Media Framing of University Bullying: A Comparative Analysis of Online News Coverage of the Universitas Udayana Case

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ABSTRACT: *This study aims to analyze how online media frames the coverage of a university bullying case involving Timothy Anugrah at Universitas Udayana, particularly in portraying the institutional response. This research employs a qualitative descriptive approach using the framing analysis model proposed by Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki. The research objects consist of news articles published by Kompas.com, CNN Indonesia, and BBC Indonesia, selected through purposive sampling based on their relevance to the case and institutional responses. The analysis focuses on four framing structures: syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical, to examine how each media outlet constructs meaning. The findings reveal that Kompas.com frames the case by emphasizing decisive institutional actions, CNN Indonesia frames it as a structural problem reflecting systemic failures in the education sector, while BBC Indonesia adopts a moral-humanistic frame highlighting a crisis of empathy and power relations within academic institutions. These differences indicate that media framing plays a significant role in shaping public perceptions of institutional responsibility and the meaning of bullying in higher education contexts.*

ABSTRAK: Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis bagaimana media online membingkai pemberitaan kasus perundungan mahasiswa Universitas Udayana yang menimpa Timothy Anugrah, khususnya dalam menampilkan respon institusi pendidikan. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode deskriptif melalui analisis framing model Zhongdang Pan dan Gerald M. Kosicki. Objek penelitian berupa teks berita yang dipublikasikan oleh tiga media online, yaitu Kompas.com, CNN Indonesia, dan BBC Indonesia, yang dipilih secara purposive berdasarkan relevansi pemberitaan terhadap kasus dan respon institusi. Analisis dilakukan dengan membedah empat struktur framing, yakni sintaksis, skrip, tematik, dan retoris, untuk melihat penekanan makna yang dibangun oleh masing-masing media. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Kompas.com membingkai peristiwa dengan penekanan pada tindakan tegas dan respons institusional kampus, CNN Indonesia membingkai kasus sebagai persoalan struktural yang mencerminkan kegagalan sistem pendidikan dalam mencegah perundungan, sementara BBC Indonesia membingkai peristiwa secara moral-humanis dengan menyoroti krisis empati dan relasi kuasa dalam lingkungan akademik. Perbedaan framing tersebut menunjukkan bahwa media memiliki peran strategis dalam membentuk persepsi publik terhadap tanggung jawab institusi pendidikan dan makna perundungan di ruang akademik. Indonesia

Keywords: *Bullying; Framing Analysis; Online Media; Educational Institutions*

I. INTRODUCTION

The development of internet technology has brought fundamental changes to the media information landscape in Indonesia. The transformation from conventional media, such as newspapers and magazines, to online media is not merely a platform shift, but a cultural transition in how society consumes information. According to data from the Indonesian Internet Service Providers Association (APJII) in 2024, the number of internet users in Indonesia has surpassed 221 million out of a total population of 278 million. This confirms that the internet has become a primary need for the public to access information quickly and broadly (Habibie, 2018). The presence of online news portals allows people to receive up-to-date news daily without waiting for scheduled print publications, thus forming new habits in digital literacy (Naqqiyah, 2020). Online news does not merely serve an informational function; it also serves as a vehicle for the social construction of reality, wherein media organizes events based on specific editorial interests and policies (Santoso, 2021).

The scope of this study focuses on how online media construct events through coverage of the bullying case that occurred at SMA Bina Nusantara (Binus) Serpong in February 2024. The central issue emerged from a viral video of student violence on social media platform X, depicting physical and verbal bullying outside the school environment. Based on police data as of March 1, 2024, the case involved systematic violence that caused the victim to suffer acute stress and significant physical injuries. This phenomenon triggered public outcry and placed the institutional image of Binus Serpong under considerable pressure. The research problem lies in the different approaches taken by online media specifically Kompas.com and Viva.co.id in framing the school's response to the case. These differing media perspectives are crucial, as they can shape public assessments of educational institutions' integrity.

The tragic incident involving Timothy Anugrah occurred on Wednesday morning, October 15, 2025, at approximately 09:00 WITA, on the campus of Universitas Udayana (Unud), specifically in the area outside the FISIP building. According to available information (Hamzah et al., 2023), Timothy reportedly fell from the fourth floor of the building. He was rushed to a hospital in Denpasar for medical treatment, but his life could not be saved. After news of his death spread, social media was shocked by screenshots of a WhatsApp group conversation among Unud students containing mockery and inappropriate comments related to the incident. This situation drew public attention and led to allegations of bullying endured by the victim both before and after the incident.

In response, Universitas Udayana took decisive action by sanctioning four students involved in the unethical social media conversations. They were dismissed from their respective student organization memberships as a form of institutional accountability (Pratiwi, 2025). From an Islamic ethical perspective, bullying clearly contradicts the principle of respect for human dignity, as affirmed in Surah Al-Hujurat verse 11, which prohibits all forms of humiliation, mockery, and degrading behavior, as such actions harm individual honor and erode the value of brotherhood.

The theoretical framework employed in this study is Framing Theory, which refers to the process of selecting certain parts of reality to be emphasized in a news text (Eriyanto, 2002). Framing is

understood as the way media construct messages to influence public opinion by highlighting specific aspects (Munif, 2023). Specifically, this study applies the framing analysis model of Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki. This model was chosen for its detailed and comprehensive analytical structure, encompassing four main dimensions: syntactic (how journalists arrange facts), script (how events are narrated), thematic (how facts are written), and rhetorical (how meaning is emphasized). Through these four dimensions, the researchers analyze how Kompas.com and Viva.co.id produce public discourse regarding the resolution of the bullying case (Sobur, 2012). Although this study does not employ formal hypotheses due to its qualitative-descriptive nature, it assumes that significant differences exist in how the two media outlets frame institutional responsibility in handling the bullying case.

II. METHOD

This study employs a qualitative approach with a descriptive method. This methodological choice was made because the researchers aim to examine in depth how mass media construct or frame an event, rather than simply quantifying data. The primary focus is on how news texts present facts related to the educational institution's response to the bullying cases involving students at Binus Serpong and Universitas Udayana. The research objects are news articles from three major media outlets: Kompas.com, BBC Indonesia, and CNN Indonesia. These three outlets were selected for their high credibility and distinct reporting styles, allowing the researchers to compare perspectives between national and international media.

Data were collected through online documentation techniques. The researchers searched for news articles published during the peak period of the bullying cases using keywords such as "bullying Binus," "Timothy Anugrah," and "university response." Purposive sampling was applied, with the researchers selecting only articles directly relevant to the research focus, particularly those addressing concrete steps or sanctions taken by the school or university. The collected articles were read carefully, with key sections noted for further analysis.

Data analysis was conducted using the framing model of Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki. This model divides analysis into four interrelated components. The first is syntactic structure, where the researchers examine how journalists organize facts from the headline and lead to source quotations. The second is script structure, which examines how media package the completeness of news through the 5W+1H elements to convey credibility. The third is thematic structure, which observes the main idea or thematic thread across paragraphs. The fourth is rhetorical structure, which examines word choice (diction) or images used by media to emphasize certain aspects of the news (Sobur, 2012).

To ensure the objectivity of the findings, the researchers compared texts from all three media outlets so as not to be confined to a single perspective. By comparing Kompas.com, BBC Indonesia, and CNN Indonesia, the researchers could assess whether media tend to defend institutions, side with victims, or remain neutral. The results of this analysis are presented narratively to comprehensively describe how the reality of bullying and humanity is constructed by media in the digital space.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

RESULT

The following presents the researchers' findings on news articles concerning "framing analysis of educational institutions' responses to bullying cases," covering the period from February 19, 2024 to October 21, 2025. Three articles were sourced from national and international media: Kompas.com, BBC Indonesia, and CNN Indonesia.

1. Framing Analysis in Kompas.com

Edition: October 20, 2025

Headline: "Timothy Anugerah Bullying Case: A Series of Sanctions Imposed on Perpetrators of Violence at Unud"

Analysis Based on the Zhongdang Pan and Gerald Kosicki Model

Syntactic Structure

Table 1. Syntactic Structure of News Article 1 – Kompas.com

Element	Finding
Headline	Focuses on the phrase "a series of sanctions," affirming that concrete action has been taken in response to the incident.
Lead	Highlights the swift and firm response of Universitas Udayana in addressing the bullying case involving its student.
Background Information	Explains the connection between the sanctions and students' unethical behavior on social media that triggered a public reaction.
Quotation	Uses official sources from the FISIP Dean's Office and the Rectorate to reinforce the legitimacy of the decision.
Statement	Contains technical details regarding the dismissal of students from campus organization membership as a form of institutional responsibility.
Closing	Conveys the university's commitment to pursuing the case to its conclusion.

In terms of syntactic structure, this article frames Universitas Udayana as highly responsive and intolerant of all forms of violence. The use of the phrase "a series of sanctions" conveys to readers that the institution has undertaken serious disciplinary enforcement to uphold campus integrity.

Table 2. Script Structure of News Article 1 – Kompas.com

Script Structure

Element	Finding

What	The dismissal of four students involved in unethical conversations related to the bullying case.
Who	The Rectorate of Universitas Udayana, the FISIP Dean's Office, and four suspected perpetrators.
When	October 20, 2025.
Why	The students' actions were deemed to violate ethical norms and to exacerbate the crisis of humanitarian values on campus.
Where	Universitas Udayana (Unud), Bali.
How	The university conducted an internal investigation and an ethics hearing to determine sanctions for the students involved.

In terms of script structure, the article employs a complete 5W+1H framework to allow the public to follow the case-handling process transparently. The article emphasizes that the sanctions represent an official decision by the campus organization to deliver justice to the aggrieved party.

Thematic Structure

In terms of thematic structure, the article presents facts in a logical sequence, beginning with an introduction to the case and culminating in the sanction decision. Approximately 15 paragraphs consistently portray the institution's image restoration through rule enforcement. The article establishes from the outset that sanctions were imposed due to systematic digital ethics violations. The language used is formal yet accessible, with connective words reinforcing the narrative that the university's action was the most appropriate course of action.

Rhetorical Structure

In terms of rhetorical structure, the article emphasizes words such as "decisive," "institutional responsibility," and "unethical behavior" to convey the moral dimension of the story. The phrase "a series of sanctions" suggests that the penalties are layered and serious. Visually, Kompas.com includes an illustrative photograph of the university building or campus logo, signifying that the matter is being handled institutionally by the authorized campus authority.

2. Framing Analysis in CNN Indonesia

Edition: October 21, 2025

Headline: "Timothy's Death: Why Bullying Refuses to Disappear from the World of Education"

Table 3. Syntactic Structure of News Article 2 – CNN Indonesia

Syntactic Structure

Element	Finding
Headline	Uses an analytical and critical title to question the effectiveness of the national education system.
Lead	Presents Timothy's death as an entry point for discussing the failure to protect students on campus.
Background Information	Depicts bullying as a chronic, recurring problem enabled by institutional inaction.
Quotation	Draws on sources including education observers (FSGI), KPAI commissioners, and human rights activists.
Statement	Provides in-depth analysis of seniority culture and weak institutional oversight in educational settings.
Closing	Calls for or recommends that the government conduct a comprehensive review of higher education regulations.

In terms of syntactic structure, this article frames Timothy Anugrah's death as evidence of systemic failure. CNN Indonesia does not treat the incident as an isolated criminal case, but rather as a stark warning for the education sector. The use of expert sources as primary voices suggests that the article seeks to advocate for broader policy change at the national level.

Table 4. Script Structure of News Article 2 – CNN Indonesia

Script Structure

Element	Finding
What	A discussion of the root causes of bullying and why it is difficult to eradicate from Indonesia's educational system.
Who	Timothy Anugrah (victim), education observers, KPAI, and university authorities.
When	October 21, 2025.
Why	Toxic seniority culture, inadequate educational sanctions, and weak internal campus oversight.
Where	Higher education institutions across Indonesia.
How	Through data and multi-stakeholder analysis of recurring patterns of violence in educational settings.

In terms of script structure, the article adopts an analytical-critical framework, constructing its 5W+1H focus on the underlying reasons behind the incident. The article emphasizes that what happened to Timothy represents the visible tip of a much deeper and long-concealed bullying problem, encouraging the public to view the issue more broadly and seriously.

Thematic Structure

In terms of thematic structure, CNN Indonesia situates the facts within the overarching theme of "a crisis of humanitarian values." Composed of relatively lengthy paragraphs, the article

coherently argues that administrative punishment alone is insufficient to eradicate a culture of violence if the mentality of seniority is not fundamentally changed. The researchers observe that the article builds a cohesive narrative linking field facts with expert opinion in sociology, guiding readers to understand that there is a profound gap in the education system that must be urgently addressed.

Rhetorical Structure

In terms of rhetorical structure, the article employs emphatic expressions such as “vicious cycle,” “toxic culture,” and “recurring tragedy” to reinforce the sense that the situation has reached a state of emergency. These rhetorical devices aim to raise public awareness so that bullying is no longer taken lightly. Visually, CNN Indonesia frequently features photographs of student solidarity actions, candlelight vigils, or quiet campus scenes, reinforcing the sense of grief and the moral crisis confronting educational institutions.

3.3 Framing Analysis in BBC Indonesia

Edition: October 21, 2025

Headline: “The Death of Student Timothy Anugerah and Allegations of Bullying at Universitas Udayana”

Table 5. Syntactic Structure of News Article 3 – BBC Indonesia

Syntactic Structure

Element	Finding
Headline	Uses an informative title linking the student’s death to the crucial issue of “allaged bullying.”
Lead	Highlights the death of Timothy (aged 22) after falling from the fourth floor of the FISIP building at Unud, which sparked speculation about digital bullying.
Background Information	Describes the virality of an empathy-devoid chat in a WhatsApp group of BEM/Hima students that ignited public outrage.
Quotation	Involves multiple parties: the Police (Kompol Laksmi), Unud representatives (Pascarani), experts (Tyas Suci & Ida Ruwaida), and a Government Minister (Brian Yuliarto).
Statement	Details organizational dismissal sanctions and grade D academic penalties for students involved in the mockery.
Closing	Provides information on mental health support services for readers experiencing suicidal ideation.

In terms of syntactic structure, BBC Indonesia frames the Timothy case not merely as a suicide incident but as a moral crisis within the academic environment. BBC highlights the perspective that educational institutions are often “ill-equipped” to address empathy-devoid behavior in digital spaces. The frame constructed suggests that, even as the university denied bullying as the cause of death, the public perceived a serious problem in the character of students involved in campus organizations.

Table 6. Script Structure of News Article 3 – BBC Indonesia

Script Structure

Element	Finding
What	An investigation into the death of student Timothy Anugerah and the controversy over empathy-devoid behavior among cross-faculty students on WhatsApp.
Who	Timothy (victim), BEM/Hima students (mockery perpetrators), the Police, Unud Rectorate, and sociology/psychology experts.
When	Tragic incident on October 15, 2025; in-depth analysis article published on October 22, 2025.
Why	Allegations of bullying arose because student responses in the group chat mocked the victim rather than expressing sympathy.
Where	FISIP Building, Universitas Udayana, Bali.
How	Timothy fell from the fourth floor; subsequently, viral screenshots of group chat conversations led to academic and organizational sanctions.

In terms of script structure, BBC Indonesia presents a highly detailed 5W+1H framework to highlight the contradiction between Timothy's academic standing (GPA of 3.91) and the empathy-devoid treatment he received digitally. Emphasis is placed on the "Why" element, as BBC attempts to explore whether student organization status such as BEM conferred a distorted "power relation" that may have enabled some students to become potential bullying perpetrators.

Thematic Structure

In terms of thematic structure, BBC News Indonesia presents an exceptionally in-depth narrative, raising the overarching theme of "The Failure of Character Building in Educational Institutions." The article does not merely focus on the chronology of the victim's fall, but intelligently connects the incident to broader structural issues. The researchers found that BBC organizes its facts through sociological and psychological lenses, using Timothy's death as an entry point to critique an educational environment that prioritizes hard skills while neglecting moral formation and empathy. The connections between paragraphs are strong, linking students' behavior in the WhatsApp group to theories of "power relations" within student organizations (BEM).

A notable difference from other media is BBC's incorporation of data on bullying cases elsewhere (such as the PPDS Undip case) to reinforce the argument that this is a national emergency. The thematic frame constructed by BBC conveys to readers that bullying does not always manifest as physical violence prior to death, but can take the form of verbal and empathy-devoid abuse in digital spaces that escapes the university's monitoring. This thematic narrative emphasizes that universities must produce individuals who are not only academically excellent but also morally upright.

Rhetorical Structure

In terms of rhetorical structure, BBC News Indonesia employs sharp, morally charged diction to guide public perspective. The word "empathy-devoid" (nirempati), repeated multiple times, serves as the primary rhetorical device to depict the severity of students' behavior in the

WhatsApp group. Expressions such as “storm and stress,” “power relations,” and “failure of character building” are used to lend intellectual weight to the coverage, setting it apart from other media outlets that may employ more common terms such as “mockery” or “taunting.”

Further rhetorical differences are evident in BBC’s visual and contextual framing; the outlet highlights the contrast between Timothy’s near-perfect GPA (3.91) and what it terms a “blindspot” in the building’s CCTV coverage. The term “blindspot” carries a dual rhetorical meaning: as a technical fact about the surveillance cameras, and as a metaphor for the dark side of student life that goes unnoticed by the university. BBC also employs the rhetorical technique of quoting experts who argue that campus organizations are frequently misused as vehicles for asserting authority rather than fostering critical thinking. This rhetorical approach is highly effective in constructing the frame that this incident is a humanitarian tragedy requiring deep reflection, rather than a routine criminal news story.

Discussion

Comparative Framing of Educational Institutions' Responses to the Timothy Anugerah Bullying Case

The findings of this study reveal that Kompas.com, CNN Indonesia, and BBC Indonesia each constructed markedly distinct frames in their coverage of the Timothy Anugerah case at Universitas Udayana (Unud). Although all three outlets reported on the same tragic incident, the application of the Zhongdang Pan and Gerald Kosicki framing model demonstrates that each media organization selectively emphasized different aspects of the story — institutional response, systemic failure, or moral crisis — in ways that reflect their respective editorial orientations and intended audiences. These differences are consistent with the foundational premise of framing theory, which holds that the media do not merely reflect reality but actively construct it by choosing which elements to foreground and which to marginalize (Entman, 1993).

Kompas.com: The Frame of Institutional Responsiveness

The framing strategy adopted by Kompas.com is most accurately characterized as an institutional responsiveness frame. From the syntactic level, the headline's emphasis on "a series of sanctions" immediately signals to readers that concrete disciplinary action has been taken, thereby positioning Universitas Udayana as a competent and morally accountable institution. This choice of language is not incidental; by foregrounding the university's punitive response rather than the act of violence itself, Kompas.com directs public attention toward the institution's capacity for self-regulation rather than toward its prior failure to prevent the incident.

At the script level, the application of a complete 5W+1H framework ensures that the article reads as a transparent and orderly account of due process. The reliance on official sources — the FISIP Dean's Office and the Rectorate — as primary voices further reinforces the frame of legitimacy. This sourcing strategy is consistent with Hall et al.'s (1978) concept of "primary definers," wherein institutional actors are granted the authority to set the terms of public debate. By channeling the narrative through official voices, Kompas.com implicitly endorses the university's account of events as the most authoritative interpretation.

Rhetorically, the deployment of terms such as "decisive," "institutional responsibility," and "unethical behavior" serves to moralize the narrative in a manner that favors the institution. The word "decisive" in particular functions as a form of positive attribution, suggesting that the

university's response was both timely and morally correct. This rhetorical positioning aligns with what Goffman (1974) identified as frame alignment, where the communicator strategically selects language to anchor audience interpretation within a preferred moral register. The overall effect is a frame that rehabilitates Unud's public image by presenting it as an institution that, despite the crisis, remains capable of upholding its own values.

However, this framing has significant limitations. By centering the narrative on institutional action, Kompas.com risks foreclosing a deeper interrogation of the structural conditions that enabled the bullying to occur. The emphasis on sanctions and after-the-fact intervention may inadvertently suggest that the problem has been resolved, thereby diminishing public pressure for more fundamental reform. This is a finding that resonates with Scheufele's (1999) argument that framing effects can shape not only what audiences think about but also what they consider resolved or unresolved.

CNN Indonesia: The Frame of Systemic Educational Failure

CNN Indonesia adopts a fundamentally different interpretive framework, one that can be characterized as a systemic failure frame. Rather than treating Timothy's death as a discrete institutional incident requiring a managerial response, CNN Indonesia situates it within a broader historical pattern of bullying in Indonesian educational settings. This macro-level framing is evident from the headline itself, "Why Bullying Refuses to Disappear from the World of Education," which poses Timothy's case not as an anomaly but as a symptom of a chronic, unresolved crisis.

The script structure of CNN Indonesia's article is particularly revealing. Unlike Kompas.com, which centers its 5W+1H on the facts of the sanction process, CNN Indonesia redirects its analytical focus toward the "Why" element specifically, the toxic seniority culture, inadequate sanctions, and weak institutional oversight that it argues are the root causes of recurring campus violence. This shift in emphasis from event to causation is a hallmark of what Iyengar (1991) calls "thematic framing," as opposed to "episodic framing," and it has well-documented implications for how audiences attribute responsibility. Research consistently shows that thematic framing encourages systemic attribution; viewers are more likely to hold institutions and policies responsible rather than individual perpetrators.

The thematic structure of the article reinforces this systemic lens by cohesively linking field facts with expert opinion in sociology and education. Sources such as FSGI observers, KPAI commissioners, and human rights activists function not merely as sources of information but as moral authorities who validate CNN Indonesia's critical stance. This multi-stakeholder sourcing strategy diverges sharply from Kompas.com's reliance on institutional officials and reflects a deliberate editorial choice to center the voices of advocacy and accountability over those of institutional management.

Rhetorically, CNN Indonesia's use of expressions such as "vicious cycle," "toxic culture," and "recurring tragedy" performs an important ideological function: it forecloses the interpretation of Timothy's death as an exceptional event and instead insists on its typicality. These rhetorical devices work to elevate the emotional and moral stakes of the story, positioning bullying not as a disciplinary problem solvable through procedural sanctions but as a cultural pathology requiring urgent policy intervention. This framing strategy carries significant implications for public

discourse, as it potentially activates a higher level of civic engagement and demands for government action.

BBC Indonesia: The Frame of Moral and Character Crisis

BBC Indonesia's framing is arguably the most sophisticated of the three outlets, operating simultaneously at the factual, sociological, and moral levels to construct what the researchers identify as a character and moral crisis frame. While both Kompas.com and CNN Indonesia adopt relatively clear-cut editorial positions, BBC Indonesia maintains a more analytically complex stance that interrogates not only what happened and why, but what the incident reveals about deeper failures of moral formation in Indonesian higher education.

At the syntactic level, BBC Indonesia's headline "The Death of Student Timothy Anugerah and Allegations of Bullying at Universitas Udayana" is deliberately measured, using the word "allegations" to preserve journalistic neutrality while still signaling the gravity of the moral problem at hand. This careful linguistic calibration is consistent with BBC's longstanding editorial standards, which prioritize factual accuracy and balanced attribution. However, as the script structure reveals, this apparent neutrality coexists with a deeply critical analytical agenda. The sharp emphasis on the contradiction between Timothy's GPA of 3.91 and the empathy-devoid treatment he received from fellow students in the WhatsApp group serves as a powerful narrative device, foregrounding the gap between academic achievement and moral character that BBC identifies as the defining failure of the campus environment.

The thematic structure of the BBC article is distinguished by its integration of sociological theory into news coverage, a practice rarely seen in mainstream Indonesian media. By invoking the concept of "power relations" to explain how student organization membership within BEM may have created a distorted hierarchy of authority conducive to bullying behavior, BBC Indonesia elevates the discussion from the level of individual misconduct to structural analysis. This sociological framing is consistent with Bourdieu's field theory (1984), wherein social positions within an institutional field — such as a university student organization — confer forms of symbolic capital that can be weaponized against those perceived as occupying subordinate positions.

Rhetorically, BBC Indonesia's repeated use of the term "empathy-devoid" (nirempati) is particularly significant. Unlike terms such as "mockery" or "taunting" employed by other outlets, "empathy-devoid" carries a clinical and moral charge that reframes the students' behavior not merely as cruelty but as a failure of the fundamental human capacity for empathy, a failure that, BBC implies, universities bear responsibility for preventing. The dual rhetorical use of the term "blindspot" as both a technical description of the building's CCTV gap and as a metaphor for institutional blindness toward students' moral formation exemplifies what Burke (1969) called "identification," a rhetorical strategy that invites audiences to make connections between seemingly unrelated domains of meaning. This metaphorical richness distinguishes BBC Indonesia's coverage as not merely journalistic but editorially purposeful in its construction of meaning.

A further distinguishing feature of BBC Indonesia's coverage is its contextual expansion beyond the Unud case to include comparative reference to the PPDS Undip case, thereby constructing the argument that Timothy's death is not an isolated tragedy but part of a national pattern of

institutional violence. This comparative strategy strengthens the article's claim to national relevance and amplifies the urgency of its call for systemic change. Additionally, BBC Indonesia's decision to include mental health support resources at the article's close reflects a commitment to reader welfare that is consistent with international journalistic standards on sensitive reporting, and signals an editorial awareness of the article's potential impact on vulnerable readers.

Cross-Media Comparison: Implications for Public Understanding and Policy

Taken together, the three frames identified in this study institutional responsiveness (Kompas.com), systemic educational failure (CNN Indonesia), and moral and character crisis (BBC Indonesia) represent fundamentally different epistemologies of the same event. These divergent framings have concrete implications for how audiences understand the problem, who they hold responsible, and what solutions they are likely to support. Where Kompas.com's frame may produce satisfaction with institutional discipline as a sufficient response, CNN Indonesia's frame is more likely to generate demands for national policy reform, and BBC Indonesia's frame may prompt reflection on the deeper philosophical question of what universities are for.

This divergence also reflects what McCombs and Shaw (1972) identified as the agenda-setting function of the media: each outlet, through its framing choices, is not only telling audiences what to think about but is actively shaping the boundaries of what is thinkable as a response to campus bullying. When an outlet like Kompas.com restricts its frame to institutional sanctions, it implicitly defines the problem as one of individual student misconduct. When CNN Indonesia expands its frame to encompass seniority culture and regulatory gaps, it redefines the problem as systemic. And when BBC Indonesia further extends the frame to encompass the philosophy of character education, it transforms the event into a question about the fundamental purpose and moral responsibility of higher education institutions.

From a normative journalism studies perspective, none of these frames is inherently superior; each performs a legitimate social function. Kompas.com's frame provides reassurance that institutional mechanisms are functioning, which is important for public trust in educational governance. CNN Indonesia's frame fulfills the watchdog function of journalism by holding the broader system accountable and advocating for policy change. BBC Indonesia's frame performs what Christians et al. (2009) call the "radical" function of journalism — pushing audiences beyond the immediate event toward a critical examination of underlying social structures and values. The coexistence of these frames in the Indonesian media landscape may therefore be understood not as a failure of consistency but as a productive plurality of perspectives that enables a richer collective deliberation about the problem of campus bullying.

The Digital Dimension and Power Relations in Campus Bullying

All three outlets acknowledge, to varying degrees, the role of digital communication — specifically the WhatsApp group chat in both the perpetration of bullying and the subsequent public response. However, they frame this digital dimension differently. Kompas.com treats it as background context that precipitated the institutional response; CNN Indonesia cites it as evidence of the inadequacy of current campus monitoring mechanisms; while BBC Indonesia uses

it as a lens through which to examine the relationship between digital anonymity, organizational power, and the erosion of empathy.

BBC Indonesia's treatment of the digital dimension is the most theoretically grounded. By connecting the students' behavior in the group chat to Foucauldian notions of power and surveillance, noting that the very "blindspot" in the building's CCTV coverage may have emboldened behavior that would not have occurred in more monitored settings BBC Indonesia raises important questions about the relationship between institutional surveillance, accountability, and behavior. This analysis is consistent with emerging scholarship on cyberbullying in educational settings, which has argued that digital platforms can amplify existing power differentials within organizational hierarchies, enabling forms of harassment that are simultaneously more pervasive and less visible to institutional authority (Hinduja & Patchin, 2019).

The finding that campus organizations such as BEM may function as vehicles for the assertion of authority rather than the cultivation of critical thinking — a point raised by expert sources in the BBC Indonesia article also merits serious scholarly and policy attention. Student organizations in Indonesian higher education have historically been positioned as sites of leadership development and democratic practice. If, as this case suggests, they can simultaneously serve as hierarchical structures that enable bullying, then the governance frameworks surrounding such organizations require urgent re-examination. This is a dimension of the problem that Kompas.com's institutional frame and CNN Indonesia's systemic frame both touch upon but do not develop with the analytical depth found in BBC Indonesia's coverage.

Implications for Journalism Practice and Educational Policy

The findings of this framing analysis carry important implications for both journalism practice and educational policy in Indonesia. For journalism, the study underscores the ethical weight of framing decisions in sensitive cases involving student death. How a media outlet frames such an event shapes not only public understanding but also the emotional experience of victims' families, the institutional reputation of universities, and the broader cultural conversation about bullying. Outlets that adopt episodic frames risk reducing complex structural problems to individual incidents, while those that adopt purely thematic frames risk losing the human specificity of the victim's experience. The most ethically responsible coverage as exemplified, albeit imperfectly, by BBC Indonesia attempts to hold both dimensions simultaneously.

For educational policy, the convergence of all three frames on the inadequacy of current institutional responses to bullying suggests that existing mechanisms whether disciplinary sanctions, organizational dismissals, or grade penalties are widely perceived as insufficient to address the cultural and structural roots of the problem. The frames constructed by CNN Indonesia and BBC Indonesia in particular imply that meaningful prevention requires intervention at the level of curriculum (integrating empathy education and ethics into formal learning), institutional culture (reforming the power dynamics within student organizations), and regulatory framework (establishing clearer national standards for campus violence prevention and response). These are recommendations that the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture would do well to heed as it continues to develop its higher education governance framework.

Finally, this study calls attention to the need for further research on the framing of bullying cases in Indonesian media across a wider range of outlets and over a longer time period. The three articles analyzed here represent a valuable but necessarily limited window into the media construction of campus violence. Longitudinal comparative studies would help to identify whether the framing patterns observed in this study are consistent over time and across different types of institutions, or whether they reflect the specific editorial dynamics of the October 2025 news cycle. Such research would contribute to a richer understanding of the relationship between media framing, public opinion, and the development of anti-bullying policy in Indonesian higher education.

IV. CONCLUSION

Based on the framing analysis using the Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki model applied to coverage of the Universitas Udayana student bullying case in Kompas.com, CNN Indonesia, and BBC Indonesia, the study finds that each media outlet constructs a distinct social reality in highlighting the response of educational institutions. Kompas.com frames the event by emphasizing the institution's swift response and decisive action through the foregrounding of sanctions and official campus authority, resulting in a frame that tends to be institutional-defensive.

CNN Indonesia constructs an analytical-critical frame by linking the case to systemic issues in the education sector, such as seniority culture and inadequate oversight, thereby positioning the event as a symptom of structural problems. BBC Indonesia, meanwhile, frames the event in a moral-sociological manner, emphasizing the crisis of empathy, power relations within student organizations, and the failure of character formation, so that the case is not merely seen as an individual incident but as a reflection of broader humanitarian values in academic environments. The differences in syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical structures across the three media outlets demonstrate that media framing significantly influences the direction of public meaning-making regarding institutional responsibility and the significance of bullying in educational contexts.

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