UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
**meninjau kembali viral-based policy dalam kerangka teori kelembagaan: studi komparatif kasus jogja darurat sampah dan pemagaran alun-alun utara**
SYAWITRI RAUZIAH, Dr. Yuli Isnadi, S.I.P., MPA
**Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/**

# DAFTAR PUSTAKA

## PERATURAN PERUNDANG-UNDANGAN

Undang-Undang Nomor 13 Tahun 2012 tentang Keistimewaan Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta

Peraturan Daerah Istimewa Nomor 1 Tahun 2024 tentang Kelembagaan Pemerintah Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta

Peraturan Gubernur Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Nomor 20 Tahun 2020 tentang Kedudukan, Susunan Organisasi, Tugas, Fungsi, dan Tata Kerja Paniradya Kaistimewan.

Undang-Undang Nomor 23 Tahun 2014 tentang Pemerintah Daerah

Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945 Pasal 18B ayat (1)

## BUKU DAN JURNAL

Abrutyn, S. (2014). Revisiting Institutionalism in Sociology. In *Revisiting Institutionalism in Sociology*. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203795354

Ahyar, M. (2017). Islamic clicktivism: Internet, democracy and contemporary Islamist activism in Surakarta. *Studia Islamika*, *24*(3), 435–468. https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v24i3.4859

Anderson, B. (1990). *Language and Power EKSPLORING POLITICAL CULTURES IN INDONESIA*. Cornell University.

Baekgaard, M., Mortensen, P. B., & Seeberg, H. B. (2018). *The Bureaucracy and the Policy Agenda*. 239–253. https://doi.org/10.1093/jopart/mux045

Bappenas. (2015). *Seri Analisis Pembangunan Wilayah Provinsi DI. Yogyakarta*.

Bennett, W. L., & Segerberg, A. (2012). The logic of connective action: Digital media and the personalization of contentious politics. In *The Logic of Connective Action: Digital Media and the Personalization of Contentious Politics* (Issue September). https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139198752

Breuer, A., & Groshek, J. (2014). Slacktivism or efficiency-increased activism? Online Political Participation and the Brazilian Ficha Limpa Anti-Corruption Campaign. *Digital Technologies for Democratic Governance in Latin America, January 2014*, 165–182. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203361986-10

Christensen, H. S. (2011). It is at worst harmless fun and can at best help invigorate citizens. *ResearchGate*, *16*(2).

Christensen, H. S. (2012). Simply slacktivism? Internet participation in Finland. *EJournal of EDemocracy and Open Government*, *4*(1), 1–23.

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
**meninjau kembali viral-based policy dalam kerangka teori kelembagaan: studi komparatif kasus jogja darurat sampah dan pemagaran alun-alun utara**
SYAWITRI RAUZIAH, Dr. Yuli Isnadi, S.I.P., MPA
**Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/**

https://doi.org/10.29379/jedem.v4i1.93

Cornelissen, G., & Fabra, U. P. (2012). *Clicktivism or Slacktivism ? Impression Management and Moral Licensing . 10*(2000), 5467. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797610363538

Cotton, R. D. (2011). *Political Participation and E-Petitioning : An Analysis of the Policy-Making Impact of the Scottish Parliament ' s E-Petition System*. *6*(1), 1–71.

Creswell J. W., & D., C. J. (2023). Research Design: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches. In *SAGE Publications,Inc.* https://medium.com/@arifwicaksanaa/pengertian-use-case-a7e576e1b6bf

DIY, D. K. (2019). *KRATON YOGYAKARTA PUSAT BUDAYA JAWA*.

Dumas, C. L., LaManna, D., Harrison, T. M., Ravi, S. S., Kotfila, C., Gervais, N., Hagen, L., & Chen, F. (2015). Examining political mobilization of online communities through e-petitioning behavior in We the People. *Big Data and Society*, *2*(2). https://doi.org/10.1177/2053951715598170

Dwi Ratna Nurhajarini. (2012). *YOGYAKARTA DARI HUTAN BERINGAN KE IBU KOTA DAERAH ISTIMEWA* (S. I. Albiladiyah (ed.)). Balai Pelestarian Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional Yogyakarta.

Elder, C. D., & Cobb, R. (1971). The Politics of Agenda-Building : An Alternative Perspective for Modern Democratic Theory. *The Journal of Politics*, *33*(4), 892–915.

Etikan, I. (2016). Comparison of Convenience Sampling and Purposive Sampling. *American Journal of Theoretical and Applied Statistics*, *5*(1), 1. https://doi.org/10.11648/j.ajtas.20160501.11

Fortunato, D., König, T., & Proksch, S. (2013). *Government Agenda-Setting and Bicameral Conflict Resolution*. https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912913486197

George, J. J. (2019). *From Clicktivism to Hacktivism : Understanding Digital Activism*. *April*. https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.16347.82726

Gilardi, F., Gessler, T., Kubli, M., Müller, S., & Gessler, T. (2022). Social Media and Political Agenda Setting. *Political Communication*, *39*(1), 39–60. https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2021.1910390

Hagen, L., Harrison, T. M., Uzuner, Ö., May, W., Fake, T., & Katragadda, S. (2016). E-petition popularity: Do linguistic and semantic factors matter? *Government Information Quarterly*, *33*(4), 783–795. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.giq.2016.07.006

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
**meninjau kembali viral-based policy dalam kerangka teori kelembagaan: studi komparatif kasus jogja darurat sampah dan pemagaran alun-alun utara**
SYAWITRI RAUZIAH, Dr. Yuli Isnadi, S.I.P., MPA
**Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/**

Halupka, M. (2014). Clicktivism: A systematic heuristic. *Policy and Internet*, *6*(2), 115–132. https://doi.org/10.1002/1944-2866.POI355

Halupka, M. (2018). The legitimisation of clicktivism. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, *53*(1), 130–141. https://doi.org/10.1080/10361146.2017.1416586

Han, M. T. (2024). Clicktivism on Government E-petition: A legitimate emotional outlet? *Digital Government: Research and Practice*, *5*(4). https://doi.org/10.1145/3689371

Harrison, T. M., Fake, T., Lee, J., Dumas, C., May, W., Rishi, L., DePaula, N., Atrey, A., & Ravi, S. S. (2017). E-Petitioning and online media:The case of #bringbackourgirls. *ACM International Conference Proceeding Series*, *Part F1282*, 11–20. https://doi.org/10.1145/3085228.3085320

Harry, M. (2025). "You Don't Want Us to Solve This": Agenda Setting in the Federal Hearings on Name, Image, and Likeness. *Communication and Sport*, *13*(4), 640–663. https://doi.org/10.1177/21674795241265008

Jones, F. R. B. & B. D. (2009). *AGENDAS AND INSTABILITY IN AMERICAN POLITICS* (Second edi). The University of Chicago Press.

Karpf, D. (2010). Online Political Mobilization from the Advocacy Group's Perspective: Looking Beyond Clicktivism. *Policy & Internet*, *2*(4), 7–41. https://doi.org/10.2202/1944-2866.1098

Kim, N., Kim, H. K., Tan, S. J., Wang, W. H. K., & Ong, K. H. (2024). The moral license of a click: How social observability and impression management tendencies moderate the effects of online clicktivism on donation behavior. *New Media and Society*, *26*(11), 6394–6415. https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448231153971

Kingdon, J. W. (2014a). *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies, Update Edition, with an Epilogue on Health Care*. http://www.amazon.co.uk/Alternatives-Policies-Epilogue-Classics-Political/dp/020500086X

Kingdon, J. W. (2014b). Agendas, Alternatives. and Public Policies. In *British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data* (Second Edi).

Kusuma, S. E., & Fridayani, J. A. (2022). *Institusi Dan Organisasi Pengenalan, Identifikasi Dan Analisis Dasar* (Issue 0274). https://www.google.co.id/books/edition/Institusi_Dan_Organisasi/QzVnEAAAQBAJ?hl=id&gbpv=1

Lee, Y., & Hsieh, G. (2016). *Does Slacktivism Hurt Activism ?: The Effects of*

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
**meninjau kembali viral-based policy dalam kerangka teori kelembagaan: studi komparatif kasus jogja darurat sampah dan pemagaran alun-alun utara**
SYAWITRI RAUZIAH, Dr. Yuli Isnadi, S.I.P., MPA
**Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/**

*Moral Balancing and Consistency in Online Activism*. *April 2013*. https://doi.org/10.1145/2470654.2470770

Leonel, R., Rehbein, K., Westermann-Behaylo, M., & Perrault, E. (2024). Firms' Response to Slacktivism: When and Why are E-Petitions Effective? *Journal of Management Studies*, *61*(7), 3148–3183. https://doi.org/10.1111/joms.13010

Li, Y., Bernard, J. G., & Luczak-Roesch, M. (2021). Beyond Clicktivism: What Makes Digitally Native Activism Effective? An Exploration of the Sleeping Giants Movement. *Social Media and Society*, *7*(3). https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051211035357

Lim, M. (2015). Many Clicks but Little Sticks: Social Media Activism in Indonesia. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, *43*(4), 636–657. https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2013.769386

McCafferty, D. (2011). Activism vs. slacktivism. *Communications of the ACM*, *54*(12), 17–19. https://doi.org/10.1145/2043174.2043182

Mora, F., & Mora, F. A. (2014). Emergent Digital Activism: The Generational/Technological Connection. *The Journal of Community Informatics*, *10*(1). http://ci-journal.net/index.php/ciej/rt/printerFriendly/1009/1070

North, D. C. (1990). Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance. In *Individuals, Institutions, and Markets* (First). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9781139175302.016

Pena-Lopez, I. (2012). *Casual Politics: From Slacktivism to Emergent Movements and Pattern Recognition*.

Piat, C. (2019). Slacktivism: Not Simply a Means to an End, but a Legitimate Form of Civic Participation. *Canadian Journal of Family and Youth / Le Journal Canadien de Famille et de La Jeunesse*, *11*(1), 162–179. https://doi.org/10.29173/cjfy29476

Powell, W. W. (2000). the Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields. *The New Economic Sociology: A Reader*, *July 2000*, 111–134. https://doi.org/10.2307/2095101

Putra, G. P. (2023). *LEGAL PLURALISM IN THE SPECIAL DISTRICT PROVINCE OF YOGYAKARTA , INDONESIA*. *19*(1), 1–22.

Ragil, C. (2018). *Analisis Ketimpangan Wilayah Antar Kabupaten / Kota Provinsi DIY ( Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta )*. *2018*(November), 350–356.

Reddy. (2006). *Indian Political Science Association MEDIA AND PUBLIC*

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
**meninjau kembali viral-based policy dalam kerangka teori kelembagaan: studi komparatif kasus jogja darurat sampah dan pemagaran alun-alun utara**
SYAWITRI RAUZIAH, Dr. Yuli Isnadi, S.I.P., MPA
**Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/**

*POLICY Author ( s ): G . Gopal Reddy Source : The Indian Journal of Political Science , Vol . 67 , No . 2 ( APR . - JUNE , 2006 ), pp . 295- Published by : Indian Political Science Association Stable U*. *67*(2), 295–302.

Ricklefs, M. C. (2001). *A History of Modern Indonesia since c . 1200* (third edit). PALGRAVE.

Rotman, D., Preece, J., Vieweg, S., Ben, S., Yardi, S., Pirolli, P., Chi, E. H., & Glaisyer, T. (2011). From slacktivism to activism: Participatory culture in the age of social media. *Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems - Proceedings*, 819–822. https://doi.org/10.1145/1979742.1979543

Scott, W. R. (2014). *INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS Ideas, Interests, and Identities* (Fourth Edi). Stanford University.

Sheppard, J. (2015). Online petitions in Australia: Information, opportunity and gender. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, *50*(3), 480–495. https://doi.org/10.1080/10361146.2015.1049512

Susanto, G. A. (2024). Tinjauan Kritis atas Berkembangnya Media Sosial dan Ancaman Terhadap Media Mainstream Menurut Manuel Castells. *Dekonstruksi*, *11*(01), 6–16. https://doi.org/10.54154/dekonstruksi.v11i01.288

Taniputera, I. (2017). *ENSIKLOPEDI KERAJAAN-KERAJAAN NUSANTARA*.

Tao, Y., Boukes, M., & Schuck, A. (2024). Unpacking the Nuances of Agenda-Setting in the Online Media Environment: An Hourly-Event Approach in the Context of Chinese Economic News. *Journalism Studies*, *25*(8), 856–875. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2024.2345681

Thaib, D. (2005). Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Dalam Perspektif Filosifis, Historis, dan Yuridis. *Hukum*, *12*.

Thiel, E. O. and S. Van. (2018). *The Palgrave Handbook of Public Administration and Management in Europe*.

Tony, D. S. (2012). *VIRALITY Contagion Theory in the Age of Networks*. University of Minnesota Press.

Wolfe, M., Jones, B. D., & Baumgartner, F. R. (2013). A Failure to Communicate: Agenda Setting in Media and Policy Studies. *Political Communication*, *30*(2), 175–192. https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2012.737419

Xu, Y., Lam, W. W. T., Yuan, J., Chen, Y., & Liao, Q. (2025). Shaping sustainable healthy diets discourse on Facebook: A multi-region investigation of urban stakeholders' communication, social networks and public engagement. *Cities*, *162*(June 2024), 105944. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2025.105944

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
**meninjau kembali viral-based policy dalam kerangka teori kelembagaan: studi komparatif kasus jogja darurat sampah dan pemagaran alun-alun utara**
SYAWITRI RAUZIAH, Dr. Yuli Isnadi, S.I.P., MPA
**Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/**

Yusanto, Y., & Akbar, M. (2024). *Analisis Sentimen Jogja Darurat Sampah di Twitter menggunakan Ekstraksi Fitur Model Word2Vec dan Convolutional Neural Network TIN : Terapan Informatika Nusantara*. *4*(10), 679–686. https://doi.org/10.47065/tin.v4i10.4952

Zohouri, M., Darvishi, M., & Sarfi, M. (2020). Slacktivism: A Critical Evaluation. *Journal of Cyberspace Studies*, *4*(2), 173–188.