merry, M. (2015). Constructing policy narratives in 140 characters or less: The case of gun policy organizations. *Policy Studies Journal*, 43(3), 376–400.
- Miedzinski, M. (2015). Public policy for long-term societal challenges? The reframing of policy narratives and the “Roadmap to a Resource Efficient Europe” [Doctoral dissertation, The University of Manchester].
- Ministry of Finance. (2025). SE Menkeu No. S-37/MK.02/2025: Government budget adjustments.
- Moy, P., & Bosch, B. (2013). The influence of media on public opinion: An overview of theories and research. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 16, 15–32.
- Nainggolan, R. R. E. (2024). Analisis penggunaan website dan media sosial pemerintah untuk pelayanan publik. *Jurnal Teknologi dan Komunikasi Pemerintahan*, 6(1), 1-21.
- Neto, D. D. R., & Barcelos, M. (2020). Stories in the agenda: A narrative policy framework study. *Revista de Administração Pública*, 54(6), 16.
- Niang, M., Alami, H., Gagnon, M. P., & Dupéré, S. (2023). A conceptualisation of scale-up and sustainability of social innovations in global health: A narrative

review and integrative framework for action. *Global Health Action*, 16(1), 2230813.

- Nugraha, R., Pratama, A., & Wibowo, H. (2025). Government social media communication and ceremonial politics in Indonesia. *Journal of Asian Public Policy*, 18(1), 45–62.
- O'Dwyer, B., Owen, D., & Unerman, J. (2011). Seeking legitimacy for new assurance forms: The case of assurance on sustainability reporting. *Accounting, Organizations and Society*, 36(1), 31–52.
- Oparaugo, B. (2021). Political branding and digital campaign strategies. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 20(3), 265–284.
- Oppermann, K., & Spencer, A. (2022). Narrative analysis. In *Routledge handbook of foreign policy analysis methods* (pp. 117-132). Routledge.
- Precious, F. K., Owbor, G. A., Opeyemi, M. O. A., Igwe, S. C., Beauty, O. C., Sy, F. A. R., & Lucero-Prisno III, D. E. (2023). Why nutrition programs for children remain important. In *Advances in Food Security and Sustainability* (Vol. 8, pp. 187–215). Elsevier.
- Presser, L. (2018). *Inside story: How narratives drive mass harm*. University of California Press.
- Pricahyadi, M., & Ramadani, T. (2019). Strategi komunikasi kebijakan pemerintah Provinsi DKI Jakarta pada Peraturan Gubernur Nomor 110 Tahun 2018. *Jurnal Ilmu Administrasi*, 16(1), 112–126.
- Qi, F., Gao, T., & Zhu, L. (2025). Understanding China's policy narratives during crisis: A Narrative Policy Framework approach. *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management*, 33(4), e70105.
- Ramdhani, A., & Ramdhani, M. A. (2017). Konsep umum pelaksanaan kebijakan publik. *Jurnal Publik*, 11(1), 1–12.
- Scheufele, D. A., & Tewksbury, D. (2006). Framing, agenda-setting, and priming: The evolution of three media-effects models. *Journal of Communication*, 57(1), 9–20. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0021-9916.2007.00326.x>
- Shanahan, E. A., Jones, M. D., McBeth, M. K., & Radaelli, C. M. (2013). The Narrative Policy Framework: Theory, method, and research. In *Theories of the policy process* (4th ed., pp. 173–213). Routledge.

- Shanahan, E. A., Jones, M. D., McBeth, M. K., & Radaelli, C. M. (2018). The Narrative Policy Framework. In *Theories of the policy process* (pp. 173–213). Routledge.
- Simon Kemp. (2023). Digital 2023: Indonesia. DataReportal. <https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2023-indonesia>
- Smith-Walter, A., & Jones, M. D. (2020). Using the narrative policy framework in comparative policy analysis. In *Handbook of research methods and applications in comparative policy analysis* (pp. 348–365). Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Sos, J. P. S. (2020). Implementasi dan evaluasi kebijakan publik. Unisri Press.
- Stephan, H. R. (2020). Shaping the scope of conflict in Scotland’s fracking debate: Conflict management and the Narrative Policy Framework. *Review of Policy Research*, 37(1), 64–91.
- Suri, D. M., Nurmandi, A., Qodir, Z., & Al Fadhat, F. (2021). Narrative Policy Framework: The role of media narrative towards forest and land fire policy in Indonesia. *Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta*, 24–42.
- Syrdal, H. A., & Briggs, E. (2018). Engagement with social media content: A qualitative exploration. *Journal of Marketing Theory and Practice*, 26(1–2), 4–22. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10696679.2017.1389243>
- Tanaka, Y. (2017). History of school meal programs in Japan: From post-war recovery to modern welfare. University of Tokyo Press.
- Teori, E. S. M. (2009). Kebijakan publik. Graha Ilmu.
- Theocharis, Y., & Jungherr, A. (2021). Computational social science and the study of political communication. *Political Communication*, 38(1–2), 1–22.
- Uldanov, A., Gabriichuk, T., Karateev, D., & Makhmutova, M. (2021). Narratives in an authoritarian environment: Narrative strategies, plots, and characters in Moscow’s public transport reforms debate. *European Policy Analysis*, 7(2), 433–450.
- Vaara, E., Sonenshein, S., & Boje, D. (2016). Narratives as sources of stability and change in organizations: Approaches and directions for future research. *Academy of Management Annals*, 10(1), 495–560.
- Vaccari, C., & Chadwick, A. (2020). Deepfakes and disinformation: Exploring the impact of synthetic political video on deception, uncertainty, and trust in news.

Social Media + Society, 6(1), 1–13.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305120903408>

- Vaezi, A. M., & Maleki, A. (2025). Narrative coalitions and strategies in the policy-making for Iran's startup ecosystem: A Narrative Policy Framework analysis. *Review of Policy Research*.
- Van Hulst, M., Metze, T., Dewulf, A., De Vries, J., Van Bommel, S., & Van Ostaijen, M. (2025). Discourse, framing and narrative: Three ways of doing critical, interpretive policy analysis. *Critical Policy Studies*, 19(1), 74–96.
- Vicki, B., Huong, T., Miranda, B., Rachel, L., & Marj, M. (2020). A narrative review of economic constructs in commonly used implementation and scale-up theories, frameworks and models. *Health Research Policy and Systems*, 18(1), 115.
- Weible, C. M., Heikkila, T., deLeon, P., & Sabatier, P. A. (2016). *Theories of the policy process*. Routledge.
- Wibisono, Y. (2024). *Economic impacts of large-scale social programs*. Institute for Demographic and Poverty Studies.
- Wijaya, M. I. (2024). *Social ecological approach to combating stunting in Kintamani, Bali, Indonesia*.
- Winkler, P., & Etter, M. (2020). Strategic communication and emergence: A dual narrative framework. In *Future directions of strategic communication* (pp. 54–70). Routledge.
- Wukich, C. (2022). Social media engagement forms in government: A structure–content framework. *Government Information Quarterly*, 39(2), 101684.
- Wukich, C., & Mergel, I. (2022). Institutional government social media accounts and crisis communication. *Public Administration Review*, 82(3), 465–478.
- Yin, R. K. (2018). *Case study research and applications: Design and methods* (6th ed.). Sage.