

ROBERT N. ENTMAN'S FRAMING ANALYSIS OF TEMPO.CO'S COVERAGE OF THE REVISION OF THE INDONESIAN NATIONAL ARMED FORCES (TNI) LAW IN MARCH 2025

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Abstract

The discussion of the Indonesian National Armed Forces Bill (RUU TNI) in March 2025 became a major controversy among the public. Student demonstrations and actions by various other groups reflected widespread rejection of the bill. One of the media instruments actively highlighting this issue was Tempo.co. Therefore, this study aims to analyze the framing of the Indonesian National Armed Forces Bill (RUU TNI) issue by Tempo.co. Methodologically, this research employs a qualitative approach using Robert N. Entman's framing analysis model, which consists of problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation. The data were obtained from five relevant Tempo.co news articles published during the discourse period on the revision of the TNI Law. The analysis shows that Tempo.co tends to frame the issue critically toward the government and the House of Representatives, while emphasizing the absence of public participation as the main problem. The media outlet also highlights the potential threat to the principle of civilian supremacy and the values of reform. In conclusion, the framing constructed by Tempo.co demonstrates the role of the media as an important actor in safeguarding democratic accountability and public policy transparency.

Pembahasan RUU TNI pada Maret 2025 menjadi polemik besar di antara Masyarakat. Demonstrasi mahasiswa serta elemen lain menjadi gambaran penolakan Undang-undang tersebut. Salah satu instrument yang aktif menyoroti pembahasan ini berasal dari media massa, salah satunya Tempo.co. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis pembingkaihan isu Rancangan Undang-Undang Tentara Nasional Indonesia (RUU TNI) yang dilakukan Tempo.co. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan teknik analisis framing model Robert N. Entman yang meliputi: pendefinisian masalah, penentuan penyebab, evaluasi moral, dan rekomendasi penyelesaian. Data diperoleh dari lima artikel berita Tempo.co yang relevan selama periode wacana revisi UU TNI. Hasil analisis menunjukkan bahwa Tempo.co cenderung membingkai isu secara kritis terhadap pemerintah dan DPR, serta menekankan absennya pelibatan publik sebagai masalah utama. Media ini juga menyoroti potensi ancaman terhadap prinsip supremasi sipil dan nilai-nilai reformasi. Kesimpulannya, framing yang dibangun Tempo.co memperlihatkan peran media sebagai aktor penting dalam menjaga akuntabilitas demokrasi dan transparansi kebijakan public.

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INTRODUCTION

The discussion surrounding the Draft Law on the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI Bill) has become one of the strategic policy issues that has attracted considerable public attention. The revision of Law Number 34 of 2004 concerning the Indonesian National Armed Forces has generated various responses, ranging from criticism to support. This is primarily due to several controversial provisions that are considered capable of expanding the military's role in civilian affairs. Sensitive issues, such as the expansion of TNI duties beyond military operations and the position of the military within Indonesia's political system without adequate civilian control, have become subjects of intense debate.

The deliberation of the TNI Bill has also sparked public concerns regarding the potential return of the Armed Forces' dual function (Dwifungsi ABRI), which was abolished following the end of the New Order era. Various groups in society have expressed their responses, including demonstrations organized by different social elements, particularly university students, who have been highly vocal in rejecting the proposed

legislation. The opposition to the bill is not without reason. One of the primary concerns is the perception that the legislative process was conducted in a rushed and coercive manner. Wahyuningtyas (TirtoID) reported that the proposal was based on a letter from the President of the Republic of Indonesia dated March 13, 2025, and the deliberation process began on March 15, 2025. This indicates a sense of urgency in the discussion process, while other legislative bills that are arguably more urgent for the public have required significantly longer periods before being discussed by the legislature.

In addition to the rushed deliberation process, Satria Unggul, the Coordinator of KIKA, as quoted by Tempo.co, highlighted several concerns that may arise should the bill be enacted, including:

- (a) threats to judicial independence and the strengthening of military immunity;
- (b) inconsistencies with the recommendations of the Human Rights Committee (CCPR), the Universal Periodic Review (UPR), the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC), and the Convention Against Torture (CAT);

(c) military impunity that could lead to increased arbitrariness among military personnel; (

d) the occupation of civilian positions by military officers, which threatens civilian supremacy;

(e) military impunity that could undermine academic freedom by potentially restricting public discussions; and

(f) the enactment of the bill in a manner that contradicts the procedures for law-making as stipulated in Law Number 12 of 2011.

Apart from receiving opposition from academics, students, and the broader public, similar criticism has also emerged from the mass media through extensive reporting and criticism of the legislative process. In this context, the mass media can be regarded as an expression of civilian supremacy over the state. Tocqueville (Detrani, 2011) stated that "information is the oxygen of democracy," implying that the mass media plays a crucial role in sustaining democratic governance. Consequently, the media is often referred to as the fourth pillar of democracy.

Based on Article 28F of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of

Indonesia, every person has the right to communicate and obtain information to develop themselves and their social environment, as well as the right to seek, obtain, possess, store, process, and convey information through all available channels. Therefore, the role of the mass media as an institution that provides information to the public has become increasingly crucial. In the digital era, the mass media plays a strategic role in transmitting political information to society. Hasan (2023) argues that the mass media is capable of delivering more than merely information; it also contributes to shaping public opinion through the way issues and events are presented.

In relation to the phenomenon described above, various forms of mass media extensively covered the discussion of the TNI Bill during March 2025. One of the media outlets that strongly criticized the bill was Tempo.co.

As one of Indonesia's national online media outlets, Tempo.co is widely recognized for its critical and investigative reporting, particularly on political and policy issues, making it an interesting subject for in-depth analysis.

In its coverage of the TNI Bill, Tempo.co, which upholds the values of freedom of expression, is expected to provide balanced reporting while emphasizing particular aspects of the issue, including specific actors, perspectives, and narratives presented to the public.

One approach to examining Tempo.co's reporting on the TNI Bill is through framing analysis. Framing is an approach used to understand how reality is constructed and represented by the media (Dwinary & Nugraha, 2020). Similarly, Eriyanto (2011) explains that framing analysis seeks to understand how the media interprets and gives meaning to reality, how reality is presented, and how events are understood and framed by the media.

Previous studies on framing analysis in mass media have extensively examined various political issues and public policies. Martha et al. (2022) analyzed media coverage of Indonesia's foreign policy in responding to the rivalry between the United States and China from 2019 to 2022. Sucipta and Kurniawan (2021) conducted a framing analysis of Detik.com and Kompas.com regarding the East Kalimantan Silent policy. Sartika et al. (2025) analyzed the

media framing of the "Guarding the Constitutional Court Decision" movement in Kompas.com, while Hidayah and Riauan (2022) examined the framing of face-to-face learning policies in CNN Indonesia. However, no previous study has specifically investigated how Tempo.co framed the discussion of the TNI Bill.

The selection of Tempo.co as the subject of this study is based on its long-standing commitment to press freedom and democratic values in Indonesia. Since its establishment, Tempo has been recognized as a critical, independent, and courageous media institution in reporting issues concerning the public interest, even amid political pressure and censorship during the New Order era. Tempo's commitment to democratic principles, such as transparency, accountability, and freedom of expression, makes it an important representation of a media institution that functions not only as a news provider but also as a watchdog of power. Therefore, Tempo.co is considered a relevant medium for analyzing how framing is employed in reporting strategic issues such as the discussion of the Draft Law on the Indonesian National Armed Forces.

Based on the background described above, this study seeks to examine how Tempo.co framed the phenomenon of the TNI Bill in its news coverage. Accordingly, this research aims to analyze how the online media outlet Tempo.co framed the issue of the TNI Bill, identify the media's tendency to advocate certain perspectives, and examine how the media contributes to shaping public opinion. This study is important because the media plays a strategic role in maintaining the quality of democracy, particularly regarding sensitive issues such as changes in the role of the military

Mass media, in its various forms, plays a significant role in society. In the political context, the mass media is often regarded as the fourth pillar of democracy. This designation implies its substantial function, particularly as a source of information for the wider public. According to McQuail, as cited in Nurudin (2013), the functions of mass media include: (1) an industry, (2) a source of power or an instrument of control, innovation, and management in society, (3) a provider of information, (4) a vehicle for cultural development, and (5) a channel for normative values

and judgments combined with news and entertainment content.

Generally, Vivian, as cited in Dwinary and Nugraha (2020), categorizes mass media into print and electronic media. However, the rapid development of digital platforms has made digital channels one of the most influential forms of mass media, prompting many media companies to transform into digital-based organizations, including Tempo.co, which originated from the print magazine Tempo.

Similarly, Biagi (2010) identifies three main characteristics of mass media: (1) mass media is a profit-oriented industry, (2) mass media continuously changes and develops in terms of distribution and consumption due to technological advancements, and (3) mass media both reflects and influences social, political, and cultural life.

Based on these three aspects, the first point implies that mass media is fundamentally profit-oriented. This phenomenon is not new, as it has been widely discussed in relation to media conglomeration in Indonesia, particularly regarding the ownership patterns of major media companies

(Lim, 2011; Valerinsha, 2023). Therefore, ownership of mass media clearly represents one of the strategies employed by conglomerates to increase their financial and political gains.

The second point concerns the development of mass media. Generally, this perspective indicates that the emergence of new forms of mass media is largely determined by technological progress. This has become one of the driving factors behind the transformation of Tempo from a print-based publication into a digital media organization that not only operates an online news platform but also produces content in other formats, such as podcasts and various digital media products.

The final point proposed by Biagi is particularly relevant to this study, as it highlights the concept of framing or the emphasis placed on certain information in news reporting.

Ideally, mass media should serve as a neutral space for public access to factual information and news that can be accepted by all segments of society. Nevertheless, the mass media cannot be entirely neutral due to various factors,

including ownership, editorial leadership, and even journalists as the individuals responsible for gathering and presenting information.

Eriyanto (2011) argues that the media is not merely an independent instrument but also an entity that constructs reality with all its perspectives, tendencies, and biases. Through its various mechanisms, the media plays a role in creating the reality presented in news reports. The media determines which realities are disclosed and which are omitted, selects news sources, and contributes to defining individuals and events.

Meanwhile, Hamad (2004) explains that the media constructs reality from various events and transforms them into narratives or discourses that possess meaning. From this perspective, mass media functions as an agent that constructs social reality, even though its fundamental task is the interpretation of reality itself. Moreover, the information presented by the media is heavily influenced by its perspectives and understanding of facts (Eriyanto, 2011). In this context, journalists and editors are responsible for identifying news sources and organizing information appropriately. Consequently, the

information or news produced by a media organization is not entirely objective but rather subjective, as it is influenced by factors such as ideology and the organizational structure of the media institution.

Based on these elements, the process of media production cannot be separated from the social construction carried out by mass media itself. This is consistent with the perspective of Berger and Luckmann, as cited in Bungin (2007), who argue that mass media phenomena are highly substantive in the processes of externalization, objectification, and internalization. Furthermore, the process of media construction consists of several stages: (1) preparation of construction materials, (2) dissemination of the construction, (3) the formation of social reality, and (4) confirmation.

These four stages involve various essential elements in their implementation, and each element eventually contributes to the formation of social constructions within society. This process is also undertaken by Tempo.co as a mass media institution that possesses particular perspectives on issues occurring in society.

Consequently, one aspect closely related to the construction process is the media's agenda. Littlejohn (2017) explains that the power of the media is associated with its ability to communicate issues considered important, thereby influencing audiences to perceive these issues as significant. In this regard, Littlejohn (2017) identifies two important assumptions of agenda-setting theory: (1) the press and mass media do not fully reflect reality but rather filter and shape it, and (2) mass media concentrates on specific agendas or issues and presents them as more important than others.

Based on the discussion above, both theories share a common premise: mass media is not a neutral channel of communication but rather an actor that shapes public perceptions of particular issues.

In relation to the points discussed above, this study aims to examine the civil-military relationship through the application of framing analysis, which specifically enables researchers to reveal how issues are processed and assigned particular meanings through the choice of words, emphases, and

narratives employed by Tempo.co as the subject of this research. Accordingly, framing analysis serves as the primary analytical approach in this study, with news coverage concerning the TNI Bill as its object of analysis.

METHODOLOGY

This study employed a qualitative approach using the framing analysis method. Qualitative research is a type of research that focuses on examining phenomena in depth through comprehensive explanations (Sahir, 2021, p. 41). The primary phenomenon investigated in this study is media coverage of the deliberation of the Draft Law on the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI Bill). The qualitative approach enables researchers to explore the narrative structure, understand the socio-political context of the news coverage, and interpret how the online media outlet Tempo.co selectively constructs information to shape public opinion.

A framing analysis approach was adopted to conduct an in-depth examination of media texts and to investigate how Tempo.co framed the issue of the TNI Bill in its news coverage. This approach is supported by Hidayah

and Riauan (2022), who explain that framing is an analytical approach used to understand how reality is constructed by the media by highlighting particular aspects of information so that they become more noticeable and memorable to audiences. Framing is also employed to identify the perspectives used by journalists in selecting issues from ongoing events.

Specifically, this study applies Robert N. Entman's (1993) framing analysis model to analyze various news articles published by Tempo.co that are relevant to the research topic. Entman (1993) argues that framing operates through the selection and emphasis of certain aspects of reality while marginalizing others. Therefore, framing can be understood as a process of selecting specific aspects of reality and making them more salient within a text (Priyanata & Srikandi, 2025).

Furthermore, Entman (1993) emphasizes that framing is important because it defines particular problems, diagnoses causes, makes moral judgments, and suggests remedies for the issues being discussed (Berger et al., 2021).

In general, framing consists of three core components: (1) selection, (2) emphasis, and (3) exclusion. In developing his analytical model, Entman (1993) conceptualizes framing through four analytical dimensions:

1. **Define Problems** – identifying how an issue or event is defined and understood by the media.
2. **Diagnose Causes** – identifying the causes of the problem and determining who or what is considered responsible.
3. **Make Moral Judgments** – providing moral evaluations and value judgments regarding the issue being discussed.
4. **Treatment Recommendations** – proposing solutions or recommendations for addressing the problem.

These four dimensions are used as the analytical framework in this study to examine how Tempo.co framed the issue of the TNI Bill and to identify the perspectives and narratives emphasized in its news reporting.

Table 1. Robert N. Entman's Framing Analysis Technique

Framing Dimension	Analytical Questions
Define Problems	How is an event or issue perceived? What kind of problem is it defined as? How is the issue characterized?
Diagnose Causes	What causes the issue or problem? What is considered the source of the problem? Who is identified as the actor responsible for causing the problem?
Make Moral Judgments	What moral values are presented to explain the problem? What moral principles are used to legitimize a particular action or position?

Source: Entman (1993)

Data collection in this study employed documentation and content analysis techniques. The researchers read, examined, and archived news articles from the official website of the online media outlet Tempo.co. Subsequently, a data corpus was compiled based on predetermined criteria, including the relevance of the news content, the publication date, and the placement of the articles within the political news section.

The data in this study consisted of both primary and secondary sources. The primary data were obtained directly from news reports published by Tempo.co, which served as the main object of analysis. The secondary data were gathered from books and scholarly articles relevant to the research problem. Furthermore, data validity was ensured through source triangulation by verifying the findings with various sources, including media experts and scholars specializing in framing analysis.

Accordingly, the researchers selected five news articles published between March 10 and March 17, 2025, because during this period the discussion of the Draft Law on the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI Bill) became one of the major issues highlighted by the media, making it highly representative for in-depth analysis using the framing model. Moreover, the five selected articles were chosen because they recorded the highest readership compared to other news articles published during the same period.

The titles of the news articles analyzed in this study are presented as follows:

Table 2. News Titles on the Discussion of the Draft Law on the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI Bill) in Tempo.co Online Media, March 2025 Edition

No.	Date	News Tittle
1	10 March 2025	TNI Occupying Civilian Positions: The Pros and Cons of Military Entry into Civilian Affairs
2	15 March 2025	Zulhas Responds to DPR's Acceleration of the TNI Bill Revision: It Has Been Long Overdue, It Must Be Done
3	16 March 2025	Ignoring Public Rejection of the TNI Bill, DPR Claims There Is No Deadlock
4		Civil Society Groups Reveal the Dangers of the TNI Bill Revision Without Public Involvement
5	17 March 2025	Regarding the TNI Bill Revision, the Presidential Office Claims That Articles Questioned by Civil Society Organizations Are Unfounded

DISCUSSION

The discussion on the Draft Law on the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI Bill) has become a highly prominent topic among both the media and the public. The deliberation conducted by the government and the House of Representatives (DPR) to revise Law Number 34 of 2004 has generated various public reactions and social responses. Numerous hashtags have emerged on the social media platform X, such as #RejectTNIRevisionBill, #DarkIndonesia, #EmergencyAlert, and #RejectABRIDualFunction. In addition to online activism, various forms of real-world actions have also taken place, including demonstrations in different regions opposing the revision of the TNI Law.

Tempo.co, as one of the online media outlets known for its critical stance on political issues, has been actively reporting and highlighting news related to the TNI Bill.

In this study, the researcher analyzed five news articles from Tempo.co that explicitly discuss the deliberation of the TNI Bill. The corpus was collected from news published by

Tempo.co in March 2025. The selected articles meet at least two of the following three criteria: (1) containing opinions or statements from public figures, (2) involving pro and contra conflicts, and (3) directly mentioning specific articles within the draft revision of the TNI Bill.

In this research, the framing analysis model by Robert N. Entman is employed. Sofian and Lestarini (2021, p. 59) define framing analysis as an approach used to understand how reality (events, actors, groups, or any phenomenon) is constructed and framed by the media. The following section presents the framing of news coverage on the Draft Law on the Indonesian National Armed Forces in Tempo.co based on Robert N. Entman's model.

News 1			
TNI Occupies Civilian Positions: The Pros and Cons of Military Entry into Civilian Affairs (Tempo, March 10, 2025)		military dominance in civilian sectors.	
<i>Define Problems</i>	The tension between the spirit of military reform and a new policy that opens opportunities for active military personnel to occupy civilian positions.	Conclusion	Tempo.co frames the issue of TNI members occupying civilian positions as a policy that has the potential to disrupt Indonesia's democratic order and reform process..
<i>Diagnose Causes</i>	Policy changes that are considered inconsistent with the post-1998 reform agenda of democratization.	News 2	
		Zulhas Responds to DPR's Acceleration of the TNI Bill Revision: "It Has Been Long Overdue, It Must Be Done" (Tempo, March 15, 2025)	
<i>Make Moral Judgement</i>	Highlighting the risks of violating the principle of civilian supremacy and the potential weakening of civilian control over the military.	<i>Define Problems</i>	A rushed legislative process in the deliberation of the TNI Bill.
<i>Treatment Recommendation</i>	Emphasizing the need for clear regulations and political commitment to limit	<i>Diagnose Causes</i>	The presence of a political agenda that is perceived to neglect civil society voices in the legislative process.
		<i>Make Moral Judgement</i>	Questioning the sensitivity of the House of

	Representatives (DPR) toward military reform principles and public participation in policy-making.	News 3 Ignoring Public Rejection of the TNI Bill, DPR Claims There Is No Deadlock (Tempo, March 16, 2025)	
<i>Treatment Recommendation</i>	The need for a more open, transparent, and participatory legislative process involving multiple stakeholders.	<i>Define Problems</i>	The House of Representatives (DPR) continues the deliberation of the TNI Bill despite widespread public rejection and perceived disregard for public aspirations.
Conclusion	Tempo.co frames the DPR as accelerating the legislative process of the TNI Bill without adequate consideration of public aspirations and civil society input..	<i>Diagnose Causes</i>	Weak communication channels between the DPR and civil society, as well as the presence of certain political interests.
		<i>Make Moral Judgement</i>	Indicating that the DPR's actions risk undermining the legitimacy of democracy.
		<i>Treatment Recommendation</i>	Emphasizing the importance of dialogue and transparency in the

	policy-making process.		A temporary suspension of the revision process until meaningful public participation is ensured.
Conclusion	Tempo.co frames the legislature as being indifferent to public aspirations in the deliberation of the TNI Bill.	<i>Treatment Recommendation</i>	
News 4 Civil Society Groups Reveal the Dangers of the TNI Bill Revision Without Public Participation (Tempo, March 16, 2025)		Conclusion	Tempo.co frames the TNI Bill revision process as being conducted in a closed and non-participatory manner..
<i>Define Problems</i>	Exclusion of the public in the legislative process.	News 5 Regarding the TNI Bill Revision, the Presidential Office Claims That Articles Questioned by Civil Society Organizations Are Unfounded (Tempo, March 17, 2025)	
<i>Diagnose Causes</i>	The dominance of executive and military actors that tend to neglect participatory mechanisms in policy-making.	<i>Define Problems</i>	A unilateral claim from the government that public concerns are not justified.
<i>Make Moral Judgement</i>	This situation is presented as a serious threat to the principles of open and transparent governance.	<i>Diagnose Causes</i>	Lack of transparency in the academic manuscript and the draft revision of the TNI Law.

<i>Make Moral Judgement</i>	Implicit criticism toward the government, which appears defensive and relatively closed in addressing public concerns.
<i>Treatment Recommendation</i>	A call for the government to disclose the revision documents and conduct open public consultations.
<i>Conclusion</i>	Tempo.co frames the issue by accommodating the government's perspective while still emphasizing critical responses from civil society.

Based on the framing analysis conducted on five selected news articles, the researcher draws several conclusions regarding the coverage of the Draft Law on the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI Bill) in the online media outlet Tempo.co.

First, Tempo.co positions itself as a media outlet aligned with the values of reform, civilian supremacy, and

participatory democracy. Through Robert N. Entman's framing analysis model, it can be concluded that Tempo.co applies a critical journalism framework in reporting the revision of the TNI Law. This is reflected in its selection of sources, the perspectives emphasized, and the way issues are constructed within the news texts.

Second, Tempo.co frames the issue of the TNI Bill revision through a critical lens, particularly concerning the increasing role of the military in civilian affairs and the limited public participation in the legislative process. The media highlights civil society groups as key actors who are often marginalized, while also emphasizing defensive responses from both executive and legislative institutions. Accordingly, Tempo.co frames the revision of the TNI Bill as a political process that has the potential to threaten reform values and the established civil-military democratic order since the Reform Era.

CONCLUSION

The results of the study using Robert N. Entman's framing analysis model conclude that the online media outlet Tempo.co consistently frames the issue of the Draft Law on the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI Bill) from a critical perspective, highlighting potential threats to civilian supremacy, democracy, and governmental transparency.

In its analysis, Tempo.co defines the problem as the tendency of the

government and the House of Representatives (DPR) to expand the military's role into civilian domains without adequate public participation. The main causes emphasized are the rushed and less accountable policy-making processes of political elites. In its moral evaluation, Tempo.co stresses the importance of maintaining the spirit of reform and preventing the return of militarism in civilian life. The recommendations, both explicit and implicit, include the need for strict regulation, public participation, and transparency in the legislative process. Based on the findings, it can be concluded that Tempo.co positions the civil-military issue as an important public concern that deserves greater attention. Therefore, the revision of the Indonesian National Armed Forces Law is prominently highlighted as a significant issue that must be brought to public awareness. This mainstreaming of the issue is intended to shape public understanding so that audiences recognize it as an important matter of public interest. Furthermore, the findings indicate that mass media inherently holds particular perspectives on social issues. Consequently, what is done by Tempo.co may or may not be followed by other

media outlets. However, in general, it can be understood that the role of the media is not limited to merely conveying information, but also to "awaken" the public to issues they may have previously overlooked. In addition, Tempo.co can be seen as acting as a watchdog over political elites, encouraging the formulation of policies that benefit society and promoting a healthy and democratic public sphere.

This study has several limitations. One of the main limitations is the absence of direct interviews with sources or journalists from Tempo.co. Therefore, future researchers are recommended to combine framing analysis with critical discourse analysis to uncover the ideology embedded within news texts. Such an approach would allow for a deeper exploration of power relations, hegemonic practices, and agenda-setting mechanisms in media narratives.

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