

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Abdullah, I., & Gani, M. I. A. (2022). Analisis Faktor Penyebab Kurangnya Minat Remaja Terhadap Pendidikan Perguruan Tinggi. *Cetta: Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan*, 5(2), 128–137.
- Adi, I. R. (2001). *Pemberdayaan, pengembangan masyarakat dan intervensi komunitas: (Pengantar pada pemikiran dan pendekatan praktis)*. Jakarta: Lembaga Penerbit Fakultas Ekonomi Universitas Indonesia.
- Agustino, L. (2016). *Dasar Dasar Kebijakan Publik*. Bandung: Alfabeta.
- Alaslan, Amtani. (2021). *Formulasi Kebijakan Publik: Studi Relokasi Pasar*. Banyumas: Pena Persada.
- Alenzi, H. A., & Miskon, S. (2024). Government to Citizens Communication via Social Media Platforms: Literature Review. *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences*, 14(5), 1020-1035.
- Al-Jenaibi, B. N. (2020). The Role of Twitter in Opening New Domains of Discourse in the Public Sphere: Social Media on Communications in the Gulf Countries. *International Journal of Information Systems and Social Change*, 11(3), 1–18.
- Anderson, James E. (1975). *Public Policy-Making*. New York: Preanger.
- Anggara, S. (2012). *Perbandingan administrasi negara* (Cet. 1). Bandung: Pustaka Setia.
- Asmara, S., & Butsi, F. I. (2020). Twitter dan Public Sphere: Studi Fenomenologi Tentang Twitter Sebagai Media Alternatif Komunkasi Politik. *Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Komunikasi Communique*, 2(2), 75–84.
- Asri, R. (2020). *Digitalisasi dan Humanisme dalam Ekonomi Kreatif*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Badan Pusat Statistik. (2024). Persentase Penduduk. *Badan Pusat Statistik*, diakses pada 20 Desember 2024 melalui <https://www.bps.go.id/id/statistics-table/1/MTYxMCMx/persentase-penduduk-umur-15-tahun-ke-atas-menurut-klasifikasi-desa--jenis-kelamin--dan-jenjang-pendidikan-tertinggi-yang-ditamatkan--2009-2024.html>
- Bandyopadhyay, S., Rao, A. R., Sinha, B. K., Rao, A. R., & Sinha, B. K. (2011). *Models for social networks with statistical applications*. Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Bondarenko, V., Kaptiurova, O., & Orlova, V. (2021). #BLACKLIVESMATTER and struggle over national discourse on Twitter: Digital activism as new public sphere. *Current Issues of Ukrainian Linguistics Theory and Practice*, 42, 90–103.
- Bunea, A., Wüest, R., & Lipcean, S. (2025). Mapping the policy space of public consultations: evidence from the European Union. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 32(3), 755-783.
- Campbell, J. W. (2023). Public Participation and Trust in Government: Results From a Vignette Experiment. *Journal of Policy Studies*, 38(2), 23–31.
- Carrington, P. J., Scott, J., & Wasserman, S. (Eds.). (2009). *Models and methods in social network analysis* (Reprinted). Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

- Choi, Tae Hee, & Wong, Yee Lok. (2024). Does Public consultation Affect Policy Formulation? Negotiation Strategies Between the Administration and Citizens. *Journal of Education Policy*, 39(3), 455-479.
- Cohen, J., & Fung, A. (2021). Democracy and the Digital Public Sphere. In *Digital Technology and Democratic Theory*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Conger, K., & Hirsch, L. (2022, Oktober). Elon Musk Completes \$44 Billion Deal to Own Twitter. *New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/27/technology/elon-musk-twitter-deal-complete.html>
- Conyers, D., Affan Gafar, & Susetiawan. (1991). *Perencanaan sosial di dunia ketiga, suatu pengantar*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (4. ed). Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Creswell, J. W., Ahmad Lintang Lazuardi, & Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy. (2015). *Penelitian kualitatif & desain riset: Memilih diantara lima pendekatan* (Ed. 3). Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- De Blasio, E., Kneuer, M., Schünemann, W., & Sorice, M. (2020). The Ongoing Transformation of the Digital Public Sphere: Basic Considerations on a Moving Target. *Media and Communication*, 8(4), 1–5.
- DetikCom. 2024. Kronologi UKT: Sempat Naik Tinggi, Turun Setelah Nadiem Dipanggil Jokowi. DetikCom, diakses pada tanggal 7 November 2024 melalui <https://www.detik.com/edu/perguruan-tinggi/d-7360180/kronologi-ukt-sempt-naik-tinggi-turun-setelah-nadiem-dipanggil-jokowi>
- Denhardt, J. V., & Denhardt, R. B. (2007). *The New Public Service: Serving Not. Steering* (Expanded). New York: M.E.Sharpe.
- Deni, Asep. (2023). *Kebijakan Publik: Formulasi, Implementasi, Evaluasi, dan Analisis*. Batam: Yayasan Cendikia Mulia Mandiri.
- Denia, E. (2021). Twitter como objeto de investigación en comunicación de la ciencia. *Revista Mediterránea de Comunicación*, 12(1), 289.
- Dharma, A. A. S. (2023). New Public Service Sebagai Paradigma Administrasi Publik Pengawasan Obat dan Makanan. *Eruditio : Indonesia Journal of Food and Drug Safety*, 3(1), 29–37.
- Dwiningrum, S. I. A. (2011). *Desentralisasi dan Partisipasi Masyarakat dalam Pendidikan*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Eisenegger, M., & Schäfer, M. S. (2023). Editorial: Reconceptualizing public sphere(s) in the digital age? On the role and future of public sphere theory. *Communication Theory*, 33(2–3), 61–69.
- Elizamiharti, E., & Nelfira, N. (2023). Demokrasi Di Era Digital: Tantangan Dan Peluang Dalam Partisipasi Politik. *Jurnal Riset Multidisiplin Dan Inovasi Teknologi*, 2(01), 61–72.
- Farid, M. (2023). The Digital Public Sphere And The Face Of Indonesian Political Education. *AL-WIJDĀN Journal of Islamic Education Studies*, 8(3), 417–427.

- Fuchs, C. (2021). The Digital Commons and the Digital Public Sphere How to Advance Digital Democracy Today. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*, 16(1).
- Habermas, J. (2012). The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article. In *Media and Cultural Studies: Keywords* (2nd edition). Malden: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Habermas, J. (2022). Reflections and Hypotheses on a Further Structural Transformation of the Political Public Sphere. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 39(4), 145–171.
- Harahap, D. A., Amanah, D., Gunarto, M., & Purwanto, P. (2021). The Decision of Choosing A University: *The Impact of Education Costs*. *JIM UPB (Jurnal Ilmiah Manajemen Universitas Putera Batam)*, 9(2), 123-127.
- Hardiman, F. B. (2010). *Ruang publik: Melacak “partisipasi demokratis” dari polis sampai cyberspace*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.
- Hidayat, R., & Abdillah. (2019). *Ilmu Pendidikan: Konsep, Teori dan Aplikasinya*. Medan: Lembaga Peduli Pengembangan Pendidikan Indonesia.
- Ihsan, M., & Adnan, R. S. (2022). Media Sosial Twitter sebagai Ruang Publik Virtual (Studi Kasus Penolakan Omnibus Law). *Syntax Literate: Jurnal Ilmiah Indonesia*, 7(3).
- Iriawan, Hermanu. (2024). *Teori Kebijakan Publik*. Malang: Litnus (Literasi Nusantara Abadi).
- Keban, Y. T. (2019). *Enam Dimensi Strategis Administrasi Publik: Konsep, Teori, Dan Isu. Edisi Revisi*. Yogyakarta: Gava Media.
- Kementerian Ketenagakerjaan. (2024). *Labour Market Intelligence Report Monitoring Informasi Pasar Kerja Dari Job Portal Semester II 2023*. Jakarta: Kementerian Ketenagakerjaan.
- Kemp, Simon. (2025a). Digital 2025: Global Overview Report. *We Are Social*, diakses pada 27 Februari 2025 melalui [https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2025-global-overview-report?utm\\_source=DataReportal&utm\\_medium=Country\\_Article\\_Hyperlink&utm\\_campaign=Digital\\_2025&utm\\_term=Indonesia&utm\\_content=Global\\_Promo\\_Block](https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2025-global-overview-report?utm_source=DataReportal&utm_medium=Country_Article_Hyperlink&utm_campaign=Digital_2025&utm_term=Indonesia&utm_content=Global_Promo_Block)
- Kemp, Simon. (2025b). Digital 2025: Indonesia. *We Are Social*, diakses pada 27 Februari 2025 melalui <https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2025-indonesia>
- Khairina, Jasmine, Kresna Faza R., M. Zhafran Haris, Rury Kharisma M, dan Yasmin Nyala A. Fenomena Echo Chambers di Media Sosial dan Dampaknya Terhadap Polarisasi Politik bagi Mahasiswa. *Jurnal Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan*, 9(2), 121-130.
- Khan, M. Z., Gilani, D. I. S., & Nawaz, D. A. (2012). From Habermas Model to New Public Sphere: A Paradigm Shift. *Global Journal of Human Social Science*, 12(5).
- Khatami, M. I., & Kurnia, N. (2022). E-Demokrasi pada Perdebatan Publik di Twitter: Analisis Konten Polemik Pemecatan Pegawai Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (KPK). *Jurnal Riset Komunikasi*, 5(1), 51–69.

- Kurnia, N., Savirani, A., Eddyono, S., Kusumasari, B., & Rajiyem. (2021). *Big Data Untuk Ilmu Sosial: Antara Metode Riset Dan Realitas Sosial* (Edisi Kedua). Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Kurten, S., & Beullens, K. (2021). #Coronavirus: Monitoring the Belgian Twitter Discourse on the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome Coronavirus 2 Pandemic. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking*, 24(2), 117–122.
- Kusumastuti, A., Khoiron, A. M., & Achmadi, T. A. (2019). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*. Sleman: Deepublish.
- Latif, D., Samad, M. A., Universitas Tadulako, Indonesia, Rinawulandari, R., Universitas Tadulako, Indonesia, Kadir, S. A., & Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. (2024). Social Media in Shaping Public Opinion Roles and Impact: A Systematic Review. *Jurnal Komunikasi: Malaysian Journal of Communication*, 40(2), 205–223.
- Latifah, K. N., & Najicha, F. U. (2022). Implikasi Media Sosial Terhadap Formulasi Kebijakan Publik. *Jurnal Kewarganegaraan*, 6(1).
- Ma, Cun. (2022). The Relationship between Education Expenditure and College Enrollment Rate. In *Proceedings of the 2022 3rd International Conference on Education Development and Studies* (134-140).
- Maia, R. C. M. (2007). Deliberative Democracy and Public Sphere Typology. *Estudos Em Comunicação*, 1, 69–102.
- Mashabi, Sania. (2024). Soal UKT Mahal, Kemendikbud: Pendidikan Tinggi Bersifat Tersier, Tidak Wajib. *Kompas*, diakses pada 30 Agustus 2024 melalui <https://www.kompas.com/edu/read/2024/05/16/163742671/soal-ukt-mahal-kemendikbud-pendidikan-tinggi-bersifat-tersier-tidak-wajib>
- Mazaev, O. A. (2024). Issues of Public Administration in the Age of Digitalization. *Theoretical and Applied Law*, 1, 44–50.
- Mustari, Nuryanti. (2015). Pemahaman Kebijakan Publik: Formulasi, Implementasi dan Evaluasi Kebijakan Publik. Yogyakarta: Leutika Prio.
- Noer, K. U. (2022). *Partisipasi Publik: Model, Pendekatan, dan Praksis*. Perwatt.
- O'Reilly, T., & Milstein, S. (2012). *The Twitter book* (2. ed). Beijing Köln: O'Reilly.
- Orbelo. (2025). Number of Twitter Users by Country (2024). *Orbelo*, diakses pada 27 Februari 2025 melalui <https://www.oberlo.com/statistics/number-of-twitter-users-by-country>
- Oz, M., Shahin, S., & Greeves, S. B. (2024). Platform affordances and spiral of silence: How perceived differences between Facebook and Twitter influence opinion expression online. *Technology in Society*, 76, 102431.
- Papacharissi, Z. (2002). The virtual sphere: The internet as a public sphere. *New Media & Society*, 4(1), 9–27.
- Perbawani, P. S., Rahayu, R., & Anshari, I. N. (2018). Netizens Anonymity in Indonesia's Digital Democracy: Political Participation in Social Media According to the Online Disinhibition Effect Theory. *PCD Journal*, 6(2),
- Peters, B. G. (1996). *The future of governing: Four emerging models*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

- Prasojo, E. (2023). *Isu-isu kontemporer kebijakan dan governansi publik di Indonesia* (Edisi pertama, cetakan ke-1). Jakarta: Kencana.
- Quick, K. S., & Bryson, J. M. (2022). Public Participation. In *Handbook on Theories of Governance* (pp. 158–168). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Rahman, M. A., Afifah, Z. N., Ma'rifah, I., Laras Lestari, D., Heryanto, G. G., & Hermansah, T. (2023). Ruang Publik Dan Perubahan Sosial: Pemanfaatan Internet Untuk Advokasi Dan Deseminasi Isu Penundaan Pemilu Studi Kasus Mafindo Dan Drone Emprit. *Ekspresi dan Persepsi: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 6(3), 554–565.
- Rauchfleisch, A., Vogler, D., & Eisenegger, M. (2021). Public Sphere in Crisis Mode: How the COVID-19 Pandemic Influenced Public Discourse and User Behaviour in the Swiss Twitter-sphere. *Javnost - The Public*, 28(2), 129–148.
- Reianu, Diana Gabriella, & Dorin Mircea Dobra. Digital Public Consultation and the Opportunity for Participatory Democracy: An Explanatory Study. *Social Science*, 13(12), 16-36.
- Sabra, I., & Elkadi, M. (2022). Public Sphere Distortion in the Age of Internet Giants: Regulatory Pathways toward the Implications of Automated Online Content Filtering. *Journal of Law and Emerging Technologies*, 2(1), 51–86.
- Santika, Erlina F. (2024). Tingkat Penetrasi Internet Indonesia Capai 79,5% per 2024. *Databoks Katadata*, diakses pada 27 Februari 2025 melalui <https://databoks.katadata.co.id/teknologi-telekomunikasi/statistik/e6f9d69e252de32/tingkat-penetrasi-internet-indonesia-capai-795-per-2024>
- Savitri, A. (2019). *Bonus Demografi 2030: Menjawab Tantangan serta Peluang Edukasi 4.0 dan Revolusi Bisnis 4.0*. Semarang: Penerit Genesis.
- Setiawan, A., Saputra, H. A., & Fridayani, H. D. (2021). Political communication And Public Sphere Democracy (An Analysis: The Hastag Usage of Rejection The Omnibus Law 2020 on Twitter). *Profetik: Jurnal Komunikasi*, 14(1), 51.
- Shmalenko, I., Yeftieni, N., & Semenets-Orlova, I. (2021, December). Impact of social media influencers on public policy and political discourse. In *International Conference on Social Science, Psychology and Legal Regulation (SPL 2021)* (pp. 88-93). Atlantis Press.
- Smyrnaio, N., & Baisnée, O. (2023). Critically understanding the platformization of the public sphere. *European Journal of Communication*, 38(5), 435–445.
- Spitzmüller, J., & Pfadenhauer, M. (2024). Der ‚digital-öffentliche Raum‘ als kommunikative Figuration und vergemeinschaftungsideologische Imagination. *Zeitschrift Für Germanistische Linguistik*, 52(1), 14–33.
- Stiglitz, J. E. (2002). Participation and Development: Perspectives from the Comprehensive Development Paradigm. *Review of Development Economics*, 6(2), 163–182.
- Sugiyono. (2018). *Metode Penelitian Evaluasi (Pendekatan Kuantitatif, Kualitatif dan Kombinasi)*. Bandung: Alfabeta.

- Suharno. (2013). *Dasar Dasar Kebijakan Publik: kajian Proses Dan Analisis Kebijakan*. Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak.
- Swastiningsih, S., Aziz, A., & Dharta, Y. (2024). The Role of Social Media in Shaping Public Opinion: A Comparative Analysis of Traditional vs. Digital Media Platforms. *The Journal of Academic Science*, 1(6), 620–626.
- Tagoe, H., & Zhang, M. (2024). Social Media's Influence on Public Administration. *International Journal of Social Science and Economics Invention*, 10(03).
- Thiel, T. (2023). A polarizing multiverse? Assessing Habermas' digital update of his public sphere theory. *Constellations*, 30(1), 69–76.
- Ubayasiri, K. (2006). Internet and the Public Sphere. *EJournalist*, 6(2).
- Ulya, Fika Nurul. (2024). JPPI: Meletakkan Pendidikan Tinggi sebagai Kebutuhan Tersier Itu Salah Besar. *Kompas*, diakses pada tanggal 27 Agustus 2024 melalui <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2024/05/17/13532471/jppi-meletakkan-pendidikan-tinggi-sebagai-kebutuhan-tersier-itu-salah-besar?page=all>
- Wahyu, Tara N.V. (2024). Mahasiswa UNS Gelar Aksi di Rektorat, Minta Penghapusan UKT Kelompok 9. *DetikJateng*, diakses pada 30 Agustus 2024 melalui <https://www.detik.com/jateng/berita/d-7338156/mahasiswa-uns-gelar-aksi-di-rektorat-minta-penghapusan-ukt-kelompok-9>
- Weller, Katrin. (Ed.). (2013). *Twitter and Society*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Xiang, Rong. (2024). Enhancing Democratic Governance: The Crucial Role of Broad Public Participation in Government Public Consultations. *International Journal of Education and Humanities*, 13(3), 254-256.
- Yaputra, H. (2024, April 29). BEM Unsoed: UKT Mahasiswa Naik dari Rp 9 Juta Jadi Rp 52 Juta. *Tempo*, diakses pada 8 Oktober 2024 melalui <https://www.tempo.co/politik/bem-unsoed-ukt-mahasiswa-naik-dari-rp-9-juta-jadi-rp-52-juta-63738>
- Yonatan, Agnes Z. (2023). Menilik Jumlah Pengguna Media Sosial 2013-2023. *GoodStats*, diakses pada 8 Oktober 2024 melalui <https://data.goodstats.id/statistic/menilik-jumlah-pengguna-media-sosial-2013-2023-WR7bg>
- Zhang, M. (2023). Digital Lifeworld and Communicative Interaction: Conceptualizing the Transformative Potentials of Social Networking in the Public Sphere. *Journal of Linguistics and Communication Studies*, 2(4), 121–131.