

Media Irritability: Exploration of Human Rights Issues in Indonesia During 2009-2019

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ABSTRACT

As an observing system, the media creates a construction of reality. In Indonesia, one of the interesting and crucial realities is human rights since it is associated with the state of democracy. This study is aimed at exploring the function of media irritability concerning human rights issues in Indonesia during the 2009-2019 period through a series of frames that emerged on the news. The main research question addressed in the current study refers to how media framing of human rights issues in Indonesia is utilized by the media to illustrate the state of human rights. The human rights issue selected is civil and political rights in the 2009-2019 period reported by two media, namely Koran Tempo and Kompas newspapers. Frame analysis was used as a method with a strategic frame analysis (SFA) approach. All the research results were analyzed using the media irritability concept, which is one of the key ideas of Niklas Luhmann's System Theory. This research results indicate that, generally speaking, human rights frames in Indonesia did not undergo any changes between 2009 and 2019. Human rights had been framed as a mandate or agenda of the reform. The framing of human rights conditions in Indonesia remained stagnant without any progress. The function of media irritability has yet to be significantly observed. The framing of human rights, which tended to be stagnant, remains incapable of mobilizing other systems to resonate with human rights issues.

Keywords: *Human rights, framing, irritability, media, construction.*

INTRODUCTION

The radical constructivist's view posits that mass media is an observing system and it creates a construction of reality that differs from reality itself (Luhmann, 2000). It is at this point that the media holds an interesting position as it does not present the truth but extends constant irritation to the public and reproduces moral sensibility at the individual level and communicative level (Luhmann, 2000). Mass media keeps the public cautious and raises a constantly renewed desire to be prepared in confronting shocks and even disruptions. Ultimately, the mass media system is able to accelerate the public by continuously feeding new irritations. This results in the media constantly producing new information and changing old information into non-information (Luhmann, 2000).

It is at this point that the media's position concerning public issues becomes most crucial, as in matters relating to human rights. In Indonesia, media activities on human rights issues also have several strategic meanings. First, they preserve public memory. This is crucial as human rights issues are not temporary problems, they require cross-generational commitment and constant attention. Through media, public memory can be preserved (Carlton, 2018).

Second, unconsciously, the public utilizes the media to construct views, provide a set of general reference and common agenda on various issues including human rights. Generally speaking, Qvortup even states that the media is able to format the general world for the

public (Qvortup, 2006). Third, concerning issues of human rights, people are unable to work alone since enforcement of human rights strongly correlates with government performance, for example through its regulations or political stance that give recognition and appreciation to human rights. In this aspect, the media can be present to carry out a constant intersystem disruption function, for instance between the media and political systems (Luhmann, 2000; Moeller, 2006).

On the other hand, human rights issues in Indonesia are quite problematic since they correlate with the general state of democracy and the government's performance in this particular aspect. In several studies, Indonesia's democratic condition is described as having experienced a declining quality of democracy thereby causing an unbalanced democratic playing field, limited democratic options, and decreased government accountability (Power, 2018). Similar conditions are also conveyed by Edward Aspinall and Eve Warburton (Aspinall & Warburton, 2018).

Indonesia's human rights report and notes also suggest that progress has yet to be achieved in the human rights situation. For instance, the human rights performance index for the 2015-2019 period shows that the government's commitment to human rights remains low (SETARA Institute, 2019). Meanwhile, during former President Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono's administration, the state of human rights had declined (KontraS, 2019). A total of 11 cases of human rights violations in the past are recorded as unresolved to date (Amnesty, 2020; KontraS, 2016). The 2019 human rights situation report by the National Commission on Human Rights [*Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia (Komnas HAM)*] shows that Indonesia's first simultaneous general elections have implications for human rights (Komnas HAM, 2019).

Based on the various issues above, the present study is aimed at exploring the function of media irritability in human rights issues in Indonesia during the 2009-2019 period by using a set of frames that appeared in the media. The research question to be answered in this study is how human rights issues in Indonesia are framed by the media and what types of metaphors are used to describe the human rights situation. Furthermore, it is important to describe the construction process carried out by Kompas dan Koran Tempo.

Civil and political rights (hereinafter referred to as human rights) were chosen as the field examined in this study because they are considered fundamental human rights. The 2009-2019 period showcases two different administrations, namely President Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) and President Joko Widodo (Jokowi), allowing the researchers to have a more extensive landscape and greater latitude in exploring practices of media irritability through news. The data used in the study were acquired from Kompas and Koran Tempo newspapers, which were analyzed using a framing analysis method with a strategic frame analysis (SFA) approach. Both medias are daily print media with a track record of reporting human rights issues. Tempo magazine, which operates under the same media group as Koran Tempo, is the only media outlet that has ever received a Yap Thiam Hien Award from the Center of Human Rights Studies in 2012. One of the journalists of Kompas, Maria Hartiningsih, has also received a similar award in 2013.

Meanwhile, on the other hand, the current research presents a novelty in three aspects at once, i.e., theme, theory, and method. First, the theme of media research and human rights in Indonesia has, generally, been more focused on certain cases (Ikhwan et al., 2019; Karman, 2013; Listiorini et al., 2019) and specific fields of human rights (Masardi, 2010; Nugroho et al., 2013; Susanti, 2004; Valentika & Winduwati, 2019). Second, irritability is one of the underlying concepts concerning media and system theory. The use of the system theory

on media allows greater latitude for the researchers to work in more systemic aspects so that the media is not simply reduced to the individual practice level. Third, the SFA approach on media studies has never been implemented by an Indonesian researcher, accordingly, this research provides a significant contribution to the novelty of the method. Wilson and Kartasasmita (2017) used SFA as their research recommendation in the field of sustainable development and community programs. According to this research, the Indonesian government should use the SFA approach to manage public issues to formulate sustainable development programs and communicate them to the public (Wilson & Kartasasmita, 2017). Abroad, the SFA approach was initiated and used by Susan Nall Bales, the initiator of the FrameWork Institute. Franklin D. Gilliam Jr. examined the role played by the media and the American public in influencing public discourse, especially on youth issues. The SFA model is used to look at dominant frames in two areas at once, namely media and public opinion (Gilliam Jr. & Bales, 2001). Meanwhile, in another research, FrameWork Institute conducted a study on how communication about early childhood development affects public attitudes and policy preferences. This study used media content analysis as one of the methods to answer the problem (Manuel, 2009).

LITERATURE REVIEW

a. The Function of Media Irritability

Based on a systems theory perspective, media irritability is the ability of the media that refers to the disruption it produces for society by creating and interpreting permanent restlessness. This is typically normal in modern society (Luhmann, 2000). The irritation comes from the construction of reality by the media. In another explanation, the media through irritation can be a trigger for social change (Tække, 2022).

A series of ideas about the function of media irritability can be initiated by talking about code. Every system, including mass media, has a code. A code is a way to distinguish elements of the system and those that do not belong to the system. A code is a basic 'language' from a functional system, and it is concurrently used to restrict the types of allowable communication. Accordingly, each act of communication that does not use a code is not communication that is included in the presently considered system (Luhmann, 2000; Ritzer, 2008).

A code also has a binary nature and is able to define positive and negative values. Positive values refer to operational connectivity found in the system: things that people can do. As such, a code is a double-sided format, its internal difference assumes there is externality. However, the internal/external correlation of the code format should not be equated to the difference between system and environment. The internal limit of code, which distinguishes positive and negative values, should not be likened to the external limit, which distinguishes a system and its environment. In other words, the difference of code is positioned orthogonally against the difference between self-reference and other references (Luhmann, 2000).

Luhmann states that what is covered by the code is a distinction that allows observation of the self only by using the distinction of system and environment. The system code of mass media is the distinction between information and non-information (Bechmann & Stehr, 2011; Gerim, 2017; Luhmann, 2000; Moeller, 2006) or based on informative or non-informative (Palmieri, 2020). A system can work with information not the truth. In system theory, truth is never a medium for mass media (Minhoto et al., 2021). In this case,

information is a positive value, the indicating value that describes the possibility of its own operation. However, to have the freedom of examining something as information or otherwise, there should also be the possibility to think that something is non-informative. Without such reflexive value, the system shall depend on anything that comes its way. This implies that the system would not be able to distinguish itself from the environment to control the reduction of its own complexity, its own selection (Bechmann & Stehr, 2011; Luhmann, 2000; Ritzer, 2008).

According to the system theory, the result of such coding is the emergence of certain restlessness and irritability among the public, which can be re-accommodated by mass media in varying program format. From the public's side, this is similar to preparing the public to continuously accept new shocks and even more knowledge and information. In this case, mass media functions to produce and process irritability (Moeller, 2006). In other words, mass media keep society on its toes (Gerim, 2017). The concept of irritability is also a part of a closed operational system and it refers to a format in which a system is able to resonate events in the surrounding environment (Moeller, 2006).

The concept of irritability also describes change that subsequently follows in system arrangement. Thus, it can be stated that mass media keeps the public cautious. The media evokes continuously renewed desires to prepare in dealing with shocks, even disruptions. In this case, mass media is 'in line' with accelerated auto-dynamics of other function systems like economy, knowledge, and politics, which constantly set the public against new things and problems (Moeller, 2006).

Mass media also has an impact on social dynamics and the speeding up of time. Mass media continues to produce antiquity and obsolescence. By producing new information, the mass media system also produces non-information. Other function systems are unable to ignore such time production (Moeller, 2006). As an example, the media system needs to constantly pay attention to what's new, what's old, and what's happening in the political system. This means that the irritation not only produces disruption to the public but also to other systems (Palmieri, 2020).

When injecting speed into the public, mass media provides the public with what is known to be known – and they provide that not as something that is basically given, but as a highly dynamic process. According to Luhmann (2000), memories never become a storage or a stockpile, on the contrary, they are continuously operational production of actuality (Moeller, 2006).

The capacity of the media to create irritation is also apparent in the concept of structural coupling, i.e., a mechanism of two mutually correlating autonomous systems that can concurrently maintain autonomy (Artieri & Gemini, 2019; Luhmann, 2000). Bechmann and Stehr simply explain that by way of structural coupling, media can be connected with the environment (Bechmann & Stehr, 2011).

Structural coupling does not dissolve the operational 'integrity' of the system involved, but it merely enhances mutual irritability and construction complexity. This mechanism is a two-way process and it incites various responses. The system will still operate based on their own code although it will be under a very strict structural connection. The stronger the structural coupling, the clearer it is that the system is unable to dominate one another (Moeller, 2006). Bechmann and Stehr simply explain that through structural coupling, the media can be connected with the environment (Bechmann & Stehr, 2011). Ultimately, nothing can avoid irritability, but each system still remains in its own autopoiesis. Luhmann defines this as a cybernetic cycle.

Previous research using systems theory in the media landscape has been conducted several times. For example, Arifudin et al. (2020) Haryadi highlighted local media in the perspective of ecological communication developed by Niklas Luhmann. The perspective of systems theory in media studies was also explored by Lars Qvortrup who examined media reportage in natural disasters in the perspective of structural coupling between media systems and religious systems (Qvortrup, 2006). Meanwhile, throughout the researcher's search, there has been no media research that specifically uses the concept of media irritability both in Indonesia and outside Indonesia.

b. Media Construction

Radical constructivism is founded on the assumption that it is improbable for the public to understand the world as it is due to our cognition being a self-referential system that has no direct contact with pure reality. Heinz von Foerster stated 'the world we see is an imagination' (Hanitzsch, 2001). That is why Luhmann argues that there is no truth that can be expected from the presence of media, and as a result, truth has never been a medium of mass media (Minhoto et al., 2021). This is because the media is a producer of reality resulting from constructs (Luhmann, 2000).

Radical constructivists state that each reality is an effect of a certain capacity that constructs its ability to experience it. Reality appears after it has been processed, felt, or 'observed' as reality. In Luhmann's (2000) words, it is mentioned that reality is the effect of 'cognition as construction'. Based on this premise, distinction can be made between first hand reality or what is directly experienced, which is thus constructed by the self, and reality experienced second hand or indirectly, which is thus constructed by someone else. A person operates within the format of second-hand observation soon after another person indirectly observes something, but that person observes it just as it is observed by another. Simply put, the second order observation is 'the perception of what others say or don't say' (Moeller, 2017). This principle can be applied to mass media. For example, the mass media presents a description of human rights in Indonesia in such a way so that it is understood by the general public that has never even been a victim of human rights violation. The public also indirectly interprets human rights through news on mass media. Such understanding and awareness of human rights are the results of second order observation.

The way the media constructs a reality can be explained through framing strategy. Entman stated that framing is choosing several aspects of the perceived reality and making them more prominent in the text being communicated (Entman, 1993; Wui & Wei, 2020). Stephen D. Reese argues that frames are mechanisms of organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent from time to time, that operate symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world (Reese, 2010). Reese's definition points out some key words that explain the characteristics of frames, namely frames are highly variable, based on abstract principles, their meaning is shared, have durability and are a format for symbolic expression. Frames are also organized with identifiable and complex structures and patterns (Reese, 2001, 2010). According to Reese's definition, it is apparent that frames can be understood as long term practice so that the variations and durability from time to time can be observed in a number of research (Chen et al., 2021; Hallberg-Sramek et al., 2020; Jung & Jung, 2021).

Generally speaking, the concept of framing can lead to two domains, i.e., the public (Ahmed et al., 2019; van Hulst & Yanow, 2016) and media practice (Ahmed et al., 2019; Yang & Chen, 2019). The spotlight on how humans and frames are associated is also presented by

Bales through the strategic frame analysis approach. Bales considers frames are extremely strong, not only because we have internalized them from the media, but because frames have become human nature as frames enable the public to process information efficiently and understand life. The limited number of frames used allows the public to understand new information efficiently and understand the world. When communication is insufficient, then by default the public have 'pictures in their heads' (Bales, 2002).

In the current study, media frames are used to explore the function of media irritability in human rights issues in Indonesia in the 2009-2019 period. Irritability function can be observed through a set of frame elements used to develop frames and storytelling about human rights issues by each media.

METHODOLOGY

The method used in this study is a qualitative method, especially qualitative text analysis using the frame analysis model of Strategic Frame Approach (SFA). Researchers used the SFA frame analysis model to answer two research problems, namely what metaphors are used by Kompas and Koran Tempo to describe the human rights situation in Indonesia and how the two media frame the issue. Metaphor is one of the frame elements of SFA which is of particular interest to researchers because it shows how the media formulates certain reasoning patterns. Through the analysis of SFA frame elements, researchers can also describe the construction process carried out by each media. Thus, the researcher's exploration on the aspect of media irritability can be explained.

In this research, the data collection steps include determining the boundaries of the data under study, the data collection used and the way to record the information that has been obtained. In this study, it was implemented through a number of stages. First, the data collected is in the form of news documents and researchers set a number of news criteria. Namely, news about human rights, especially civil and political rights, published at the momentum of reflection on the enforcement and protection of human rights. These momentums are the commemoration of the World Human Rights Day (10 December), Indonesia's Independence Day (17 August), Indonesian Reform Memorial Day (21 May), Semanggi I (11-13 November) and Semanggi II (24 September) tragedies memorial days, Trisakti Tragedy Memorial Day (12 May), and Thursday Silent Protest (*Aksi Kamis*) (18 January). This measure was taken so that the research does not solely focus on a specific event and issue. This was also done to present a research novelty.

Second, the researcher conducted data collection by manual search by reading one by one news with the theme of civil and political human rights in Kompas and Koran Tempo for the period 2009-2019. The news search focused on the moments that had been determined by the researcher. Furthermore, the news was compiled into a list to be analyzed.

Third, upon taking stock of news using the aforementioned criteria, as many as 76 news reports from Koran Tempo and 64 news reports from Kompas daily were obtained for further analyses by using the frame elements of Strategic Frame Analysis (SFA). The six frame elements used in SFA are context, numbers, messenger, visuals, metaphor and simplifying models as well as tone (Bales, 2002). The following (Table 1) is an explanation of each SFA element.

Table 1: SFA Elements

Number	Frame elements	Explanation
1	Context	Shows how the media establishes the cause of the problem and who is responsible for solving it.
2	Numbers	Numbers can show a picture of the problem and also have the potential to create public misunderstanding and public manipulation if not accompanied by an explanation.
3	Messenger	The messenger shows the importance of the message contained in the news and can be potentially biased if the messenger is not credible on the issue.
4	Visuals	Images refer to a specific verbal framework.
5	Metaphor and simplifying models	Metaphors and simplifying models refer to patterns of reasoning that allow certain conclusions to be drawn.
6	Tone	Tone is used to reinforce other frame elements. It can be rhetorical, polarizing people, or reasonable, stemming from thoughts and discourses that contain potential solutions.

Source: (Bales, 2002)

In the research findings section, researchers will not explain the identification of each frame element. This is because each element becomes a unity in forming the media frame. Particularly in the metaphor and simplifying model's element, researchers pay attention because this element can explain the pattern of media reasoning on a reality to the public.

Fourth, after analysis, the data were processed by performing systematization and aligning them with the research question. The process of analysis was carried out by creating categories, assigning codes, analyzing and presenting them into summaries. The findings of the research are not presented according to each of the frame elements since the frames are made up entirely of all the inseparable elements.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section is used to answer two fundamental questions, namely what metaphors are used by the media to describe the human rights situation in Indonesia and how the media frame Tempo and Kompas newspapers. These two things are the results of qualitative text analysis using the SFA model. Furthermore, researchers also formulated how the construction process was carried out by each media. Through the three answers to the main problem formulation, researchers explored the function of irritability carried out by Tempo and Kompas Newspapers on human rights issues in Indonesia.

Koran Tempo's Framing of Civil and Political Rights Issues

The results of frame analysis on 76 news reports published by Koran Tempo between 2009 and 2019 concerning issues of civil and political rights (hereinafter referred as human rights issues) were mapped out into some findings.

Koran Tempo used a number of metaphors to describe the situation of human rights in Indonesia, namely as 'having no progress', 'an unpaid debt', 'an unimplemented reform mandate', 'being detained if it is not resolved or finalized soon', 'being in a comma', and 'having no direction'.

This, among others, is apparent in the heading of a news report 'The President Promised Past Human Rights Cases to be Resolved' (14/04/2011). Koran Tempo presents a frame in which the president promised to resolve past human rights cases, but in reality, the

efforts made by the government were going nowhere and had even gone off course. This news report also emphasizes that the resolution of grave human rights violations is a reform mandate.

Furthermore, six frame elements including metaphor and simplifying models show a number of findings related to media frames. First, a frame that consistently emerged was that human rights is the responsibility of certain institutions, i.e., the government, the legislative, the attorney general, and the police. Generally speaking, there are three categorizations of parties involved in human rights issues. These categorizations also indicate the stances that the parties maintain concerning civil and political rights issues in Indonesia, they are the government, the legislative, the attorney general, and the police force as those responsible for the enforcement and protection of human rights. The next parties involved are human rights activists and civil society (including human rights violation victims and their families), as those who are disadvantaged and victimized. Meanwhile, the National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM) is positioned between these two parties as an institution that has various limitations in carrying out its duties.

This finding can be correlated with the metaphor finding, which suggests that the state of human rights in Indonesia remains poor, as is the frame used to describe the government. Koran Tempo framed the government's performance in handling human rights issues by using metaphors like 'having no progress', 'the government has no political will', 'the government is going nowhere', 'the government isn't serious', 'the government has failed', and 'the government is not committed'.

This is observed in the news report with the heading 'Enforcement of Human Rights Experiences No Progress' (11/12/2009). This news report, generally, presents to the public a mindset that the enforcement of human rights during the era of President Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) did not experience any progress and this implies that there is unpaid debt since for the first 100 days of SBY's presidency, no human rights violation was brought to court.

Another news report titled 'Resolution of Human Rights Cases Relies on President's Commitment' (11/12/2019) offers to the public a mindset that the government has neither the will nor the political commitment to resolve past cases of human rights violation. This is because the government preferred to resolve these issues by means of impunity and reconciliation.

Table 2: Frames and Metaphors of Human Rights News Reports in Koran Tempo

Period	Human Rights Frames in Indonesia	Metaphors for the government and its personnel	Metaphors for Komnas HAM	Metaphors for human rights violation victims and their family
2009	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Enforcement of human rights experienced no progress. -Abandoned cases of human rights due to poor government performance. -Resolution of grave violations of human rights is mandated by the reform. -Lengthy process in resolving cases of human rights due to 'office ping-pong' between the Attorney General and Komnas HAM. -Reconciliation should be preceded by a judicial process to rectify historical facts. -The government failed to suppress human rights violations. -Poor human rights records. -State of human rights has no clear direction and is deviating off course. -State of human rights experiences no progress, particularly in revealing past cases of human rights violation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The government has no political will. -The government is going nowhere. -The government is not serious. -The government failed. -The government is not committed. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The authority of Komnas HAM should not be restricted. -Komnas HAM has little authority in investigating human rights cases. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Human right violation victim (*no specific metaphor).
2019				

Source: primary data

Second, each year, reflections on human rights experienced a shift toward new human rights cases while there was nearly no new frame offered concerning past human rights cases. This finding correlates with the fourth finding, i.e., no efforts have been made to indicate a consistent long-term trend. Koran Tempo tended to be capable of showcasing data on recently occurring issues of human rights, such as freedom of religion, intolerance, violence against women. However, the consequences nor impacts they have on the bigger system were neither shown, including on the issue of past human rights violations. This resulted in the frames of past human rights issues becoming stagnant.

As an example, in the news report titled 'Jokowi Administration's Human Rights Records Remain Poor' (11/12/2017), Koran Tempo used data from KontraS [*Komisi untuk Orang Hilang dan Korban Tindak Kekerasan* (Commission for the Disappeared and Victims of Violence)] to show the human rights situation in Indonesia during the 2016-2017 period. In general, the data suggest that throughout this period 163 cases of persecution were found with numerous details provided. Nonetheless, Koran Tempo did not try to correlate the data with the bigger issue and the consequences that the public and the government can construe behind the data.

Third, generally speaking, the construction of human rights issues in Koran Tempo was produced by facts on the field acquired from three sources, namely statements of informants consisting of various parties, data from coverage results, and research data (Figure 1). The combination of these three sources makes up the construction of human rights issues. In terms of research data, Koran Tempo often presented them without further interpretation. We consider that these data were treated as part of facts that journalists found on the field. There were no significant efforts made by Koran Tempo to define, correlate, and confirm research data with informants.

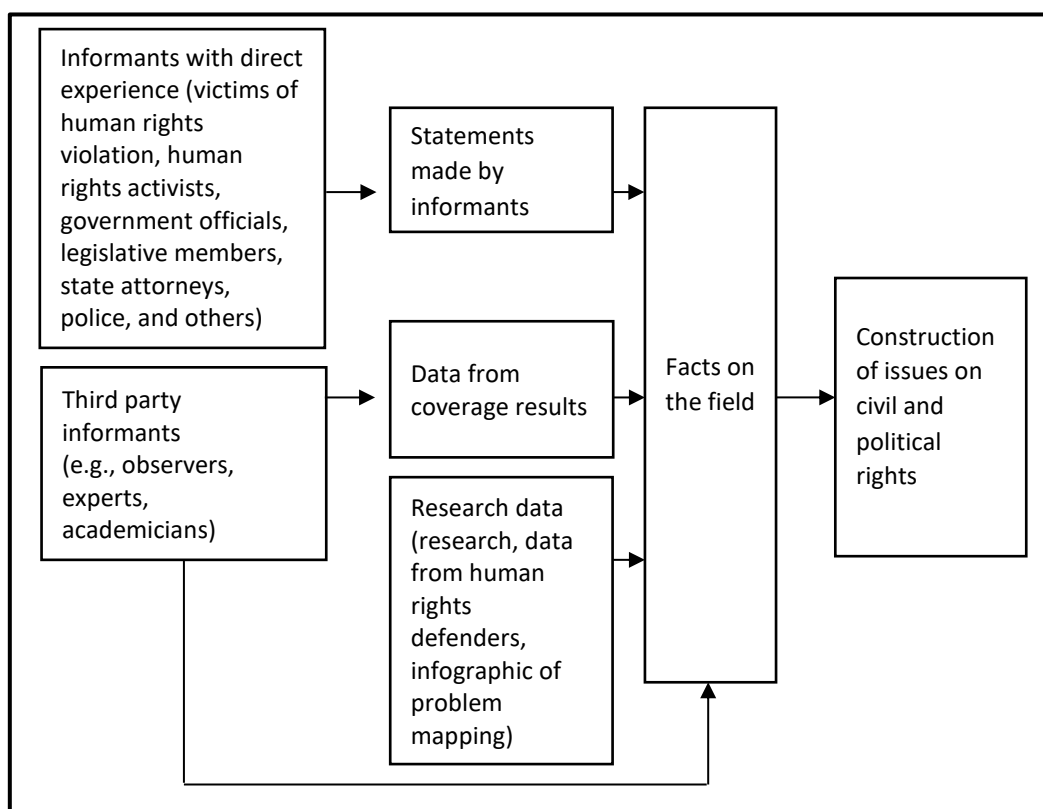


Figure 1: The construction process of Koran Tempo
Source: primary data

Kompas' Framing of Civil and Political Rights Issues

The frame analyses of news reports published by Kompas indicate three significant findings. First, the human rights situation in Indonesia was described by using the metaphors 'assurance and protection of human rights are not guaranteed', 'unfinished reform agenda', 'enforcement of human rights is stagnant', 'no progress in enforcement of human rights', 'stagnant and tends to decline', and 'human rights is a commodity and narrow interest'.

Second, Kompas daily framed human rights issues as the responsibility of various parties with varying portions. For the government, Kompas assigned the metaphor ‘the government handles the issue of human rights as business as usual’, ‘SBY the same as Orba (the New Order – Soeharto’s administration)’, ‘the state is neglectful’, ‘the government has no political will’, ‘the government considers the issue of human rights insignificant’. Meanwhile, Kompas described the performance of Komnas HAM by using metaphors ‘disappointed in Komnas HAM’, ‘unfocused and unfinished’, and ‘suboptimal work’. The description of Komnas HAM’s performance is apparent in a news report titled ‘Komnas HAM is Unable to Finish It Alone’ (15/01/2010).

Concerning the victims of past human rights violations and their family, the metaphor ‘sacrifice of the reform elites’ was used. As for the public, the metaphor ‘the public is the key in confronting discrimination’. These metaphors appeared around the 20 years momentum of the reform in 2018. In general, the frames and use of metaphors in Kompas’ reporting are presented in Table 3 as follows:

Table 3: Frames and metaphors of human rights news reports in Kompas

Period	Human Rights Frames in Indonesia	Metaphors for the government and its personnel	Metaphors for Komnas HAM	Metaphors for the general public (including victims of human rights violation)	Metaphors for past human rights violation victims and their family
2009	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Assurance and protection of human rights are not guaranteed. -Unfinished reform agenda. -Enforcement of human rights is stagnant. -No progress in enforcement of human rights. -Stagnant and tends to decline. -Human rights is a commodity and narrow interest. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The government handles the issue of human rights as business as usual. -SBY is the same as the New Order. -The state is neglectful. -The government has no political will. -The government considers the issue of human rights insignificant. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Komnas HAM’s performance was disappointing. -Komnas HAM is unfocused and unfinished (in its work). -Komnas HAM is suboptimal in its work. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Public awareness is key in confronting discrimination. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Sacrifice of reform elites.
2019					

Source: primary data

Third, the frames Kompas made concerning issues of human rights also leveraged momentums of reflections, policies, and discourses of the government. Kompas daily subsequently used data to show trends, consequences or impacts that might potentially occur in the future.

These things are observed in the news report titled “Human Rights Violation Still Persists in the Judicial Process’ (09/01/2019), which informs about the right to a fair judicial process, one of the most violated human rights during 2018. The data used in the article was sourced from the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (*Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Indonesia – YLBHI*), which received as many as 3,445 complaints throughout 2018. That number had increased compared to 2017 data. In addition to explanations regarding the factors causing the violation of fairness principle in the judicial process, the article also presents solutions to minimize violations of rights to a fair judicial process.

Generally speaking, the processes and elements involved in the construction process of Kompas daily are presented in Figure 2 below.

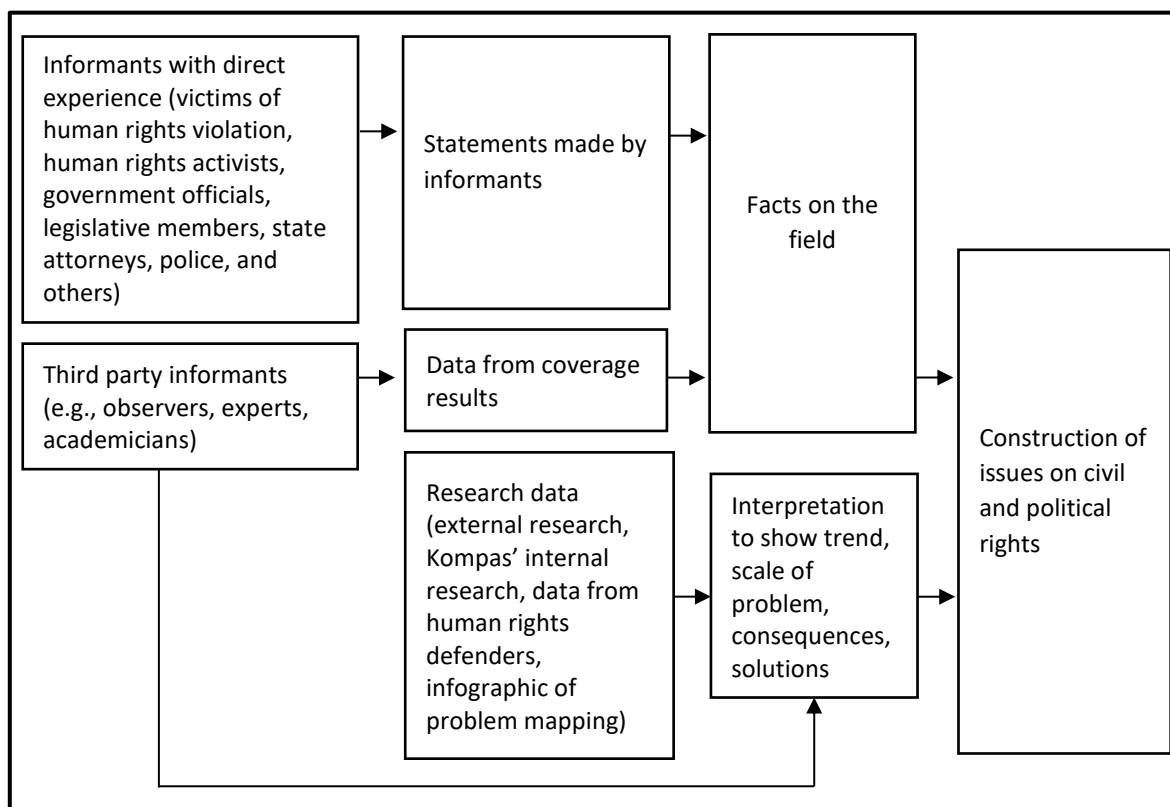


Figure 2: The construction process of Kompas
Source: primary data

Figure 2 suggests that the process of constructing human rights issues in Kompas was conducted by combining three sources, namely statements made by informants, data from coverage results, and research data. Unlike Koran Tempo, Kompas daily was more intense in providing interpretation of research data to show trends, scale of problem, future consequences as well as solutions. Informants, particularly third-party ones, are also leveraged to provide understanding of the data.

Exploring the Function of Media Irritability

In systems theory, the information showcased by the media is not mere contents disseminated to the public, it is the result of the media's construction of reality. Luhmann said that the media's ability to construct reality shows their capacity to process observations of reality. As a medium that makes observations and the results will be used by the public to see reality, the results of this construction will bring certain consequences that are quite serious. For example, how the media is able to create a need for new information for the public and create resonance that colors other systems. Including how the media carries out its function of irritability as the main consequence of the existence of mass media in the public. This results in several consequences leading to the function of media irritability.

The first consequence is that the information creates a need for subsequent information. This means that the way the media constructs the reality of human rights correlates with the public's need for and sensitivity to the issue. According to Luhmann, this is where the cybernetic cycle is formed. Media that provide intake in the form of meaningful and comprehensive constructions indirectly shape public needs for information that is also rich and provides space for critical public discussion so that the media tries to fulfill these needs and vice versa. This aspect can also be traced from several findings conducted by Kompas and Koran Tempo.

The choice made by Koran Tempo to emphasize responsibility for enforcing and protecting human rights to be borne by the government, the legislative, the attorney general, and the police has the potential of reducing the issue of human rights (see Figure 1). For example, Komnas HAM is the institution that assumes the functions of reviewing, studying, counseling, monitoring, and mediating cases of human rights in Indonesia.

In Koran Tempo, Komnas HAM was relatively situated in a non-crucial position for determining the state of human rights. Koran Tempo also positioned the public in a relationship that has constantly been damaged by the main responsible party. This differs from the findings in Kompas daily, which framed the issue of human rights as being the responsibility of various parties. The government and its personnel were considered responsible for and their roles are constantly questioned in assuming such responsibility. On the other hand, Komnas HAM was constructed as a crucial party that has yet to display maximum performance. Furthermore, Kompas also emphasized that the public needs to have more power, e.g., in issues of discrimination.

The second consequence from the presented information, which is capable of creating the need for new information, is resonance to events in the surrounding environment. In this section, the operation of the information and non-information code becomes very pronounced. As soon as information about human rights issues is delivered to the public, it becomes non-information and so on. The result of this coding in addition to the restlessness in society due to the supply of new information is resonance.

Resonance is a concept in systems theory that can be explained by describing how issues presented by the media cause certain responses in other structures. For example, when the media framed that President Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) is the same as the New Order administration in handling the issue of human rights, then it was expected to trigger other systems to resonate. This is why media news is crucial, as it has the potential to mobilize and develop sensitivity as well as responses of other systems. For example, the political system and the legal system.

Regarding the function of media irritability, how the media is able to have an impact on social dynamics is also important to study. According to systems theory, the presence of new information that indirectly produces non-information is able to inject speed and disrupt society. It is at this point that social dynamics emerge since the public surely cannot simply ignore the reality constructed by the media. Moeller, for instance, states that mass media is a destabilizing factor because it introduces variance. The public is confronted by mutually opposing views and opinions, by different values and options instead of a final consensus about a certain matter (Moeller, 2006).

Figure 1 and Figure 2 show the processes that Koran Tempo and Kompas carried out in constructing the reality of human rights in Indonesia. Both had the tendency to use varying sources, in terms of informants and research data. The difference lies in the fact that Kompas intended to show data interpretation so that the public is not merely presented with research figures but the consequences behind those numbers as well. The interpretation of research data can also be perceived as a way to show the scale of a problem. Accordingly, news reports on human rights do not simply end with reporting information but also providing room to think about what should subsequently be done, who are responsible, what solutions should be implemented by the parties involved. It is at this point that the need for further information, including the desire to provide a response, can be facilitated. By contrast, if data interpretation is not developed intensively, room for new information needs and follow-up responses will not be well facilitated.

Conveying interpretation can also enrich the context of an issue. The presence of context in a news report can at least provide two benefits. First, it provides an explanation about the map of the case or problem. Second, in a complex problem context is used to help the public systematize the problem. Third, it gives the public space to correlate it with an even bigger or more extensive problem. Fourth, it provides knowledge to 'new audiences' so that they can more easily connect with the main problem and have the same analytical speed as 'old audiences. Fifth, it allows room for new awareness to appear.

In systems theory, the media's ability to enrich context and deepen certain issues also shows that as a system it is able to execute the complexity of the environment and actively select information. It is in this dimension that the function of media irritability can be sensed by the public. Conversely, in a construction process lacking richness and stuck in shallow construction, the media also minimizes room for the public to resonate with the issue at hand. While in fact, the public holds a significant role in human rights issues. The public is the party that monitors government performance in protecting and enforcing human rights. Public awareness of appreciation and recognition of human rights is also important because human rights violations are not only vertical in nature, but horizontal as well.

In general, this research is able to show how the media frames in reporting human rights issues in Indonesia in 2009-2019 on Kompas and Koran Tempo, including the identification of the use of metaphors and the construction process carried out by both. A number of findings show that the function of media accountability has not been consistently carried out. In addition, the use of this concept also provides a reflection on the complexity of the media construction process on human rights issues. This kind of reflection has not been explored by media research that specifically uses systems theory (Arifudin et al., 2020; Qvortup, 2006). In addition, the method does not use SFA framing elements. Meanwhile, media and human rights research also mostly highlights specific cases (Ikhwan et al., 2019; Karman, 2013; Listiorini et al., 2019) and specific areas of human rights (Masardi, 2010; Nugroho et al., 2013; Susanti, 2004; Valentika & Winduwati, 2019). Therefore, this research

indirectly pushes the media to a wider and more intense provocation. The construction aspect does not only discuss at the fact that the media is indeed unable to present the truth but pushes it to be discussed further, namely in perspectives that encourage people to be restless and irritate.

CONCLUSION

This research has produced several key findings. First, generally speaking, the frame of human rights in Indonesia has yet to experience any changes since 2009 until 2019. Human rights had been framed as a reform agenda or mandate. The frame of the human rights situation in Indonesia is stagnation without any progress.

Second, through the news reports published by the media, they stressed the tasks and responsibilities of addressing human rights to be assumed by the government. This is apparent from the choice of metaphors they made in framing the government and other parties involved such as Komnas HAM and victims of human rights violation.

Third, the construction process carried out by the media correlates with the acuity of human rights frames produced. This is observed in the efforts made by Kompas daily in defining research data, which were able to produce frames, including metaphors, that were more varied than Koran Tempo. As a result, Kompas is seen to have framed human rights as an issue associated with numerous parties, despite still putting emphasis on the government. Kompas also framed Komnas HAM as an institution with a disappointing performance.

Fourth, given such general description, the function of media irritability has not been significantly observed. The frame of human rights, which tends to be stagnant, is incapable of creating the public's need for newer information and is still unable to drive other systems to resonate with human rights issues. We believe the media needs to be more consistent, for example, by showing the significance of the public's role and by setting human rights issues in a more holistic frame.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The researchers would like to thank the Doctoral Program in Communication Science, Universitas Gadjah Mada that has facilitated and support this research.

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