

7. Daftar Referensi

- An, S. & Cheng, I. (2010). Crisis Communication Research in Public Relations Journals: Tracking Research Trends over Thirty Years. In W. T. Coombs & S. J. Holladay, *The Handbook of Crisis Communication* (pp. 65 - 90). West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons.
- Apriliyanti, I. D., & Fathin, C. A. (2022). Politicians and Economic Policy during the Pandemic: Evidence from Emerging and Developed Countries. *Journal of Central Banking Law and Institutions Vol. 1 No. 2*, 267 - 298.
- Arendt, C., LaFleche, M., & Limperopulos, M. A. (2017). A qualitative meta-analysis of apologia, image repair, and crisis communication: Implications for theory and practice. *Public Relations Review*, 43(3), 517–526. doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2017.03.005
- Asmolov, G. (2023). Crisis Communication in Authoritarian Systems and Digital Innovation: How Do Autocracies Resolve the Dictator's Dilemma in Crisis Situations? In W. T. Holladay, *The Handbook of Crisis Communication (2nd Edition)* (pp. 209 - 228). West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons.
- Avery, E. J., Lariscy, R. W., Kim, S., & Hocke, T. (2010). A quantitative review of crisis communication research in public relations from 1991 to 2009. *Public Relations Review*, 36(2), 190–192. doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2010.01.001
- Baekkeskov, E., & Rubin, O. (2016). Information Dilemmas and Blame-Avoidance Strategies: From Secrecy to Lightning Rods in Chinese Health Crises. *Governance*, 30(3), 425–443. doi:10.1111/gove.12244
- Benson, J. A. (1988). *Crisis revisited: An analysis of strategies used by Tylenol in the second tampering episode*. *Central States Speech Journal*, 39(1), 49–66. doi:10.1080/10510978809363234
- Bernard, N. R., Basit, A., Sofija, E., Phung, H., Lee, J., Rutherford, S., Sebar, B., Harris, N., Phung, D., & Wiseman, N. (2021). Analysis of crisis communication by the prime minister of Australia during the COVID-19 pandemic. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction*, 62, 102375. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2021.102375>

- Bolotnyy, V., Komisarchik, M. & Libgober, B. (2023). How Does Living Under Left-Wing Authoritarianism Affect Refugees Who Settle in Democracies? Evidence From Soviet Refugees. Institute for Policy Research.
- Bulovsky, A. (2018). Authoritarian communication on social media: The relationship between democracy and leaders' digital communicative practices. *International Communication Gazette*, 174804851876779. doi:10.1177/1748048518767798
- Chaisty, P., Gerry, C. J., & Whitefield, S. (2021). The Buck stops elsewhere: Authoritarian resilience and the politics of responsibility for covid-19 in Russia. *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 38(5), 366–385. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1060586x.2021.2010397>
- Chen, C., Frey, C. B., & Presidente, G. (2023). Disease and democracy: Political regimes and countries responsiveness to covid-19. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, 212, 290–299. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jebo.2023.04.034>
- Cheng, Y. & Cameron, G. (2017). The Status of Social-Mediated Crisis Communication (SMCC) Research: An Analysis of Published Articles in 2002–2014. In L. Austin & Y. Jin, *Social Media and Crisis Communication* (pp. 9 - 20). New York: Routledge.
- Christensen, T., & Lægreid, P. (2020). Balancing governance capacity and legitimacy: How the Norwegian government handled the COVID-19 Crisis as a high performer. *Public Administration Review*, 80(5), 774–779. <https://doi.org/10.1111/puar.13241>
- Cleveland, W. S. (1979). *Robust Locally Weighted Regression and Smoothing Scatterplots*. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 74(368), 829–836. doi:10.1080/01621459.1979.10481038
- Cleveland, W. S., & Devlin, S. J. (1988). *Locally Weighted Regression: An Approach to Regression Analysis by Local Fitting*. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 83(403), 596–610. doi:10.1080/01621459.1988.10478639
- Coombs, W.T. (2019). *Ongoing Crisis Communication: Planning, Managing, and Responding* (5th ed.). SAGE Publications, Inc.

- Coombs, W. T. (1995). Choosing the Right Words. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 8(4), 447–476. doi:10.1177/0893318995008004003
- Coombs, W. T. (2004). Impact of Past Crises on Current Crisis Communication: Insights from Situational Crisis Communication Theory. *Journal of Business Communication*, 41(3), 265–289. doi:10.1177/0021943604265607
- Coombs, W. T. (2006). The Protective Powers of Crisis Response Strategies. *Journal of Promotion Management*, 12(3-4), 241–260. doi:10.1300/j057v12n03_13
- 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. doi:10.1057/palgrave.crr.1550049
- Coombs, W. T. (2013). Situational Theory of Crisis: Situational Crisis Communication Theory and Corporate Reputation. In C. E. Carroll, *The Handbook of Communication and Corporate Reputation* (pp. 262 - 278). West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons.
- Coombs, W. T. (2017). Revising Situational Crisis Communication Theory: The Influences of Social Media on Crisis Communication Theory and Practice. In Austin, L & Jin, Y., *Social Media and Crisis Communication* (pp. 21 - 38). New York: Routledge.
- Coombs, W. T. (2020a). Political Public Relations and Crisis Communication. In J. Strömbäck & S. Kioussis, *Political Public Relations: Concepts, Principles, and Applications* (pp. 208 - 226). New York: Routledge.
- Coombs, W. T. (2020b). COVID-19 crisis and support for agrifood: Public sector responses through the financial sector. *Partecipazione e Conflitto*, 13(2). <https://doi.org/10.4060/ca9846en>
- Coombs, W. T. (2023). Situational Crisis Communication Theory (SCCT): Refining and Clarifying a Cognitive-Based Theory of Crisis Communication. In W. T. Holladay, *The Handbook of Crisis Communication (2nd ed.)* (pp. 193 - 204). John Wiley & Sons.

- Coombs, W. T., & Holladay, S. J. (2002). Helping crisis managers protect reputational assets. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 16(2), 165–186. <https://doi.org/10.1177/089331802237233>
- Cooper, L. & Aitchison, G. (2020). *The Dangers Ahead: COVID-19, Authoritarianism, and Democracy*. London: LSE Conflict and Civil Society Research Unit.
- Cucinotta, D., & Vanelli, M. (2020). WHO Declares COVID-19 a Pandemic. *Acta Bio-Medica: Atenei Parmensis*, 91(1), 157–160. <https://doi.org/10.23750/abm.v91i1.9397>
- Dhar, S., & Bose, I. (2022). Victim crisis communication strategy on digital media: A study of the COVID-19 pandemic. *Decision Support Systems*, 161, 113830. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dss.2022.113830>
- Eck, K., & Hatz, S. (2020). *State surveillance and the COVID-19 crisis*. *Journal of Human Rights*, 19(5), 603–612. doi:10.1080/14754835.2020.1816163
- Fokaefs, A., & Sapountzaki, K. (2021). Crisis communication after earthquakes in Greece and Japan: Effects on seismic disaster management. *Sustainability*, 13(16), 9257. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su13169257>
- Frandsen, F. & Johansen, W. (2020). Public Sector Communication: Risk and Crisis Communication. In V. Luoma-aho & M. Canel, *The Handbook of Public Sector Communication* (pp. 229 - 244). New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons.
- Gruber, D. A., Smerek, R. E., Thomas-Hunt, M. C., & James, E. H. (2015). *The real-time power of Twitter: Crisis management and leadership in an age of social media*. *Business Horizons*, 58(2), 163–172. doi:10.1016/j.bushor.2014.10.006
- Guillamón, M.-D., Ríos, A.-M., Gesuele, B., & Metallo, C. (2016). *Factors influencing social media use in local governments: The case of Italy and Spain*. *Government Information Quarterly*, 33(3), 460–471. doi:10.1016/j.giq.2016.06.005
- Gunitsky, S. (2015). *Corrupting the Cyber-Commons: Social Media as a Tool of Autocratic Stability*. *Perspectives on Politics*, 13(01), 42–54. doi:10.1017/s1537592714003120

- Ha, J. H., & Boynton, L. (2013). Has crisis communication been studied using an interdisciplinary approach? A 20-year content analysis of Communication Journals. *International Journal of Strategic Communication*, 8(1), 29–44. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1553118x.2013.850694>
- Haldane, V., De Foo, C., Abdalla, S. M., Jung, A.-S., Tan, M., Wu, S., ... Legido-Quigley, H. (2021). Health systems resilience in managing the COVID-19 pandemic: lessons from 28 countries. *Nature Medicine*, 27(6), 964–980. doi:10.1038/s41591-021-01381-y
- Hayes, A. F., & Krippendorff, K. (2007). Answering the Call for a Standard Reliability Measure for Coding Data. *Communication Methods and Measures*, 1(1), 77–89. doi:10.1080/19312450709336664
- Higashijima, M. & Woo, Y. J. (2020). Political Regimes and Refugee Entries: Motivations behind Refugees and Host Governments. Gothenburg, Sweden: The Varieties of Democracy Institute.
- Hinterleitner, M., Honegger, C., & Sager, F. (2022). Blame avoidance in hard times: Complex governance structures and the COVID-19 pandemic. *West European Politics*, 46(2), 324–346. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2022.2064634>
- Jacoby, W. G. (2000). Loess: Electoral Studies, 19(4), 577–613. doi:10.1016/s0261-3794(99)00028-1
- Jagers, K., & Gurr, T. R. (1995). Tracking Democracy's Third Wave with the Polity III Data. *Journal of Peace Research*, 32(4), 469–482. doi:10.1177/0022343395032004007
- Jain, N., Malviya, P., Singh, P., & Mukherjee, S. (2021). Twitter mediated sociopolitical communication during the COVID-19 pandemic crisis in India. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 12. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.784907>
- Jamal, J. (2021). The role of Government Online Crisis Communication Framework in Strengthening Public Trust. *European Proceedings of Social and Behavioural Sciences*. <https://doi.org/10.15405/epsbs.2021.06.02.48>
- Johansson, R., Hungerford, A., Sewadeh, M., & Effland, A. (2021). Unprecedented Crisis Calls for Unprecedented Policy Responses. *Applied*

- Economic Perspectives and Policy, 43(1), 120–131. <https://doi.org/10.1002/aepp.13128>
- Kapucu, N., & Moynihan, D. (2021). Trump's (mis)management of the COVID-19 pandemic in the US. *Policy Studies*, 42(5 – 6), 1–19. doi:10.1080/01442872.2021.1931671
- Kilani, A. (2021). *Authoritarian regimes' propensity to manipulate Covid-19 data: a statistical analysis using Benford's Law*. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 59(3), 319–333. doi:10.1080/14662043.2021.1916207
- Kim, S., Avery, E. J., & Lariscy, R. W. (2009). Are crisis communicators practicing what we preach?: An evaluation of crisis response strategy analyzed in public relations research from 1991 to 2009. *Public Relations Review*, 35(4), 446–448. doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2009.08.002
- King, G., Pan, J., & Roberts, M. E. (2013). How censorship in China allows government criticism but silences collective expression. *American Political Science Review*, 107(2), 326–343. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0003055413000014>
- Krippendorff, K. (2019). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology* (4th ed.). SAGE.
- Laishram, C., & Kumar, P. (2021). Democracies or authoritarians? regime differences in the efficacy of handling covid-19 in 158 countries. *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, 67(3), 470–483. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00195561211042977>
- Legido-Quigley, H., Asgari, N., Teo, Y. Y., Leung, G. M., Oshitani, H., Fukuda, K., ... Heymann, D. (2020). Are high-performing health systems resilient against the COVID-19 epidemic? *The Lancet*, 395, doi:10.1016/s0140-6736(20)30551-1
- Lilleker, D., Coman, I., Gregor, M., & Novelli E. (2021). Political communication and COVID-19: Governance and rhetoric in global comparative perspective. In I. A. D. Lilleker, *Political Communication and COVID-19: Governance and Rhetoric in Times of Crisis* (pp. 333 - 350). Routledge.

- Longstaff, P. H., & Yang, S.-U. (2008). Communication Management and Trust: Their Role in Building Resilience to “Surprises” Such As Natural Disasters, Pandemic Flu, and Terrorism. *Ecology and Society*, 13(1). <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26267909>
- Maerz, S. F., Lührmann, A., Lachapelle, J., & Edgell, A. B. (2020). Worth the sacrifice? illiberal and authoritarian practices during covid-19. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3701720>
- Maher, P. J., Roth, J., Griffin, S., Foran, A. M., Jay, S., McHugh, C., Ryan, M., Bradshaw, D., Quayle, M., & Muldoon, O. T. (2022). Pandemic threat and group Cohesion: National Identification in the wake of COVID-19 is associated with authoritarianism. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 163(6), 789–805. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224545.2021.2024122>
- Martin, J. D., Abbas, D., & Martins, R. J. (2016). The Validity of Global Press Ratings. *Journalism Practice*, 10(1), 93–108. doi:10.1080/17512786.2015.1010851
- Nurfadhilah, A., Rahmanto, A., & Muhammad, A. (2022). Crisis communication by the Indonesian government in handling COVID-19. *KnE Social Sciences*. <https://doi.org/10.18502/kss.v7i5.10586>
- Olsson, E.-K. (2014). Crisis communication in public organisations: Dimensions of Crisis Communication Revisited. *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management*, 22(2), 113–125. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-5973.12047>
- Palttala, P., Boano, C., Lund, R., & Vos, M. (2011). Communication gaps in disaster management: Perceptions by experts from governmental and non-governmental organizations. *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management*, 20(1), 2–12. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5973.2011.00656.x>
- Petersen, G. (2020). Democracy, Authoritarianism, and COVID-19 Pandemic Management: The Case of SARS-CoV-2 Testing. *APSA Preprints*. doi: 10.33774/apsa-2020-wbhfk-v4.
- Roshan, M., Warren, M., & Carr, R. (2016). *Understanding the use of social media by organisations for crisis communication*. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 63, 350–361. doi:10.1016/j.chb.2016.05.016

- Rufai, S. R., & Bunce, C. (2020). World leaders' usage of Twitter in response to the COVID-19 pandemic: a content analysis. *Journal of Public Health*. doi:10.1093/pubmed/fdaa049
- Sáez, L., & Gallagher, J. (2009). Authoritarianism and Development in the Third World. *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 15(2), 87–101. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24590844>
- Salem, I. E., Elkhwesky, Z., & Ramkissoon, H. (2021). A content analysis for government's and hotels' response to COVID-19 pandemic in Egypt. *Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 22(1), 42–59. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14673584211002614>
- Sanders, K. (2020). Government Communication and Political Public Relations. In J. Strömbäck & S. Kioussis, *Political Public Relations: Concepts, Principles, and Applications* (2nd ed.). (pp. 165 - 186). New York: Routledge.
- Schmotz, A., & Tansey, O. (2023). Do institutions matter in a crisis? regime type and decisive responses to covid-19. *Democratization*, 30(5), 938–959. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2023.2205129>
- Seltzer, T., & Zhang, W. (2010). Toward a Model of Political Organization—Public Relationships: Antecedent and Cultivation Strategy Influence on Citizens' Relationships with Political Parties. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 23(1), 24–45. doi:10.1080/1062726x.2010.504791
- Steiner, N. D. (2014). Comparing Freedom House Democracy Scores to Alternative Indices and Testing for Political Bias: Are US Allies Rated as More Democratic by Freedom House? *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*, 18(4), 329–349. doi:10.1080/13876988.2013.877676
- Strömbäck, J. & Kioussis, S. (2020). Defining and Mapping the Field of Theory and Research on Political Public Relations. In J. S. Kioussis, *Political Public Relations: Concepts, Principles, and Applications* (2nd ed.) (pp. 1 - 42). New York: Routledge.
- Tian, Y. and Yang, J. (2022). Deny or bolster? A comparative study of crisis communication strategies between Trump and Cuomo in covid-19. *Public Relations Review*, 48(2), p. 102182. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2022.102182>.

- Weiner, B. (1986). *An attributional theory of motivation and emotion*. Springer.
- Whiteley, P. (2021, Agustus 4). Retrieved from theconversation.com:
<https://theconversation.com/covid-19-how-democracies-have-fared-compared-with-authoritarian-regimes-165415>
- Wolff, J., Elitzer, D., Petherick, A., Tudor, M., & Tyner, K. (2022). Covid-19 and authoritarianism: Two strategies of engaging fear. *Global Justice : Theory Practice Rhetoric*, 13(02), 78–98. <https://doi.org/10.21248/gjn.13.02.259>
- Wright, J. (2008). *Do Authoritarian Institutions Constrain? How Legislatures Affect Economic Growth and Investment*. *American Journal of Political Science*, 52(2), 322–343. doi:10.1111/j.1540-5907.2008.00315.x
- Zahariadis, N., Petridou, E., & Oztig, L. I. (2020). *Claiming credit and avoiding blame: political accountability in Greek and Turkish responses to the COVID-19 crisis*. *European Policy Analysis*, 6(2), 159–169. doi:10.1002/epa2.1089
- Zhao, H. (2020). *Politicizing crisis communication via Social Media: A contextual understanding of organizational crises in China*. Department of Strategic Communication, Faculty of Social Sciences, Lund University.