

Analysis of the Framing of News Coverage of the Indonesia Gelap Demonstrations on the Online Media CNNIndonesia.com and Tempo.co

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ARTICLE INFO

Keywords: Framing, Social Construction Theory of Reality, Online Media, Media Content Hierarchy of Influences Theory

Received : 16 April

Revised : 15 May

Accepted: 22 June

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ABSTRACT

The “Indonesia Gelap” demonstration in early 2025 was framed differently by CNNIndonesia.com and Tempo.co, revealing bias, information selection, and varied meaning constructions. This study examines how both media framed the event by analyzing a total of 12 news articles using Robert M. Entman’s framing model. It also explores meaning formation through the Social Construction of Reality theory and analyzes influencing factors with the Hierarchy of Influences theory. Using qualitative descriptive methods and documentation of the selected news, the study found CNN depicted students as anarchic, while Tempo framed the protest as public resistance to policy. These differences were shaped by four influence levels: media routines, organizational, extramedia, and ideological, excluding the individual level

INTRODUCTION

Demonstrations are a form of public expression protected by Indonesian law, specifically under Law No. 9 of 1998 on the Freedom to Express Opinions in Public. However, in practice, demonstrations often trigger unrest, especially when they are rooted in dissatisfaction with government policies. One of the largest protests in post-reform Indonesia was the “Indonesia Gelap” demonstration, which occurred from February 17 to 22, 2025. This movement emerged in response to several controversial policies implemented during the first 100 days of President Prabowo and Vice President Gibran’s administration, such as Presidential Instruction No. 1 of 2025 on spending efficiency, as well as unresolved issues related to the Asset Forfeiture Bill and the Free Nutritious Meal Program (UMS, 2025).

Public response on social media was overwhelming. The hashtag #IndonesiaGelap generated over 3 million tweets and 13 million engagements (Muzzaki, 2025). This hashtag reflected widespread concern and anxiety over the nation's future, with BEM SI coordinator Satria Naufal stating that it symbolized the people’s fear and disappointment over government policies (Yaputra, 2025). In the digital era, online media play a pivotal role in shaping public perception. They do not merely report facts but construct meaning through the selective emphasis and omission of certain aspects of events (Eriyanto, 2002).

This phenomenon was clearly reflected in how two leading online news portals CNNIndonesia.com and Tempo.co covered the protest. CNN Indonesia faced intense backlash from netizens for allegedly portraying the demonstrators negatively, as seen in its coverage of vandalized CCTV footage rather than the protest’s substantive demands (Muhid, 2025). The criticism escalated to a viral boycott campaign under the hashtag #BoikotCNN, prompting many users to switch to Tempo, which was perceived as more balanced. However, Tempo also reported on the riots, illustrating that both media framed the same reality differently.

Such differences are crucial to investigate, as media framing significantly affects public perception and the legitimacy of social actions. Framing is not merely about what is reported, but how events are constructed through narrative choices, language, and thematic emphasis (Eriyanto, 2002). In this context, Berger and Luckmann’s theory of the social construction of reality is relevant, emphasizing that social reality is shaped through representations in the media. Additionally, Shoemaker & Reese (2014) Hierarchy of Influences model explains the internal and external pressures affecting media content – ranging from media routines and organizational structures to external forces and ideological positions.

This study analyzes 12 online news articles from CNNIndonesia.com and Tempo.co to examine how each outlet framed the chaos during the “Indonesia Gelap” demonstration. A qualitative descriptive method is used, applying Robert M. Entman’s framing model consisting of four elements: define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies. The aim of this research is to compare the framing approaches of both media and to identify how various levels of influence within the Hierarchy of Influences theory shaped their coverage. This study seeks to contribute to the enrichment of media and communication studies, particularly in understanding how online media construct social realities in response to critical political events.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Online Media

Online media are digital platforms that utilize the internet, multimedia, and telecommunications networks to distribute information (Pamuji, 2019). These platforms include news portals, websites, online radio, online television, and other digital publications, each with distinct characteristics. Online journalism, as the successor of conventional journalism, offers features such as hyperlinking, documentation, interactivity, global reach, flexibility, fast updates, and multimedia integration (Romli, 2018). Bradshaw (in Romli, 2018)) highlights five principles of online journalism through the acronym B-A-S-I-C: brevity, adaptability, scannability, interactivity, and community. These reflect the responsiveness of online media to both technological developments and audience behavior.

The Social Construction of Reality

Berger and Luckmann’s theory emphasizes that reality is not objective or fixed, but socially constructed through continuous interaction between individuals and their social environment (Eriyanto, 2002). The process includes three dialectical stages: externalization (expressing meaning), objectivation (shaping collective understanding), and internalization (absorbing shared meaning) (Dharma, 2018). In media studies, this theory implies that news content is a product of construction rather than a reflection of reality. Journalists, as agents of this construction, interpret events through ideological, professional, and institutional lenses, while audiences interpret those narratives based on their own experiences and perspectives (Eriyanto, 2002).

The Hierarchy of Influences on Media Content

Shoemaker and Reese’s theory explains that media content is shaped by five interrelated levels of influence: 1. Individual level: related to journalists’ backgrounds and professional ethics, 2. Media routines: established newsroom practices involving sources, processing, and audience preferences, 3. Organizational level: linked to ownership structures, editorial policy, and commercial goals, 4. Extramedia level: includes external pressures from advertisers, government, and public opinion, 5. Ideological level: reflects the value system and worldview of the media organization (Krisdinanto, 2014). These levels demonstrate that media do not operate in a neutral space, and content is often a result of negotiation between internal dynamics and external pressures.

Framing

Framing is a communication process that involves selection and salience, shaping how issues are interpreted by the public. Robert Entman identifies four core elements of framing: 1. Define Problems, explaining what a particular issue is about, 2. Diagnose Causes, identifying the source or responsibility of the problem, 3. Make Moral Judgments, evaluating the issue from ethical or ideological standpoints, 4. Treatment Recommendation, proposing possible solutions or actions. This model shows how media guide audience interpretation through narrative choices. According to Sobur (Kriyantono, 2022), framing analysis uncovers how journalists construct reality by emphasizing or omitting elements through language, structure, and visual cues. Framing is therefore not just about content selection, but also about how meanings are strategically conveyed to align with particular interests or perspectives.

METHODOLOGY

This research applies a qualitative descriptive method based on the constructivist paradigm, aiming to understand how online media construct social reality through framing. The study focuses on news coverage of the “Indonesia Gelap” protest riots published by CNNIndonesia.com and Tempo.co between February and April 2025. The main data sources are 22 riot-related news articles from CNN Indonesia and 6 from Tempo. Using stratified purposive sampling, the researcher selected six articles from each media outlet that match three critical publication dates (before, during, and after the peak protest) and thematically address key riot elements such as police actions, government responses, and crowd violence.

Data were collected through documentation and literature review, and then analyzed using Robert Entman’s framing analysis model, which includes four elements: define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies. The data analysis followed Miles and Huberman’s interactive model: data collection, data reduction, data display, conclusion drawing, and verification. Triangulation of sources was applied to validate data credibility by cross-checking primary articles with academic references and related literature.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Framing Analysis Using Robert Entman's Framing Analysis Model

Researchers collected several news items that could be analyzed and compared between CNN Indonesia and Tempo. In order to make comparisons, news items from CNN Indonesia and Tempo were selected based on similarities in publication time and similarities in theme and content. The following are the news items collected and selected:

Table 1. List of News Analyzed from CNN Indonesia and Tempo

Number	Tema	CNN Indonesia		Tempo	
		Publication Time	News Title	Publication Time	News Title
1	Action Taken by Authorities Against Demonstrators	17-02-2025	Korlap Aksi 'Indonesia Gelap' Surabaya: 5 Mahasiswa Ditangkap Polisi	17-02-2025	Mahasiswa Universitas Trisakti Diadang Aparat Kepolisian saat Perjalanan ke Aksi Demo Indonesia Gelap
2	Damage to Demonstration Facilities	20-02-2025	Demo Indonesia Gelap di Patung Kuda, Mahasiswa Robohkan Barrier Beton	20-02-2025	Mulai Ricuh, Polisi Minta Massa Aksi 'Indonesia Gelap' di Patung Kuda Tak Dorong Beton Pembatas
3	Government Response	20-02-2025	Mensesneg Prasetyo Hadi Temui Mahasiswa Pedemo di Patung Kuda	20-02-2025	Mensesneg Sebut Aksi Indonesia Gelap Oleh Mahasiswa Merugikan
4	Demonstration Situation	21-02-2025	Aksi Indonesia	21-02-2025	Demo Indonesia

	Escalates Due to Firecracker Throwing		Gelap, Massa di Patung Kuda Lempar Botol dan Petasan		Gelap, Mulai Ada Ledakan Petasan dari Massa ke Polisi
5	Molotov Bomb Throwing	21-02-2025	Indonesia Gelap Ricuh, Aparat Dilempari Bom Molotov di Patung Kuda	21-02-2025	Aksi Indonesia Gelap Ricuh, Massa Melempar Petasan dan Molotiv ke Polisi
6	Demonstrators ' Riots at Patung Kuda	21-02-2025	Pedemo 'Indonesia Gelap Bakar Barrier Plastik di Patung Kuda'	21-02-2025	Saat Kericuhan Pecah di Aksi Indonesia Gelap Hari Ini

Source: CNN Indonesia dan Tempo (2025)

Using Robert Entman's framing model to analyze all news reveals clear and significant results, showing how the framing of the Indonesia Gelap riots was shaped by the online media outlets Cnnindonesia.com and Tempo.co. This analysis elaborates on the four elements of Entman's framing model to reveal the perspectives of each media outlet and show how they reproduce certain interests through their narratives.

Define Problem

CNN Indonesia consistently portrays the Indonesia Gelap demonstrations as chaotic events. The outlet primarily focuses on the tension between students and authorities by highlighting destructive actions, such as throwing Molotov cocktails and fireworks and destroying public facilities. Students are portrayed as the primary instigators of the unrest without being given sufficient narrative space to explain their demands or motivations. Instead, there are more quotes from government officials and authorities.

"No one was detained earlier. All the students can confirm that. The issues raised were addressed. I assure you that no one was detained," said Wibowo, Head of Operations.

"On behalf of the government, I urge you students to remain critical. Voicing your aspirations is regulated by law. You are still protected. We have read your demands," said Hadi, the State Secretary.

"Be careful of provocateurs throwing objects," said a police officer from a vehicle on Friday (2/21).

Unlike CNN Indonesia, which emphasized the chaos, Tempo presented the demonstration as a form of political expression by students with clear underlying issues, such as dissatisfaction with government policies and structural inequality. While Tempo reported on the unrest, they also provided context by highlighting the students' unaddressed demands. Thus, Tempo did not simply define the event as chaos, but rather as a rational expression of social frustration.

"Herianto outlined the nine demands that BEM SI brought to the 'Indonesia Gelap' demonstration. These include reviewing Presidential Instruction No. 1 of 2025, evaluating the free nutritious meal program, and ensuring transparency regarding development and public tax status."

BEM SI also demanded the ratification of the Asset Seizure Bill; rejected the dual function of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI); opposed the revision of the problematic Mining Law; rejected impunity; and urged the government to conclude investigations into past severe human rights violations. Additionally, BEM SI called on the government to improve the quality of national education and healthcare. Furthermore, BEM SI rejects the involvement of former President Joko Widodo in the current administration led by Prabowo Subianto."

Diagnosing Causes

CNN Indonesia does not provide a comprehensive explanation of the causes of the unrest. There is no background information on the protesters' demands, which makes the unrest appear to be an irrational, spontaneous action. Students are positioned as the party responsible for the chaos without any understanding of the circumstances underlying their actions. This suggests that the students caused the unrest without a clear cause.

This differs from Tempo's reporting. Tempo clarifies that the unrest emerged as a response to the government's indifference. Students' statements about the government's absence, demands for government policies, and criticism of the education and other sectors form a narrative that their actions are a form of political pressure accumulated due to difficulty expressing their aspirations.

Faiz Nabawi Mulya, the student president of Trisakti University, assessed that Prabowo's promises regarding education have not been fulfilled. "This shows that President Prabowo is not serious about developing Indonesia's education system," he wrote on Monday, February 17, 2025.

The speaker from the National University did not heed the order. The protesters pushed the concrete barriers because no representatives from the Presidential Palace had come down to the street to hear the students' concerns since midday. "There is no good faith, so we will tear down that wall," the orator said.

Earlier, Herianto, the Central Coordinator of BEM SI, stated that the Indonesia Gelap protest would continue until the Presidential Palace met with the protesters. "The protest will continue at the Presidential Palace Horse Statue," Herianto wrote in a text message to Tempo on Thursday morning, February 20, 2025.

Make Moral Judgments

CNN Indonesia portrays students as people who violate social order. Rather than depicting students as agents of change, CNN Indonesia portrays them as disturbers of order who need to be controlled. This narrative creates the impression that the authorities' repressive actions are justified to maintain stability.

Meanwhile, Tempo takes a different moral stance. While reporting on the unrest, Tempo shows that it stems from the students' struggle for social justice. Rather than antagonizing the protesters, Tempo provides them with a platform to explain the intentions and ideals underlying the movement.

Treatment Recommendation

CNN Indonesia often reports on how the authorities control the situation, emphasizing that the government has heard the students' aspirations. However, CNN Indonesia does not explain how the government will follow up on these demands, treating the mere expression of aspirations as sufficient for a response.

Tempo explicitly highlights the urgency for the government to address the substance of the students' demands. By focusing on strategic issues such as revising the Mining Law, evaluating the Presidential Instruction, and improving education, Tempo recommends structural solutions rather than merely controlling the situation. This demonstrates a more comprehensive perspective on the issue.

To gain a deeper understanding of the framing used by the media outlets, the study results were analyzed based on the outlets' similar reporting themes.

Action Taken by Authorities Against Demonstrators

CNN reported on the clashes between the crowd and the authorities using a "two sides" approach; however, the context of the power imbalance was not explained. This approach could make people unaware of the imbalance between state power and the voice of the people.

"There were about five of them, and we saw for ourselves that our five friends were taken into the DPRD building," said action coordinator Aulia Thaariq Akbar, also known as Atta.

"Earlier, no one was detained. All the students can confirm this. What was reported – that some issues were being addressed – is true. I can confirm that no one was detained," said AKBP Wibowo, Head of Operations.

Unlike CNN Indonesia, Tempo presented the tension from the students' perspective. Tempo not only showed the blockade but also highlighted the students' experiences as victims of coercive actions, thereby evoking empathy for the student movement.

"We were briefly detained at Harmoni and forced inside," said Dhenni Ribowo, a field coordinator for the action from Trisakti University, in an interview on Monday, February 17, 2025.

Damage to Demonstration Facilities

From the beginning, CNN Indonesia portrayed the students as the ones who demolished the concrete barriers that sparked the unrest, taking the side of the protesting crowd. CNN Indonesia constructed a narrative detailing how students demolished the barriers, but failed to explain the background, creating the impression of anarchism. Additionally, CNN Indonesia focused more on the authorities' appeals to the students not to dismantle the barriers.

"One concrete barrier was successfully demolished by students."

"We urge you not to pull down the concrete barriers," the police said through a loudspeaker.

Tempo presented this action as a form of frustration due to the government's unwillingness to engage in dialogue. This narrative is more humane, framing the students' actions as part of a struggle rather than mere destruction. This makes Tempo more empathetic toward the students.

"There is no good faith, so we will tear down that wall," said the speaker.

Government Response

CNN provided the government with a "broad platform" through official quotes, which reinforced the state's position as an active and solution-oriented party. However, this narrative obscures the fact that the students' demands have not been addressed concretely. CNN Indonesia continues to cover the demolition of the concrete barriers in this news report.

"First of all, we apologize for only being able to attend this afternoon due to prior commitments. With the president's permission, we are here to represent the government and communicate with all of you," Hadi said from atop a vehicle using a loudspeaker.

Meanwhile, Tempo focuses more on the students' voices and highlights the government's lack of goodwill. This strengthens the students' position, showing that they are not only demanding, but also offering dialogue.

Earlier, Herianto, the Central Coordinator of BEM SI, stated that the Indonesia Gelap protest would continue until the Presidential Palace met with the demonstrators. "The action at the Presidential Palace Horse Statue," Herianto

wrote in a text message to Tempo in the early morning hours of February 20, 2025.

Furthermore, Tempo used the term "harmful" in the headline and content of the news attributed to the government. This gives the impression that the government is not listening to the people's aspirations.

"We must not engage in activities like this, which are detrimental," said Prasetyo from atop the command vehicle.

Demonstration Situation Escalates Due to Firecracker Throwing

CNN Indonesia provided coverage from the perspectives of both the police and the students.

"Due to the firecracker throwing, the police asked the protesters not to engage in provocative actions."

Earlier, Tegar Afriansyah, spokesperson for the Indonesia Gelap protest, stated that student protesters would remove their university jackets during the demonstration. This news coverage focuses on quoting student statements. Thus, CNN Indonesia shows empathy toward the students. Meanwhile, Tempo reported with a bias toward portraying the students as anarchic stone throwers who triggered the chaos. Throughout the publication of this news, Tempo did not quote any statements from the government. Tempo also did not provide context about the demands of the demonstration.

"Tension arose when a group of demonstrators damaged the barbed wire barrier at the protest site."

Molotov Bomb Throwing

CNN Indonesia emphasized that the students' actions, including throwing Molotov cocktails, fireworks, rocks, and bottles, were anarchic and one-sided rioting acts. This reporting reinforced the narrative of criminalizing the actions. CNN Indonesia also briefly mentioned the police urging the crowd not to act angrily.

"However, the crowd ignored the appeals and continued to fire fireworks at the police. The crowd also threw stones and bottles at the officers."

Similar to CNN Indonesia, Tempo reported on the Molotov cocktail incident, focusing solely on the students' actions. Unlike CNN Indonesia, Tempo provided more coverage of the police's response to the unrest. The protesters immediately began to flee. The police urged them not to throw fireworks at the officers. "The protest has been peaceful so far, so please do not throw fireworks at the officers. We also ask the police officers to find a safe spot and be patient," said the police officer giving the orders.

Demonstrators' Riots at Patung Kuda

CNN Indonesia again reported that students were the anarchists who caused the riots at the Indonesia Gelap demonstration. CNN Indonesia emphasized actions such as burning plastic barriers, throwing Molotov cocktails, and shooting firecrackers at the police. They also emphasized symbolic actions, such as giving the middle finger. This focus shows that CNN Indonesia prioritizes physical violence over explaining the social and political background or motivation behind the actions. The police are portrayed as rational and patient, trying to defuse the situation with peaceful appeals.

"The police are still urging the remaining demonstrators not to engage in provocative actions."

Such reporting can cause the public to view demonstrations as merely disturbances that must be quickly suppressed by the authorities, rather than as a legitimate form of expression in a democracy. CNN Indonesia seems to devote little time to explaining the reasons behind mass protests. Consequently, the unrest appears to be solely the fault of individuals rather than an expression of dissatisfaction with social conditions or government policies.

Meanwhile, Tempo takes a more comprehensive and contextual approach. While reporting on the unrest, Tempo provides space for narratives from students and civil society regarding the underlying causes of the protests' escalation. The magazine includes a statement from the Civil Society Coalition that says the unrest reflects the accumulation of public dissatisfaction with government policies.

"The appeal was ignored by the protesters. Tegar Afriansyah, the coalition's spokesperson, suspects that the riots were caused by public dissatisfaction with the current government. In the Indonesia Gelap protest, the Civil Society Coalition presented dozens of demands to the Prabowo and Gibran administration."

Tempo thus does not merely present the protest as a single event but links it to a broader political and economic context. This framing gives the audience an understanding that the riots were not spontaneous actions without basis, but rather the result of collective frustration that was not accommodated through formal channels. In this context, Tempo positions students not merely as perpetrators of riots, but as parties who bring an agenda for change, albeit in a form that is considered extreme.

This study reveals significant differences in how CNN Indonesia and Tempo construct the “Indonesia Gelap” protest. CNN Indonesia adopts a framing that emphasizes riot scenes and portrays student protesters as the main source of disruption, while state actors are positioned as rational and peacekeeping. This aligns with McLeod’s (2007) protest paradigm, marked by reliance on official sources, delegitimization of protestors, and omission of protest demands. Tempo, in contrast, provides a more contextual narrative by highlighting the root causes of the protest citizen dissatisfaction and political grievances alongside incidents of unrest, thereby offering a more balanced representation.

Viewed through Berger and Luckmann’s theory of social construction, CNN externalizes the protest as a threat to public order, objectifies it through repeated riot coverage, and potentially internalizes in readers a negative perception of civil resistance. Tempo constructs reality as a legitimate expression of public discontent, objectifies student demands as rational, and fosters public understanding of the protest as a structural critique of government policy. These contrasting constructions affirm that news is not a mirror of objective reality, but a product of ideological choices, where media serve as active agents shaping how society interprets events (Eriyanto, 2002; Hamad, 2004)

Analysis Using the Hierarchy of Media Content Influence Theory

Media habits and work patterns are formed from the interaction of three components that influence each other and shape the perspective and tendency of news content. These components are as follows:

Individual Level

According to Weaver and Wilhoit (in (Kumarudin, 2025), the relationship between individual character and journalistic products tends to be weak. More decisive, however, is the professionalism of journalists who work based on a code of ethics. Therefore, at the individual level, no significant influence was found on how the two media outlets framed the Indonesia Gelap demonstrations.

Media Routines Level

Media routines, or work patterns, are formed through the interaction of three components that influence the perspective and tendency of news content. These components are:

1. News Sources, CNN Indonesia conducted live reporting on the ground to cover the Indonesia Gelap demonstrations, as mentioned in an online news article titled "*Round Up Reportase Aksi Indonesia Gelap 21 Februari 2025*". The article states, "All of this is based on reports and observations by our journalists in various locations in Indonesia." Similar to CNN Indonesia, Tempo also provided live coverage of the Indonesia Gelap demonstration. This is evident in Tempo's online news article titled "*Bocor Alus Politik: Mahasiswa dan 'Indonesia Gelap'*", which states, "Upon returning to Jakarta, we decided to conduct an in-depth report on the 'Indonesia Gelap' action."

2. **Media Organization:** At CNN Indonesia, the media organization's editorial team plays a central role and is divided into three stages: pre-production, production, and post-production (Sapinatunajah et al., 2022). The editorial team acts as the director and guardian of reporting direction, and editors ensure the quality and integrity of news broadcasts. (Pambudi, 2021) further explains that Tempo's workflow is highly organized. The reporting process begins with dividing channels between print and online media and assigning reporters based on issues and expertise. Editors direct coverage, set priorities, and edit news in layers. Tempo's journalistic idealism prioritizes verification and caution, especially regarding sensitive issues, reflecting their commitment to quality information. Both media outlets demonstrate that editorial teams and editors function as strategic actors in shaping public discourse, not merely as final filters. They are not merely editorial technicians, but also help construct social reality by selecting issues and perspectives (Kumarudin, 2025).
3. **Audience:** Considering audience interests and responses is also part of media work routines. According to Google Trends data, the topic "Indonesia Gelap" showed a high trend interest score from February 17 to February 23, 2025. The topic "Indonesia Gelap" reached its highest search spike on February 21, 2025, one day after the demonstrations peaked. The search score reached 100, indicating high public attention to this issue. This surge in attention contributed to the media's decision to extensively cover the topic. CNN Indonesia and Tempo adjusted their narratives and approaches to align with readers' expectations.

Organizational Level

According to Shoemaker and Reese (Krisdinanto, 2014), media policy direction at the organizational level is largely determined by ownership structure. Media owners dominate the decision-making process for editorial lines, which often aligns with organizational interests. CNN Indonesia is part of PT Trans Media Corpora, which is owned by Chairul Tanjung. Tanjung previously served as Coordinating Minister for the Economy during Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's administration (Asril, 2014). His daughter, Putri Tanjung, serves as special staff to President Joko Widodo. This history of closeness demonstrates the relationship between media owners and those in power, which opens up the possibility of influencing CNN Indonesia's editorial policy. Beyond the launch of Danantara, the relationship between media elites and power was evident again when Chairul Tanjung and several other conglomerates attended a meeting hosted by President Prabowo on March 6, 2025 (Binekasri, 2025).

This closeness is relevant in the context of reporting on the Indonesia Gelap demonstrations. Just a few days after the demonstrations, on February 24, 2024, President Prabowo launched the Daya Anagata Nusantara (Danantara) program. Chairul Tanjung, the owner of CNN Indonesia, attended the event (Yanwardhana, 2025). However, unlike CNN Indonesia, Fahlevi (2013) research shows that Tempo's organizational influence on news content is minimal due to its open and collective work system. Share ownership is spread across several foundations, such as the Jaya Raya Foundation, the June 21, 1994 Foundation, PT Grafiti Pers, and the Tempo Employee Foundation. The public also owns shares, resulting in minimal intervention from owners. A comparison between CNN Indonesia and Tempo reveals two contrasting organizational approaches. CNN Indonesia is a media outlet with a vertical structure that allows the owners' political affiliations to influence editorial direction. In contrast, Tempo employs a collective work model to ensure editorial independence in setting the news agenda.

Extramedia Level

At the extramedia level, there are a number of factors that influence media content, namely:

1. Audience and Advertising, On June 2, 2025, CNN Indonesia published promotional news via its X account, @cnnindonesia, titled "Tak Lagi 7 Kg, Ibu di NTT Saksikan Berat Badan Anak Naik Berkat MBG #Ad". The #Ad hashtag indicates that the news is an advertorial, aligning with the catalog "Media Online Tayang Nasional: Advertorial CNN Indonesia" on the INAPOC website. This catalog portrays the success of the MBG program. However, through the researcher's investigation, no advertorial articles reporting on the demands of the Indonesia Gelap demonstration were found. Tempo's advertorials use special labels, such as "Info Tempo" or "Info Nasional," to distinguish them from news produced by the editorial team. As an independent media outlet, Tempo adheres to journalistic ethics by applying the firewall principle, which separates commercial and editorial functions within the organization. According to J. H. Altschull (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014), media content is not separate from the interests that fund it. The media is merely a flute player while those who pay determine the tune. Therefore, the greater the power of advertising, the greater the potential for intervention in media content, whether directly or indirectly.
2. News Source, Amidst the turmoil of the Indonesia Gelap demonstrations, President Prabowo met with 35 Indonesian media editors-in-chief. This was announced via the @prabowo X account. Among those who attended the meeting was Titin Rosmasari, the editor-in-chief of CNN Indonesia (Damayanti, 2025). However, Tempo stated that they did not receive an invitation from President Prabowo (IDN TIMES, 2025). This information was revealed in a video uploaded to YouTube by the IDN Times channel on February 26, 2025. Titled "NGOBROL SERU: Pemred Ketemu Presiden dan Independensi Media" the video featured Rosmasari and Seti Yasra, the editors-in-chief of CNN Indonesia and Tempo, respectively. During the

discussion, Rosmasari stated that CNN Indonesia accepted the invitation and viewed it as an opportunity to interview President Prabowo. She emphasized that the meeting did not influence editorial independence. Conversely, Tempo editor-in-chief Seti Yasra stated that his team had submitted five interview requests to the president but never received a response or an invitation to the meeting. In the context of the theory of media content influence hierarchy, President Prabowo's invitation to 35 editorial leaders is a form of influence from the extramedia level, particularly on external news sources. As a political figure and government official, Prabowo acts as an information source with the potential to shape media narratives and agendas through non-routine channels, such as closed meetings that reframe the Indonesia Gelap demonstration. This aligns with Pamuji's (2019) explanation that news sources do not provide information neutrally; rather, they provide information deemed advantageous in order to influence public opinion.

3. Government, The government controls the media through regulations and applicable laws (Pamuji, 2019). In Indonesia, for example, the government issued Press Law No. 40 of 1999 to regulate all print and electronic media activities. Regarding the Indonesia Gelap demonstrations, the government did not take action to censor or ban the two media outlets that reported on the demonstrations.

Ideological Level

According to Rahmatia (2025) research, CNN Indonesia's ideology is Pancasila, though it remains subject to Indonesian journalism policies and regulations. Meanwhile, Fahlevi's (2013) research indicates that Tempo's ideology is a social democratic one, rooted in anti-capitalist and anti-communist sentiments yet valuing socialist principles such as democratization, minority rights, and pluralism. This ideology is reflected in Tempo's editorial history and direction, which consistently prioritizes the public interest and critically examines power.

Based on data obtained from the internet, it appears that the hierarchy of influence plays a role in shaping the content of CNN Indonesia and Tempo's reporting on the Indonesia Gelap demonstrations. CNN Indonesia tends to highlight conflicts triggered by student actions, while Tempo appears to be more sympathetic to the protesters. These findings align with previous research. A study by (Mihafsony & Chandra, 2024) titled "*Keberpihakan Media Dalam Tragedi Kanjuruhan (Analisis Framing di CNN Indonesia dan Antaranews.com)*" found that in the Kanjuruhan tragedy, CNN Indonesia emphasized narratives blaming supporters and defending authorities. Another study by Wibisono & Nuryani (2023) titled "*A Critical Discourse Analysis of News Reports on the Kanjuruhan Tragedy in Tempo and CNN Indonesia*" also showed that CNN Indonesia tended to blame the chaos on the crowd, while Tempo was more critical of the government.

CNN Indonesia's tendency to emphasize conflict can also be seen in the 2020 Inclusive Media Index data by Remotivi (Thaniago, 2020). In issues related to marginalized groups, 51.20% of CNN Indonesia's coverage focused on conflict, far higher than Tempo's 38%. This finding indicates that conflict framing is the dominant approach used by CNN Indonesia, not only in reporting demonstrations but also in other issues such as vulnerable groups. Such reporting patterns indirectly shape public perception that any form of difference or social tension is synonymous with disruption. Therefore, the biased response of netizens to CNN Indonesia's coverage of the Indonesia Gelap demonstrations can be understood as an accumulation of distrust toward the narrative of conflict continuously constructed by this media outlet.

Thus, it is evident that CNN Indonesia and Tempo not only differ in how they deliver news but also in how they interpret the socio-political reality they present. These differences reflect the political positions, economic interests, and journalistic values upheld by each media outlet. In this context, framing is not merely a technique of presentation but a way for media to construct meaning, bias, perspective, and partisanship (Eriyanto, 2002).

Through the media content influence hierarchy theory approach, it was found that the reporting tendencies of both media outlets were more influenced by four of the five levels, namely: the media routines level, which is formed through repetitive editorial work patterns; the organization level, which reflects the influence of media ownership structures; the extramedia level, which consists of external pressures such as audiences, advertisers, and news sources; and the ideological level, which concerns the media's value system and beliefs. Meanwhile, the individual level, which relates to journalists' personal preferences, was not seen as dominant in this case. Pamuji (2019) in his book "Media Cetak VS Media Online (Perspektif Manajemen dan Bisnis Media Massa)" states that these five levels are interrelated, but not all media will be affected by all five; however, they will certainly take them into consideration.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study was motivated by differences in how the media framed reports on the Indonesia Gelap demonstrations, as well as differences in how netizens reacted to CNN Indonesia and Tempo. The aim was to determine how the two media outlets framed the events and the factors influencing these differences. Based on data analyzed using Robert Entman's framing model and the hierarchy of media content influence theory, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. CNN Indonesia portrays the Indonesia Gelap demonstrations as events synonymous with unrest between protesters and authorities and positions them as potential threats to public order. CNN Indonesia's reporting stance also appears more aligned with the government's perspective. Meanwhile, Tempo frames the demonstration as a form of public dissatisfaction with state policies, particularly among students, thus emphasizing democratic aspects and siding with public opinion. In this context, Tempo demonstrates stronger empathy toward the demonstrators, particularly the students.

2. The reporting tendencies of both media outlets are influenced by four of the five levels of the hierarchy of influence: the media routines level, reflected in editorial work patterns; the organization level, related to media ownership; the extramedia level, reflecting external pressure from audiences, advertisers, and news sources; and the ideological level, reflecting certain values and beliefs. However, individual journalists' factors do not appear to play a significant role in framing this case.

This study offers several recommendations. First, for mainstream media such as CNN Indonesia and Tempo, it is important to maintain reflective reporting on sociopolitical issues like protests. CNN Indonesia is advised to be more sensitive to power imbalances between state authorities and demonstrators to avoid reinforcing state narratives. Tempo should uphold its critical stance while ensuring accuracy and objectivity. Second, the public is encouraged to strengthen media literacy in order to critically evaluate news content and question the interests behind media narratives. Lastly, future researchers are advised to deepen analysis of the hierarchy of influences on media content by conducting interviews and newsroom observations, enabling a more comprehensive understanding of editorial dynamics and organizational influences on news framing.

FURTHER STUDY

This study is limited by its reliance on secondary data and online documentation, without direct access to newsroom environments. As a result, the analysis of internal organizational dynamics and journalistic routines within the media institutions remains constrained. The study also focuses solely on textual framing without incorporating audience reception or visual content analysis. Future research is recommended to adopt a more comprehensive methodological approach by conducting in-depth interviews with journalists and editors, as well as ethnographic observation within newsroom settings. Additionally, comparative studies involving more diverse media platforms, including alternative or independent outlets, may enrich understanding of how different institutional and ideological contexts shape media framing.

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