

A Content Analysis of Polemics in a Regulation Regarding Sexual Violence on Campus

¹Rona Rizkhy Bunga Chasana, ²Devi Afriyantari Puspa Putri, ³Yuniar Vernanda
^{1,2,3}Faculty of Communication and Informatics, Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta, Jawa Tengah
E-mail: ¹rrb608@ums.ac.id, ²dap129@ums.ac.id, ³1100190084@student.ums.ac.id

Abstract. *The government hopes that the release of the Minister of Education and Culture Regulation concerning the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence (Permendikbudristek PPKS) No. 30 of 2021 can address the problem of sexual violence on campus. However, this regulation sparked debate among various parties who disagreed with the phrase “without the victim’s consent” contained in several articles. Various public opinions on social media and news, both pros and cons, have emerged in various online media. Media coverage of crisis issues can exacerbate the crisis in an organization. This study aims to assess the use of news frames in online news media. A total of 35 articles from *Republika.co.id* and *Kompas.com* were analyzed. Using quantitative content analysis, this research was conducted by exploring 5 media frames that commonly appear in crisis-related news: attribution of responsibility, conflict, economic consequences, morality, and human interests. The result is that the conflict frame is the most dominant frame followed by the responsibility frame. Meanwhile, morality and human interests are the least used frames. Studying crisis news frames is important for PR practitioners to understand media coverage during a crisis and provide appropriate responses to mitigate its impact.*

Keyword: *regulation, sexual violence, crisis, news, framing.*

Article Info:

Received 04 April 2023, Revised 28 June 2023, Accepted 15 July 2023, Available online 18 July 2023

INTRODUCTION

The media and journalists have their own point of view when they are reporting on an event. This viewpoint will decide which facts and sections of the story are published by the media (Fardiah, 2007). Therefore, the neutrality aspect of a media remain unclear as this viewpoint leads to bias perceptions of the event (Purworini et al., 2016). This media perspective is known as framing. The media uses framing to present, interpret, and evaluate information. As stated by (Neuman et al., 1992), framing is at the heart of the process of constructing meaning in order for individuals to create an understanding of the information they receive from the news media. Problems might sometimes occur as a result of media framing. News articles can even affect the movements of particular groups

in order to influence policy (Wijayanto & Purworini, 2018). In particular, when an organization is suffering a crisis, news about the problem can affect the continuity of the organization. In addition, as stated by (Samniar, 2016), crises always occur within an organization, which might be a turning point for an organization. If there is no good relationship between an organization and the media, then media might directly collect information from the field which may result in unverified information (Kurniasari, 2017). As a result, PR practitioners need to understand the news frames used by the media when they report on crises.

Many studies have been conducted on media framing. The concept of framing proposed by Robert Entman is likely to be the most often used in framing research. According to Entman, the media framing

is not the only factor which may impact the audience. The public, on the other hand, can also affect framing behavior (Entman, 2010). There are several studies using media framing to describe organizational crises. For example, (Mahendra Prastya, 2018) examines the framing of the response of the Indonesian Ministry of Youth and Sport and PSSI regarding FIFA sanctions using the Entman model framing analysis. The findings indicate that both organizations blame each other. In addition to this model, in crisis framing research, researchers will usually focus on how the organization's response strategy is portrayed by the media. Research then focused on crisis communication theory. Image Restoration theory is used in research (Nadila & Purworini, 2021) to analyze organizational strategy in internal crises caused by placing pressure on female workers using Pan and Kosicki's framing analysis. As a result, companies deploy denial reaction methods, decreasing the offensiveness of events (bolstering), and corrective action strategies to improve their image through news reporting.

Meanwhile, (Holli Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) identified a type of framing which frequently appears in crisis news, which is a combination of the framing form (Neuman et al., 1992) and the framing effects (Iyengar & Simon, 1993). Conflict frames, economic frames, human interest frames, morality frames, and attribution of responsibility frames are the most common types of framing in crisis news coverage. These five frames are frequently seen in news coverage of policy concerns and crisis. In covering the conclusion of monetary union accords, the Dutch news media frequently uses attribution of responsibility framing rather than other approaches. The adoption of this style of news framing is mainly depends on the type of news outlet and the type of news issue (Holli

Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Reputable newspapers and television news shows use the framing of responsibility and conflict in their news, whereas sensational media uses human interest frames. Attributions of responsibility frames and conflict frames are also the most used in media news about the Commonwealth Games crisis in Delhi in 2010 (Carey & Mason, 2016).

There are many types of crises. One of them is the crisis caused by public opinion. This may be seen in policy debates which affect multi-stakeholders. Issues concerning the pros and cons of policies have always taken special concern of the news media, despite the fact that the roots of policy debates frequently arise on social media. According to (Pang et al., 2014), mainstream media will generally raise topics discussed on social media if they fit the following criteria: novelty, celebrity aspects, influence on the wider society, human interests, public significance, and policy issues. In terms of policy issues, the media plays a variety of roles. On the one hand, the media can influence the policy process by drawing policymakers' attention to specific issues (Thistlethwaite et al., 2019). On the other hand, the media's duty is to make the public understand the policies issued or implemented and then influence public opinion and attitudes through framing (Purworini, 2017; Thistlethwaite et al., 2019).

The Ministerial Regulation on the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence (PPKS) on Campus No. 30 Year 2021 was widely discussed on social media and subsequently became a topic of media coverage. The enactment of the PPKS Permendikbudristek also had generated numbers of complaints to the Ministry of Education. Twitter and Instagram are popular platforms for reporting cases of sexual abuse on campus. Supporting hashtags such as #kampusMerdekaKS

and #dukungpermendikbud30 for this Ministerial Regulation came from a variety of stakeholders, including political officials, women activists, academics, mainstream media, and popular influencers who contributed to enliven the debate.

However, since this Ministerial Regulation has been debated and exposed to the public, it has not been free of critics. According to certain concerned groups, the phrase “without the victim’s consent” leads to the idea of legalizing adultery (Astunggoro et al., 2021). The social media discussion over this term continues, with the major hashtags #CabutPermendikbudristekno30 and #DukungPermendikbud30 representing the benefits and drawbacks of adopting the legislation. The hashtag #DukungPermendikbud30 first appeared on November 5 2021 as a support for PPKS Permendikbud according to data analysis by Media Vice using the word clouds approach. On November 8, 2021, the hashtag #CabutPermendikbudristekno30 arose from those who considered Permendikbudristek No. 30 as an effort to legalize adultery and is contrary to the Indonesian State’s fundamental values. There are far more hashtags against the Ministerial Regulation than hashtags supporting the implementation of the regulation. According to Vice, the major driving force behind the hashtag #CabutPermendikbudristekno30 came from the Twitter accounts of political parties, politicians, and popular figures (Lisan & Hardiah, 2021).

Apart from functioning as mass media, online media is also a public space in this digital era, acting as an intermediary between the public and the government or even the state. Public opinion will be developed in public spaces, particularly in the area of social life, such as government policy (Ratmanto, 2008). The news media will generate a public appeal for

further information about the issues. As a result, when a crisis happens, the news media will cover the organizational challenges to cope with the situation extensively (Ulmer et al., 2019). Apart from capturing the hashtag war (support and rejection) from the wider public which is trending on social media, the media coverage is actually more focused on figures supporting the publication of sexual violence rule (Oktaviani, 2021) rather than rejection or pressure from other parties to repeal the legislation products (Saputra, 2021). Furthermore, the responses of the Minister of Education and Culture and his staff regarding the pros and cons of this regulation were also highlighted in the media (Astunggoro et al., 2021). According to several studies, the crisis frame will be a critical concern for organizations since stakeholders will understand about crises through the media. In reality, the crisis manager’s role may be to manage and change the crisis framing (Coombs, 2007).

There are many studies on framing in crisis communication studies in Indonesia, but only a few use identification of news media framing in crisis-related coverage (Holli Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). This identification will assist researchers in achieving the primary goal of this study, which is to observe the news media’s inclination to use framing while covering organizational crises. The study aimed to assess the use of news frames in the news media. The problem statement in this study is how the news media frames news coverage on the pros and cons of the PPKS Permendikbudristek No.30 Year 2021 using the framing categorization from (Holli Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

METHODS

This research examines the content of messages in the news using quantitative methods and content analysis tools. The

approach was chosen because content analysis may identify the relevance of certain social concerns of an organization (Lock & Seele, 2015). For studying how politics and other topics are framed in the news, a reliable set of content analytic indicators is required (Holli Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). The sampling and operational or measuring processes used in quantitative content analysis are reductionist in nature, reducing communication phenomenon to controllable quantities such as numbers. From this number, conclusions can be drawn about the phenomenon itself (Riffe et al., 2014). This study uses a form of framing categorization from (Holli Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) to examine how the news media framed crisis information related to Permendikbudristek PPKS No. 30 of 2021.

The purpose of this research is to news articles about pros and cons of Ministry of Education and Culture Regulation No. 30 Year 2021 on the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence on Campus. The subject of this study is news that was published on the websites *Republika.co.id* and *Kompas.com* between November 2021 and April 2022. There were 52 news reports from *Republika.co.id* and 93 news reports from *Kompas.com* which included the keywords Permendikbudristek No.30 Year 2021. Researchers utilized just 12 articles from *Republika.co.id* and 28 articles from *Kompas.com*. The news articles were chosen based on coverage that discussed the Ministry of Education and Culture regulations, their implementation on campus, the Ministry of Education and Culture's response, and articles that included quotes from relevant key figures in response to negative news media coverage. Opinions expressed outside the organization that do not include phrases or comments from organization personnel are not considered as the objects of study.

Furthermore, there is no editorial opinion in the research objects. The organization's crisis management may be seen through news media coverage. The tendency of one form of media framing related to crises can also be an indicator of how successful an organization is in managing a crisis (Carey & Mason, 2016).

The data analysis is divided into two stages. First, the researcher highlighted key problems raised by the news media in relation to the crisis. Then, in the second stage, the researcher began to use five media frames that are commonly utilized in crisis reporting (Holli Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). This classification is used to assess how an organization, in this case the Ministry of Education and Culture, responds to a crisis. Conflict frames, powerlessness frames, human interest frames, and morality frames, as well as attribution responsibility frame will be used to categorize crisis reporting from the two online news outlets.

The type of data validity used in this study is content validity. Meanwhile, an interrater test was used in the reliability test. To assess data reliability, researchers chose just 10% of the entire news as a sample which consist of five news articles. In the reliability test, the data was processed using coding sheets and compared to the Holsti formula. Two coders analyzed the content of two online news media. The coder uses coding sheets to handle data based on the crisis frame's classification. The Holsti formula utilized in the study is as follows:

$$CR = \frac{2M}{(N1+N2)} \quad (1)$$

CR = Coefficient Reliability

M = Number of the same coding

N1 = Number of coding made by coder 1

N2 = Number of coding made by coder 2

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Permendikbudristek No. 30 Year 2021 of crisis-related news from Indonesia’s two top online news outlets will be categorized into five crisis frames: attribution of responsibility, conflict, economic, human interest, and morality. To help researchers comprehend the findings of the data, the articles that have been evaluated are then arranged in a frequency table. The framing used by the news media when discussing organizational crisis information is examined using crisis frames categorization. Many researchs (Bowen & Zheng, 2015) have linked crisis frames with organizational crisis response strategies. However, in this study, researchers focused more on the frames created by the media because framing itself is considered a powerful mechanism which can define and solve problems and shape public opinion (An & Gower, 2009). The following

is a categorization of crisis frames, a combination of framing categorizations from (Holli Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

In quantitative research, a validity test is conducted to determine the reliability of the measuring device. The metrics utilized in this study are based on a combination of framing effects developed by Iyengar & Simon and Neuman’s framing classification. In media coverage of crises, the frame (Holli Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) is frequently used. This type of media framing is often used by crisis-related research to describe how the news media presents crisis information, whether the situation is framed by the media in terms of conflict, human interest, economics, morality, or more often in terms of responsibility.

A Previous study using a combination of Neuman’s framing classification and Iyengar and Simon’s

TABLE 1. Crisis Framework Categories

Categories	Crisis Frames	Description
1	<i>Conflict Frames</i>	The news reports disagreements about Permendikbudristek No. 30 between Ministry of Education and Culture personnel and other groups or individuals.
2	<i>Human interest Frames</i>	Emotional motives in the news of Permendikbudristek No. 30 Year 2021. For instance, stories concerning sexual violence, which provide the context for the creation of Permendikbudristek, or emotional stories, which provide the context for the rejection of Permendikbud regulation.
3	<i>Economic Frames</i>	The news explains the economic impact of pros and cons of Permendikbudristek No 30 Year 2021
4	<i>Morality Frames</i>	The news conveys the pros and cons of the Ministry of Education and Culture regulation in terms of the context of religious teachings or moral contexts
5	<i>Attribution of Responsibility Frames</i>	News conveys individuals, groups, or organizations (representatives of the Ministry of Education and Culture) as the party responsible for the crisis that occurred

framing effects was also conducted by (Holli Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) to assess news in newspapers and television related to European politics in 1997. In line with the findings of this study, the responsibility frame is a frame that is more commonly utilized in journalism. The usage of frames is typically determined by the type of media outlet and the topic being addressed. Major newspapers and television shows frequently use responsibility and conflict frameworks. Meanwhile, sensationalist media outlets frequently use a human interest frame. (An & Gower, 2009) applied a similar frame in content analysis study correlated to the framing of crisis reporting in 2006, such as 10 crisis-prone enterprises and 25 organizations that suffered crises that year. According to their research, the

attribution of responsibility frame is the most prevalent frame utilized in crisis news coverage. The usage of frames, according to (An & Gower, 2009), is largely dependent on the sort of crisis being reported.

The inter-coding test was used to determine reliability. Only 10% of the sample population is used in the reliability test. Only 5 news stories from Republika.co.id and Kompas.com were utilized for the reliability test out of a total of 40 news piece. Two coders then tested the construct. Table 2 shows the results of the reliability test.

The higher the value generated by the reliability test using the Holsti formula, the greater the reliability between coders. Based on the findings of the Holsti formula-based reliability test, a

TABLE 2. Reliability Test

News title	Crisis frame category		Agree/ disagree
	Coder 1	Coder 2	
Denies Legalizing Free Sex on Campus, Director General of Higher Education: Don't Interpret Permendikbud 30/2021 Outside of What Is Regulated	<i>Attribution of Responsibility Frame</i>	<i>Attribution of Responsibility Frame</i>	Agree
Ministry of Education and Culture: Permendikbud 30 Prevent Sexual Violence, Not Legalize Adultery	<i>Attribution of Responsibility Frame</i>	<i>Attribution of Responsibility Frame</i>	Agree
Ministry of Education and Culture Denies Permendikbud 30 Legalizes Adultery	<i>Conflict Frame</i>	<i>Morality Frame</i>	Disagree
Ministry of Education and Culture: Supreme Court Rejects Judicial Review Lawsuit on Sexual Violence Regulation	<i>Conflict Frame</i>	<i>Conflict Frame</i>	Agree
Nadiem Stands Firm, Permendikbud PPKS Still Implements on Campus	<i>Conflict Frame</i>	<i>Conflict Frame</i>	Agree
Total CR Crisis Frame		Agree=4, Disagree=1 = 0,8 (80%)	

value of 0.8 or 80% is achieved. The test is considered to be reliable if it reaches the minimum criteria of 70% in the Holsti formula. As a result of exceeding the minimum limit, the test in this study has been declared reliable.

After testing the validity and reliability, the researcher summarized the findings of all the articles utilized as study samples. The data will be described using descriptive statistics. In this situation, the data will be organized into frequency distribution tables by the researcher. The table below shows the frequency distribution of 35 news articles from the online media *Republika.co.id* and *Kompas.com* which discuss the pros and cons of the release of *Permendikbudristek No. 30 of 2021* for the period November 2021 to April 2022, based on the crisis frame category from (Holli Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

The ten crisis articles sampled in this research contain responses from the Ministry of Education and Culture Republic of Indonesia. Articles that did not include reactions from organizations

are not sampled since crisis framing research are frequently related with responses from organizations. According to Table 3, the conflict frame is used 60% more frequently in news articles on crisis information about *Permendikbudristek No.30 Year 2021*. Followed by a morality frame of 20%, and finally, the human interest and responsibility frames have far lower values than the conflict frame, each with a value of 10%. The content analysis of crisis news framing on *Kompas.com* is shown in Table 4. The results also show that conflict frames are used more frequently than other frames. This finding is also similar to the frequency distribution of the online news media *Republika.co.id*. Conflict framing is used in over half of the sample crisis news articles on *Kompas.com* (52%). Meanwhile, crisis news articles use attribution of responsibility frames with a value of 44%, which is practically identical to the conflict frame. Finally, the human interest frame is used, although just 4% of the time.

TABLE 3. Distribution Frequency of *Republika.co.id*

Crisis Frame Categorises	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Conflict Frames	6	60%
Human interest	1	10%
Economic Frames	0	0%
Morality Frames	2	20%
Attribution of Responsibility Frames	1	10%
Total	10	100%

TABLE 4. Distribution Frequency of *Kompas.com*

Crisis Frame Categorises	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Conflict Frames	13	52%
Human interest	1	4%
Economic Frames	0	0%
Morality Frames	0	0%
Attribution of Responsibility Frames	11	44%
Total	25	100%

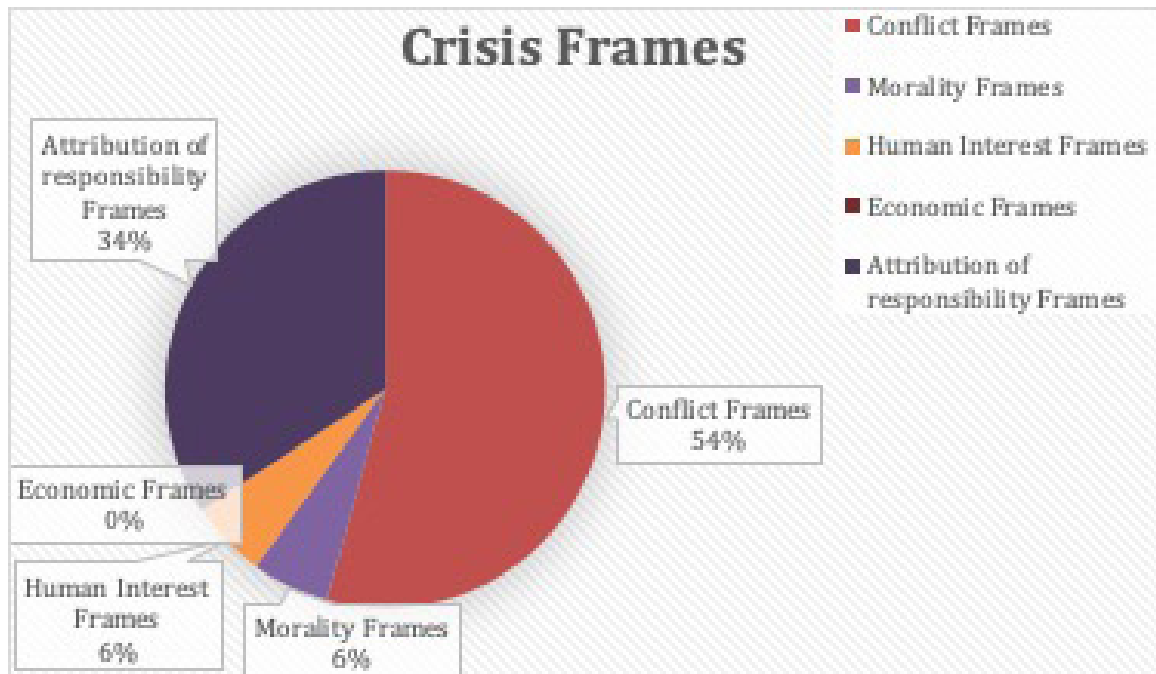


FIGURE 1. Republika.co.id and Kompas.com Media Frequency Distribution Diagram

Overall, conflict frames are accounted for 54% of the frequency distribution of crisis news frames from online media Republika.co.id and Kompas.com, followed by 34% of attribution of responsibility frames and 6% of human interest frames. The graphic in Figure 1 depicts the distribution of crisis frame frequencies throughout the media.

The purpose of this research is to identify the utilization of crisis news frames in news coverage of Permendikbudristek PPKS No. 30 Year 2021. Conflict frames, attribution of responsibility frames, morality frames, and human interest frames are found in this research. Conflict frames become the dominant news frames in this study. This outcome differs significantly from (Holli Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) and (An & Gower, 2009) research findings that found attribution of responsibility frames as the dominant news frames. However, the same results is illustrated in morality and human interest frames are applied as crisis frames that rarely used in news coverage.

The facts above are not surprising, considering the crisis in the PPKS Permendikbudristek No. 30 Year 2021 occurred due to differences of opinion among multiple stakeholders regarding the provisions in the regulation's articles. These various interpretations resulted in the formation of the support and rejection of the Ministerial Regulation of Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence on Campus. This might lead to the media focusing more on debate or conflict that arise in crisis situations than in other situations. The focus of Republika.co.id and Kompas.com online media is mainly on how parties outside the organization, such as political figures and other groups, express their opposition to the term in the regulation of prevention and handling of sexual violence on campus.

This circumstance is identical to (Holli Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) research which discovers political news framing in Europe. This is due to the fact that the sort of crisis in this research is a crisis caused by the pros and cons aspects of regulation that are also closely affiliated with political interests. According to (Holli

Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) research, conflict frames have risen to second place in European news coverage. According to them, conflict frames are more frequently used by the news media since the topics are more political in nature. Based on their analysis, the media coverage concentrates more on the confrontation between the government and the opposition. Meanwhile, (An & Gower, 2009) research observed conflict frames as a third frame that was commonly used by the news media while focused on internal crises of organizations with members or unions, such as labor strike situations. According to both (Holli Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) and (An & Gower, 2009), conflict framing is commonly utilized by major and significant news organizations. Their findings are in line with this research, which examined a sample of news coverage from Indonesia's major and serious media outlets.

In this research, attribution of responsibility frames are the second most often utilized frame in crisis news coverage. Many research on the crisis frame identify the attribution of responsibility as a frame that is frequently utilized by the news media. According to (An & Gower, 2009), this is due to the news media's tendency to blame and hold the organization accountable when a crisis happens. Furthermore, if the media coverage is linked to a problem caused by an organizational error or misconduct. As a result, in crisis situations when organizations or individual have strong and deliberate control, the news media will likely to focus more on attribution of responsibility than other frames. Thus, it is only natural that the second frame that is frequently used in news coverage on the pros and cons of the PPKS Regulation of the Ministry of Education and Culture No. 30 Year 2021 is the attribution of responsibility. During this time of crisis, the media has reported many differences

of opinion among individuals questioning the terminology in Permendikbudristek. When presenting crisis news and leaning to the opposing side, the news media prefers to focus on the responsibility of the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture as the initiator of these regulations. Likewise, while reporting on the reaction from the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, the news media emphasized the responsibilities of campus in resolving incidents of sexual violence suffered by their academic community, as well as the necessity of implementing this regulation.

Morality frames and human interest frames are also mentioned in this crisis news coverage. According to (Neuman et al., 1992), ethical principles are more frequently seen in the media through interview snippets. Rather than directly using morality frame, the news media frequently discusses norms or morality through respondent comments or conclusions. According to his research on media framing, cultural norms and values are deeply integrated into contemporary journalism. Almost in line with the human interest frame, the news media will normally display indirect signs of empathy, but the media will look to other individuals to comment about the issues. Morality and human interest frames are rarely used in news media coverage according to the (Neuman et al., 1992) findings. When the media conducts in-depth interviews, these two frames are more likely to be used.

In this Ministerial Regulation No. 30 Year 2021 crisis framing research, morality and human interest frames are more visible when news sources articulate their views on the phrase "without the victim's consent" and its relationship to moral or religious values. According to an article on Republika.co.id, the Ministry of Religion stated that "protection of academics in the context of sexual

violence is part of the implementation of religious moderation.” Apart from that, Permendikbudristek 30/2021, in his opinion, is part of the actualization of the core of religious teachings, namely the protection of human dignity. Furthermore, human interest frame in this subject may be seen in news articles that tends to narrate about victims of sexual violence and their need for legal representation in dealing with their cases. Victim-centered news coverage may be able to elicit empathy from readers. According to (Cho & Gower, 2006), the human interest frame tends to changed readers’ emotional responses and make them feel more empathic.

Finally, the economic framework is completely absent from this crisis news coverage. This frame is commonly used in business-related organizational problems. Nevertheless, crisis in this research is more focused on regulation decisions also pros and cons of that regulations. Thus the potential of adopting an economic frame will be very limited, if not non-existent because this crisis is not associated with economic losses.

CONCLUSION

Pros and cons related to policies that affect the wider community are included in the type of public opinion crisis. Many crisis studies in Indonesia tend to focus on how the media portrays the responses from organizations in order to mitigate the impact of the crisis. Another common studies is analyzing how the news media explains crisis, origins of crisis, evaluates, and recommends solutions. However, few researcher have identified the media framing categories that dominantly used for crisis news coverage. Practitioners and crisis managers may used this category of crisis frames to develop more effective crisis response techniques. When a crisis happened, the media becomes an extremely crucial

element for Public Relations. Public relations professionals must be aware of how the media perceives and reports on their organization. PR must also aware of what is published in the media which will certainly have an impact on the image or even the reputation of the organization.

These findings may serve as a reminder to the organization. When they face a crisis and receive multiple viewpoints on their activities, it is possible that the news media will adopt conflict frames. Meanwhile, when multiple stakeholders claim that an organization has done something wrong, the media will almost certainly use the attribution of responsibility framework. In such crisis situations, organizations can use the media framing described in this study to deal with crises with specific response plans to reduce the severity of the crisis.

This study was able to determine the type of framing categorization used by the media when reporting crisis information. However, further research will be more interesting if the varimax test is used to determine if the media uses more than one frame in its news. The varimax test can improve crisis frame research by including question points for the intercoder. Especially, if the sample for the research include newspapers or television news. This is because news coverage in newspapers and television news is more detailed than news article in online media. In addition, future research can integrate crisis frames with crisis communication theories such Situational Crisis Communication Theory, Image Restoration Theory, and others. Researchers can link the use of frames by the media with the response strategies used by organizations when facing a crisis. Finally, different crises can broaden the scope of crisis research investigations including media framing. Future research can also use crisis frame research with many forms of crises.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The researchers would like to thank those who have contributed to conduct this research. Special thanks to the Muhammadiyah University of Surakarta for the funding of this research.

REFERENCES

- An, S. K., & Gower, K. K. (2009). How do the news media frame crises? A content analysis of crisis news coverage. *Public Relations Review*, 35(2), 107–112. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2009.01.010>
- Astungkoro, R., Suryarandika, R., Tejomukti, R. A., & Soraya, D. A. (2021, November 8). *Kemendikbudristek Bantah Permendikbud PPKS Legalkan Zina*. Republika.Co.Id. <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/r28t6u436/kemendikbudristek-bantah-permendikbud-ppks-legalkan-zina>
- Bowen, S. A., & Zheng, Y. (2015). Auto recall crisis, framing, and ethical response: Toyota's missteps. *Public Relations Review*, 41(1), 40–49. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2014.10.017>
- Carey, K. M., & Mason, D. S. (2016). Damage control: Media framing of sport event crises and the response strategies of organizers. *Event Management*, 20(2), 119–133. <https://doi.org/10.3727/152599516X14610017108549>
- Cho, S. H., & Gower, K. K. (2006). Framing effect on the public's response to crisis: Human interest frame and crisis type influencing responsibility and blame. *Public Relations Review*, 32(4), 420–422. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2006.09.011>
- Coombs, W. T. (2007). Protecting Organization Reputations During a Crisis: The Development and Application of Situational Crisis Communication Theory. *Corporate Reputation Review*, 10(3), 163–176. <https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.crr.1550049>
- Entman, R. M. (2010). *Doing News Framing Analysis* (P. D'Angelo & J. A. Kuypers, Eds.). Routledge.
- Fardiah, D. (2007). Polemik Rancangan Undang-Undang Anti Pornografi & Pornoaksi (RUU-APP). *Mediator: Jurnal Komunikasi*, 8(1), 131–150.
- Holli Semetko, by A., & Valkenburg, P. M. (2000). Framing European Politics: A Content Analysis of Press and Television News. *Journal of Communication*, Spring, 93–109.
- Iyengar, S., & Simon, A. (1993). News Coverage of the Gulf Crisis and Public Opinion. *Communication Research*, 20(3), 365–383.
- Kurniasari, N. (2017). Strategi Penanganan Krisis Kepariwisata dalam Kebijakan Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Bencana (BNPB). *Mediator: Jurnal Komunikasi*, 10(2), 177–189.
- Lisan, I. H., & Hardiah, S. (2021, December 30). *Kubu Paling Aktif Menolak Permendikbud 30 di Medsos Berhasil Dipetakan*. Vice. <https://www.vice.com/id/article/qjbj4x/hasil-riset-kultura-kubu-paling-aktif-menolak-permendikbud-30-di-twitter-berasal-dari-akun-pks-dan-influencer-agama>
- Lock, I., & Seele, P. (2015). Quantitative content analysis as a method for business ethics research. *Business Ethics*, 24(S1), S24–S40. <https://doi.org/10.1111/beer.12095>
- Mahendra Prastya, N. (2018). Analisis Framing terhadap Pernyataan Resmi Kemenpora RI dan PSSI dalam Kasus Sanksi FIFA terhadap Indonesia. *Komunikator*, 10(1), 10–23. <https://doi.org/10.18196/jkm.101002>
- Nadila, S. L., & Purworini, D. (2021). Strategi Image Restoration Pada PT. Alpen Food Industri (Analisis Framing Pada Kasus Pekerja Perempuan Yang Mengalami Keguguran Akibat Tekanan Kerja Pada Pabrik Es Krim AICE Dalam CNN Indonesia). *PResious: Public Relations Journal*, 2(1), 218–245.
- Neuman, W. Russell., Just, M. R., & Crigler, A. N. (1992). *Common Knowledge: News and the Construction of Political Meaning*. The University of Chicago.
- Oktaviani, Z. (2021, November 12). *Kemenag Klaim Rektor Satu Suara Dukung Permendikbud PPKS*. Republika.Co.Id. <https://www.republika>

- co.id/berita/r2eqmb436/kemenag-klaim-rektor-satu-suara-dukung-permendikbud-ppks
- Pang, A., Hassan, N. B. B. A., & Chong, A. C. Y. (2014). Negotiating crisis in the social media environment: Evolution of crises online, gaining credibility offline. *Corporate Communications*, 19(1), 96–118. <https://doi.org/10.1108/CCIJ-09-2012-0064>
- Purworini, D. (2017). Strategi Perusahaan Dalam Merespon Dugaan Pelanggaran Hukum: Analisis Kualitatif Strategi Perbaikan Image Pada Kasus Beras “Maknyuss.” In R. Darmastuti, S. W. M. Edi, & D. K. Sari (Eds.), *Kolase Komunikasi di Indonesia* (pp. 21–36). Buku Litera.
- Purworini, D., Kuswarno, E., Hadisiwi, P., & Rakhmat, A. (2016). The Naturalization Policy in Online News Media: A Framing Analysis. *MIMBAR*, 32(2), 456–464.
- Ratmanto, T. (2008). Communication Policy: the Efforts to Strengthen Civil Society. *Mediator: Jurnal Komunikasi*, 9(1), 97–104.
- Riffe, D., Lacy, S., & Fico, F. (2014). *Analyzing Media Message: Using Quantitative in Research* (Third). Taylor & Francis.
- Samniar, B. A. (2016). Image Management Model in Company Crisis. *Komuniti*, VIII(1), 35–40.
- Saputra, A. (2021, November 3). *Ikadi dan 12 Ormas Tolak Permendikbud Kekerasan Seksual*. Republika.Co.Id. <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/r1yugx396/ikadi-dan-12-ormas-tolak-permendikbud-kekerasan-seksual>
- Thistlethwaite, J., Henstra, D., Minano, A., & Dordi, T. (2019). Policy framing in the press: analyzing media coverage of two flood disasters. *Regional Environmental Change*, 19(8), 2597–2607. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10113-019-01576-7>
- Ulmer, R. R., Sellnow, T. L., & Seeger, M. W. (2019). *Effective Crisis Communication* (Fourth). Sage Publications.
- Wijayanto, T. D., & Purworini, D. (2018). Respon Pemerintah pada Aksi Damai 411 dan 212 : Analisis Isi Harian Kompas Edisi November 2016 – Desember 2016. *Komuniti*, 10(1), 11–25.