



Analysis of Media Framing of Online Media Coverage of Protests Against the 2025 TNI Law (A Comparative Study of Tempo.co, Kompas.com, and Metronews.com)

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Abstract

This study aims to critically examine how framing practices in online media reporting shape public perceptions of demonstrations against the ratification of the Indonesian National Armed Forces Act (TNI Act). Using the framing theory developed by Robert N. Entman, this study analyzes and compares three news articles published by Kompas.com, Metrotvnews.com, and Tempo.co. The main focus of the study is on identifying framing patterns that encompass four main dimensions: problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and recommendations for addressing the issue. This study uses a qualitative approach with critical discourse analysis within the framework of Entman's framing analysis. The objects of study are three news reports covering the demonstrations against the TNI Law and the revision of the Polri Law that took place on March 27, 2025, in the area of the DPR Building, Central Jakarta. Each text is analyzed systematically to examine the construction of the narrative and the differences in perspective raised by each media outlet. The results of the study show that Kompas.com and Tempo.co tend to frame the demonstrations as a form of civil resistance against state policies that are considered to threaten the principles of democracy and civil supremacy. In contrast, Metrotvnews.com emphasizes the dimension of public order, highlighting the dispersal of the crowd by the authorities as a measure to restore social stability. These findings reinforce the argument that media plays a strategic role in shaping public discourse and the direction of collective perceptions toward political issues and state policies.

INTRODUCTION

The media framing approach, known as framing analysis, is a form of discourse analysis theory specifically applied to the study of mass media texts (Sobur, 2009). Within this framework, media is not merely viewed as a messenger but also as a social actor that actively constructs, selects, and emphasizes certain aspects of social reality, thereby producing meaning constructions that can influence public perception. As emphasized by Damayanti et al. (2016), framing analysis is highly relevant in examining how social reality is shaped by the media through the process of producing discourse that contains certain values, ideologies, and interests. This opens up space for us, especially in the religious context, to understand the extent to which media representation can influence the views of the faithful on issues involving religious values and religious life in the public sphere.

In media studies literature, framing theory is often equated with agenda-setting theory because both demonstrate how the media directs public attention to certain issues in accordance with the dominant narrative it seeks to construct. Both approaches highlight the media's power to shape public perception through strategies of selection, emphasis, and presentation of information (Eriyanto, 2011). In a religious context, this is important because the way the media presents an issue can influence religious people's understanding of socio-political events, either by strengthening social harmony or, conversely, by fostering prejudice against other groups.

Framing analysis is based on the assumption that individuals involved in the media production process bring subjective biases stemming from their backgrounds, experiences, and ideological perspectives on reality. In a religious context, this tendency can create biased representations of certain religious groups, whether through biased coverage or the deliberate or inadvertent omission of relevant information (Eriyanto, 2011). The reality conveyed to the public, in this case, is not pure objective truth, but has gone through a series of editing and interpretation processes that are laden with values.

As one of the main approaches in mass communication studies, framing analysis is considered important in revealing how the media shapes meaning through the selection and emphasis of information. Framing is essentially a symbolic boundary created by the media in conveying a particular issue or event. In the context of religious diversity in Indonesia, framing can be a tool to reinforce messages of tolerance and peace, but it also has the potential to become a means of social exclusion when used to assert superiority or discredit other religious groups (Khomsahrial, 2016).

The construction of reality by the media is not a value-free process. Leliana et al. (2018) emphasize that framing is a reflection of the perspective of journalists or media institutions toward the issues they report on. The choice of diction, narrative, and visualization of news is largely determined by the experience, ideological background, and values of media practitioners. In the context of Islam, the framing approach is important for examining the extent to which the media plays a role in shaping public opinion about Islam and its

followers, especially when major events involving religious symbols or representations occur.

One event that attracted public attention in Indonesia at the beginning of 2025 was a demonstration by various elements of civil society rejecting the revision of Law No. 34 of 2004 on the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), which was enacted into law on March 20, 2025. The protests, which lasted until mid-April 2025, elicited a variety of responses from the public, including religious communities. The differing views on the protests demonstrate the importance of the media's role in shaping public opinion, including how the media frames the issue in a narrative that contains certain values, ideologies, and perceptions.

This study focuses specifically on analyzing three national online media outlets, namely Tempo.co, Kompas.com, and Metrotvnews.com, which have different editorial characteristics. These three media outlets were chosen because of their broad reader segmentation and distinctive tendencies in presenting information. The framing analysis approach was used to examine how each media outlet framed the demonstration and how this framing could potentially shape public perceptions, including those of religious communities, of the actions and objectives of the demonstration. Thus, this study not only analyzes the communication dimension of the media but also interprets the construction of reality formed by the media as part of a broader socio-religious discourse.

To clarify the focus and scope of the research, the researcher defined the scope of the study as news coverage of the mass action that took place on March 27, 2025, in front of the House of Representatives (DPR) building in Central Jakarta. News coverage of the event was taken from three national online media outlets, namely Tempo.co, Kompas.com, and Metrotvnews.com, which were previously designated as the main units of analysis in this study. The selection of these three media outlets was based on differences in editorial characteristics and reader segmentation, which are expected to provide a diverse picture of the construction of reality on the same issue. The details of the news samples used in this study can be seen in Table 1 below.

Media	Judul Berita	Terbit	Penulis
Tempo.co	Protesters at the House of Representatives Call for Repeal of TNI Law and Reject Revision of Police Law	March 27, 2025, 5:17 p.m. WIB	Hammam Izzuddin
Kompas.com	Demonstrations Against the TNI Law Continue, but the House of Representatives Remains Indifferent	March 28, 2025, 5:27 AM WIB	Baharudin Al Farisi, dan Fitria Chusna Farisa

Metrotvnews.com	Mass Action Against the TNI Law in Front of the House of Representatives Forcibly Dispersed	March 27, 2025, 10:54 p.m. WIB	Sofia Zakiah.
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In analyzing the news coverage presented by the three media outlets, the researcher used the framing analysis model developed by Robert N. Entman, which was deemed most relevant to the objectives of this study. This model provides a systematic framework for examining how an issue is constructed by the media through the process of selecting and emphasizing certain aspects. In addition, the selection of this model is also based on the researcher's familiarity with Entman's analytical framework, which allows for a more in-depth and critical application.

This approach is even more relevant in a religious context, as the media is not only a space for articulating political and social interests, but also influences the perceptions of religious communities in understanding public issues. Thus, this study not only evaluates the dimensions of media communication, but also considers its impact on the moral and spiritual construction of communities in responding to social dynamics.

METHOD

This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach with the aim of describing and understanding the social phenomena developing within society in depth. This approach was chosen because it provides researchers with the flexibility to examine the dynamics of news coverage regarding protests against the 2025 revision of the Indonesian National Armed Forces Law (TNI Law) as reported by three national online news portals, namely Tempo.co, Kompas.com, and Metrotvnews.com. The focus of the study is on news coverage related to the demonstrations that took place on March 27, 2025, in front of the Indonesian House of Representatives building in Central Jakarta. Through this approach, researchers can comprehensively trace how the media frames social reality, including religious values and symbols that may emerge or be influenced in media narratives.

This descriptive qualitative method emphasizes efforts to describe, interpret, and organize information about an event or phenomenon in a factual and systematic manner. As explained by Bungin, this approach aims to gain a comprehensive understanding of the actual conditions in society, as well as how these conditions are shaped or influenced by the collective perceptions of society (Bungin, 2011). In a religious context, this method is relevant for examining the extent to which media constructions of socio-political events—such as demonstrations—interact with moral views, religious values, and the spiritual sensitivities of society. Therefore, this research does not merely capture news coverage, but also aims to reveal the ideological and cultural implications of

media narratives on the perceptions of religious communities in responding to existing social dynamics.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Analysis of Tempo.co's Framing of the News

Problem Identification

Tempo.co's coverage of the demonstrations against the TNI Law and the revision of the Police Law highlights the socio-political dynamics that have developed in response to state policies that are perceived as threatening democracy and the principle of civilian supremacy. Within the news framework, mass actions are positioned as collective efforts to uphold the mandate of reform and prevent the return of military dominance in the civilian sphere. This news coverage implicitly asserts that such policies contradict the fundamental democratic values that have been fought for since the 1998 Reform.

In a religious context, the defense of democratic values, justice, and civil rights aligns with Islamic principles that uphold social justice (*al-'adālah al-ijtimā'iyah*), consultation (*shūrā*), and the protection of people's rights. Therefore, Tempo.co's framing of the news can be read as an effort to strengthen public awareness of the dangers of abuse of power, which is also part of Islamic ethics in safeguarding the mandate of leadership.

Causal Interpretation

Tempo.co media places government policy as the main factor triggering the wave of demonstrations. The enactment of the TNI Law is considered to have the potential to revive the dual function of the military that has been abandoned, while the revision of the Police Law is perceived as an excessive expansion of police authority, thereby opening up opportunities for repressive actions against civilians.

Various opinions from civil society figures and academics are also quoted to reinforce this narrative, including a statement from Amnesty International Indonesia, which assesses that these policies weaken democratic control over security forces. In a religious context, this can be interpreted as a form of *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* (enjoining what is good and forbidding what is evil) in the socio-political sphere, where the community has a moral responsibility to reject policies that could harm communal life and threaten the balance of power.

Moral Judgment

From Entman's framing perspective, Tempo.co's reporting assesses the demonstrations as a movement with moral values and the aim of defending democratic principles. The media positions the demonstrators—especially students, activists, and civil society organizations—as ethically and morally justified in voicing their objections to the direction of state policy.

This reporting is in line with Islamic views that see the role of the *ummah* in correcting abuses of power as part of their moral responsibility. In Islam, involvement in public affairs, including through peaceful action, is seen as a form of *hisbah*, or social oversight to uphold the values of truth, justice, and collective welfare. The widespread support from people across regions shown in the news also reinforces the moral legitimacy of the movement.

Treatment Recommendation

The solution raised by Tempo.co in its news narrative is the revocation of the TNI Law and the rejection of the revision of the Polri Law. Mass action is seen not merely as an expression of protest, but as a form of active public participation in policy discourse and the strengthening of the role of civil society in the democratic system.

This framing contains the moral message that public involvement in assessing state policies is part of legitimate social control. From a religious perspective, this is closely related to the concepts of *maslahah* (public interest) and *al-siyasah al-shar'iyah* (politics based on sharia), whereby public policies should guarantee the protection of rights, balance of power, and social justice. Therefore, this news coverage reinforces the importance of public oversight of those in power to ensure that they always act in accordance with social and religious ethical principles.

Through the application of Robert N. Entman's framing analysis, it is evident that Tempo.co's reporting frames the demonstrations against the TNI Law and the revision of the Police Law as expressions of resistance against state policies that are deemed to undermine democratic values and threaten civilian supremacy. By featuring the voices of students and civil society as moral and political actors, the media constructs a narrative that positions the demonstrations within the framework of ethical and participatory struggle.

This framing has a significant impact on shaping public opinion and political discourse, while contributing to a healthy and civil democratic climate. From a religious perspective, this narrative construction not only reinforces democratic values but also reflects the principles of justice, oversight of power, and active participation of the community in upholding the values of truth within society.

Analysis of Kompas.com's Framing of the News

Problem Identification

Kompas.com's coverage of the demonstrations against the TNI Law and the revision of the Police Law represents these actions as a critical response by the public to government policies that are considered a threat to democracy and civil supremacy. The narrative constructed in the news emphasizes public concerns about the return of the dual function of the TNI, as occurred during the New Order era, which historically was synonymous with restrictions on civil liberties. By highlighting public unrest, the media reinforces the construction that there is a disparity between the decisions of the political elite and the aspirations of the people.

Visual elements such as protest posters and stickers are part of the framing strategy used by Kompas.com to emphasize expressions of rejection. For example, the message on the sticker that reads "This country is based on Pancasila, not Sapta Marga!" shows a symbolic narrative that the direction of the government's policies is considered inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution. From a religious perspective, this reflects the importance of upholding the principles of justice and the common good (*maslahah 'ammah*), as well as rejecting policies that could potentially threaten the social ethical values and basic human rights upheld in religious teachings.

Causal Interpretation

In its reporting, Kompas.com identified the ratification of the TNI Law by the Indonesian House of Representatives on March 20, 2025, as the main cause of the wave of demonstrations. It also emphasized that concerns over the strengthening of the military's role in civilian affairs were the main basis for public anger. This narrative was reinforced by the distrust of some members of the public toward the national leadership, particularly President Prabowo Subianto and Vice President Gibran Rakabuming Raka, who were seen as potentially restoring the military's role politically beyond its function as a national defense instrument.

From a religious perspective, power that is not monitored fairly and transparently risks giving rise to injustice (*zulm*), which is opposed by the values of any religion. Therefore, public involvement in voicing dissent against the direction of state policy is a form of moral participation to uphold justice, as emphasized in the Islamic concept of *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*—a collective obligation to prevent social and political corruption.

Moral Judgment

Within a moral framework, Kompas.com presents demonstrations as actions that have ethical and social legitimacy. Mass actions are positioned as a form of resistance against policies that are deemed to lead to authoritarianism and threaten the sustainability of democracy. The narrative in the news portrays demonstrators as parties fighting for civil values, equality, and political openness.

Symbols of the action, such as raised left hands, burning tires, and speeches about “revolution,” become part of the image of collective struggle. From a religious perspective, particularly Islam, the spirit of resistance against injustice, if carried out in a manner that does not violate moral and legal principles, can be considered *jihad siyāsī* (political struggle) in the context of upholding justice and rejecting dictatorship (*istibdād*). The absence of people's representatives in the action was also emphasized as a form of the authorities' insensitivity to the people's mandate, an irony in a democratic country that should uphold the principles of representation and deliberation (*shūrā*).

Treatment Recommendation

Kompas.com directs public opinion towards a solution in the form of revoking the TNI Law and rejecting the Police Bill. Mass protests are given space as a democratic means to express opposition to policies deemed to threaten public safety and civil rights. News narratives highlight concerns about increasing state repression, as illustrated in a sticker reading, “Open your eyes, the TNI Law and the Police Bill threaten our safety. #semuabisadiculik.”

From a religious perspective, Islamic teachings command the state to guarantee the protection of the lives, honor, and property of the people as part of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* (the main objectives of Sharia law). Therefore, public criticism of regulations deemed harmful to civil life is not only constitutionally valid but also grounded in moral and spiritual principles. In this context, the framing of Kompas.com's reporting provides space for public participation in

upholding values of justice and power balance, while also strengthening collective awareness of the importance of social control over public policy.

Through Robert N. Entman's framing theory, Kompas.com's reporting can be understood as an attempt to frame the demonstrations against the TNI Law and the Police Bill as a form of civil struggle to defend the values of democracy and justice. The narrative, which highlights public unrest, symbolic expressions of the masses, and the absence of people's representatives, constructs an image that state policies have strayed from the aspirations of the people. In a religious context, this framing is relevant to principles of social justice, public participation in public affairs, and the protection of basic human rights as a form of moral responsibility in state life.

Analysis of Metrotvnews.com's Framing of the News

Problem Identification

In the report presented by Metrotvnews.com, the demonstration against the TNI Law was framed as an event that ended in forced dispersal by security forces. The media described the action as a series of events that caused traffic disruptions and public inconvenience around the House of Representatives building. The news narrative emphasized that the protesters came from various elements of society, including students, who voiced their disapproval of state policies, but the focus of the news coverage was more on the chaos than on the substance of the demands.

This framing can shape public perception that demonstrations are more of a disturbance to public order than a legitimate form of political expression. From a religious perspective, it is important to distinguish between shalih (good) intentions in voicing justice and fitnah (chaos) that can disrupt order. Therefore, news coverage that emphasizes the disruptive aspect without giving space to the substance of public aspirations risks obscuring the moral meaning of collective action as a form of hisbah or social supervision in society.

Causal Interpretation

The main cause of the demonstrations highlighted in this news report was the ratification of the TNI Law by the Indonesian House of Representatives. The protesters expressed their protests in various ways, including distributing leaflets and burning tires. However, Metrotvnews.com emphasized the visual response and impact of the actions on the ground rather than exploring the philosophical and political reasons behind the rejection of the law.

Thus, readers are directed to view the action as a practical disturbance, not as part of the efforts of the people to uphold values of justice and prevent the domination of power that exceeds its limits. From an Islamic perspective, the peaceful expression of aspirations in order to reject injustice is a form of amar ma'ruf nahi munkar (enjoining what is good and forbidding what is evil), and if it is reduced to mere disruption, then the moral value of this collective struggle is overlooked in the public consciousness.

Moral Judgment

The framing used in this news report tends to give a more positive moral assessment of the security forces than of the protesters. The security forces are portrayed as the ones maintaining order and acting proportionately in dealing

with the situation, including through the use of water cannons. On the other hand, the protesters are portrayed as a group causing tension and disrupting traffic flow.

Such a view carries the risk of reducing the moral significance of the protest. In the context of religious values, upholding justice is a moral obligation, even if it is done by putting pressure on the authorities as long as it does not lead to violence. In this case, framing that tends to simplify the action as potential chaos without giving a proportional assessment of the motives and goals of the protesters can actually obscure the moral voice contained in the social movement.

Treatment Recommendation

Metrotvnews.com's reporting does not explicitly offer solutions to the substance of the protesters' demands, but rather emphasizes the narrative that the situation has returned to normal after the dispersal by the authorities. Thus, implicitly, the media presents the dispersal of the demonstration as a legitimate and effective solution to the “disturbance” that occurred.

From a religious perspective, particularly in Islam, the resolution of conflicts or social tensions is not solely measured by the dispersal of crowds, but by the extent to which justice is upheld. The ideal solution according to religious teachings is reconciliation (islah) that addresses the root causes of the issue and considers the aspirations of the community. Framing that ignores the voice of the people and only highlights formal “stability” without addressing the substance is contrary to the principle of maqāṣid al-sharī‘ah, which is to protect the right to life, dignity, and justice for all citizens.

Through Robert N. Entman's framing theory, Metrotvnews.com's reporting framed the demonstrations against the TNI Law more as a security issue than as a moral political expression. The emphasis on disruption and intervention by authorities has caused the public sphere to lose the social spirituality that should be present in discourse on justice and the struggle for civil rights. From a religious perspective, this framing obscures the media's role as the fourth pillar of democracy, which should serve as a moral voice and protector of public interests.

Comparative Analysis of Media Framing of the Protest Against the Indonesian National Armed Forces Law on March 27, 2025

Three national online media outlets—Tempo.co, Kompas.com, and Metrotvnews.com presented diverse coverage of the protest against the Indonesian National Armed Forces Law (UU TNI) that took place on March 27, 2025, in front of the Indonesian House of Representatives building. Using Robert N. Entman's framing analysis approach, this comparison shows that how the media frames events not only influences public perception but also carries deep moral and social implications, including religious perspectives.

All three media outlets generally portrayed the demonstration as a form of rejection of the enactment of the TNI Law. However, notable differences were evident in how the narratives were constructed. Kompas.com framed the action as an expression of public concern over the potential return of military dual-

function practices that contradict democratic values. In contrast, *Metrotvnews.com* emphasized the security disturbances caused by the demonstration and the dispersal actions by authorities, thereby shifting the focus to maintaining order rather than the substance of the mass aspirations. *Tempo.co*, meanwhile, highlights the narrative of legitimate civil struggle within the framework of upholding democratic principles and civilian supremacy over the military, while also raising criticism of the revision of the Police Law.

In terms of identifying the causes of the protests, *Tempo.co* enriches the context by featuring statements from civil society figures, such as the Director of Amnesty International Indonesia, who highlights threats to civilian supremacy and democratic freedoms. *Kompas.com* links the events to national political dynamics, particularly under the leadership of President Prabowo and Vice President Gibran, while *Metrotvnews.com* only mentions the enactment of the TNI Law as the trigger for the protests without elaborating on the broader sociopolitical context. From a religious perspective, speaking the truth to power is a concrete manifestation of *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*, which should be understood and valued as the community's contribution to maintaining social justice.

The moral judgments presented by each media outlet also reveal different value orientations. *Metrotvnews.com* frames the demonstrations as a threat to order that must be controlled by the authorities, and in this case, repressive measures are considered a legitimate solution. In contrast, *Kompas.com* presents a narrative of resistance against injustice by depicting symbols of popular protest, such as posters and stickers, which reflect the moral aspirations of the protesters. *Tempo.co* presents a more empathetic view of the demonstrators, while emphasizing the potential dangers of regulations that lead to repressive state control. From a religious perspective, the commitment to the values of justice, freedom of expression, and public involvement in state policy matters aligns with the principles of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, which emphasize the protection of reason, life, and the right to speak out in society.

In terms of recommended solutions, the three outlets take different approaches. *Tempo.co* explicitly calls for the repeal of the TNI Law and rejects revisions to the Police Law, as part of a commitment to democracy and civilian supremacy. *Kompas.com* reports on the demands of the masses but does not explicitly direct readers toward specific policy solutions. On the other hand, *Metrotvnews.com* implies that the authorities' dispersal of the crowd was an adequate solution, without addressing the substance of the people's struggle. From a religious perspective, problems should be resolved fairly and beneficially, not by ignoring the voices of the people who speak the truth.

A comparative analysis of the framing of the three media outlets shows that the representation of the protests was not neutral, but rather laden with ideological constructs and value judgments. While *Tempo.co* and *Kompas.com* tend to give space to the moral and political articulation of civil society, *Metrotvnews.com* emphasizes formal order as the primary standard. From a religious perspective, particularly Islam, the struggle for social justice and

opposition to policies that harm the community is not merely a right but a moral obligation. Therefore, media framing should reflect noble values such as justice ('adl), social responsibility (mas'ūliyyah), and testimony to the truth (shahādah al-ḥaqq) in building a spiritually and politically healthy society.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the analysis of news coverage of the demonstrations against the TNI Law, it can be concluded that the mass media has a strategic role in shaping public perception through the framing techniques they use. The three media outlets analyzed—Kompas.com, Tempo.co, and Metrotvnews.com—presented different narratives of the same event, thereby creating diverse emphases of meaning within society. While Kompas.com and Tempo.co positioned the demonstrations as a form of resistance against the potential decline of democracy and threats to civilian supremacy, Metrotvnews.com tended to focus its coverage on aspects of security and public order. This difference indicates that the media is not neutral but participates in producing social reality through information selection, the use of quotes, and specific narrative structures.

From a religious values perspective, media framing must adhere to Islamic ethical principles such as tabayyun (verification of information), 'adl (fairness in reporting), and hikmah (wisdom in narrative), ensuring that coverage is not solely focused on sensationalism or political interests but also contributes to collective awareness among the faithful in advocating for social justice and civil rights. When the media does not provide fair space for the aspirations of the community or covers up the substance of civil movements, then the media has the potential to limit the practice of amar ma'ruf nahi munkar in the public sphere. Therefore, it is important for the community to be critical and wise in consuming media information, as well as to weigh each narrative with moral principles and noble values of justice.

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