

FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND INSTITUTIONAL CRISIS: CONTENT ANALYSIS OF YOUTUBE COMMENT COLUMNS IN THE SUKATANI BAND CASE

Hafis Rahman¹, Moch Fuad Nasvian²

^{1,2}Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang

¹hafisrah@webmail.umm.ac.id, ²nasvian@umm.ac.id

Abstract

The various public reactions that appeared in the comments section of the video about the song “Bayar Bayar Bayar” by the band Sukatani illustrate how the public perceives the image of the police institution today, as well as freedom of expression in Indonesia. Based on this, the content of the comments section is an important source of data for understanding the current image of the police and the implementation of democracy in Indonesia. This study employs content analysis methodology, with data collected from the comment sections of five YouTube channels. From these five channels, 24 videos were selected for analysis, chosen through purposive sampling based on the criteria of high credibility and discussions related to the Sukatani band between February 21–24, 2025. The results of this study reveal that netizens believe the practices described in the song lyrics “Bayar Bayar Bayar” are indeed occurring. Based on this, the police institution is currently in a paracrisis phase that could escalate into a full-blown crisis at any time. Additionally, the study found that netizens perceive the police institution as being resistant to criticism. The various criticisms of the police institution that appear in the comment sections reflect democracy itself, but the implementation of democracy has not yet been institutionalized, given the ongoing allegations of intimidation against the Sukatani band for criticizing the police.

Keywords: Police Image, Computational Content Analysis, Paracrisis, YouTube, Democracy

Abstrak

Berbagai reaksi publik yang muncul di kolom komentar video mengenai lagu “Bayar Bayar Bayar” band Sukatani menjadi gambaran bagaimana persepsi publik terhadap citra institusi polri saat ini juga kebebasan berekspresi di Indonesia, dengan dasar hal tersebut mengetahui isi dari kolom komentar menjadi sumber data penting untuk memahami bagaimana citra kepolisian saat ini juga penerapan demokrasi di Indonesia. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode analisis isi, sedangkan data pada studi ini diambil dari kolom komentar 5 channel YouTube. Dari 5 channel YouTube tersebut diambil 24 video untuk nantinya di analisis, video tersebut diambil melalui purposive sampling dengan ketentuan channel YouTube yang memiliki kredibilitas tinggi dan membahas mengenai band Sukatani pada tanggal 21-24 Februari 2025. Dari hasil studi ini mengungkapkan bahwa netizen menilai praktek yang ada dalam lirik lagu “Bayar Bayar Bayar” memang benar terjadi, dengan dasar tersebut kini institusi kepolisian berada dalam fase paracrisis yang berpotensi naik menjadi krisis kapan saja. Selain itu dari hasil penelitian ini juga ditemukan bahwa netizen menilai institusi kepolisian anti kritik. Berbagai kecaman terhadap institusi kepolisian yang muncul di kolom komentar sudah menjadi cerminan demokrasi itu sendiri, namun penerapan demokrasi masih belum diimplementasikan secara kelembagaan, mengingat masih adanya dugaan intimidasi terhadap band Sukatani yang mengkritik polri.

Kata Kunci: Citra Polri, Computational Content Analysis, Paracrisis, YouTube, Demokrasi

1. INTRODUCTION

Democracy is a system of Government by the people, of the people, and for the people (Muhammad Mutawalli, 2023). This democratic system has been adopted by many countries, including Indonesia. It is constitutionally enshrined in Article 1(2) of the 1945 Constitution, which states that sovereignty resides in the people and is exercised through general elections (Sulistiono & Boediningsih, 2023). Democracy is particularly suitable for Indonesia as a multicultural nation, given that it

upholds human rights and freedom, fosters pluralism, and nurtures tolerance.

Indonesia democratic context has undergone significant changes since the post-Suharto era, with striking shifts in the political landscape. Political parties, especially those with Islamic orientations, have seen a decline in popularity due to their failure to adapt to the evolving preferences of voters, who now prioritize practical policies over ideological positions (Nurjaman, 2023). The implementation of democracy in Indonesia rests

on several fundamental pillars: general elections, press freedom, human rights protection, and finally, freedom of expression (Ulfiyyati Alifa et al., 2023).

As one of the core principles of democracy, freedom of expression is crucial as it embodies the essence of democracy itself. In Indonesia, this freedom is guaranteed by the state through Article 28E(3) of the 1945 Constitution, which affirms that expressing opinions orally and in writing is the right of every citizen (Nur & Herianto, 2022). Similarly, Law No. 9 of 1998 also stipulates freedom of public expression, asserting that all Indonesian citizens have the right to express opinions publicly, protected as a human right (Saparina & Dewi, 2021). The notion of freedom of expression here extends beyond merely conveying ideas and includes the right to criticize as part of this freedom (Febrianasari, 2022).

In practice, freedom of expression in Indonesia today is closely linked to the use of digital platforms as the primary space for public discourse. As of January 2025, 50.2% of the national population used social media (Adi Ahdiat, 2025). Furthermore, Indonesians are highly active on social media, with Goodstats data indicating that they spend an average of 188 minutes per day accessing these platforms (Agnes Z. Yonatan, 2025). Given these figures, it is unsurprising that Indonesians increasingly use social media to voice their opinions. Moreover, it can be concluded that social media has evolved beyond a mere entertainment tool to become a democratic arena where Indonesians express opinions (Ahdarrijal & Rahmawati, 2024), critique Government policies, and discuss critical content, including the controversy surrounding the song “*Bayar Bayar Bayar*” by Sukatani.

Among the many social media platforms used by Indonesians, YouTube stands out as one of the most popular, with a total of 139 million users (Cindy Mutia Annur, 2023). In addition to consuming content, netizens use YouTube to express responses or criticisms toward specific issues or policies through the comment section. These comment sections serve as a medium for expressing pride, appreciation of diversity, affection, and even

cynicism toward certain events (Setyowati et al., 2022).

Analyzing the content of comment sections related to widely discussed issues or policies can help organizations or institutions identify appropriate courses of action. One conceptual framework for understanding such situations is the distinction between paracrisis and crisis. Paracrisis refers to the pre-crisis condition, which carries the risk of escalating into a full-blown crisis. These two concepts enable organizations to assess their position and determine appropriate responses (Coombs & Holladay, 2022). Since these phases require different approaches, identifying the correct phase facilitates more effective decision-making.

In recent years, the police institution in Indonesia has faced various challenges. In 2021, the hashtag *#PercumaLaporPolisi* (“Reporting to the Police Is Useless”) went viral on Twitter, reflecting public frustration with perceived failures of the police to protect and fairly treat citizens (Yudha Ikhsan, 2022). The following year, in 2022, the Kanjuruhan tragedy occurred, followed by a high-profile murder case involving the head of the Police Professional and Security Division, Ferdy Sambo. At the beginning of 2025, another controversy emerged, involving alleged intimidation of the Sukatani band after their song “*Bayar Bayar Bayar*”, which criticized the police. This incident sparked widespread public reactions, particularly in YouTube comment sections.

The song “*Bayar Bayar Bayar*”, created by Sukatani, criticizes corrupt practices by police officers, particularly extorting payments for basic services such as issuing driver's licenses or reporting lost property. Shortly after its release, the band issued a public apology to the police institution, and the song was removed from circulation. This sequence of events led to media coverage speculating about intimidation and questioning what actually transpired, further fueling public reactions.

These public reactions in the comment sections provide insight into how the public currently perceives the image of the police institution and the state of freedom of expression in Indonesia. Thus, examining the comment sections becomes an important source

of data for understanding both the police's public image and the implementation of democracy. Image, in this context, is vital for Government agencies, organizations, and companies alike, and it remains a central concept in public relations discourse (Indrayani, 2022). Moreover, during organizational crises, understanding public perception is crucial as a foundation for determining the next strategic steps.

This study aims to analyze the content of YouTube video comment sections related to the alleged intimidation by the police against the Sukatani band, using content analysis methodology. With the assistance of Voyant Tools, the researchers identified the most frequently used corpora in the comments, as well as the relationships between them (Alhudithi, 2021). Through this approach, the researchers were able to observe emerging interactions, and the results are expected to provide insights into public perceptions of the police institution and its relationship to the implementation of democracy in Indonesia.

2. RESEARCH METHODS

To examine the content of netizen comments on the song “*Bayar Bayar Bayar*”, the researchers employed content analysis. This method focuses on the written content of information and serves as a basis for explaining the phenomena objectively, systematically and quantitatively (Pratama, 2021). This study adopted a quantitative descriptive design integrated with computational content analysis to assess how netizens perceive the image of the police institution. This methodological framework was chosen for its ability to identify word usage patterns, thematic clusters, and linguistic structures within textual data (Klaus Krippendorff, 2019).

Data were collected from the comment sections of five YouTube channels: *Liputan6*, *Kompas.com*, *CNN*, *Inews*, and *Metro TV*. From these five channels, 24 videos were selected for analysis using purposive sampling based on the criteria of high channel credibility and coverage of the Sukatani band between February 21–24, 2025.

The collected data underwent several stages as illustrated in Figure 1. In the data collection phase, the researchers employed a

web scraping method using *Google Apps Script* to extract comments from YouTube. This process yielded a total of 9,436 comments. Subsequently, the data were subjected to a pre-processing stage to ensure their accuracy and quality. This included removing usernames, dates, and converting emojis into textual form to enable analysis. Common words (stopwords) were also removed to focus the analysis on meaningful terms (Moch Fuad Nasvian, 2025). This cleaning process followed best practices in social media text pre-processing as outlined in the computational linguistics and text mining literature (Silge & Robinson, 2017).

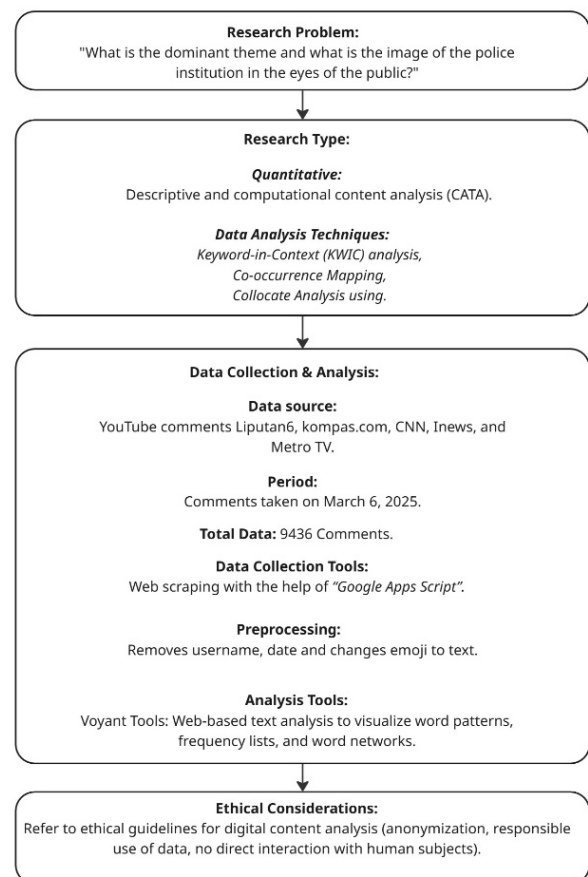


Figure 1 Research Design Diagram

After pre-processing, the comment texts were analyzed using *Voyant Tools*, a widely used web-based text analysis platform designed for exploratory and interpretive research in the digital humanities. *Voyant Tools* enables researchers to visualize text patterns through features such as word clouds, text networks, frequency lists, and co-occurrence mapping (Sinclair & Rockwell, 2022). This study adhered to ethical research standards in

handling public social media content. Personal identifiers, such as user names and profile photos, were excluded from the dataset, and all comments analyzed were publicly accessible (Townsend & Wallace, 2016).

3. RESULTS OF RESEARCH AND DISCUSSION

Police Image

Based on the five monitored media outlets, the corpus “*polisi*” (police) consistently ranked among the top three most frequently mentioned words by netizens, appearing a total of 3,329 times. This indicates that the police institution was a primary focus of public attention. Furthermore, in the text network, the corpus “*polisi*” frequently co-occurred with the words “*tertawa*” (laughter) and “*bayar*” (pay). In this context, “*tertawa*” was interpreted by the researchers as a sarcastic response, while “*bayar*” suggests that netizens shared personal experiences of illicit payments or extortion by police officers, as described in the lyrics of the song “*Bayar Bayar Bayar*.”



Figure 2 Teks Network “lagu”

This is further supported by the text network shown in Figure 2, where the word “*lagu*” (song) is connected to the corpus “*fakta*” (fact). The term “*lagu*” itself ranked as the fourth most frequently used word, appearing 1,069 times. This text network suggests that netizens perceive the song composed by the Sukatani band not merely as a form of art but also as a representation of the actual reality. The reality referred to here is the practice of illicit

payments or extortion carried out by certain police officers, as depicted in the lyrics of “*Bayar Bayar Bayar*.”

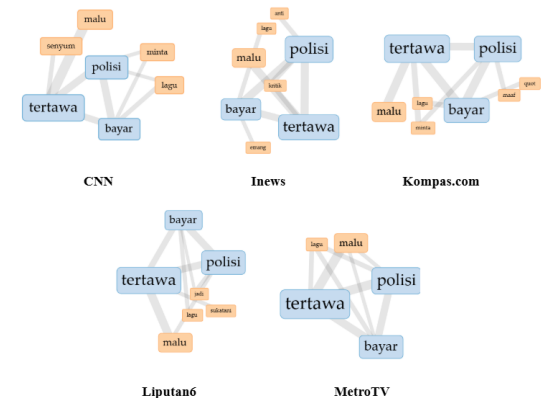


Figure 3 Text Network of Each Media

The lyrics of “*Bayar Bayar Bayar*” describe the practice of illicit payments and abuse of authority by certain police officers, where citizens are required to pay for basic services such as obtaining a driver's license and other administrative matters. This portrayal has contributed to a negative perception of the police among netizens. Based on Figure 3, which illustrates the text networks across each media outlet, the corpus “*polisi*” is connected with the words “*bayar*” (pay), “*malu*” (shame), “*anti*” (anti), and “*kritik*” (criticism). These associations point to a predominantly negative sentiment toward the police institution. To examine the use of the word “*polisi*” in greater detail within the comments related to the song “*Bayar Bayar Bayar*”, a Keyword-In-Context (KWIC) analysis is necessary.

Tabel 1 KWIC of “Polisi” in comments regarding the song “Bayar Bayar Bayar”

Left	Keyword	Right
Jangan percaya perkataan	Polisi	inda itu tipuan yg menjijikan
Ancen opo ² bayar	Polisi	Lapo di cabut Kenyataan
LAH NYATANYA MEMANG BEGITU POLRI	Polisi	DI MATA MASYARAKAT....
Baik nya dibubarkan sj polisi	Polisi	diganti sipil, sj..
faktanya urusan sama	Polisi	pasti bayar

Percaya sama	Polisi	bisa kiamat dunia
Kebencian masyarakat kepada	Polisi	sudah sangat tinggi

Based on the KWIC analysis in Table 1, it can be observed how the term “*polisi*” (police) is used in various contexts that reflect public dissatisfaction and criticism toward the police institution. For example, in the comment “*Don’t trust what the police say,*” there is evident public suspicion of police statements, which are perceived as untrustworthy. To the right of the term “*polisi*”, the phrase “*it’s all a disgusting lie*” adds a negative connotation to the institution.

The KWIC results demonstrate that the public holds highly critical views of the police, particularly regarding illicit payment practices and their inability to handle criticism appropriately. In this context, KWIC analysis helped to elucidate how the term was used in different situations and to illustrate the negative emotions and sentiments developing within society. These netizen responses indicate that the police institution is currently in a paracrisis phase — defined as a risk of crisis that is visible to the public and demands an organizational response (Coombs & Holladay, 2022).

Initially, paracrisis referred to challenges or threats of crisis arising when the public accuses an organization of irresponsible or unethical behavior. Later, Coombs expanded the concept to include additional types of crisis risks, such as carelessness, rumors, and collateral damage (Coombs & Holladay, 2022). In this case, based on netizen responses, the rumor of having to pay the police, as criticized by the Sukatani band through their song “*Bayar Bayar Bayar*”, spread widely and became a central topic in the monitored comment sections.

Furthermore, Chen identified six clusters of paracrisis: two types of faux pas, challenge, guilt by association, misinformation, and social media misuse (Chen & Holladay, 2023). This case falls within the *challenge* cluster, where the police institution is perceived by netizens as engaging in unethical practices, namely demanding illicit payments for various basic services.

Essentially, a paracrisis can escalate into a full-blown crisis, posing a threat that

damages an organization’s image (Coombs & Holladay, 2022). This is not the first such challenge faced by the Indonesian police. In 2021, the hashtag #*PercumaLaporPolisi* (“Reporting to the Police is Useless”) went viral on Twitter, expressing public frustration with the police’s failure to protect and treat citizens fairly (Ikhsan, 2022). The following year, in 2022, the Kanjuruhan tragedy occurred, which also tarnished the police’s image, as media coverage including from CNN Indonesia highlighted the role and responsibility of the police in the incident, particularly the use of tear gas that triggered the chaos (Pramudya et al., 2023).

Later that same year, a murder case involving the Head of the Police Professional and Security Division, Ferdy Sambo, further fueled public disappointment. A study on student perceptions of the case also showed a decline in trust in the police institution (Hapsari et al., 2022). These incidents, alongside others involving violence, abuse of authority, and misconduct, have collectively undermined the image of the Indonesian police.

Building a positive image, particularly for government institutions, is therefore crucial, as it helps maintain public trust. When institutions possess a positive image, the public is more likely to support their policies and programs (Wicaksono et al., 2024). Moreover, having a positive image in the eyes of the public greatly facilitates crisis management, as strong public support makes crises easier to handle. Accordingly, efforts are needed not only to build but also to restore the image of the police institution.

Indonesia as a Democratic State

Social media continues to evolve in line with human needs, and today digital platforms such as YouTube have become an integral part of democratic processes. Social media is no longer merely a personal medium but also serves as a platform for activism (Rizky, 2022). The comment section feature enables netizens to express their feelings and engage in discussions about ongoing issues. Moreover, social media comment sections also function as tools for offering both criticism and support. This is evident in the context of the song “*Bayar Bayar Bayar*”, which sparked a variety of

public reactions that can be seen as a reflection of democracy in Indonesia. The public reactions observed in the comment sections may also be influenced by the content of the posts themselves.

Tabel 2 Media coverage pointing to the alleged intimidation

No	Title News	Media	Dates
1	Amnesty International Indonesia Desak Kapolri Usut Dugaan Intimidasi Band Sukatani Liputan 6	Liputan 6	22/02/2025
2	Usai Viral Lagu “Bayar Bayar Bayar”, Band Sukatani Diintimidasi? Buser	Liputan 6	22/02/2025
3	Bertambah! Personel Polda Jateng yang Diperiksa terkait Sukatani Jadi 6 Orang	Kompas.com	24/02/2025
4	Propam Periksa Dua Polisi yang Temui Band Sukatani, Ini Hasilnya	Kompas.com	22/02/2025
5	Dugaan Intimidasi Terhadap Grup Band Sukatani	CNN	21/02/2025
6	Soal Band Sukatani, 4 Polisi Diperiksa Propam iNews Sore 22/02	Inews	22/02/2025
7	4 Polisi yang Temui Band Sukatani Diperiksa iNews Room 22/02	Inews	22/02/2025
8	Propam Periksa 6 Polisi Terkait Band Sukatani [Metro Hari ini]	MetroTv	23/02/2025
9	Diduga Ada Intimidasi Band Sukatani, 6 Polisi Diperiksa - [Primetime News]	MetroTv	23/02/2025

Out of the 24 YouTube comment sections collected as data, nine (9) videos reported on the alleged intimidation by the police against the Sukatani band. These nine (9) comment sections came from five (5) different media outlets, as listed in Table 1. Additionally, one media outlet highlighted the video in which the Sukatani band issued an apology to the police institution. This coverage appeared in Liputan 6 article titled “*Band Sukatani Minta Maaf soal Lagu Bayar Bayar Bayar, Ada Intimidasi? | Liputan 6*” on February 22, 2025. The media coverage of the alleged intimidation and Sukatani's apology sparked reactions from

netizens, who perceived the police institution as engaging in repression and being anti-criticism.

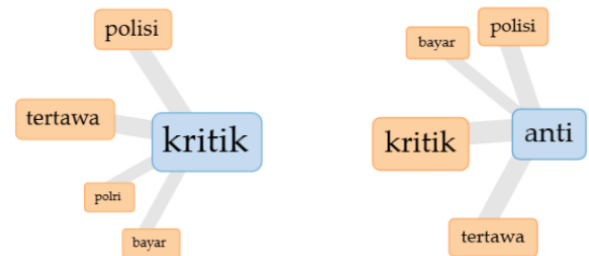


Figure 4 Teks Network of Words “kritik” and “anti”

This is further supported by the text network shown in Figure 4, which illustrates the relationship between the corpus “kritik” (criticism) and “anti”. In the text network, the term “kritik” is linked with the corpus “polisi” (police) and “polri” (Indonesian National Police), indicating that netizens are focusing on the Sukatani band’s criticism of the police institution through their song “*Bayar Bayar Bayar*”. Furthermore, netizens also perceive the police institution as anti-criticism, as evidenced by the text network where the word “anti” appears 400 times and is connected with the corpus “kritik” and “polisi”.

Tabel 3 Examples of Anti-Criticism Police Comments

No	Examples of Comments
1	Klo gak anti kritik coba bisa gak lagunya jgn nyampe di tarik
2	Anti Kritik 🤔 Di Gaji Rakyat woooyyy
3	ya kali gak boleh di kritik
4	katanya negara demokrasi kok anti kritik?
5	Polisi Anti kritik, Band Sukatani go go go

Table 3 shows several examples of netizen comments that perceive the police institution as being anti-criticism. The video in which the Sukatani band issued an apology, the withdrawal of their song “*Bayar Bayar Bayar*”, and media coverage of the alleged intimidation are the backdrop for these comments that label the police institution as anti-criticism. Additionally, this explains why the word

“kritik” (criticism) was frequently mentioned, appearing 833 times. When examining the regulation on criticism or freedom of expression in Indonesia, it is outlined in Article 28E, Paragraph 3 of the 1945 Constitution, which states that “everyone has the right to freedom of association, assembly, and expression” (Rizky Pratama Putra Karo Karo, 2023).

The situation facing the Sukatani band is not unique. In 2023, in Myanmar, a well-known rapper named Byu Har was arrested and sentenced to 20 years in prison for criticizing the Government through his songs. Furthermore, in 2024, contemporary artist Gao Zheng was arrested on charges of insulting national heroes through his artworks (Harold Thibault, 2024). A striking difference between these two cases and the Sukatani case is that both of the former occurred in countries with military and communist regimes, whereas Indonesia follows a democratic Government system.

As a democratic nation, freedom of expression must be upheld. The importance of applying freedom of expression is closely tied to Indonesia's identity as a democratic state. Furthermore, freedom of expression is also a fundamental human right as outlined in the 1945 Constitution and Law No. 9 of 1998, which guarantees the right to express opinions as a fundamental human right (Kusuma, 2023). According to research by The Future of Free Speech (2023), in modern democracies, restrictions on free speech are often justified for reasons such as national security, national cohesion, and public safety. This raises concerns that such restrictions undermine the core values of democracy, as freedom of expression is crucial for enabling society to exercise control over the government and to ensure that citizens actively participate in the governance process (Irfan Pratama et al., 2022).

4. CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

The results of this study reveal that netizens believe the practices described in the lyrics of “*Bayar Bayar Bayar*” are indeed occurring, which has impacted the current image of the police. Additionally, the series of problems previously experienced by the police institution has worsened its position in this case. Based on this, the police institution is now in a paracrisis phase, which could escalate into a full

crisis at any time. Furthermore, this study also found that netizens perceive the police institution as anti-criticism, primarily due to the Sukatani band's apology, the subsequent removal of the song “*Bayar Bayar Bayar*” from the public domain, and the circulation of rumors about alleged intimidation by certain police officers against the band.

This situation has implications for Indonesia's identity as a democratic nation, as the police institution is part of the government apparatus. If the paracrisis faced by the police is not addressed, the rumors of the police being anti-criticism will continue to spread and poison the implementation of democracy in Indonesia. The discussion and findings of this research also reveal that the various criticisms of the police institution appearing in the comment sections are, in themselves, a reflection of democracy. However, the institutionalization of democracy has not yet been fully implemented, as evidenced by the ongoing allegations of intimidation against the Sukatani band for criticizing the police.

This study examined the most frequently used words in the comment sections to identify the focus of netizen discussions. To gain more detailed insights into the topics covered in these comments, thematic analysis is needed to explore in greater detail the topics discussed within the comment sections regarding the media coverage of the Sukatani band song “*Bayar Bayar Bayar*.”

REFERENCES

- Adi Ahdiat. (2025, March 7). *Pengguna Media Sosial di Indonesia Bertambah Awal 2025*. Databoks.
<https://databoks.katadata.co.id/teknologi-telekomunikasi/statistik/67caadfd2abd9/pengguna-media-sosial-di-indonesia-bertambah-awal-2025#:~:text=Menurut%20laporan%20We%20Are%20Social,pengguna%20media%20sosial%20di%20Indonesia.>
- Agnes Z. Yonatan. (2025, March 3). *Indonesia Habiskan 188 Menit per Hari Akses Media Sosial*. Goodstats.
<https://goodstats.id/u/agneszefanyayonatan>
- Ahdarrijal, Y., & Rahmawati, D. E. (2024). *The Role of Digital Media in*

- Determining the Direction of Indonesia's Democracy in 2023. *The Journal of Society and Media*, 8(1), 144–164.
<https://doi.org/10.26740/jsm.v8n1.p144-164>
- Alhudithi, E. (2021). Review of Voyant Tools: See through your text. *Language Learning & Technology*, 25(3).
- Bayu Indra Pratama, C. A. M. R. P. A. K. I. D. P. S. A. SE., MSA., A. (2021). *Metode Analisis Isi (Metode Penelitian Populer Ilmu-ilmu Sosial)*. UNISMA PRESS.
- Chen, F., & Holladay, S. J. (2023). Identifying and responding to social media risks: towards an organizational paracrisis communication framework. *Corporate Communications*, 28(1).
<https://doi.org/10.1108/CCIJ-11-2021-0124>
- Cindy Mutia Annur. (2023, November 24). *Indonesia Peringkat Keempat Pengguna YouTube Terbanyak Dunia*. Databooks.
<https://databoks.katadata.co.id/teknologi-telekomunikasi/statistik/08ebe16c8ac6904/indonesia-peringkat-keempat-pengguna-youtube-terbanyak-dunia>
- Coombs, W. T., & Holladay, S. J. (2022). The Handbook of Crisis Communication. In *The Handbook of Crisis Communication*.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119678953>
- Febrianasari, W. (2022). KEBEBASAN BERPENDAPAT DALAM PERSPEKTIF KEDAULATAN RAKYAT. *Sovereignty*, Vol. 1(No. 2).
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.13057/sovereignty.v1i2.223>
- Hapsari, A. P., Prayoga, S., & Labibah, Y. (2022). Persepsi Mahasiswa Pada Citra Institusi Kepolisian (Studi Kasus Ferdy Sambo). *Prosiding Seminar Nasional Ilmu Ilmu Sosial (SNIIS)*.
- Harold Thibault. (2024, September 1). *Gao Zhen, a prominent contemporary artist, arrested in China*. Le Monde.
https://www.lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2024/09/01/gao-zhen-a-prominent-contemporary-artist-arrested-in-china_6724401_4.html?utm_source=chatgpt.com
- Ikhsan, Y. (2022). Pembungkaman Citra Polisi pada Tagar #PercumaLaporPolisi (Analisis Wacana Kritis Metode Norman Fairclough). In *Jurnal Professional* (Vol. 9, Issue 2).
- Indrayani, I. I. (2022). Retorika dan Power Relations: Strategi Restorasi Citra Kepolisian Republik Indonesia pada Kasus Ferdy Sambo. *Jurnal Komunikatif*, 11(2).
<https://doi.org/10.33508/jk.v11i2.4270>
- Irfan Pratama, M., Rahman, A., & Bachmid, F. (2022). Kebebasan Berpendapat dan Bereksresi di Media Sosial dalam Perspektif Hak Asasi Manusia. *Qawanin Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*, 3(1).
<https://doi.org/10.56087/qawaninjih.v3i1.406>
- Klaus Krippendorff. (2019). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology* (Fourth Edition). SAGE Publications.
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4135/9781071878781>
- Kusuma, E. (2023). Kebebasan Berpendapat dan Kaitannya Dengan Hak Asasi Manusia (HAM). *Sanskara Hukum Dan HAM*, 1(03).
<https://doi.org/10.58812/shh.v1i03.63>
- Moch Fuad Nasvian, H. N. R. C. S. K. A. (2025). Digital Discourse And Cultural Narratives: A Corpus-Based Analysis Of Coffee Tourism In Indonesia On Twitter. *Inject*, Vol. 10(No. 1), 593–620.
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.18326/inject.v10i1.4434>
- Muhammad Mutawalli. (2023). *NEGARA HUKUM KEDAULATAN DAN DEMOKRASI (Konsepsi Teori dan Perkembangannya)*. Pustaka Aksara.
- Nur, M. T., & Herianto, H. (2022). Ambivalensi Demokrasi Di Indonesia Terhadap Kebebasan Berpendapat (Analisis Pasal 28 Uud 1945. *Datuk Sulaiman Law Review (DaLRev)*, 3(2).
<https://doi.org/10.24256/dalrev.v3i2.3033>
- Nurjaman, A. (2023). The Decline of Islamic Parties and the Dynamics of Party System in Post-Suharto Indonesia. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, 27(2).
<https://doi.org/10.22146/JSP.79698>
- Pramudya, B., Ramadhana, A., Mei, R., & Malau, U. (2023). Analisis Framing Tentang Polisi Pada Pemberitaan Tragedi Kasus Kanjuruhan Di Cnnindonesia.Com

- Dan Detik.Com. In *Desember* (Vol. 10, Issue 6).
<https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1640815/kontras-sebut-ada->
- Rizky, F. A. (2022). FENOMENA NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT MELALUI MEDIA SOSIAL (ANALISIS WACANA KRITIS KONTEN GUGATAN ISU GENDER DALAM TAGAR #SAHKANRUUPKS DI INSTAGRAM). *Lektur: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 4(3).
<https://doi.org/10.21831/lektur.v4i3.18535>
- Rizky Pratama Putra Karo Karo. (2023). Hate Speech: Penyimpangan terhadap UU ITE, Kebebasan Berpendapat dan Nilai-Nilai Keadilan Bermartabat. *Jurnal Lemhannas RI*, 10(4).
<https://doi.org/10.55960/jlri.v10i4.370>
- Saparina, A. S., & Dewi, D. A. (2021). Implementasi Nilai-Nilai Pancasila Melalui Praktik Kebebasan Berpendapat di Indonesia. *Jupris: Jurnal Pendidikan Ilmu Sosial*, 18(1).
- Setyowati, R. M., Suhariyanto, S., & Rahmah, H. (2022). Munculnya Pawang Hujan di Sirkuit MotoGP Mandalika 2022 di Mata Netizen (Analisis Isi Pesan di Kolom Komentar YouTube MotoGP Trans7 Official). *JHIP - Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Pendidikan*, 5(9).
<https://doi.org/10.54371/jiip.v5i9.943>
- Silge, J., & Robinson, D. (2017). Text Mining with R - O'Reilly Media. *Development*.
- Speech, f. o. (2023, Mei 5). *Press release: Global free speech restrictions spark concerns in democracies*. Retrieved from future of free speech:
<https://futurefreespeech.org/press-release-global-free-speech-restrictions-spark-concerns-in-democracies/>
- S. Sinclair & G. Rockwell. (2022). Voyant Tools (Version 2.6.2) [Computer software].
- Sulistiono, S., & Boediningsih, W. (2023). KONSEP KEDAULATAN RAKYAT DALAM IMPLEMENTASI PRESIDENTIAL THRESHOLD PADA SISTEM PEMILIHAN UMUM SECARA LANGSUNG DI INDONESIA. *JURNAL RECTUM: Tinjauan Yuridis Penanganan Tindak Pidana*, 5(3).
<https://doi.org/10.46930/jurnalrectum.v5i3.3488>
- Townsend and Wallace. (2016). *Social Media Research: A Guide to Ethics*.
- Ulfiyyati Alifa, Muhamad Ridho, Barri Mulki fathur, & Akbari Ilham Sultan. (2023). Demokrasi: Tinjauan Terhadap Konsep, Tantangan, Dan Prospek Masa Depan. *ADVANCES in Social Humanities Research*, 1(4).
- Wicaksono, A., Alfando, J., & Sucipta, W. (2024). *Upaya Humas Polda Kaltim Dalam Mempertahankan Citra Positif Pada Tahun 2022*. 5(1).
- Yudha Ikhsan. (2022). Pembungkaman Citra Polisi pada Tagar #PercumaLaporPolisi (Analisis Wacana Kritis Metode Norman Fairclough). *Profesional*, Vol 9(No 2), 217–224.
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.37676/profesional.v9i2.2889>