

## **DAFTAR PUSTAKA**

- Abts, K., & Rummens, S. (2007). Populism versus Democracy. *Political Studies*, 55(2), 405–424.
- Ahmad, N. (2022). Dear Free Malaysia Today — Your words matter: COVID-19 and its subtle rhetoric. *SEARCH*, 14(1), 19–32. <http://search.taylorsonline.com>
- Albertazzi, D., & McDonnell, D. (2008). Introduction: The Sceptre and the Spectre. In *Twenty-First Century Populism* (pp. 1–11). Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Ali, H., & Junior, O. (2022). Public health intervention: Exploring crisis communication elements in media reports on COVID-19 in Bangladesh. *SEARCH*, 14(1), 33–48.
- Asante, L. A., & Mills, R. O. (2020). Exploring the Socio-Economic Impact of COVID-19 Pandemic in Marketplaces in Urban Ghana. *Africa Spectrum*, 55(2), 170–181.
- Aslipour, H., & Zargar, M. R. (2022). Developing Grounded Theory Systematic Approach for Public Policy Researches. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 21, 1-11.
- Barr, R. R. (2009). Populists, outsiders and anti-establishment politics. *Party Politics*, 15(1), 29–48.
- Barr, R. R. (2017). *The Resurgence of Populism in Latin America*. Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Benczes, I., & Szabó, K. (2022). An Economic Understanding of Populism: A Conceptual Framework of the Demand and the Supply Side of Populism. *Political Studies Review*, 1-17.
- Bennett, W. L., & Entman, R. M. (2000). Mediated Politics: An Introduction. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Bungin, B. (2008). *Konstruksi Massa, Sosial Media*. Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group.
- Canovan, M. (1999). Trust the People! Populism and the Two Faces of Democracy. *Political Studies*, 47(1), 2–16.

- Capano, G., Howlett, M., Jarvis, D. S. L., Ramesh, M., & Goyal, N. (2020). Mobilizing Policy (In)Capacity to Fight COVID-19: Understanding Variations in State Responses. *Policy and Society*, 39(3), 285–308.
- Chong, D., & Druckman, J. N. (2007). A Theory of Framing and Opinion Formation in Competitive Elite Environments. *Journal of Communication*, 57(1), 99–118.
- Coghlan, J. (2012). Reporting Megawati's bid for the Indonesian presidency: Framing and social realities. *Communication, Politics & Culture*, 45(2), 24–37.
- Cook, T. E. (1998). *Governing with the News: The News Media as a Political Institution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Cranmer, M. (2011). Populist Communication and Publicity: An Empirical Study of Contextual Differences in Switzerland. *Swiss Political Science Review*, 17(3), 286–307.
- Davis, M. (2017). “Is it going to be real?” Narrative and media on a pandemic. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 18(1). 1-19.
- Dekker, R., & Scholten, P. (2017). Framing the Immigration Policy Agenda: A Qualitative Comparative Analysis of Media Effects on Dutch Immigration Policies. *International Journal of Press/Politics*, 22(2), 202–222.
- Dunlop, C. A., Ongaro, E., & Baker, K. (2020). Researching COVID-19: A research agenda for public policy and administration scholars. *Public Policy and Administration*, 35(4), 365–383.
- Dzulkifly, D. (2020). *Muhyiddin: tourism industry hit hardest by Covid-19, faces RM3.37b loss*. Malaymail.
- Entman, R. M. (1991). Framing U.S. Coverage of International News: Contrasts in Narratives of the KAL and Iran Air Incidents. In *Journal of Communication* 41(41), 6-27.
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51–58.
- Entman, R. M. (1997). Manufacturing Discord: Media in the Affirmative Action Debate. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 2(4), 32–51.

- Entman, R. M. (2003). *Projections of Power*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Eriyanto. (2011). *Analisis isi: pengantar metodologi untuk penelitian ilmu komunikasi dan ilmu-ilmu sosial lainnya*. Bandung: Kencana.
- Fahrimal, Y., Husna, A., Islami, F., & Johan, J. (2020). Media dan Pandemi: Frame Tentang Pandemi Covid-19 Dalam Media Online di Indonesia (Studi Pada Portal Berita Kompas.com dan Detik.com). *Jurnal Studi Komunikasi Dan Media*, 24(2), 169–186.
- Fredheim, N. A. G. (2021). Life, death or drugs: Actor framing power on the news media coverage of health care policy. *European Journal of Communication*, 36(3), 270–285.
- Frisina Doetter, L., Preuß, B., & Rothgang, H. (2021). Taking stock of COVID-19 policy measures to protect Europe's elderly living in long-term care facilities. *Global Social Policy*, 21(3), 529–549.
- Gamson, W. A., & Modigliani, A. (1987). The Changing Culture of Affirmative Action. *Research in Political Sociology*, 3, 137-177.
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. New York: Harper Colophon.
- Green-Pedersen, C., & Stubager, R. (2010). The political conditionality of mass media influence: When do parties follow mass media attention? *British Journal of Political Science*, 40(3), 663–677.
- Gross, K., & Brewer, P. R. (2007). Sore losers: News frames, policy debates, and emotions. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 12(1), 122–133.
- Harvey, M. (1987). *The Media-Policy Connection: Some Ecologies of News*. New York: Ablex Press.
- Hastangka, & Farid, M. (2020). Kebijakan Politik Presiden Jokowi terhadap Masalah Kewarganegaraan dalam Merespons Isu Global: Studi Kasus Covid-19. *Jurnal Pancasila dan Kewarganegaraan*, 6(8). 1-12
- Hawkins, K. A., & Rovira Kaltwasser, C. (2022). The Ideational Approach to Populism. *Latin American Research Review*, 52(4), 513–528.
- Herbst, S. (1998). *Reading public opinion: How political actors view the democratic process*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

- Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (1998). *Manufacturing Consent A Propaganda Model excerpted from the book Manufacturing Consent*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Indriastuti, Dr. Y. (2018). Keluarga Sebagai Katalis Peran Politisi Perempuan Jawa Timur. *Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 1(1).
- Ivic, S. (2020). Vietnam's Response to the COVID-19 Outbreak. *Asian Bioethics Review*, 12(3), 341–347.
- Iyengar, S. (1991). *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Junk, W. M., & Rasmussen, A. (2019). Framing by the Flock: Collective Issue Definition and Advocacy Success. *Comparative Political Studies*, 52(4), 483–513.
- Kasim, A., Ahmad, M., Bidin, A., & Kriyantono, R. (2022). Generic Framing of Strategic News in the Program Transformasi Negara (GTP). *Jurnal Komunikasi: Malaysian Journal of Communication*, 38(2), 314–332.
- Krämer, B. (2014). Media Populism: A Conceptual Clarification and Some Theses on its Effects. *Communication Theory*, 24(1), 42–60.
- Kriesi, H. (2013). *Conceptualizing the populist challenge*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University.
- Ladiqi, S. (2020). State Capacity and Public Trust in Handling the COVID-19 Outbreak in Malaysia. *Jurnal Global & Strategis*, 14(2), 257.
- Lax, J. R., & Phillips, J. H. (2009). Gay rights in the states: Public opinion and policy responsiveness. *American Political Science Review*, 103(3), 367–386.
- Lax, J. R., & Phillips, J. H. (2012). The Democratic Deficit in the States. *American Journal of Political Science*, 56(1), 148–166.
- Le Thu, H. (2020). *Vietnam's successful battle against Covid-19*. Council of Foreign Relations.
- Lecheler, S., Keer, M., Schuck, A. R. T., & Häggli, R. (2015). The Effects of Repetitive News Framing on Political Opinions over Time. *Communication Monographs*, 82(3), 339–358.

- Legge, D. G. (2020). COVID-19 response exposes deep flaws in global health governance. *Global Social Policy*, 20(3), 383–387.
- Marcinkowski, F., & Steiner, A. (2014). Mediatization and Political Autonomy: A Systems Approach. In *Mediatization of Politics*, 74–89.
- Mazzoleni, G., Stewart, J., & Horsfield, B. (2013). *The Media and Neo-populism: A Contemporary Comparative Analysis*. Westport: Praeger.
- McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36(2), 176. <https://doi.org/10.1086/267990>
- Medeiros, M., Nai, A., Erman, A., & Young, E. (2022). Personality traits of world leaders and differential policy responses to the COVID-19 pandemic. *Social Science & Medicine*, 311, 1-11
- Mesiranta, N., Närvänen, E., & Mattila, M. (2022). Framings of Food Waste: How Food System Stakeholders Are Responsibilized in Public Policy Debate. *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing*, 41(2), 144–161.
- Moran, M., & Littler, J. (2020). Cultural populism in new populist times. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 23(6), 857–873.
- Moy, P., Tewksbury, D., & Rinke, E. M. (2016). Agenda-Setting, Priming, and Framing. In *The International Encyclopedia of Communication Theory and Philosophy*, 1–13.
- Mwangi, C. (2018). Media Influence on Public Policy in Kenya: The Case of Illicit Brew Consumption. *SAGE Open*, 8(2), 1-13.
- Palmgreen, P., & Clarke, P. (1977). Agenda-Setting with Local and National Issues. *Communication Research*, 4(4), 435–452.
- Pereirinha, J. A. C., & Pereira, E. (2021). Social resilience and welfare systems under COVID-19: A European comparative perspective. *Global Social Policy*, 21(3), 569–594.
- Perumal, T., Sinayah, M., Govaichelvan, K. N., & Shanmuganathan, T. (2022). Communication Strategies of a Malaysian politician in Tamil during the COVID-19 Pandemic. *GEMA Online Journal of Language Studies*, 22(1), 34–56.

- Pinontoan, N. A., & Wahid, U. (2020). Analisis Framing Pemberitaan Banjir Jakarta Januari 2020 di Harian Kompas.com dan Jawapos.com. *Komuniti: Jurnal Komunikasi dan Teknologi Informasi*, 12(1), 11–24.
- Price, V., Tewksbury, D., & Powers, E. (1997). Switching trains of thought: The impact of news frames on readers' cognitive responses. *Communication Research*, 24(5), 481–506.
- Pujileksono, S. (2015). *Metode Penelitian Komunikasi Kualitatif*. Malang: Kelompok Intrans Publishing.
- Rietig, K. (2018). Learning in the European Commission's Renewable Energy Policy-Making and Climate Governance. In *Learning in Public Policy* (pp. 51–74). Springer International Publishing. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-76210-4\\_3](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-76210-4_3)
- Saragih, H., & Prayuningsih, A. (2021). Kebijakan War On Drug Presiden Duterte: Pelanggaran Ham Dan Tanggapan masyarakat Filipina. *Populis : Jurnal Sosial Dan Humaniora*, 6(2), 153-165.
- Sari, V. Y. (2020). Analisis Respons Pemerintah Tiongkok dalam Upaya Penanganan Covid-19. *Jurnal Sentris*, 1(2), 173–186.
- Schattschneider, E. E. (1975). *The semisovereign people: a realist's view of democracy in America*. New York: Dryden Press.
- Scheufele, D. A., & Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models. *Journal of Communication*, 57(1), 9–20.
- Seemann, A., Becker, U., He, L., Maria Hohnerlein, E., & Wilman, N. (2021). Protecting livelihoods in the COVID-19 crisis: A comparative analysis of European labour market and social policies. *Global Social Policy*, 21(3), 550–568.
- Shah, A. U. M., Safri, S. N. A., Thevadas, R., Noordin, N. K., Rahman, A. A., Sekawi, Z., Ideris, A., & Sultan, M. T. H. (2020). COVID-19 outbreak in Malaysia: Actions taken by the Malaysian government. *International Journal of Infectious Diseases*, 97, 108–116.
- Sianipar, I. M. J. (2017). Strategi Pemimpin Populis Baru Indonesia Mencapai Kekuasaan. *Sociae Polites*, 16(1), 17–32.

- Smith, J., & Sparrow, B. H. (2001). Uncertain Guardians: The News Media as a Political Institution. *Contemporary Sociology*, 30(1), 64.
- Sniderman, P. M., & Theriault, S. M. (2004). CHAPTER 5: The Structure of Political Argument and the Logic of Issue Framing. In *Studies in Public Opinion*. 133–165.
- Sofian, A., & Lestari, N. (2021). Analisis framing pemberitaan tentang kebijakan pemerintah dalam menangani kasus Covid-19. *COMMICAST*, 2(1), 58.
- Strömbäck, J., & van Aelst, P. (2010). Exploring some antecedents of the media's framing of election news: A comparison of Swedish and Belgian election news. *International Journal of Press/Politics*, 15(1), 41–59.
- Syam, H. M., Anisah, N., Saleh, R., & Lingga, M. A. (2021). Ideology and media framing: Stigmatisation of LGBT in media coverage in Indonesia. *Jurnal Komunikasi: Malaysian Journal of Communication*, 37(1), 59–73.
- Van Aelst, P., & Walgrave, S. (2011). Minimal or Massive? The Political Agenda-Setting Power of the Mass Media According to Different Methods. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 16(3), 295–313.
- Wicaksana, I. G. W., & Wardhana, A. (2021). Populism and foreign policy: The Indonesian case. *Asian Politics and Policy*, 13(3), 408–425.
- 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.
- Xue, E., Li, J., Li, T., & Shang, W. (2021). China's education response to COVID-19: A perspective of policy analysis. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 53(9), 881–893.