

Framing of News Coverage of The Forum Purnawirawan TNI Regarding Impeachment of Vice President Gibran Rakabuming Raka in Tirto.ID and Inews.ID

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze how the online media Tirto.id and iNews.id framed the issue of the impeachment of Vice President Gibran Rakabuming Raka, which was initiated by Forum Purnawirawan TNI (The Retired Indonesian Military Forum) in 2025, using Robert Entman's framing analysis model. This research applies a descriptive qualitative method through documentation and observation of news articles published between June 3 and August 29, 2025. The findings reveal a clear contrast between the two media in constructing political reality. Tirto.id framed the impeachment issue as a form of moral and ethical critique against the legitimacy of power, emphasizing the voice of opposition and civil groups that questioned the political ethics of Gibran's candidacy. In contrast, iNews.id framed the issue within a procedural and stability-oriented narrative, highlighting government sources and portraying the impeachment discourse as politically unnecessary. These differences reflect each outlet's ideological orientation: Tirto.id's independent and critical stance versus iNews.id's alignment with the political establishment. The study concludes that media outlets act not merely as conveyors of information but as political agents that shape public perception through selective emphasis and narrative framing.

Keywords: *Framing, Robert Entman, Tirto.id, iNews.id, Gibran Rakabuming Impeachment*

INTRODUCTION

The issue of the impeachment of Vice President Gibran Rakabuming Raka has continued to attract public and media attention since his nomination in the 2024 General Election, which sparked controversy, particularly regarding the Constitutional Court's ruling on the minimum age requirement for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. This decision has been perceived by some groups as politically motivated and reflective of dynastic power practices, thereby triggering serious debates on constitutional ethics

and democratic legitimacy in Indonesia (Pajri et al., 2024). In this context, mass media plays a strategic role not only in disseminating information but also in shaping public perception, legitimizing political processes, and articulating criticism of ongoing political and legal developments (Silvani et al., 2021).

Following the official election of the Prabowo Subianto–Gibran Rakabuming Raka ticket in the 2024 General Election, the controversy did not subside. Instead, allegations of electoral fraud, political manipulation, and unethical political practices intensified, contributing to a decline in public trust in legal institutions and democratic processes (H. S. Utama, 2024). The discourse on Gibran’s impeachment subsequently emerged as a form of political criticism aimed at questioning political legitimacy and ethical governance. Constitutionally, the impeachment mechanism is regulated under Articles 7A and 7B of the 1945 Constitution, involving the Constitutional Court, the House of Representatives (DPR), and the People’s Consultative Assembly (MPR) (Asshiddiqie, 2006; Wahyuni et al., 2024; Muhdar et al., 2023). However, the dominance of a large governing coalition in parliament has led many observers to view impeachment more as a symbolic political discourse than a realistically enforceable constitutional procedure (Irwanto, 2025).

The impeachment issue gained further prominence when a forum of retired Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) officers comprising senior military figures publicly urged the MPR to remove Gibran from the vice-presidential office. This demand was openly expressed in April 2025 and reinforced through the submission of an official letter to the DPR and MPR in May 2025. The involvement of retired military actors in the impeachment discourse not only affected political stability and elite relations but also highlighted tensions between dynastic political practices and civil society demands for ethical, accountable governance (Arkan et al., 2025; Sulistyowati et al., 2024).

Within this context, online media serves as a crucial arena for discursive contestation. Media is not a neutral space but an ideological field in which competing political interests and perspectives are produced and negotiated. As articulated by Gramsci, media functions as a hegemonic space where dominant and counter-hegemonic ideologies are contested and renegotiated (Imansari, 2021). Consequently, differences in media ideology, ownership, and editorial orientation have direct implications for how the issue of Gibran’s impeachment is constructed and presented to the public.

These differences are clearly reflected in the coverage by Tirto.id and iNews.id. Tirto.id tends to frame the impeachment demand as an expression of moral and political anxiety regarding the legitimacy of power deemed ethically and constitutionally problematic. Through narrative-style reporting and selective quotations from members of the retired TNI forum, Tirto.id positions the issue as indicative of a legitimacy crisis and legislative failure to adequately respond to public aspirations. The retired officers’ forum is not

portrayed as an extremist group but rather as a political actor exercising a watchdog function over those in power.

In contrast, iNews.id frames the impeachment demand as an unsubstantial discourse with the potential to disrupt national political stability. Its coverage emphasizes statements from government officials and political figures supporting Gibran, who regard the issue as constitutionally irrelevant. The reporting focuses primarily on administrative and procedural aspects, while the moral and ethical arguments underlying the retired officers' demands are largely marginalized. This pattern reflects iNews.id's tendency to reinforce governmental legitimacy and minimize space for oppositional discourse.

The divergent framing strategies employed by these two media outlets demonstrate that news is not merely a reflection of reality but a constructed product shaped by ideological and structural media interests. Therefore, a framing analysis approach is particularly relevant for examining how media selects, emphasizes, and interprets specific aspects of political events. This study employs Robert Entman's framing model, which identifies how media defines problems, diagnoses causes, makes moral judgments, and proposes remedies in political news coverage (Entman, 1993).

The selection of Tirto.id and iNews.id as research objects is based on their contrasting positions within Indonesia's media landscape. Tirto.id represents an online media outlet that is relatively independent and critical of power, while iNews.id represents a mainstream media organization with strong affiliations to political and economic power structures. Comparing these two outlets provides a comprehensive analytical framework for understanding how media framing shapes public opinion regarding the impeachment of Vice President Gibran Rakabuming Raka.

Thus, this study is significant in revealing the relationship between media, power, and the construction of political reality in post-2024 General Election Indonesia. By applying Robert Entman's framing analysis, this research not only addresses what the media reports but also how and why the issue of Gibran's impeachment is presented differently by media outlets with opposing ideological orientations.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Online Media

Online media is a form of mass media resulting from the convergence of information and communication technologies that utilizes the internet as its primary channel for information distribution. The emergence of online media has not only transformed how the public accesses news but has also significantly influenced the process of public opinion formation in a faster, more open, and interactive manner (Nur, 2021). Unlike conventional media,

which operates in a one-way communication model, online media enables two-way and even multi-directional communication, positioning audiences not merely as passive recipients but as active participants in the production and circulation of information.

As a digital public sphere, online media functions not only as a news provider but also as an arena for social interaction and discursive contestation. Audiences can respond to news through comments, content sharing, and the creation of new discourses beyond the full control of editorial institutions. Nevertheless, online media continues to perform a gatekeeping function, although its mechanisms have evolved through a combination of editorial control, platform algorithms, and user preferences (Nur, 2021).

The main characteristics of online media include the rapid dissemination of information, real-time content updates, user interactivity, information personalization, and the use of hyperlinks that connect diverse sources of information (Kustiawan et al., 2022). On the other hand, this speed and openness present serious challenges related to data verification, journalistic ethics, and the spread of inaccurate information. Therefore, online media holds a strategic role in democratic societies, both as a channel for distributing political information and as an actor that shapes legitimacy and public perception.

Impeachment

Impeachment is a constitutional mechanism within constitutional law that functions to remove the president and/or vice president when they are proven to have violated the law or no longer meet the requirements to serve as the head of government. In Indonesia, the impeachment mechanism is explicitly regulated under Articles 7A and 7B of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, which involves the House of Representatives (DPR), the Constitutional Court, and the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) as the institutions authorized to carry out the process (Republic of Indonesia, 2001).

From the perspective of constitutional law, impeachment serves as an instrument of checks and balances designed to prevent the abuse of power and to uphold constitutional supremacy. Impeachment is not merely political in nature but also constitutes a legal process that requires juridical proof and moral accountability of public officials to the constitution (Asshiddiqie, 2006). This mechanism affirms that the legitimacy of executive power is derived from the constitution and may be revoked in the event of serious violations.

Hans Kelsen's theory of the hierarchical structure of law explains that the constitution occupies the highest position within the legal norm system. When a president or vice president violates the constitution, the legitimacy of their office becomes invalid because it contradicts the basic norm (*grundnorm*) (Gazali, 2022). In the Indonesian context, the impeachment of

President Abdurrahman Wahid in 2001 demonstrates that impeachment is not merely a theoretical concept but a political and legal reality imbued with power dynamics and institutional interests.

News

News is the primary product of mass media that not only conveys facts but also shapes public understanding of social and political reality. News is the result of editorial construction, produced based on news values, institutional interests, and specific journalistic practices (Al-Fandi, 2021). Therefore, news cannot be understood as an objective reflection of reality, but rather as a representation of reality that has undergone processes of selection and interpretation.

In journalistic practice, the newsworthiness of an event is determined by values such as significance, timeliness, conflict, prominence of actors, impact, and proximity to the audience. News structure is generally organized according to the inverted pyramid model, in which the most important information is placed at the beginning to shape readers' interpretive framework from the outset (Halim et al., 2016).

The process of news production is influenced by various factors, including newsroom routines, journalists' backgrounds, time constraints, and the economic and political interests of media organizations. Media ownership and political affiliations also affect how issues are constructed, resulting in news that often represents the interests of dominant groups. In this context, news functions as an arena of contestation over meaning and power, particularly in strategic political issues such as impeachment.

Social Construction Theory

Social construction theory, as proposed by Berger and Luckmann, views social reality as the product of continuous social processes rather than as something objective and natural. Reality is formed through three stages, externalization, objectivation, and internalization, which operate dialectically in social life (Hadiwijaya, 2023).

In the context of mass media, this theory explains that media does not merely report reality but actively shapes and produces social reality through the selection of facts, the use of language, and the determination of perspectives. The reality presented by the media is subsequently objectified and internalized by society as legitimate truth. Consequently, news constitutes a form of symbolic construction imbued with ideology, interests, and power relations.

The social constructionist approach in communication emphasizes that language and symbols serve as the primary tools in shaping collective

understanding. Media plays a central role in this process because it possesses symbolic authority to define social and political reality (Littlejohn, 2011).

Framing Theory

Framing is an analytical approach used to understand how media construct social reality through the selection of issues and the emphasis of certain aspects in news coverage. According to Robert Entman, framing operates by defining problems, identifying causes, making moral judgments, and recommending solutions to an issue (Eriyanto, 2011). Thus, framing not only determines what is reported but also shapes how an issue is interpreted by the audience.

In practice, framing is closely related to the use of language, diction, narrative structure, and the selection of news sources. Media outlets can construct positive or negative images of particular actors through consistent framing strategies (Suharyo, 2021). Therefore, framing serves as an important analytical tool for uncovering ideological orientations and hidden interests embedded within news texts.

Entman's framing theory is particularly relevant to this study because it enables the identification of differences in how online media frame the issue of the impeachment of Vice President Gibran Rakabuming Raka. Through framing analysis, this research explains how Tirto.id and iNews.id construct political reality in distinct ways, reflecting each outlet's ideological orientation and institutional interests.

METHODOLOGY

This research employs a descriptive qualitative approach within a constructivist paradigm, aiming to understand how online media frame the issue of calls for the impeachment of Vice President Gibran Rakabuming Raka by the Forum of Retired TNI Officers. This approach is chosen because the research focuses on interpreting meanings, narratives, and the construction of social reality as produced through news texts, rather than on measuring variables quantitatively. The constructivist paradigm views social reality as a product of social construction shaped through interaction, language, and symbolic practices; therefore, media are positioned as active agents in forming political meaning and discourse within the public sphere.

The objects of this study are online news texts published by two national digital media outlets, Tirto.id and iNews.id, which report on the calls for the impeachment of Vice President Gibran Rakabuming Raka by the Forum of Retired TNI Officers. The selection of these two media outlets is based on their differing editorial characteristics and tendencies in news coverage. Primary data consist of news texts collected from the official websites of both

media outlets within the period from June 3 to August 29, 2025, a timeframe during which the intensity of coverage on the impeachment issue increased significantly. The determination of this period is based on trends in public attention to the impeachment discourse, which showed notable escalation and decline during this timeframe.

Data collection was conducted through non-participant observation and documentation. Observation involved systematically examining news coverage patterns, narrative structures, actor selection, language use, and issue emphasis presented in the news texts. This observation was non-participatory, as the researcher was not involved in the news production process but analyzed journalistic content that had already been published. Documentation techniques were applied by collecting, copying, and archiving news texts relevant to the research focus. In addition to primary data, this study also utilizes secondary data, including books, journal articles, media analysis reports, official documents, and political actors' statements to strengthen interpretation and provide theoretical context.

Data analysis was conducted qualitatively using Robert Entman's framing model, which emphasizes four core elements: define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and treatment recommendation. The analytical process began with an in-depth reading of the news texts, followed by data categorization based on these four framing elements. Each media outlet was analyzed separately to identify dominant framing patterns, after which a comparative analysis was conducted to reveal differences in meaning construction and ideological tendencies in news coverage.

This approach enables the researcher to interpret the political, moral, and ideological meanings embedded in news texts and to understand how media construct social reality through journalistic practices. The issue of Gibran's impeachment is understood as an arena of discursive contestation laden with power relations and institutional interests, making framing analysis a relevant method for uncovering the role of media in shaping public perception. Therefore, the descriptive qualitative approach combined with Robert Entman's framing analysis is considered capable of providing a comprehensive understanding of media discourse construction in the issue of the impeachment of Gibran Rakabuming Raka.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Framing of iNews.id

The results of the analysis indicate that iNews.id frames the demand for the impeachment of Vice President Gibran Rakabuming Raka as an administrative and procedural process operating within constitutional boundaries. iNews.id's coverage consistently positions formal state mechanisms such as the receipt of the letter, administrative registration, its

reading in a plenary session, and references to Article 7A of the 1945 Constitution as the central meaning in its news narratives. By highlighting institutional stages in a sequential manner, iNews.id directs readers to understand impeachment as part of a routine, orderly, and controlled state process.

Within Robert Entman's framing framework, iNews.id defines the problem (*define problems*) not as a political crisis or a conflict of legitimacy, but as an ongoing legal procedure. The causes (*diagnose causes*) are positioned normatively, namely the submission of a letter by the Forum of Retired TNI Officers, without in-depth exploration of the political background or ethical dimensions underlying the action. Moral judgment (*make moral judgments*) is oriented toward portraying state institutions as professional, orderly, and compliant with legal rules, while the recommended solution (*treatment recommendation*) is framed through normative statements such as "processed in accordance with legal provisions."

This pattern aligns with an *administrative framing* tendency that places procedures and legality at the center of attention, while political conflict and contestation are relegated to the background. Such an approach creates an impression of political stability and order, while simultaneously mitigating the potential for public controversy. In the post-2024 election political context, where the majority of parliamentary forces continue to support the government, iNews.id's framing reinforces the perception that the impeachment issue is more symbolic than politically realistic. Thus, iNews.id plays a role in fostering public confidence that state institutions continue to function normally and that the democratic system operates in accordance with established mechanisms.

Framing of Tirto.id

In contrast to iNews.id, Tirto.id frames the issue of Gibran's impeachment as a political agenda laden with questions of legitimacy, accountability, and institutional responsibility. Tirto.id's coverage presents the administrative process in detail such as the position of the letter within the Secretariat General, the DPR's recess period, and the authority of the MPR leadership, but this emphasis is not merely technical. Instead, the detailed procedural narrative is used to highlight political dynamics, the cautious stance of state institutions, and the moral pressure emerging from civil society groups.

From the perspective of Entman's framing model, Tirto.id defines the problem (*define problems*) as a significant political issue that has entered formal institutional channels and demands a serious response from state institutions. The causes (*diagnose causes*) are clearly attributed to the Forum of Retired TNI Officers as the actor submitting the demand, supported by legal and ethical arguments. Moral judgments (*make moral judgment*) are reflected

in narratives emphasizing institutional caution, delays in response, and the importance of upholding constitutional ethics. Meanwhile, treatment recommendations (*treatment recommendation*) are directed toward formal mechanisms such as leadership meetings, institutional rules of procedure, and transparent procedural decision-making.

This framing pattern reflects Tirto.id's character as a media outlet that tends to be reflective and critical. Administrative processes are not used to neutralize or downplay the issue but rather to open public space for understanding how power operates and is tested. Through this approach, Tirto.id positions impeachment not merely as a legal matter, but also as a symbol of a legitimacy crisis that requires political accountability. This approach is consistent with Tirto.id's broader editorial orientation across various issues, which frequently places public interest, transparency, and accountability at the center of its news narratives.

Comparison of Framing between iNews.id and Tirto.id

The comparison of framing between iNews.id and Tirto.id reveals clear differences in editorial and ideological orientations. iNews.id frames the issue of Gibran's impeachment as a stable and controlled administrative process, whereas Tirto.id interprets it as a political dynamic laden with demands for legitimacy and ethical accountability. Although both media emphasize institutional pathways, the meanings they construct differ significantly.

iNews.id prioritizes legality, procedure, and order as its core values. This framing functions to reassure the public and reinforce confidence in governmental stability. In contrast, Tirto.id employs procedural narratives as a tool to expose power relations, delayed political responses, and the importance of institutional accountability. Through this approach, Tirto.id encourages readers to adopt a more reflective and critical stance toward the dynamics of power.

These differences are also evident in the structure and style of news reporting. iNews.id tends to employ a concise and factual straight news style, while Tirto.id, although adhering to the 5W+1H structure, incorporates deeper moral and political context. Within the landscape of online media, iNews.id represents an orientation of digital journalism that prioritizes speed and discursive stability, whereas Tirto.id utilizes the characteristics of digital media to construct more analytical and educational narratives.

Overall, the framing employed by iNews.id directs the public to view the impeachment issue as a bureaucratic procedure within a democratic system, while Tirto.id's framing invites the public to assess the issue as a test of legitimacy and constitutional ethics. These findings affirm that media do not merely function as conveyors of information but also act as influential agents

in shaping social and political reality through framing strategies informed by their respective editorial interests and orientations.

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that news coverage of the impeachment issue involving Vice President Gibran Rakabuming Raka by the Forum of Retired TNI Officers on iNews.id and Tirto.id is constructed through different framing strategies, even though both media outlets report on the same event. These differences reflect each media organization's characteristics, ideological orientations, and editorial interests in interpreting political reality.

iNews.id frames the impeachment issue as an administrative and procedural process that operates in accordance with constitutional provisions. Its coverage focuses on formal mechanisms within state institutions, such as the receipt of the impeachment letter, administrative registration, the DPR's recess period, and the stages of plenary meetings. This framing emphasizes political stability and governmental legitimacy by presenting a narrative in which the state functions in an orderly and controlled manner. Consequently, iNews.id contributes to shaping public perception that the impeachment issue does not constitute a significant political crisis, but rather represents a normal procedural aspect of democratic governance.

In contrast, Tirto.id frames the impeachment issue as a political dynamic imbued with moral, ethical, and accountability dimensions of power. Tirto.id's reporting not only highlights administrative procedures but also emphasizes delays in institutional responses, the cautious stance of state institutions, and demands for accountability from civil society actors. This framing positions impeachment as a test of political legitimacy and encourages readers to understand the issue in a more critical and reflective manner. Through this approach, Tirto.id functions as a media outlet that expands public discourse on transparency and political responsibility.

The differing framing strategies employed by iNews.id and Tirto.id underscore that the media is not neutral in presenting political reality. Through issue selection, emphasis on particular aspects, and the use of specific language and perspectives, the media actively shapes meaning and public perception. These findings reinforce the view that media framing constitutes an ideological practice influenced by institutional backgrounds and editorial orientations. Therefore, critical engagement with media coverage becomes essential for the public in interpreting political issues, particularly those related to legitimacy and democratic dynamics in Indonesia.

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