

Exploration of Kompas Editorial Frames on Human Rights Issues during 2014-2021

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ABSTRACT

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Editorials occupy a vital position in the media because they present official media opinions to the public on specific issues, including human rights issues. Therefore, this study focuses on how Kompas daily frames editorials on human rights issues in January and December 2014–2021. The research method is qualitative with Urs Dahinden framing analysis techniques. This technique divides the typology of frames into five things: conflict, economy, progress, moral, and episodic. Dahinden’s framing approach is interesting because it differentiates between issues and frames. January and December 2014-2021 were selected because this research does not focus on specific issues. January is a critical moment to reflect on human rights issues over the past year and the next. In addition, December is the month of commemoration of International Human Rights Day. The study results conclude that Kompas uses two different frames in its editorial related to human rights issues. In civil and political human rights, Kompas consistently uses a moral frame. Meanwhile, Kompas uses episodic, economic, and moral frames on economic, social, and cultural issues.

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INTRODUCTION

An editorial is an opinion piece representing the media’s view (institutional view) on a particular event or issue (Firmstone, 2020). Furthermore, the editorial also shows the ideology of the media (Constance Omo & Idegbekwe, 2020). This becomes very strategic, especially on important issues related to the public interest. In some ways, the existence of editorials is also seen as a way of separating heated debates on daily coverage (Marques & Mont’Alverne, 2021) and is used to offer differing ideological interpretations and recommendations on issues of public concern (Golan & Lukito, 2017).

In Indonesia, studies on editorials are not yet prominent, but that does not mean that no editorials can give color to public discourse. For example, the editorial of The Jakarta Post contains support for presidential candidate Joko Widodo in the 2014 election (The Jakarta Post, 2014). The article reaped the pros and cons because it expressed support for the presidential-vice presidential candidate pair Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla. So apart from being called a product of opinion, editorials are also a way for the media to influence the public agenda (Eilders, 1997; Marques & Mont’Alverne, 2021).

Through the editorial, the public can see how the views and media attitudes towards a particular discourse, including Human Rights issues. Human rights issues are fundamental because they relate to the rights of citizens and must be protected by the government. Evidence of the importance of human rights issues can be seen from the proposals and commitments of the presidential and vice presidential candidates in the 2014 election of Joko Widodo – Jusuf Kalla regarding the loading of human rights material in the general education curriculum (Syahni, 2014). Furthermore,

commitments to human rights are also summarized in the Nawacita, which some parties consider failing to be realized (CNN Indonesia, 2021; Prabowo, 2018). The Indonesian government has also built human rights infrastructure since the New Order era by establishing the National Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM) in 1993 (Juwana, 2003) and Law No. 39 of 1999 on Human Rights in the reform era.

However, not much research has focused on exploring editorials on the issue of human rights. The media and human rights research approach focuses more on news content about certain human rights cases. For example, the media frame on the issue of human rights violations of certain figures (Halimatusa'diah, 2016), media construction on human rights and LGBT issues (Ar-Rizki, 2011; Valentika & Winduwati, 2019), and new media and human rights on the issue of freedom of expression (Wiratraman, 2010). In fact, in the study of journalism, the editorial has a fairly important position.

On the other hand, seeing the discourse on human rights built through the media is crucial, especially because the media has a supervisory function that must be carried out (Krumbein, 2017, Marta et al., 2022). Journalism research that links it to new media platforms also shows the crucial role of the media (Saputri, 2021). Media policy on human rights issues should also be explored because the media is an important channel for the public to understand reality.

If it is associated with the framing approach, the text conveyed through the editorial can at least be highlighted through several things. First, the frame is a tool for information processing among citizens. Second, media discourse through frames influences audience interpretation (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009). Gamson and Modigliani even say that the media frame approach positions the media in a complex role. On the one hand, the media are part of the process by which issue cultures are produced. On the other hand, the media is also an important indicator of general issue culture because it provides meaning to society (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989).

Based on this research gap and background, the researcher needs to examine how the media editorial framed human rights issues during 2014-2021 in Kompas Daily. This research aims to find out the methods used to frame human rights issues and how they highlight these frames in editorials that highlight the different specific issues.

Kompas was chosen because it is the largest print media in Indonesia, so it has great exposure to the public. The media is also published in print and e-paper through Kompas.id, thus making its reach wider. The research period 2014 - 2019 was chosen because it covers two periods of President Joko Widodo's administration, so this research makes it possible to see the editorial frame in a dynamic socio-political situation.

This research uses framing analysis, especially the framing model developed by Urs Dahinden. Dahinden divides the typology of frames into five things: conflict, economics, progress, moral and episodic. Dahinden's framing approach is interesting because it distinguishes between issues and frames.

METHOD

This research uses qualitative methods using framing analysis techniques. The framing approach used is the framing model developed by Urs Dahinden, as shown in Table 1. Dahinden uses five frames that show how problems are presented and highlighted. Dahinden's approach is used because it can be used to explore how Kompas presents problems through its editorials.

Table 1. Typology of General Frames

Frame	General Problem Definition	Key Value for
Conflict	There is a conflict of interest about this issue between various social actors	Distribution equity, power balance
Economics	The issue is presented from an economics perspective	Efficiency, effectiveness
Progress	Scientific knowledge plays a key role in the presentation of the issue	Expertise, truth
Moral	The issue is debated on the background of moral, ethical and legal questions	Moral, legal, ethical standards
Episodic	The issue is presented from the personalized perspective of an individual	Emotional (sympathy, antipathy)

Source: Gerth et al., (2009)

The research stage was carried out by taking the Kompas editorial document on human rights in Indonesia which were published in January and December. The two momentums were chosen for several reasons. First, January and December became a strategic momentum for human rights, namely reflection and projection for the future. December 10 is also celebrated as International Human Rights Day, so there is often a lot of human rights discourse before or after the anniversary. Second, this research does not focus on editorials containing opinions on certain human rights violations. Therefore, the selection of editorials is not based on events. Rather on the momentum of the beginning and end of the year. With this goal in mind, choosing an editorial through the momentum of January and December is the right move.

After all the editorial texts were obtained, the researcher conducted a text analysis using a predetermined model. In this study, seven editorials during 2014-2021 were analyzed. Here is the list;

Table 2. Editorials on Human Rights 2014-2021

Year	Kompas
2014	<i>Pembebasan Bersyarat Pollycarpus</i> /Pollycarpus parole (December 3, 2014)
2015	<i>Pemerintah Perlu Lebih Serius</i> /Government Needs To Be More Serious (December 28, 2015)
2016	*(there is no editorial on human rights in Indonesia)
2017	
2018	
2019	<i>Menjawab Harapan Rakyat</i> /Answering People's Expectations (December 12, 2019)
2019	<i>Memenuhi Hak Penyandang Disabilitas</i> /Fulfilling the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (December 19, 2019)
2020	<i>Lindungi Anak Sedari Mula</i> /Protect Children From the Beginning (January 11, 2020)
2020	<i>HAM Masih Diperbincangkan</i> /Human Rights Still Discussed (December 15, 2020)
2021	<i>Penuhi Hak Penyandang Disabilitas</i> /Fulfill the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (December 3, 2021)

Source: primary data

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. Framing and Editorial

The relationship between the framework and the media's editorial can be described through the essence of the framing that the media does in their journalistic activities. Entman stated that framing selects some aspect of reality to make it more prominent in the communication text. For example, to assess a particular problem (problem definition), causal interpretation (causal interpretation), moral evaluation (moral evaluation), and recommendations (treatment recommendations), things to be explained. The selection process can be done by eliminating some elements of reality and assembling a narrative to lead to a certain interpretation (Entman, 2007). This study does not use Entman's framing model, but its definition of framing shows two important things: framing uses two methods, namely selection, and salience (Entman, 2007). Significance is a strategy so that information gets more attention, is more meaningful, and is remembered by the audience. While the selection is the selection of certain facts to support the desired frame. The same picture is seen in the research by Katon et al., (2022), which uses the Pan & Kosicki framing model.

When it is associated with editorials, the media not only communicate issues and events but also provides relevance to certain aspects of a problem or event by emphasizing certain dimensions. It shows a certain interpretation of the media on their comments (Eilders, 1997). It also shows the media's attention to certain events, manifested in editorial texts.

On various issues, including human rights, media attention is needed. First, the media can influence the leadership and authority of the movement; the adoption of organizational forms and tactics; the ability to obtain financial resources or recruit members; and the spread of protests, organizations, and ideas from one location to another. Second, media attention can shape the political agenda and policy process. Finally, media attention can influence public opinion, discourse, and understanding, which is more inclined toward social issues (Andrews & Caren, 2010). Although the process of media attention is not simple, we can see that editorials can be used as a form of media attention for certain issues, including human rights.

According to the publication of the International Council on Human Rights Policy, there are two general roles played by the media in publicizing general issues, including human rights. First, the media are generators and sources of information as well as political and moral agents. The media highlighted a particular story, took a clear editorial position, and called for "something to be done." Second, the media are carriers of information produced by human rights organizations. The media are the most powerful gatekeepers between these organizations and society. It includes campaigning on a particular issue, publishing a report on a particular country, or raising funds. Human rights organizations channel their information through selective media filters (International Council on Human Rights Policy, 2002).

In Indonesia, human rights defenders such as the Setara Institute, Elsam, KontraS, and others routinely carry out reports on the human rights situation. The Human Rights Performance Index 2020 report by the Setara Institute, for example, shows a decrease in scores on the variables of civil and political rights as well as economic, social, and cultural rights. According to the Setara Institute, the decline in the index figure was caused by Law No. 11/2020 concerning Job Creation, which has normatively eroded human rights guarantees (SETARA Institute, 2020). In 2020 by KontraS, the condition of human rights in Indonesia is depicted in the shadow of authoritarianism. The threat of recognition, protection,

and fulfillment of human rights takes the form of state legitimacy in civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights. State legitimacy towards human rights violations appears in various forms, both direct (by commission) and omission (by omission) (Kontras, 2020). Meanwhile, in 2021, Kontras also provided a note on the human rights condition in Indonesia with the provocative title *Human Rights Erased Out* to show the situation during that year. According to Kontras, there are still more and more restrictions on civil liberties in the civil and political rights sector. While in the economic and sociocultural sectors, it is said that the state tends to neglect human rights in every development that is carried out (Kontras, 2021).

B. Human Rights on Kompas Editorial 2019-2021

Framing as an approach has some advantages. Dahinden explains it in two ways. First, this approach is independent of the problem under consideration and is, therefore, a suitable theoretical tool for cross-problem comparisons. The concept of frames can be applied to several different issues. It is what will be seen later in this study. Second, framing theory can be applied to all phases of the mass media communication process, including public relations, journalism, and the effects of media on audiences (Dahinden, 2002b). Table 2 shows that although the main theme is the same, namely human rights, each editorial has different specific issues.

The results of the framing analysis for seven editorials in the Kompas daily from 2019 to 2021 showed several interesting findings;

First, not all Kompas daily editorials that discuss human rights issues use a moral frame. In the editorial framed using a moral frame, the Kompas approach focuses on the state's obligations and efforts to fulfill the law's mandate. For example, in an editorial entitled *Pembebasan bersyarat Pollycarpus* (Pollycarpus Parore), published on December 3, 2014. In this opinion piece, Kompas stated from the start that the parole of Pollycarpus, who was convicted of the murder of human rights activist Munir, hurt the sense of justice of the victim's family. In that editorial, Kompas also asked for the government's promise to resolve past human rights cases which were still pending until this editorial was published. Kompas urged the government to take the initiative to resolve past human rights cases because the issue is also included in one of the nine priority work programs of the Joko Widodo government – Jusuf Kalla. Although at the end of the editorial, Kompas stated that the resolution of past human rights violations did not have to go through the courts, Kompas emphasized that any settlement was still needed because, without a comprehensive solution, the past would continue to cling to Indonesia's future. Including actors in the power circle who invite the public to forget the past to look to the future. Even though this is hard for the victim's family and humanity. Through this editorial, Kompas tries to show that legal and ethical commitments bind the government to all victims and their families of victims of human rights violations.

This editorial attempts to describe the details of the legal proceedings of Pollycarpus Budihari Priyanto as a convict in the death of Munir, who was released on November 28, 2014, and Munir's death on September 7, 2004. This two-part chronology is written at the beginning of the editorial to provide a complete context. So that the public is reminded again of the event.

The headline *Pemerintah Perlu Lebih Serius/Government Needs To Be More Serious* also uses a moral frame. The frame is felt when Kompas emphasizes that the 1945 Constitution guarantees religious freedom. That is, the government must be more serious and assertive in showing its side on the issue of upholding human rights. The context of this editorial situation is Kompas' response to Kontras' annual report, which states that several human rights violations still occurred in various sectors throughout 2015.

Kompas explained the context of the report by writing that there were 62 public complaints regarding cases of violation of civil rights, politics, and especially on fundamental issues such as the right to life, including torture, guarantees for the protection of freedom of religion, worship, and belief as well as arbitrary arrests and detentions. Meanwhile, the settlement of cases of human rights violations in the past is not yet clear. Kompas also cites data from the World Justice Project, which places Indonesia at 66th out of 102 countries in protecting fundamental human rights, such as freedom to practice religion and worship. The editorial also mentions data from Freedom House regarding the significant decline in the human rights situation in Indonesia. Freedom House stated that a significant decrease in human rights occurred on several issues, namely guaranteeing the protection of freedom of religion, worship, and belief from violence and discrimination against minority groups. Meanwhile, the World Justice Project places Indonesia in 66th out of 102 countries in protecting fundamental human rights such as freedom to practice religion and worship. To strengthen the frame, Kompas also wrote that the findings of the annual report of Kontras, other human rights institutions, and field observations showed a similar trend.

Kompas uses the same frame in an editorial titled *Menjawab Harapan Rakyat/Answering People's Expectations*. The moral frame is used by giving an initial emphasis, namely by showing that the considerations in Law Number 26 of 2000 concerning the Human Rights Court ensure that human rights cannot be ignored, reduced, or taken away by anyone. Kompas used the affirmation of the law to highlight the lack of resolution of past human rights violations, especially those that included gross human rights violations. Kompas considered that the idea of reviving the KKR (Komisi Kebenaran

dan Rekonsiliasi) could be a way to resolve human rights violations in addition to the dialogue between all parties.

In that editorial, Kompas also cites the results of a poll on December 4-5, 2019, against 512 respondents in 17 major cities in Indonesia, which illustrates the increasingly thin public expectations for the government, including the apparatus, to resolve past human rights violations. Based on the survey, 61.1 percent of respondents stated that they were not sure the government could fully uncover past gross human rights violations. Kompas uses this opinion poll to show how public aspirations relate to past human rights violations, making this editorial talk about the reality of the rules and society.

Kompas often conducts opinion polls related to human rights issues. The poll quoted in this editorial was published separately by Kompas on the news on December 11, 2019, with the title *Keraguan Publik Bayangi Pemerintah/Public Doubt, Overshadows Government*. The poll was published in conjunction with the commemoration of Human Rights Day that year. In the news lead, it was stated that the commemoration of Human Rights Day this time was marked by public skepticism about the government's willingness and ability to resolve cases of past gross human rights violations. In contrast to the editorial, which saw that the Komisi Kebenaran dan Rekonsiliasi (KKR) could be a way to resolve past human rights violations, in the news, Kompas quoted Komnas HAM Commissioner Choirul Anam's opinion that the KKR narrative was incorrect. According to him, courts are still the best way to resolve past human rights violations. The Coordinator of the Working Committee of the Commission for Missing Persons and Victims of Violence, Yati Indiyani, also reminded us that the settlement through the KKR is not only forgiving without going through a court process. Kompas also quoted the Executive Director of the Setara Institute, Ismail Hasani, who said that the government should make fact-finding efforts (Tim Kompas, 2019).

This condition shows the difference between news and editorials in viewing the same phenomenon. The editorial is very subjective, showing Kompas' opinion on the KKR, while in the news, Kompas tries to present various opinions from related sources. These two different tendencies are in line with the different characteristics of opinion and news products.

Second, the daily Kompas tries to use the power of persuasion in editorials to build collective awareness. For this purpose, Kompas uses episodic frames that highlight the emotional aspect. It is seen in the editorial *Memenuhi Hak Penyandang Disabilitas/Fulfilling the Rights of Persons with Disabilities*, published on 19 December 2019. The episodic frame is highlighted through a Kompas review that the government has not been sufficient to facilitate the needs of persons with disabilities. However, it is not associated with obligations or regulations that the government must fulfill. Kompas highlighted this from the perspective of people with disabilities who have different needs than the general public, including the potential for inability to develop because there are no educational facilities they can access.

As in several other editorials, Kompas cites some data. For example, data from the Central Statistics Agency's Intercensus Population Survey in 2015 showed that the number of citizens with disabilities was quite large, 8.56 percent of the total population. This figure is used to underline that the issue of disability is not a simple matter. Kompas also cites Law Number 8 of 2016 concerning Persons with Disabilities.

Kompas Daily used the same frame in an editorial entitled *Lindungi Anak Sedari Mula/Protect Children From the Beginning*. The episodic frame is seen when Kompas tries to show that every child has the right to survive, grow and develop and has the right to protection from violence and discrimination. This editorial also emphasizes that the number of cases of violence against children has increased significantly, and the number is not small, even though children are the nation's future.

In the editorial, Kompas cites data from a national Child and Adolescent Life Experiences survey showing that two out of three children have experienced violence. One in 11 girls and one in 17 boys experience sexual violence. This data was also in the spotlight of Kompas news on January 10, 2020. Other data that Kompas mentioned in the editorial was sourced from Lembaga Perlindungan Saksi dan Korban/ Witness and Victim Protection Agency (LPSK) regarding the number of requests from children who were victims of sexual violence increased by around 29 percent compared to last year, totaling 271 applications. Kompas said that until last year 507 victims of sexual violence were protected, consisting of 1999 women, 77 adult men, 174 girls, and 57 boys. Kompas also published the data on the news on January 8, 2020. At the end of the editorial, it is stated that efforts to protect children cannot only depend on the president and vice president, but the community must move together to protect children from the start because it means protecting the nation's future.

Third, human rights issues in the economic realm (including social, economic, and cultural rights) are easier to frame in moral and economic terms. It can be seen in the editorial entitled *Penuhi Hak Penyandang Disabilitas/Fulfill the Rights of Persons with Disabilities*, published in the context of the International Day of Persons with Disabilities. The initial problem presented by Kompas was the unavailability of accurate and comprehensive national data regarding the number of people with disabilities, variety, age, gender, and place of residence for people with disabilities. Kompas stated that as of mid-January 2021, the Ministry of Social Affairs recorded 209,604 people with disabilities. However, Kompas believes that the actual number is much higher.

In that editorial, Kompas mentions Law No. 8 of 2016 concerning Persons with Disabilities as the basis of the argument for giving an opinion that the central and local governments are obliged to ensure that their rights are guaranteed for people with disabilities. In addition, Kompas cites data from the ILO, which calculates that neglecting persons with disabilities causes a loss of 3-7 percent of the gross domestic product. It means that apart from putting pressure on the moral frame by giving an approach to the legal aspect, Kompas also sees that this situation is related to the economic aspect.

Table 3. Editorial frame

Editorial Title	Frame
<i>Pembebasan Bersyarat Polycarpus/Polycarpus parole</i> (December 3, 2014)	Moral
<i>Pemerintah Perlu Lebih Serius/Government Needs To Be More Serious</i> (December 28, 2015)	Moral
<i>Menjawab Harapan Rakyat/Answering People's Expectations</i> (December 12, 2019)	Moral
<i>Memenuhi Hak Penyandang Disabilitas/Fulfilling the Rights of Persons with Disabilities</i> (December 19, 2019)	Episodic
<i>Lindungi Anak Sedari Mula/Protect Children From the Beginning</i> (January 11, 2020)	Episodic
<i>HAM Masih Diperbincangkan/Human Rights Still Discussed</i> (December 15, 2020)	Moral
<i>Penuhi Hak Penyandang Disabilitas/Fulfill the Rights of Persons with Disabilities</i> (December 3, 2021)	Economic and Moral

Source: primary data

Table 3 shows that Kompas consistently applies a moral frame in its editorials that highlight human rights issues in general, especially in the civil and political fields. On the other hand, on the issue of human rights in the economic, social, and cultural fields, Kompas uses episodic and economic frames. The moral frame is a frame that uses moral, ethical, and legal standards as a reference in viewing an issue. While the episodic frame presents the problem from a personal perspective, it emphasizes emotional aspects such as sympathy and antipathy.

This finding shows that on human rights issues, especially in the civil and political fields, Kompas consistently uses a moral frame even though the highlighted things are different. In the editorial on Polycarpus' release, this incident was used as a compass to question the unresolved issue of past human rights violations. Likewise, the headline *Pemerintah Perlu Lebih Serius/Government Needs To Be More Serious* discusses freedom of religion, and the headline *Menjawab Harapan Rakyat/Answering People's Expectations* which highlights cases of gross human rights violations and the idea of reviving the KKR. The editorial *HAM Masih Diperbincangkan/Human Rights Still Discussed* also uses a moral frame in highlighting the many human rights issues, especially related to protecting and enforcing human rights, including past human rights violations.

The same frame can be used for different situations or events. According to Dahinden, an issue is a single event or chain of events that lasts for a limited time. While the frame shows stability because even though the problems change, the frame remains constant from time to time (Dahinden, 2002a). This stability can be seen from the moral frame presented by Kompas in the editorial. Although the issues or events are different, the frame is the same. By presenting the editorial through a moral frame, Kompas indirectly wants to show that a legal and moral approach should be used to resolve human rights violations while simultaneously upholding civil and political rights. At a certain level, continuing to use a moral frame also indirectly invites the reader to look at the human rights situation in Indonesia on a larger scale and avoid discussing this issue only through a casuistic perspective.

Dahinden's framing approach also shows that frames can be expected to be relatively independent of the problem. A particular problem can be presented in several frames and vice versa. A frame can be applied to several problems. Dahinden assumes that problems and frameworks are not combined randomly but according to a certain regularity (Dahinden, 2002a).

The editorial *Memenuhi Hak Penyandang Disabilitas/Fulfilling the Rights of Persons with Disabilities* shows that certain issues can be viewed from several frames simultaneously. Kompas shows that disability rights are not only related to moral and legal aspects because the rights of anyone and anything must be fulfilled by the state but also focuses on economic aspects. When a problem is presented from an economic perspective, the reference aspect is related to efficiency and effectiveness.

However, Kompas' approach to writing editorials on disability using an episodic frame, in general, can be highlighted in two ways. First, episodic frames tend to present problems from the emotional aspect so that they cannot show systemic problems. Second, the episodic frame can potentially have a higher persuasive power to the audience because it uses a dynamic approach. As a result, the public is not invited to look at this issue from a legal aspect. It means

that the public is not invited to look at this issue from a more broad scale. However, fulfilling human rights requires goodwill from the government through regulations and other human rights infrastructure.

CONCLUSION

This research concludes that Kompas uses two different frames in its editorials related to human rights issues. In civil and political human rights, Kompas consistently uses a moral frame in civil and political human rights by focusing on morals, ethics, and law. Meanwhile, in the editorial that discusses human rights issues in the economic, social, and cultural fields, Kompas uses episodic, economic, and moral frames. Through an episodic frame, Kompas presents this human rights issue from a personal perspective by highlighting the emotional aspect. In a frame like this, the issue is presented through elements that invite public sympathy.

For further researchers, this research is still open to be developed, for example, by comparing the use of frames on different media over a longer period. Thus, the frame dynamics used can be seen as a pattern of long-term regularity. Researchers can also focus on comparing news and editorials on the same issue to see the differences and to what extent editorial subjectivity affects news content.

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