UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Kontestasi Strategi Narasi Pemerintah dan Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat (LSM) Terhadap Program Makan Bergizi Gratis Menggunakan Narrative Policy Framework
Ghalia Nasywa Dikara, Dr. Nunuk Dwi Retnandari, M.Si.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Abadi, M. N. P., Basrowi, R. W., Gunawan, W. Ben, Arasy, M. P., Nurjihan, F., Sundjaya, T., Pratiwi, D., Hardinsyah, H., Astuti Taslim, N., & Nurkolis, F. (2025). Unraveling Future Trends in Free School Lunch and Nutrition: Global Insights for Indonesia from Bibliometric Approach and Critical Review. *Nutrients 2025, Vol. 17, Page 2777*, *17*(17), 2777. https://doi.org/10.3390/nu17172777

Abell, P. (2004). Narrative explanation: An alternative to variable-centered explanation? *Annual Review of Sociology*, *30*(Volume 30, 2004), 287–310. https://doi.org/10.1146/ANNUREV.SOC.29.010202.100113/CITE/REFWORKS

Aji Nugroho, A., & Fitri Azmi, I. (2021). Alleviating Society's Economic Crisis: Narrative Policy on Social Safety Nets Policy Process During Covid-19 Pandemic. *Policy & Governance Review*, *5*(2), 113. https://doi.org/10.30589/PGR.V5I2.443

Alamsyah, A. (2022). Collaborative Practice during Forest Fires Disaster: A Narrative Policy Framework. *Journal of Disaster and Emergency Research*. https://doi.org/10.18502/JDER.9744

Andreas, K., Tambunan, H., Nababan, R., Siagian, R. A., Naiborhu, R., Harianti, S., & Jamaludin, J. (2025). Tinjauan Kritis Tentang Program Makan Bergizi Gratis Terhadap Produktivitas Belajar Siswa. *Katalis Pendidikan : Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan dan Matematika*, *2*(2), 21–31. https://doi.org/10.62383/KATALIS.V2I2.1428

Asmoro, W., & Samputra, P. L. (2021). Analisis Naratif Kebijakan: Kebijakan Ganja Medis di Indonesia. *Matra Pembaruan: Jurnal Inovasi Kebijakan, 5*(1), 13-24. https://doi.org/10.21787/MP.5.1.2021.13-24

Aziz, D.A. (2025, 19 September). *JPPI Desak Prabowo Hentikan Program MBG setelah Banyak Kasus Keracunan*. Diakses pada 8 Oktober 2025, dari https://www.tempo.co/politik/jppi-desak-prabowo-hentikan-program-mbg-setelah-1banyak-kasus-keracunan-2071279

Bailey, S., Dunning, K. H., Morris, D., & Williamson, R. D. (2022). How narratives shape policy: Lessons learned from port projects adjacent to coral reefs in Florida and the Cayman Islands. *Marine Policy*, *144*, 105233. https://doi.org/10.1016/J.MARPOL.2022.105233

Basyari, I. (2025, 16 Februari). *Resep di Balik Percepatan Program Makan Bergizi Gratis*. Diakses pada 25 September 2025, dari https://www.kompas.id/artikel/resep-di-balik-kecepatan-program-makan-bergizi-gratis?status=sukses_login&utm_source=kompasid&utm_medium=login_paywall&utm_campaign=login&utm_content=https://www.kompas.id/artikel/resep-di-balik-kecepatan-program-makan-bergizi-gratis

BBC News Indonesia. (2025, 25 Juni). *Ribuan siswa keracunan Makan Bergizi Gratis, orang tua trauma dan larang anaknya konsumsi MBG – 'Bukannya meringankan malah mau membunuh'*. Diakses pada 29 September 2025, dari https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/cm2zney05ypo

BBC News Indonesia. (2025, 22 September). *Ribuan kasus keracunan akibat MBG – Evaluasi SPPG dan standar higienis jadi prioritas pemerintah*. Diakses pada 10 Oktober 2025, dari https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/cgj119359q4o

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Kontestasi Strategi Narasi Pemerintah dan Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat (LSM) Terhadap Program Makan Bergizi Gratis Menggunakan Narrative Policy Framework
Ghalia Nasywa Dikara, Dr. Nunuk Dwi Retnandari, M.Si.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Bhakti, P. S., & Syarifuddin, D. (2025). Legitimasi Kebijakan Publik Di Era Disinformasi Studi Sosiologis Tentang Respons Masyarakat Terhadap Program Makan Bergizi Gratis Di Indonesia. *Jurnal Kolaboratif Sains, 8*(12), 8435-8442. https://doi.org/10.56338/JKS.V8I12.9662

Biswas Mellamphy, N., Girard, T., & Campbell, A. (2023). Interpreting crises through narratives: the construction of a COVID-19 policy narrative by Canada's political parties. *Critical Policy Studies*, *17*(1), 142–161. https://doi.org/10.1080/19460171.2022.2067070;PAGE:STRING:ARTICLE/CHAPTER

Boeynaems, A., Burgers, C., Konijn, E. A., & Steen, G. J. (2017). The Effects of Metaphorical Framing on Political Persuasion: A Systematic Literature Review. *Metaphor and Symbol*, *32*(2), 118–134. https://doi.org/10.1080/10926488.2017.1297623

Boswell, C., Geddes, A., & Scholten, P. (2011). The Role of Narratives in Migration Policy-Making: A Research Framework. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, *13*(1), 1–11. https://doi.org/10.1111/J.1467-856X.2010.00435.X;WEBSITE:WEBSITE:SAGE;ISSUE:ISSUE:DOI

Brass, J. N. (2022). Do Service Provision NGOs Perform Civil Society Functions? Evidence of NGOs' Relationship With Democratic Participation. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, *51*(1), 148–169. https://doi.org/10.1177/0899764021991671;JOURNAL:JOURNAL:NVSB;WEBSITE:WEBSITE:SAGE;WGROUP:STRING:PUBLICATION

Brass, J. N., Longhofer, W., Robinson, R. S., & Schnable, A. (2018). NGOs and international development: A review of thirty-five years of scholarship. *World Development*, *112*, 136–149. https://doi.org/10.1016/J.WORLDDEV.2018.07.016

Brewer, A. M. (2019). A Bridge in Flux: Narratives and the Policy Process in the Pacific Northwest. *Review of Policy Research*, *36*(4), 497–522. https://doi.org/10.1111/ROPR.12343;JOURNAL:JOURNAL:15411338;WGROUP:STRING:PUBLICATION

Brewer, A. M. (2021). Strategic policy narratives: A narrative policy study of the Columbia River Crossing. *Public Policy and Administration*, *36*(4), 496–517. https://doi.org/10.1177/0952076720904434

Cejudo, G. M., & Trein, P. (2022). Pathways to policy integration: a subsystem approach. *Policy Sciences 2022 56:1*, *56*(1), 9–27. https://doi.org/10.1007/S11077-022-09483-1

Chalaya, T., & Uldanov, A. (2024). Avoiding the blame game: NGOs and government narrative strategies in landscape fire policy debates in Russia. *Review of Policy Research*, *41*(6), 892–920. https://doi.org/10.1111/ROPR.12598;REQUESTEDJOURNAL:JOURNAL:15411338;JOURNAL:JOURNAL:15411338;WGROUP:STRING:PUBLICATION

Chang, K. T., & Koebele, E. A. (2020). What Drives Coalitions' Narrative Strategy? Exploring Policy Narratives around School Choice. *Politics & Policy*, *48*(4), 618–657. https://doi.org/10.1111/POLP.12367

Christi, V. T. (2025, 22 Desember). *Kasus Keracunan MBG Capai 15 Ribu pada Januari-November 2025*. Diakses pada 11 Januari 2026, dari

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Kontestasi Strategi Narasi Pemerintah dan Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat (LSM) Terhadap Program Makan Bergizi Gratis Menggunakan Narrative Policy Framework
Ghalia Nasywa Dikara, Dr. Nunuk Dwi Retnandari, M.Si.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

https://data.goodstats.id/statistic/kasus-keracunan-mbg-capai-15-ribu-pada-januari-november-2025-fAbJW

CISDI. (2025, 19 September). *Picu 5.626 Kasus Keracunan, CISDI Mendesak Presiden Prabowo segera Moratorium dan Evaluasi Menyeluruh Program MBG*. Diakses pada 29 September 2025, dari https://cisdi.org/siaran-pers/moratorium-MBG

CELIOS. (2025, 15 Desember). *Makan (Tidak) Bergizi (Tidak) Gratis*. Diakses pada 31 Januari 2026, dari https://celios.co.id/makan-tidak-bergizi-tidak-gratis/

Crow, D. A., Lawhon, L. A., Berggren, J., Huda, J., Koebele, E., & Kroepsch, A. (2017). A Narrative Policy Framework Analysis of Wildfire Policy Discussions in Two Colorado Communities. *Politics and Policy*, *45*(4), 626–656. https://doi.org/10.1111/POLP.12207;WGROUP:STRING:PUBLICATION

D'Acunto, F., Hoang, D., Paloviita, M., & Weber, M. (2021). *Effective policy communication: Targets versus instruments (No. 147)*. KIT Working Paper Series in Economics. https://doi.org/10.5445/IR/1000130652

Daeli, S. P. (2012). Eksistensi Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat di Kalimantan Barat. *Jurnal Bina Praja, 4*(1), 57-66. https://doi.org/10.21787/JBP.04.2012.57-66

Demilew, Y. M., & Nigussie, A. A. (2020). The relationship between school meals with thinness and stunting among primary school students, in Meket Wereda, Ethiopia: Comparing schools with feeding and non-feeding program. *BMC Nutrition*, *6*(1), 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1186/S40795-020-00358-3/TABLES/4

DePaula, N., Dincelli, E., & Harrison, T. M. (2018). Toward a typology of government social media communication: Democratic goals, symbolic acts and self-presentation. *Government Information Quarterly*, *35*(1), 98–108. https://doi.org/10.1016/J.GIQ.2017.10.003

Evitha, Y., Sari, S. N., Suprayitno, D., & Irrianda, J. (2023). Digital Communication Management Government of the Republic of Indonesia for Inclusive and Sustainable Economic Recovery in Indonesia. *KnE Social Sciences*, 621-631. https://doi.org/10.18502/KSS.V8I12.13710

Farabi, M. F. F., Shadr, M. B., Khalis, I., Intan, N., & Hanafi, M. A. (2025). Efektivitas Fungsi Pengawasan DPR di Tengah Dominasi Koalisi Gemuk. *Jurnal Konstitusi & Demokrasi, 5*(2), 2. https://doi.org/10.7454/JKD.v5i2.1507

Fasa, T., Amellia, S., Novita, I., Zuhri, S., Studi, P., Komunikasi, I., & Timur, J. (2021). FRAMING BERITA MEDIA ONLINE TERHADAP EFEKTIVITAS KINERJA PEMERINTAH DALAM MENANGGULANGI TINGGINYA KASUS PHK DI MASA PANDEMI COVIDâ€“19. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik (JISIP)*, *10*(1), 62–72. https://doi.org/10.33366/JISIP.V10I1.2237

Gelders, D., Bouckaert, G., & van Ruler, B. (2007). Communication management in the public sector: Consequences for public communication about policy intentions. *Government Information Quarterly*, *24*(2), 326–337. https://doi.org/10.1016/J.GIQ.2006.06.009

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. https://doi.org/10.1177/0952076715623356

Gupta, K., Ripberger, J., & Wehde, W. (2018). Advocacy Group Messaging on Social Media: Using the Narrative Policy Framework to Study Twitter Messages about Nuclear

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
**Kontestasi Strategi Narasi Pemerintah dan Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat (LSM) Terhadap Program Makan
Bergizi Gratis Menggunakan Narrative Policy Framework**
Ghalia Nasywa Dikara, Dr. Nunuk Dwi Retnandari, M.Si.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Energy Policy in the United States. *Policy Studies Journal*, *46*(1), 119–136. https://doi.org/10.1111/PSJ.12176

Habibah, N., Aradytia, M. T., Izzah, K. N., Hawarie, K. A., & Maheswara, M. (2025). Reviewing the Effectiveness of the Free Nutritious Meals (MBG) Policy in Promoting Nutritional Equity Among School Children. *Journal of Social, Policy and Development Studies*, *2*(2), 18–26. https://doi.org/10.65119/jspds.v2i2.32

Hanin, A. S., & Maryam, M. (2025). Sentiment Analysis of Twitter Towards the Free Lunch Program Using the C4.5 Algorithm. *International Journal of Advances in Data and Information Systems*, *6*(1), 31–45. https://doi.org/10.59395/IJADIS.V6I1.1357

Haryati, H. (Haryati), & Harahap, N. (Nursapia). (2025). Analysis of Netizen Framing in X in the Implementation of the Free Nutritious Meal Program. *Hulondalo Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan dan Ilmu Komunikasi*, *4*(2), 619672. https://doi.org/10.59713/JIPIK.V4I2.1433

Hayek, L. (2024). Media Framing of Government Crisis Communication During Covid-19. *Media and Communication*, *12*(0), 7774. https://doi.org/10.17645/MAC.7774

Herdiansah, A. G. (2016). PERAN ORGANISASI MASYARAKAT (ORMAS) DAN LEMBAGA SWADAYA MASYARAKAT (LSM) DALAM MENOPANG PEMBANGUNAN DI INDONESIA. *Sosioglobal : Jurnal Pemikiran dan Penelitian Sosiologi*, *1*(1), 49–67. https://doi.org/10.24198/JSG.V1I1.11185

Hirschman, J., & Chriqui, J. F. (2013). School food and nutrition policy, monitoring and evaluation in the USA. *Public Health Nutrition*, *16*(6), 982–988. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1368980012004144

Howlett, M. (2009). Government Communication as a Policy Tool: A Framework for Analysis. *Canadian Political Science Review*, *3*(2), 23–37. https://doi.org/10.24124/c677/2009134

Hummel, D., & Kusumasari, B. (2024). Power dynamics and resource dependence: NGO-government collaboration in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. *Public Administration and Development*, *44*(1), 32–42. https://doi.org/10.1002/PAD.2034;REQUESTEDJOURNAL:JOURNAL:1099162X;WGROUP:STRING:PUBLICATION

Hyland-Wood, B., Gardner, J., Leask, J., & Ecker, U. K. H. (2021). Toward effective government communication strategies in the era of COVID-19. *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications 2021 8:1*, *8*(1), 30-. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-020-00701-w

Inman, C., & Jones, M. (2022). Thinking outside of the lunchbox: A narrative policy framework analysis of school lunch policies. *World Food Policy*, *8*(2), 185–207. https://doi.org/10.1002/WFP2.12045

Israyudin, R., Arrofi, F. M., & Dwiardi, A. R. (2025). Digital Transformation through Electronic-Based Government System Policy in Indonesia: A Policy Narrative Analysis. *Journal La Sociale*, *6*(2), 281–292. https://doi.org/10.37899/JOURNAL-LA-SOCIALE.V6I2.1825

Jones, M. D. (2014). Cultural Characters and Climate Change: How Heroes Shape Our Perception of Climate Science. *Social Science Quarterly*, *95*(1), 1–39. https://doi.org/10.1111/SSQU.12043

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Kontestasi Strategi Narasi Pemerintah dan Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat (LSM) Terhadap Program Makan Bergizi Gratis Menggunakan Narrative Policy Framework
Ghalia Nasywa Dikara, Dr. Nunuk Dwi Retnandari, M.Si.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Jones, M. D., & McBeth, M. K. (2010). A Narrative Policy Framework: Clear Enough to Be Wrong? *Policy Studies Journal*, *38*(2), 329–353. https://doi.org/10.1111/J.1541-0072.2010.00364.X

Jones, M. D., McBeth, M. K., & Shanahan, E. A. (2014). Introducing the Narrative Policy Framework. *The Science of Stories*, 1–25. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137485861_1

Jones, M. D., Shanahan, E. A., & McBeth, M. K. (2014). The science of stories: Applications of the narrative policy framework in public policy analysis. *The Science of Stories: Applications of the Narrative Policy Framework in Public Policy Analysis*, 1–280. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137485861/COVER

Jones, M., Praxis, M. M.-A. T. (2020). Narrative in the Time of Trump: Is the Narrative Policy Framework good enough to be relevant? *Taylor & FrancisMD Jones, MK McBethAdministrative Theory & Praxis, 2020•Taylor & Francis*, *42*(2), 91–110. https://doi.org/10.1080/10841806.2020.1750211

Kanol, D. (2022). Narrative strategies for emerging disruptive technologies: A case study of Blockchain for Europe. *Politics & Policy*, *50*(5), 952–966. https://doi.org/10.1111/POLP.12492

Kaufmann, D., & Bernhard, L. (2023). The use of the abuse policy narrative in asylum debates and its effects on citizens' opinion formation. *Journal of Public Policy*, *43*(2), 307–325. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0143814X22000356

Klatt, N., & Blum, S. (2025). How does the use of evidence in policy narratives change during crises? A comparative study of New York City's pandemic school shutdowns. *Wiley Online LibraryN Klatt, S BlumReview of Policy Research, 2025•Wiley Online Library*, *42*(5), 1322–1349. https://doi.org/10.1111/ROPR.12589

KPAI. (2026, 30 Januari). *KPAI Dorong Rekam Medis Gizi Anak Jadi Dasar Program Makan Bergizi Gratis (MBG)*. Diakses pada 2 Februari 2026, dari https://www.kpai.go.id/publikasi/artikel/kpai-dorong-rekam-medis-gizi-anak-jadi-dasar-program-makan-bergizi-gratis-mbg#:~:text=Sepanjang%20tahun%202025%2C%20monitoring%20KPAI,dan%20DIY%20(1.517%20kasus)

Kurniawan, D., Suswanta, S., Nurmandi', A., & Salahudin, S. (2022). Mapping the Concept of the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) on Political Studies and Public Policy. *JRP (Jurnal Review Politik)*, *12*(1), 74–92. https://doi.org/10.15642/JRP.2022.12.1.74-92

Lang, S. (2016). Nongovernmental Organizations. *The International Encyclopedia of Political Communication*, 1–5. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118541555.WBIEPC150

Layzer, J. (2006). Fish Stories: Science, Advocacy, and Policy Change in New England Fishery Management. *Policy Studies Journal*, *34*(1), 59–80. https://doi.org/10.1111/J.1541-0072.2006.00145.X

Lehman, G. (2007). The accountability of NGOs in civil society and its public spheres. *Critical Perspectives on Accounting*, *18*(6), 645–669. https://doi.org/10.1016/J.CPA.2006.04.002

Lejano, R. P., Newbery, N., Ciolino, M., & Newbery, D. (2019). Sustainability and incommensurability: Narrative policy analysis with application to urban ecology. *Ecological Economics*, *164*, 106348. https://doi.org/10.1016/J.ECOLECON.2019.06.003

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Kontestasi Strategi Narasi Pemerintah dan Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat (LSM) Terhadap Program Makan Bergizi Gratis Menggunakan Narrative Policy Framework
Ghalia Nasywa Dikara, Dr. Nunuk Dwi Retnandari, M.Si.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Lemke, N., Trein, P., & Varone, F. (2023). Agenda-setting in nascent policy subsystems: issue and instrument priorities across venues. *Policy Sciences 2023 56:4*, *56*(4), 633–655. https://doi.org/10.1007/S11077-023-09514-5

Lestari, D. L., Gusmira, Y. H., A'arif, M., & Amelia, A. Y. (2024). Free Nutritious Meal Policy As A Solution To Overcoming The Stunting Problem In Indonesia. *Innovative: Journal Of Social Science Research*, *4*(4), 10021–10031. https://doi.org/10.31004/INNOVATIVE.V4I4.14373

Liao, Q., Yuan, J., Dong, M., Yang, L., Fielding, R., & Lam, W. W. T. (2020). Public engagement and government responsiveness in the communications about COVID-19 during the early epidemic stage in china: Infodemiology study on social media data. *Journal of Medical Internet Research*, *22*(5), e18796. https://doi.org/10.2196/18796

Liu, B. F., & Horsley, J. S. (2007). The government communication decision wheel: toward a public relations model for the public sector. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, *19*(4), 377–393. https://doi.org/10.1080/10627260701402473;REQUESTEDJOURNAL:JOURNAL:HPRR20;PAGE:STRING:ARTICLE/CHAPTER

Liu, B. F., Horsley, J. S., & Yang, K. (2012). Overcoming Negative Media Coverage: Does Government Communication Matter? *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, *22*(3), 597–621. https://doi.org/10.1093/JOPART/MUR078

Lührmann, A., Marquardt, K. L., & Mechkova, V. (2020). Constraining Governments: New Indices of Vertical, Horizontal, and Diagonal Accountability. *American Political Science Review*, *114*(3), 811–820. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055420000222

Lundborg, P., Rooth, D. O., & Alex-Petersen, J. (2022). Long-term effects of childhood nutrition: evidence from a school lunch reform. *The Review of Economic Studies, 89*(2), 876-908. https://academic.oup.com/restud/advance-article pdf/doi/10.1093/restud/rdab028/42748235/rdab028.pdf

Martinez, M. (2019). An Examination of Higher Education Policy Problems Using Narrative Policy Analysis. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *63*(3), 369–386. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764218820569

McBeth, M. K., & Lybecker, D. L. (2018). The Narrative Policy Framework, Agendas, and Sanctuary Cities: The Construction of a Public Problem. *Policy Studies Journal*, *46*(4), 868–893. https://doi.org/10.1111/PSJ.12274

Mercer, C. (2002). NGOs, civil society and democratization: A critical review of the literature. *Progress in Development Studies*, *2*(1), 5–22. https://doi.org/10.1191/1464993402PS027RA;ISSUE:ISSUE:DOI

Merry, M. K. (2016). Constructing Policy Narratives in 140 Characters or Less: The Case of Gun Policy Organizations. *Policy Studies Journal*, *44*(4), 373–395. https://doi.org/10.1111/PSJ.12142;WGROUP:STRING:PUBLICATION

Merry, M. K. (2022). Trump's tweets as policy narratives: Constructing the immigration issue via social media. *Politics and Policy*, *50*(4), 752–772. https://doi.org/10.1111/POLP.12487;PAGE:STRING:ARTICLE/CHAPTER

Mintrom, M., & O'Connor, R. (2020). The importance of policy narrative: effective government responses to Covid-19. *Policy Design and Practice*, *3*(3), 205–227. https://doi.org/10.1080/25741292.2020.1813358;CTYPE:STRING:JOURNAL

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Kontestasi Strategi Narasi Pemerintah dan Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat (LSM) Terhadap Program Makan Bergizi Gratis Menggunakan Narrative Policy Framework
Ghalia Nasywa Dikara, Dr. Nunuk Dwi Retnandari, M.Si.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Mishra, M. (2020). Policies to nurture Dwarf and infant SME job creation and productivity of Indian policymakers: a narrative policy framework. *Small Enterprise Research*, *27*(1), 85–96. https://doi.org/10.1080/13215906.2020.1734964

Moleong, L. J. ; S. T. (2014). *Metodologi penelitian kualitatif*. //lib.unj.ac.id%2Fslims2%2Findex.php%3Fp%3Dshow_detail%26id%3D1832

Muñ Oz Marquez, L. M., & Marquez, L. M. M. (2015). The Relevance of Organizational Structure to NGOs' Approaches to the Policy Process. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations 2015 27:1*, *27*(1), 465–486. https://doi.org/10.1007/S11266-015-9555-5

Ney, S. (2006). *Messy Issues, Policy Conflict and the Differentiated Polity: Analysing Contemporary Policy Responses to Complex, Uncertain and Transversal Policy Problems*. https://bora.uib.no/bora-xmlui/handle/1956/1512

Ney, S., & Thompson, M. (2000). Cultural Discourses in the Global Climate Change Debate. *Society, Behaviour, and Climate Change Mitigation*, 65–92. https://doi.org/10.1007/0-306-48160-X_2

Nisbett, N., Spaiser, V., Leston-Bandeira, C., & Valdenegro, D. (2025). Climate action or delay: the dynamics of competing narratives in the UK political sphere and the influence of climate protest. *Climate Policy*, *25*(4), 513–526. https://doi.org/10.1080/14693062.2024.2398169

Nugroho, A. A., & Azmi, I. F. (2021). Alleviating Societyâ€™s Economic Crisis: Narrative Policy on Social Safety Nets Policy Process During Covid-19 Pandemic. *Policy & Governance Review*, *5*(2), 113–127. https://doi.org/10.30589/PGR.V5I2.443

Priyantomo, B. A. (2025, October). Critical Discourse Analysis of the Free Nutritious Meal Policy: A Study of Discourse on Social Media X. *In International Conference on Multidisciplinary Studies Integrating Entrepreneurial Strategies and Digital Transformation* (Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 459-482). https://ejournal.unisbablitar.ac.id/index.php/icms/article/view/5144

Parikesit, B. S., Yudithadewi, D., & Yuliastanti, E. (2026). Indonesia and Lessons Learned from Implementing the Free Nutritious Meals Program. *Journal of Health and Quality of Life*, *9*(1), 1–12. https://karyailham.com.my/index.php/jhqol/article/view/937

Penerapan Teknologi Informasi dan Komunikasi, J., Abdullah Rabbani, Z., & Idhom, M. (2025). Analisis sentimen program makan bergizi gratis menggunakan bidirectional gated recurrent unit. *IT-Explore: Jurnal Penerapan Teknologi Informasi dan Komunikasi*, *4*(3), 282–294. https://doi.org/10.24246/ITEXPLORE.V4I3.2025.PP282-294

Permatasari, I., Umbu, N., Nau, W., Hergianasari, P., Sosial, F. I., Komunikasi, I., Internasional, H., Kristen, U., & Wacana, S. (2023). PERAN NGO DALAM MENDUKUNG SDGs PENDIDIKAN BERKUALITAS (STUDI KASUS: PROJECT CHILD INDONESIA DI YOGYAKARTA (2018-2022). *Jurnal Ilmiah Multidisiplin*, *2*(04), 19–34. https://doi.org/10.56127/JUKIM.V2I04.749

Petter, P. H., & Howard, C. (2024). Do crisis narratives encourage redistribution? Australian housing policy debates during COVID-19. *Journal of Social Policy*, 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047279424000242

Phillips, R., Goodwin, S., Phillips, R., Goodwin, Á. S., & Goodwin, S. (2013). Third Sector Social Policy Research in Australia: New Actors, New Politics. *VOLUNTAS:*

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Kontestasi Strategi Narasi Pemerintah dan Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat (LSM) Terhadap Program Makan Bergizi Gratis Menggunakan Narrative Policy Framework
Ghalia Nasywa Dikara, Dr. Nunuk Dwi Retnandari, M.Si.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations 2013 25:3, *25*(3), 565–584. https://doi.org/10.1007/S11266-013-9351-Z

Prasetyo, K., & Ajitrisna, H. E. (2023). Content Analysis of Online News Portal Coverage of Covid-19 Vactination Issues in Indonesia. *Jurnal Komunikasi Ikatan Sarjana Komunikasi Indonesia*, *8*(2), 290–300. https://doi.org/10.25008/JKISKI.V8I2.762

Prawira, Y. M., & Yola, L. (2023). Analisis Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) dalam Kebijakan Undang-undang Pelindungan Data Pribadi (UU PDP). *Jurnal Transformative*, *9*(2), 204–226. https://doi.org/10.21776/UB.TRANSFORMATIVE.2023.009.02.5

Putri, K. Y. S., Fazli, L., Iskandar, I., Gumelar, G., & Pandjaitan, R. H. (2024). Analysis of the agenda setting strategy applied by Narasi TV'S creative team towards the 2024 presidential and vice-presidential election issue through musyawarah program. *Studies in Media and Communication, 12*(3), 115. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Rosmawaty-Hilderiah-Pandjaitan/publication/381373754_Analysis_of_the_Agenda_Setting_Strategy_Applied_by_Narasi_TV's_Creative_Team_towards_the_2024_Presidential_and_Vice-Presidential_Election_Issue_through_Musyawarah_Program/links/6680251b2aa57f3b8260a0ff/Analysis-of-the-Agenda-Setting-Strategy-Applied-by-Narasi-TVs-Creative-Team-towards-the-2024-Presidential-and-Vice-Presidential-Election-Issue-through-Musyawarah-Program.pdf

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. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-5973.70105

Qomarrullah, R. I., Suratni, S., & Sawir, M. (2025). Dampak jangka panjang program makan bergizi gratis terhadap kesehatan dan keberlanjutan pendidikan. *Indonesian journal of intellectual publication, 5*(2), 130-137. https://doi.org/10.51577/IJIPUBLICATION.V5I2.660

Rahayu, L. F. (2025). Dinamika Dukungan Politik Terhadap Program Makan Bergizi Gratis (MBG) di Indonesia. *PANDITA: Interdisciplinary Journal of Public Affairs*, *8*(2), 815–831. https://doi.org/10.61332/IJPA.V8I2.381

Rassanjani, S., & Rahmi, I. (2025). Free School Meals Policy: Lessons Learned from Around the World for Indonesia. *JURNAL ILMU SOSIAL*, *24*(1), 1–28. https://doi.org/10.14710/jis.24.1.2025.1-28

Rizky, R. N. (2017). Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat, Media Massa dan Hak Anak. *JURNAL SIMBOLIKA Research and Learning in Communication Study*, *3*(2), 87–96. https://doi.org/10.31289/SIMBOLLIKA.V3I2.1454

Roberts, M. (2018). Communication breakdown: understanding the role of policy narratives in political conflict and consensus. *Critical Policy Studies*, *12*(1), 82–102. https://doi.org/10.1080/19460171.2016.1230507

Ruff, J. W. A., Stelmach, G., & Jones, M. D. (2022). Space for stories: legislative narratives and the establishment of the US Space Force. *Policy Sciences 2022 55:3*, *55*(3), 509–553. https://doi.org/10.1007/S11077-022-09455-5

Rupinsky, S., Schomburg, M., Chandler, G., & Gelardi, C. (2023). Shifting narrative strategies: How monument advocates change their stories in response to conflict over

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Kontestasi Strategi Narasi Pemerintah dan Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat (LSM) Terhadap Program Makan Bergizi Gratis Menggunakan Narrative Policy Framework
Ghalia Nasywa Dikara, Dr. Nunuk Dwi Retnandari, M.Si.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

time. *Policy Studies Journal*, *51*(1), 101–122. https://doi.org/10.1111/PSJ.12480;ISSUE:ISSUE:DOI

Santoso, A. D., & Mintrom, M. (2025). Narrative framing and adoption of evidence-based policy: Indonesia's response to Covid-19. *Journal of Asian Public Policy*. https://doi.org/10.1080/17516234.2025.2586072

Sari, I., & Suswanta, S. (2023). Narrative Policy Framework: Indonesia's Capital City Relocation Policy. *JKAP (Jurnal Kebijakan dan Administrasi Publik)*, *27*(1), 80–92. https://doi.org/10.22146/JKAP.83476

Sari, N. H., Lionardo, A., Thamrin, M. H., & Putra, R. (2025). Free School Meals Policy as a Learning Framework for MBG in Indonesia: A Systematic Literature Review. *Eduvest - Journal of Universal Studies*, *5*(10), 12939–12954. https://doi.org/10.59188/eduvest.v5i10.52310

Savoia, E., Piltch-Loeb, R., Stanton, E. H., & Koh, H. K. (2023). Learning from COVID-19: government leaders' perspectives to improve emergency risk communication. *Globalization and Health 2023 19:1*, *19*(1), 86-. https://doi.org/10.1186/S12992-023-00993-Y

Schaub, S. (2021). Public contestation over agricultural pollution: a discourse network analysis on narrative strategies in the policy process. *Policy Sciences 2021 54:4*, *54*(4), 783–821. https://doi.org/10.1007/S11077-021-09439-X

Schaub, S., Tosun, J., & Becker, M. (2025). Moralization in Policy Narratives: Insights From the Politics of Climate Change and Public Health. *Wiley Online LibraryS Schaub, J Tosun, M BeckerPolicy Studies Journal, 2025•Wiley Online Library*, *0*, 1–18. https://doi.org/10.1111/PSJ.70050

Schlaufer, C., Pilkina, M., Chalaya, T., Khaynatskaya, T., Voronova, T., & Pozhivotko, A. (2022). How do civil society organizations communicate in an authoritarian setting? A narrative analysis of the Russian waste management debate. *Review of Policy Research*, *39*(6), 730–751. https://doi.org/10.1111/ropr.12492

Schlaufer, C., Stucki, I., & Sager, F. (2018). The Political Use of Evidence and Its Contribution to Democratic Discourse. *Public Administration Review*, *78*(4), 645–649. https://doi.org/10.1111/PUAR.12923;PAGE:STRING:ARTICLE/CHAPTER

Seo, Y., Caroline, R. (2025, 24 Juli). *Daftar Keracunan Massal Setelah Menyantap MBG Sejak Januari 2025*. Diakses pada 3 Oktober 2025, dari https://www.tempo.co/politik/daftar-keracunan-massal-setelah-menyantap-mbg-sejak-januari-2025-2050200

Shanahan, E. A., Jones, M. D., & McBeth, M. K. (2018). How to conduct a Narrative Policy Framework study. *The Social Science Journal*, *55*(3), 332–345. https://doi.org/10.1016/J.SOSCIJ.2017.12.002

Shanahan, E. A., Jones, M. D., Mcbeth, M. K., & Lane, R. R. (2013). An Angel on the Wind: How Heroic Policy Narratives Shape Policy Realities. *Policy Studies Journal*, *41*(3), 453–483. https://doi.org/10.1111/PSJ.12025

Shanahan, E. A., Mcbeth, M. K., & Hathaway, P. L. (2011). Narrative Policy Framework: The Influence of Media Policy Narratives on Public Opinion. *Politics & Policy*, *39*(3), 373–400. https://doi.org/10.1111/J.1747-1346.2011.00295.X

Sibuea, P., Sihombing, D. R., Daniela, C., & Pandiangan, M. (2025). Review: Tata Kelola Penyelengaraan Makan Bergizi Gratis untuk Mencegah Keracunan Makanan. *Jurnal*

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
**Kontestasi Strategi Narasi Pemerintah dan Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat (LSM) Terhadap Program Makan
Bergizi Gratis Menggunakan Narrative Policy Framework**
Ghalia Nasywa Dikara, Dr. Nunuk Dwi Retnandari, M.Si.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Riset Teknologi Pangan Dan Hasil Pertanian (RETIPA), 26–39. https://ejournal.ust.ac.id/index.php/retipa/article/view/5804

Stankowska, M. (2014). Good governance and the Non-Governmental Organizations. *International Journal of Governmental Financial Management, 14*(1), 43-48.

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. https://doi.org/10.1111/ropr.12365

Stone, D. (2022). *Policy paradox: The art of political decision making*. https://scholarworks.brandeis.edu/esploro/outputs/book/Policy-paradox-the-art-of-political/9924316987601921

Sugiyono, D. (2013). *Metode penelitian kuantitatif. Kualitatif, dan Tindakan*, 189-190.

Suharyono, K. P., Hadiningrat, S., Yuwono, T., Anggraeni, N. D., Kota Balikpapan, B., & Timur, K. (2025). Strengthening the governance of free nutritious meals based on schools in Indonesia. *JIPOWER : Journal of Intellectual Power*, *2*(03), 14–23. https://doi.org/10.63786/jipower.v1i03.59

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. https://doi.org/10.1002/EPA2.1130

Vebrian, Y. Z., & Kustiyono. (2025). a Sentiment Analysis of Free Meal Plans on Social Media using Naïve Bayes Algorithms. *INOVTEK Polbeng - Seri Informatika*, *10*(1), 355–366. https://doi.org/10.35314/3M2FCZ69

Verweij, M., Douglas, M., Ellis, R., Engel, C., Hendriks, F., Lohmann, S., Ney, S., Rayner, S., & Thompson, M. (2006). CLUMSY SOLUTIONS FOR A COMPLEX WORLD: THE CASE OF CLIMATE CHANGE. *Public Administration*, *84*(4), 817–843. https://doi.org/10.1111/J.1540-8159.2005.09566.X-I1

Wolton, L., & Crow, D. A. (2022). Politicking with evidence: examining evidence-based issues in electoral policy narratives. *SpringerL Wolton, DA CrowPolicy sciences, 2022•Springer*, *55*(4), 661–691. https://doi.org/10.1007/S11077-022-09478-Y

Wukich, C. (2022). Social media engagement forms in government: A structure-content framework. *Government Information Quarterly*, *39*(2), 101684. https://doi.org/10.1016/J.GIQ.2022.101684

Yavetz, G., & Aharony, N. (2023). Information under lockdown: A content analysis of government communication strategies on Facebook during the COVID-19 outbreak. *Heliyon*, *9*(4), e15562. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2023.e15562

Yin, R. (2009). *Case study research: Design and methods*. https://www.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=FzawIAdilHkC&oi=fnd&pg=PR1&dq=yin+2009&ots=l-3P-doR2x&sig=JHQ7v8oVQq3-QVNt1iYHHcuX3CA