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Online Media Framing of Mining Permit Policies of Religious Mass Organizations (Ormas): A Study on Detik.com and Kompas.com

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ABSTRACT

Government policy granting mining management permits to religious mass organizations (ormas) has sparked a range of public responses and has become a sensitive issue that is widely covered by the media. This study aimed to analyze how online media framing shapes public discourse regarding policy, particularly through coverage by Detik.com and Kompas.com. The research employs a qualitative approach using Entman's framing analysis model, which includes four elements: defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments, and suggesting remedies. Data were collected from 58 news articles published between May and July of 2024 (26 from Detik.com and 32 from Kompas.com). The analysis technique involved content categorization and narrative interpretation of each framing element. The results show that Detik.com tends to frame the issue in a neutral and procedural manner, predominantly featuring elite quotations, without exploring conflicts or making moral judgments. By contrast, Kompas.com presents a more reflective and deliberative framing, highlighting internal disagreements within the ormas and drawing attention to the moral, environmental, and social aspects of mining policy. This difference in framing reflects each media outlet's editorial orientation and position within the media power structure. These findings underscore that online media is not homogeneous and that news framing can shape diverse public perceptions and discourses about state policies. This study contributes to the scholarly examination of digital media framing in Indonesia, in the context of differing perspectives and societal narratives regarding state policies and natural resources.

Keywords: Entman, framing, mining, Muhammadiyah

ABSTRAK

Kebijakan pemerintah yang memberikan izin pengelolaan tambang kepada organisasi masyarakat (ormas) keagamaan menimbulkan beragam respons publik dan menjadi isu sensitif yang diliput luas oleh media. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis bagaimana framing media online membentuk wacana publik atas kebijakan tersebut, khususnya melalui pemberitaan Detik.com dan Kompas.com. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan analisis framing model Entman yang mencakup empat elemen: define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgment, dan suggest remedies. Data diambil dari 58 berita yang terbit pada Mei–Juli 2024 (26 dari Detik.com dan 32 dari Kompas.com). Teknik analisis dilakukan dengan kategorisasi isi dan interpretasi naratif per elemen framing. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Detik.com cenderung membingkai isu secara netral dan prosedural, dengan dominasi kutipan elite tanpa eksplorasi konflik atau penilaian moral. Sebaliknya, Kompas.com menunjukkan framing yang lebih reflektif dan deliberatif, dengan

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mengangkat perbedaan pendapat internal ormas, serta menyoroti aspek moral, lingkungan, dan sosial dari kebijakan tambang. Perbedaan framing ini mencerminkan orientasi redaksional masing-masing media serta posisi mereka dalam struktur kekuasaan media. Temuan ini menegaskan bahwa media online tidak bersifat homogen, dan framing berita dapat membentuk persepsi serta wacana publik yang beragam atas kebijakan negara. Penelitian ini memberikan kontribusi pada kajian framing media digital di Indonesia dalam konteks perbedaan pandangan dalam narasi dan perspektif masyarakat tentang Kebijakan Negara dan sumber daya alam.

Kata Kunci: Entman, framing, tambang, Muhammadiyah

INTRODUCTION

The Indonesian government issued Government Regulation No. 25 of 2024, which provides an opportunity for religious community organizations to participate in the management of mining resources. This policy has generated diverse responses from public and religious figures, particularly from two major organizations, Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. Previous studies have shown that media framing plays a significant role in shaping public perceptions of state policies and controversies surrounding them (Crow & Lawlor, 2016; McCombs & Valenzuela, (2020); Permadi et al., 2024). In the Indonesian context, research on religious organizations has generally emphasized their socio-educational and civil society roles (Jufri, 2022; Wasisto et al., 2022), while studies examining their involvement in natural resource governance remain limited. Meanwhile, legal and policy-oriented scholarship has highlighted regulatory conflicts and feasibility issues in granting mining permits to religious organizations (Astinda et al., 2024; Mohede, 2025; Rachman & Tunggati, 2024). These gaps suggest that the issue of mining permits for religious organizations is not only politically sensitive but also academically relevant for advancing discussions at the intersection of communication, religion, and public policy.

Studies on media framing have consistently demonstrated that the media have the power to shape public perceptions of political and policy issues by selecting certain aspects of reality and making them more salient (Crow & Lawlor, 2016; Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2019; McCombs & Valenzuela, 2020; Olayinka & Odunayo, 2024). In the Indonesian context, research has examined how online media frame state policies and political discourses, including legislation and natural resource governance (Permadi et al., 2024; Jamal, 2024). Other studies have analyzed the significant role of religious organizations such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama in public life and their influence on state policy (Jufri, 2022; Wasisto et al., 2022). Legal scholars have also noted contradictions and feasibility issues in granting mining permits to religious organizations (Astinda et al., 2024; Mohede,

2025; Rachman & Tungga, 2024). However, little attention has been paid to how online media frame the intersection of communication, religion, and public policy in the sensitive domain of natural resource management. This study seeks to fill that gap by applying Entman's framing analysis to compare Detik.com and Kompas.com, thereby offering a novel perspective that integrates media, religion, and policy debates in Indonesia.

This article focuses on framing analysis applied by two influential online media outlets in Indonesia, Detik.com and Kompas.com, regarding the government's policy on granting mining permits to religious community organizations. Using Entman's framing analysis model (D'Angelo, 2017), this study aims to identify the construction of the narratives formed, the main actors featured, and the tendency of the media content to show support, rejection, or neutrality towards the policy. Framing analysis was chosen because of its reliability in deciphering how media shape social reality (Van Dijk, 2023). The media accomplishes this by selecting specific issues, emphasizing particular aspects, and using distinctive languages (D'Angelo 2017). Entman's framing approach includes four key elements (Samsudin 2020). a. Define problems: How do Detik.com and Kompas.com present the issue of mining permits for community organizations? b. Diagnose causes: What factors are highlighted by the media as causes for the emergence of this policy? c. Make moral judgments: Are there any moral evaluations regarding the policy or of certain actors? d. Treatment recommendation: Do the media offer solutions or specific actions?

Framing, in the context of media, refers to the process of selecting and emphasizing certain elements of a reality with the aim of shaping the audience's perspective on the related issue (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2019). Robert Entman (D'Angelo, 2017) defines framing as the act of "selecting certain aspects of perceived reality and making them more prominent in a communication text." Thus, the media not only serves as a channel for factual information but also as a creator of reality through the assignment of specific meanings and emphasis (Hall, 2024). This framing process shapes narratives through the structured use of language, structure, and visual elements (Van Dijk 2023).

In communication studies, framing has been implemented using various analytical models. One commonly used model is the Entman model, which includes four main elements (Samsudin, 2020): problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendations. In the context of online media, framing is realized through the selection of news headlines, main sources of information, and relevant visual representations.

Online media are Internet-based platforms that digitally deliver journalistic information (Foust 2017). Online media is characterized by the speed of information dissemination, interactivity, and global connectivity (Pantic & Cvetkovic, 2020). Media such as Detik.com and Kompas.com are examples of mainstream digital media in Indonesia that have a significant influence on shaping public opinion regarding contemporary issues. Online media has several distinct characteristics (Zhaoxun, 2016): (1) hypertextuality, which allows readers to navigate various links; (2) multimediality, combining text, images, video, and audio; (3) interactivity, enabling direct feedback from users; and (4) high actuality, with the ability to update news in real time (Trappel, 2008). In the context of framing, online media often adjusts news perspectives to attract clicks (clickbait framing), which can significantly affect the representation of issues (ur Rahman, 2023).

Religious community organizations (ormas) are religion-based social groups that play a role in public life and national development (Rahmat, n.d.). In the Indonesian context, organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah have significant historical, social, and political influence (Jufri, 2022). Public policies targeting religious community organizations, including the granting of mining permits, are forms of political affirmation that contain strategic and ideological dimensions.

The role of religious organizations in public policy can be classified as (1) an advocative role, meaning voicing moral and social interests; (2) a participatory role, which is involved in policymaking; and (3) an instrumental role, when the organization acts as an executor of policy, such as in the management of education, health, or natural resources. Granting mining permits to religious organizations is a new manifestation of this instrumental role and has the potential to create value conflicts between economic interests and the prophetic religious mission (Wasisto et al., 2022).

The central argument in this study is that each media entity implements a unique framing of the issue of mining permits for religious mass organizations, reflecting their inherent ideological positions and editorial orientations. The initial proposed hypothesis indicates that Kompas.com tends to frame this issue with a more conservative and institution-oriented approach, while Detik.com tends to represent a broader spectrum of opinions, although still within a pragmatic and neutral framework.

The purpose of this study is to analyze how online media frame the government's mining permit policy for religious mass organizations by comparing the coverage of Detik.com and Kompas.com during the period of May–July 2024. Specifically, this study aims to: (1) identify how each media outlet defines the problem, diagnoses causes, makes moral judgments,

and suggests remedies using Entman's framing model; (2) examine the similarities and differences in framing strategies between the two media; and (3) discuss the implications of these framing practices for public discourse on the relationship between communication, religion, and public policy in Indonesia. By formulating the objectives in this way, the scope of the study is limited to news articles from two national online media within a three-month period, thus ensuring clarity and focus in the analysis

RESEARCH METHOD

This study investigates the representation of mining management licensing issues by the Indonesian government to religious mass organizations, focusing on Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah in online media coverage. The research objects included news articles published by Detik.com and Kompas.com from May to July 2024. This period was chosen to capture the dynamics of and responses to the enactment of Government Regulation No. 25 of 2024. These media outlets were selected because they are popular online platforms with a broad readership in Indonesia. Detik.com represents a fast and concise news reporting style (Editorial Team, 2017), whereas Kompas.com is known for a more analytical and reflective approach (Mantalean & Meiliana, 2023). These contrasting characteristics enable a rich comparative analysis of framing, especially on sensitive issues, such as mining permits for religious organizations. Additionally, both have a strong influence on shaping public opinion in digital spaces. The institutions at the center of the analysis in media coverage include the government, NU, Muhammadiyah, and parties supporting or opposing the policy.

This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach (Sugiyono, 2013) with a content analysis research type based on constructivism (Ahmad, 2018). Secondary data were used (Rakhmawati, 2019) in the form of online news documents officially published by the two media outlets. There were no primary data in the form of interviews in this study, as the analysis focused on the narrative structure and content of the news texts.

The sources of information in this study are online news documents from Detik.com and Kompas.com, with 58 news articles covering issues related to religious mass organizations and mining concessions. The sources quoted in the news (such as government officials, NU and Muhammadiyah figures, and community leaders) were treated as units of analysis in examining the construction of media messages, not as direct informants.

The Data Collection Techniques used in this study involved a series of stages:

The identification and selection of news articles relevant to the issue of granting mining permits to religious organizations were collected from Detik.com and Kompas.com, covering

the period from May to July 2024.

News Classification: These articles were classified based on the publication date, identity of the quoted sources, and related institutional context.

Documentation and Coding of News: The news data were documented and coded using a news matrix to facilitate the analysis.

Data Validation: Validation was carried out through data triangulation, comparing information between reports and among actors from various sources.

The data analysis technique used was Robert Entman's framing analysis model, which includes four main categories:

Tabel 1. Framing Model Robert Entman

News Trends	Number of News (%)
Problem Definition	How are issues defined in news texts?
Causal Interpretation	Who or what is considered the cause of the problem?
Moral Evaluation	Ethical or moral assessment of an issue/policy.
Treatment Recommendation	A solution or call for action is conveyed.

The data were analyzed in depth to identify the framing patterns of each media outlet regarding the issue of mining policy for mass organizations, while also comparing the ideological and narrative tendencies between media outlets.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Framing Detik

Based on an analysis of 26 news articles from Detik.com from May to July 2024, it was found that the majority of the coverage contained information regarding the responses of religious organizations to the government's policy on granting mining management permits. Most of the articles are neutral in tone, featuring direct quotes from the figures of NU, Muhammadiyah, MUI, and state officials.

Table 2. Trends in the Contents of the Seconds

News Trends	Number of News (%)
Neutral	23 News (88%)
Agree	2 News (8%)
Disagree	1 News (4%)
Total	26 News (100%)

The tendency of the news content was dominated by a neutral position in 23 news items (88%), with only two news items (8%) showing agreement and one news item (4%) showing disagreement.

Examples of frequently appearing neutral quotes:

“Kalau ada penawaran resmi Pemerintah kepada Muhammadiyah akan dibahas dengan seksama. Muhammadiyah tidak akan tergesa-gesa...” (Abdul Mu’ti, 2/6/2024)

Using Entman’s framing, Detik.com generally defines the problem as the response of community organizations to the government’s affirmative policy. There is no excessive emphasis on conflict or controversy.

Define Problems: The news states that granting mining permits to mass organizations is part of the government’s affirmative policy, not a problem. The issue emphasized is the organizations’ need for supporting resources.

Diagnose Causes: Government policy is explained as stemming from the socio-economic conditions of mass organizations, not as a controversial political act.

“NU ini butuh. Apa pun yang halal yang bisa menjadi sumber revenue...” (Gus Yahya, 6/6/2024)

Make Moral Judgment: The news tends not to be judgmental. There is no indication to reinforce public opinion that this policy has the potential to harm mining governance or religious ethics.

Treatment Recommendation: It is emphasized that mass organizations must be institutionally prepared and not reject the policy.

“PBNU akan menyiapkan struktur bisnis dan manajemen yang menjamin profesionalitas dan akuntabilitas...” (Gus Yahya)

The relationship between the sources and tendency of content shows that media narratives are heavily influenced by quotes from elite mass organizations. The media's neutral stance is reinforced by Detik.com's predominantly straight news writing style, with institutional framing, focusing on official quotes, and the absence of counter-narratives from civil society or academics.

This shows that Detik.com does not explicitly frame this issue as a conflict or controversy, but rather as a bureaucratic matter that is currently being processed. The involvement of elites, such as Gus Yahya and Abdul Mu'ti, serves as the axis to represent the opinions of mass organizations.

Framing Kompas

Of the 32 Kompas.com news articles analyzed during May–July 2024, a diversity of content tendencies was found, with the following details:

Table 3. Trends in Compass News Content

News Trends	Number of News (%)
Neutral	21 News (65.6%)
Agree	7 News (21.9%)
DisAgree	4 News (12.5%)
Total	32 News (100%)

Based on an analysis of 32 news articles in the document The Muhammadiyah-NU Mining Concession Matrix – Kompas, it was found that the majority of the coverage, as shown in Table 3, a total of 21 articles (65.6%) tended to be neutral, indicating that Kompas.com mostly presented information factually without explicitly steering public opinion. Meanwhile, seven articles (21.9%) showed a tendency to support the government's policy of granting mining permits to religious organizations, particularly by highlighting PBNU's preparedness and the legitimacy given by state officials. Four articles (12.5%) carried a dissenting narrative, generally originating from Muhammadiyah figures and civil society groups who questioned the moral and sustainability aspects of the policy, such as Usman Hamid and Din Syamsuddin. This pattern indicates that although Kompas.com provides space for various perspectives, the dominant framing remains informative and tends to reinforce the government's and NU's discourse, while not entirely ignoring the critical voices that arise.

One news report stated:

“Muhammadiyah menerima izin tambang... setelah kajian selama dua bulan.” (Azrul Tanjung, Kompas.com, 25/07/2024)

However, in other words:

“PP Muhammadiyah semestinya menolak izin tambang... karena sangat bertentangan dengan hasil Mukhtar ke-48.” (Usman Hamid, Kompas.com, 04/07/2024)

Kompas also provided space for a counterpoint from DPR RI politician, Mulyanto, “PP Nomor 25 tahun 2024 tentang Pelaksanaan Kegiatan Usaha Pertambangan Minerba ini bertentangan dengan UU Nomor 3 tahun 2020 tentang Pertambangan Minerba.” (Mulyanto, Kompas.com, 29/07/2024).

Using Entman’s framework, this can be described as follows:

Define Problems: Kompas.com defines the issue as a policy controversy that affects the legitimacy of mass organizations and the management of natural resources. Unlike Detik.com, which focuses on administrative processes, Kompas highlights the tension between the ideological values of these organizations and economic pragmatism.

Diagnose Causes: Kompas links the issue to the government’s affirmative push as well as the organization’s (NU) need for funding sources but also includes other structural causes, namely environmental damage and human rights violations caused by mining practices, especially from sources that are opposed.

Make Moral Judgment: Kompas provides space for ethical assessments, as seen in Din Syamsuddin’s statement: “Pemberian itu lebih banyak mudarat daripada maslahatnya.”

However, it also presents the NU’s normative justification.

“Tambang itu halal, karena kami diberi, bukan meminta.” (Ulil Abshar, 10/07/2024)

Treatment Recommendation: In pro-news coverage, the proposed solution is to establish a professional company based on transparency and accountability. In contrast, the suggested solution is to reject the permit to uphold moral values and protect the environment.

Kompas.com's framing is characterized by nuanced dynamics between sources and a proactive role in shaping the narrative surrounding the tension between religious-moral values and economic-political imperatives. This media outlet constructs a dynamic narrative depicting the evolution of Muhammadiyah's stance from caution to conditional acceptance, thereby employing a framing strategy that goes beyond the mere dissemination of information to the deliberate creation of dramatic discourse. The dialectic between supporting and opposing perspectives within Kompas.com fosters space for deliberative discourse, providing readers with access to a spectrum of internal organizational viewpoints. Unlike Detik, Kompas.com often includes critical perspectives from civil society actors, resulting in a more diverse framing that aligns with a journalistic orientation toward advocating public values, rather than simply factual reporting.

Kompas.com, in its reporting, employs a narrative-rich framing, positioning the mining permit policy not merely as an administrative issue, but as a battleground between idealism, pragmatism, and public ethics. This demonstrates a tendency towards multi-sided framing, which opens up a deliberative space within public policy discourse.

Table 4. Results of The Researcher's Analysis

Compositions Entman	Detik.com	Kompas.com
Define Problems	Mining permits = affirmative policy, not moral issues	Mining permits = complex issues: politics, ethics, economics, environment
Diagnose Causes	Necessity	Structural inequality, the need for mass organizations, and ideological tug-of-war
Moral Judgment	Neutral, normative (quote from elite mass organizations)	Plural: there are pros, cons, and ethical considerations from various actors
Treatment Recommendation	Prepare	Evaluation
Media Position	Transmisi	Facilitator
Variety of Speakers	figure	Mass organization figures + human rights activists + internal mass organization academics
Framing Dominan	Stability	Dynamics: showing differences, conflicts, and internal deliberations

Detik.com implements framing that tends to be safer, more bureaucratic, and politically neutral. Its role is more as a channel for information from the elite, with minimal contributions to shaping public opinion. The framing presented by Detik.com is procedurally neutral, tends to be passive, and supports maintenance of the status quo.

Kompas.com builds a more deliberative and balanced framing in terms of discourse, providing space for public debate and reflecting value tensions in the issue of mass organization mining. In doing so, Kompas.com creates a framing that is actively ideological and normative, highlighting the diversity of attitudes and internal tensions within mass organizations as part of public discourse.

DISCUSSION

This study found that Detik.com and Kompas.com employ different framing strategies in reporting on the policy of granting mining permits to religious organizations. Detik.com predominantly adopted neutral and procedural framing. Of the 26 articles analyzed, 88% were neutral, focusing on quotes from prominent figures and officials without elaborating on conflicts or values. By contrast, Kompas.com presents a more dynamic and critical framework. Of the 32 articles analyzed, most were neutral, 21.9% were in agreement, and 12.5% were in disagreement. Kompas presents internal debates, moral judgments, and structural-ecological dimensions.

The results of the study show that Detik.com tend to present the issue of CSOs mining permits in a neutral and procedural manner, with the dominance of quotes from elite organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah. This pattern indicates that Detik positions government policy not as a controversial issue, but as a reasonable administrative process. The character is in line with the *Detik straight news style* which emphasizes the speed of information without expanding the space for public deliberation. In Entman's framework, the framing carried out by Detik only highlights the aspects of *defining problems* and *diagnose causes*, while *the functions of moral judgment* and *treatment recommendation* tend to be absent. This shows the limitations of the resulting framing, where the media plays a role as an elite information channel rather than a facilitator of public discourse.

Instead, Kompas.com feature more reflective framing by presenting a diversity of perspectives, including critical voices from civil society. Kompas not only underlines the procedural aspects of the policy, but also links it to the moral, environmental, and legitimacy dimensions of the organization. Thus, according to Entman, the four framing elements are more complete in Kompas' reporting. If associated with McCombs and Valenzuela's (2020)

agenda-setting theory, this pattern shows that Kompas does not only determine important issues, but also how those issues are understood by the public. By emphasizing value conflicts and moral dilemmas, Kompas plays a role in broadening the public agenda and encouraging debate on the legitimacy of state policies in the realm of natural resources.

These findings can also be explained through the perspective of critical discourse analysis Van Dijk (2023). The choice of seconds to highlight the elite quotes reflects the reproduction of power relations between the state and religious organizations, so that the media functions to maintain the status quo. On the contrary, Kompas tends to open up space for alternative discourse by giving space to voices of rejection, criticism, and normative argumentation. This shows that online media in Indonesia is not homogeneous: there are differences in editorial orientation that have implications for the construction of social reality. Thus, this study emphasizes that media framing is not only about how news is presented, but also reflects ideological choices and media positions in the political communication landscape.

Unlike previous studies, which found that online media tends to prioritize clicks and sensationalism in controversial issues (Junaeda, 2024), Kompas offers a more balanced and normative approach, while Detik opts for a safer route.

These results indicate that on sensitive issues involving the state and natural resources, online media in Indonesia are not homogeneous. Media outlets still make narrative choices based on editorial values and the target audience (Jamal, 2024). Additionally, although this mining policy has a technocratic nuance, the media can elevate it into a broader public debate, touching on morality, ecology, and religious identity.

The implication is that media framing influences the public's understanding of the legitimacy of mass organizations in mining issues. Framing also shapes the argumentative basis for supporting or opposing (Berland & Hammer, 2012) the involvement of mass organizations in the economic-extractive sector.

Media outlets such as Kompas encourage critical discourse and push organizations to adhere to public ethical standards. It provides space for parties who oppose the policy, such as statements addressing the policy from moral, environmental, and independence perspectives. Meanwhile, media such as Detik contribute to the normalization of bureaucracy, where the issue is viewed as a formal process rather than a public problem that needs to be debated.

These differences reflect the editorial ideology, audience segmentation, and business models adopted by the media. Detik.com, as a fast news portal with a hard news character, places greater emphasis on the speed of information and source quotations while aiming to

avoid narrative conflicts that could disrupt stable relationships with political actors. Kompas.com, as a media outlet rooted in value-based journalism and public reflection, is more open to internal contradictions and moral criticism, resulting in framing that is more complex and argumentative. These framing differences also reflect the media's position within the nexus of economic and political interests (Guardino, 2019).

These findings have important policy implications, especially regarding public oversight of natural resource policies and the governance of public communication. First, the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, the Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Culture, and the Indonesian Investment Coordinating Board must ensure that public policies involving religious organizations are openly monitored and criticized, not just passively cited. Second, the Press Council and journalist professional organizations need to encourage the media to strengthen its deliberative function rather than merely serving as a channel for elite information. Third, religious organizations should respond to public discourse not only with formal statements, but also by opening up spaces for both internal and external discussions as a form of public accountability.

CONCLUSION

The most important finding of this study is the significant difference between how Detik.com and Kompas.com frame the issue of mining permit policies for religious organizations. Detik.com tends to adopt neutral, formalistic, and minimally confrontational framing by focusing on procedural quotes from elite sources. By contrast, Kompas.com demonstrates a more reflective and deliberative framing—opening space for critical discourse, presenting internal dissent within organizations, and highlighting moral, environmental, and constitutional values. This difference shows that online media in Indonesia is not homogeneous in addressing sensitive issues, especially those involving the relationship between the state and natural resources.

The added value of this study lies in its conceptual and methodological contribution. Conceptually, this study expands the understanding of Entman's framing by applying it to the case of a religion-based affirmative policy, which has rarely been examined in Indonesia. Methodologically, this research demonstrates how a news-content-based data matrix can be developed into an analytical unit that enables comparison between media outlets in the context of political-ecological contestation.

However, this study has limitations in terms of its media scope, covering only two national online media outlets and one specific policy issue. Furthermore, the analysis has not yet touched on the dimension of audience reception or the actual impact of framing on public perceptions. Therefore, further research is recommended to explore how this media framing is received, understood, or rejected by the public, including through studies on audience reception and big data analysis of netizen comments or the spread of issues on social media. Research can also be expanded by involving media with different ideological orientations or by examining other affirmative policy cases in the context of public perception and state policy.

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