

# Framing Election Fraud in Indonesia's 2024 Elections: A Comparative Analysis of Tempo.co and Republika.com

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## ABSTRACT

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This study examines the framing of election fraud in the context of the 2024 elections as reported by two prominent Indonesian media outlets, Tempo.co and Republika.com. Utilizing Robert N. Entman's framing analysis method, the research analyzes news articles published during March 2024 that discuss alleged election fraud. This research is presented using a qualitative approach with data analysis techniques by Miles and Huberman, which includes three interactive data analysis units: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing and data verification. The findings reveal that Tempo.co presents election fraud as a significant issue, attributing it to factors such as money politics, ethical violations, and the compromised neutrality of election organizers. In contrast, Republika.com emphasizes the implications of these allegations on public trust in election outcomes, suggesting that mechanisms like the right to inquiry and legal recourse through the Constitutional Court are necessary to address disputes over general election results. The study concludes that both media outlets offer distinct perspectives on the issue of election fraud, highlighting the role of online media in fostering critical discourse and public education on democratic processes. Future research is encouraged to further explore this topic, particularly in how media can effectively serve public interests and promote informed decision-making in democratic societies.

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## INTRODUCTION

The General Election held on February 14, 2024, has become a hot topic of conversation in all walks of life. The 2024 election is an event to elect the President, DPR, DPD, and DPRD. Elections that occur every five years certainly generate great enthusiasm among the public. This enthusiasm arises when there is a discussion about the President and Vice President candidates that will compete in the 2024 Election. The topic of the three contestants for President and Vice President, Anies Baswedan-Muhaimin Iskandar, Prabowo Subianto-Gibran Rakabuming, and Ganjar Pranowo-Mahfud Md, and their supporters, have often appeared in the mass media and social media since the announcement of the candidates until the campaign period. Nowadays, a series of election and campaign agendas that took place from November 2023 to February 2024 have officially ended. However, the end of the 2024 Election contestation did not stop the emergence of hot and controversial issues, one of which is the issue of fraud in the 2024 Election carried out by certain parties. The issue of fraud in the 2024 elections has been discussed by the public, especially in the social media community.

A report from social media analysis agency Drone Emprit as reported by CNN Indonesia (2024) states that topics related to election fraud have high tweet traffic on X social media. There were also keywords related to these topics, such as Dirty Vote, election fraud, quick count, exit poll, and dynastic politics. Many accounts reported evidence of fraud in the 2024 elections, such as vote data manipulation, ballots that had been voted for specific candidates, and voting by minors. The finding of evidence of fraud in the 2024 election contest is not a mere figment of the imagination. Several media outlets have also raised the issue of election fraud in their news coverage. One of them is Kompas.com (2024), which

reported on various forms of violations and fraud that occurred in the 2024 Presidential Election process.

The reports related to evidence of fraud in the 2024 elections did not escape the mass media coverage. It is undeniable that the mass media can also construct the news in this case (Ishwara, 2005; Krumbein, 2017; Marta et al., 2022). An example is by framing an event conducted by journalists. In the context of this research, it is interesting to see how the framing process can be formed to bring up specific frames related to election fraud. To examine this, therefore, framing theory is very appropriate to be able to dismantle every frame made by a media.

Framing analysis is an analytical framework that aims to examine and describe the framing results formed by the media (Hoewe & Peacock, 2020). Various framing analysis models can be utilized. However, in this study, researchers chose the framing analysis framework from Entman (1993) that consists of four analytical frameworks, namely define the problem (observing how an issue is seen), diagnose causes (examining the source of the cause of an event), make moral judgment (making moral decisions to explain the problem in the news) and treatment recommendation (D'Angelo, 2018). The framing analysis model and the four stages of Robert N. Entman's framing analysis will be used by researchers to explore the framing provided by Tempo.co and Republika.com media on news about the 2024 election fraud.

Researchers chose Tempo.co and Republika.com as research subjects for specific reasons. Tempo.co was selected because Tempo.co is known as an independent media (Romli, 2014). Meanwhile, Republika.com (owned by Erick Thohir) was chosen as a comparison because its owner incidentally stated that he supported one of the candidate pairs, namely Prabowo-Gibran, to win the 2024 election contest. Heychael & Dhona (2014) in a report by Remotivi states that the media has access to reach a large audience from various regions. Therefore, the media is often used as a political tool to campaign for specific figures (Benham, 2020). However, if the media becomes a political tool, there will be no independence, resulting in a lack of quality democracy in society. In the case of Erick Thohir showing support for Prabowo-Gibran, it is concerned that this support will affect the neutrality of the online media Republika.com. Researchers considered this in choosing the two media outlets.

Framing analysis research on election fraud is very important because balanced and accurate reporting on this crucial topic can enrich the audience's insight into the news about election fraud. Neutral reporting without intervention can also raise public awareness in understanding the impact of election fraud on political dynamics and stability in Indonesia.

There have been many studies on framing analysis conducted by previous researchers. For example, research conducted by Adiprasetyo (2020); Doufesh & Briel (2021); Fadlan (2022); Permadi (2024); Yustitia & Ashrianto (2022); Zuraida (2023). From the results of the researchers' observations, these previous studies were limited to examining framing analysis in the context of news outside politics. Moreover, researchers still find rare research on the framework of framing analysis that focuses on news about elections in Indonesia. That way, the research void is what researchers want to fill. From this, it is interesting to see it from a political point of view, especially regarding the issue of election fraud. For example, how is the framing of the media in Indonesia related to the 2024 election fraud? What aspects are highlighted by the media to frame the news related to the election fraud? These sharp questions are what researchers want to achieve in this study so that later researchers can also hope to provide recommendations to related parties in this study.

To accomplish all the goals mentioned above, the researcher is utilizing Entman's framing analysis method, which involves defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments, and providing treatment recommendations. Accordingly, this research aims to analyze how Tempo.co and Republika.com media frame the news related to the alleged 2024 election fraud.

## METHOD

This research uses a qualitative approach, using Robert N. Entman's framing analysis model as the research method. Framing, according to Eriyanto (2002) in his book *Analisis Framing: Construction, Ideology, and Politics of Media*, is a technique used to analyze how the media presents news. The use of Robert N. Entman's framing analysis model intended to see the framing of the 2024 Election fraud news in Tempo.co and Republika.com mass media comprehensively and thoroughly. According to Entman, analyzing media framing involves defining the problem, diagnosing the cause of the problem, making moral decisions, and offering recommendations for solutions.

Primary data in this research was gathered through selected news articles from Tempo.co and Republika.com from the March 2024 period. This period was chosen because many reports about election fraud were published in that time frame. Secondary data was collected from literature searches, documents, articles, books, journals, and other written materials on the subject of this research. News texts were retrieved using the keyword 'election fraud' in both media. In this regard, the researcher set specific criteria from these keywords because the researcher did not analyze all news texts. The researcher set the criteria by restricting it to news texts that related to election fraud. Thus, the results of the news texts were obtained from as many as ten news articles to be studied. With details, researchers took five news texts in each media. Researchers deliberately collected an even distribution of news texts in both media to avoid an unequal portion of the news coverage.

Furthermore, the researcher will use the interactive data analysis technique proposed by Miles & Huberman (1992) for this study. The three units of interactive data analysis by Miles & Huberman are data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing and data verification. In the data reduction stage, news about election fraud in both two media will be collected by classifying it into a table to make it easier for readers. Furthermore, these primary data will be presented in results and discussions by linking them to Entman’s framing elements. In the final stage, conclusions are drawn.

**FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS**

Researchers have conducted a study relating to the framing analysis of election fraud news in the two media, namely Tempo.co and Republika.com during the March 2024 period. As for the results of the research that has been conducted, researchers found different frames carried out by the two media. The following is the researcher’s narration of the results of related research.

**A. Tempo.co Framing Analysis of Election Fraud**

Table 1. Tempo.co news related to Election fraud in March 2024

| News Publication Date    | News Title   |
|--------------------------|--|
| Saturday, 23 March 2024  | <i>(Reaksi Parpol Soal Progres Pengajuan Hak Angket Pemilu di DPR)</i><br>Political Party Reaction to The Progress of Submitting the Election Inquiry Rights to the DPR  |
| Saturday, 23 March 2024  | <i>(Ajukan Gugatan ke MK, TPN Ganjar-Mahfud Bawa 469 Bukti dan Puluhan Advokat)</i><br>File Lawsuit with MK, TPN Ganjar-Mahfud Brings 469 Evidence and Dozens of Advocates   |
| Wednesday, 27 March 2024 | <i>(Jaga Pemilu Sebut Pemilu 2024 Nirintegritas)</i><br>Jaga Pemilu Calls 2024 Election Lack of Integrity  |
| Wednesday, 27 March 2024 | <i>(Hadir di Sidang Sengketa Pilpres, Anies Baswedan Singgung Politisasi Bansos Hingga Intervensi Pimpinan MK)</i><br>Present at Presidential Election Dispute Hearing, Anies Baswedan Touches on Politicization of Social Assistance and Intervention by MK Leaders |
| Friday, 29 March 2024    | <i>(Respons Tim Hukum Prabowo-Gibran atas Panen Gugatan Pemilu 2024)</i><br>Prabowo-Gibran Legal Team’s Response to 2024 Election Lawsuits   |

Source: Processed by Researcher

**News 1: (Reaksi Parpol soal Progres Pengajuan Hak Angket Pemilu di DPR) - Political Party Reaction to The Progress of Submitting the Election Inquiry Rights to the DPR (Saturday, 23 March 2024) – (Yunus, 2024)**



**Fig. 1.** Political Party Reaction to The Progress of Submitting the Election Inquiry Rights to the DPR  
Source: Yunus (2024)

This news article contains responses from members of several political parties, namely PDIP, Nasdem, PPP, PKS, and PKB, to the discourse on the proposal of the Election Inquiry Right in the House of Representatives (DPR). The Defining problem of this news is that the alleged election has led to the discourse of the right of inquiry to investigate the alleged election fraud. Tempo.co reported the events of various reactions from political parties such as PDIP, Nasdem, PPP, PKS, and PKB that have not yet determined their stance on the inquiry right of election discourse. Meanwhile, the diagnose causes of Tempo.co’s first news is the lack of certainty from the parties because each party still has its agenda such as PDIP waiting for direction from the chairman, Nasdem focusing on national interests, PPP taking care of the party’s votes in parliament, PKS still waiting for support for the inquiry right, and PKB in the process of synchronizing the purpose and substance of the inquiry right. Making moral judgments functions to provide a moral assessment of an event. In this news report, the moral judgment conveyed is that several moral judgments can be observed. PDIP shows an

attitude that relies on party leaders, while Nasdem respects the inquiry right proposal but is still considering proposing an inquiry right. Then, PPP is skeptical about the actual realization of the right of inquiry in the DPR, PKS will move forward if it has enough support, and PKB chooses to be cautious in proposing and compiling documents to support the filing of the right of inquiry. Regarding the treatment recommendation that was reported, various political parties proposed the inquiry right by deciding to dwell on evaluating the inquiry right proposal and monitor the movement from other parties.

**News 2: (*Ajukan Gugatan ke MK, TPN Ganjar-Mahfud Bawa 469 Bukti dan Puluhan Advokat*) - File Lawsuit with MK, TPN Ganjar-Mahfud Brings 469 Evidence and Dozens of Advocates (Saturday, 23 March 2024) – (Faturahman & Hamdi, 2024)**



**Fig. 2.** File Lawsuit with MK, TPN Ganjar-Mahfud Brings 469 Evidence and Dozens of Advocates  
Source: Faturahman & Hamdi (2024)

This news contains the plan of the National Winning Team (TPN) of candidate pair number 3, Ganjar-Mahfud to file a lawsuit regarding the election results to the Constitutional Court. TPN Ganjar-Mahfud has collected evidence of fraud and has prepared 74 lawyers to fight in the Constitutional Court. The Defining problems in this news are related to the submission of a lawsuit to the Constitutional Court by the Ganjar-Mahfud National Winning Team regarding the General Election Results Dispute (PHPU) and alleged election fraud. Tempo.co diagnoses causes by stating that there are electoral violations and fraud organized in a massive, systematic, and consolidated way from before to after the 2024 elections. Therefore, the moral judgment offered by Tempo.co emphasizes the importance of establishing democracy and justice. From this news, Tempo.co quoted a statement from the Ganjar-Mahfud National Winning Team (TPN) so that the treatment recommendation on this news is to show that they already have strong evidence, 74 lawyers, 30 witnesses, and 10 expert witnesses to prove election fraud in the Constitutional Court.

**News 3: (*Jaga Pemilu Sebut Pemilu 2024 Nirintegritas*) - Jaga Pemilu Calls 2024 Election Lack of Integrity (Wednesday, 27 March 2024) - (Sari & Hamdi, 2024)**



**Fig. 3.** Jaga Pemilu Calls 2024 Election Lack of Integrity  
Source: Sari & Hamdi (2024)

This news article contains an opinion from the Election Watch Association which states that the 2024 Election has many violations. These violations have caused the 2024 elections to appear to have no integrity. Define problem in this news is that Tempo.co defines the issue as what happened by assuming that the 2024 elections were filled with malpractices in the form of massive violations. Diagnosing causes serves to estimate the cause of the problem of an event. In addition, it is also to frame who is considered an actor in the event. In this news, Tempo.co frames the 2024 elections as malpractice and non-integrity because of the many reports of alleged election violations from the public of different types. Some types of election violations are the loss of neutrality of election organizers, involving children in campaigns, intimidation of certain parties, problematic permanent voter lists, money politics, campaigns that take place during the quiet period, incorrect recapitulation results, errors in the SIREKAP application, and violations of the code of ethics. The moral judgment in this news is that various election violations have been reported and verified, Tempo.co views the 2024 Election as an election with zero integrity. The treatment recommendation given by Tempo.co is to report that there will be reports of evidence of alleged election fraud that has been verified by Bawaslu.

**News 4: (*Hadir di Sidang Sengketa Pilpres, Anies Baswedan Singgung Politisasi Bansos hingga Intervensi Pimpinan MK*) - Present at Presidential Election Dispute Hearing, Anies Baswedan Touches on Politicization of Social Assistance and Intervention by MK Leaders (Wednesday, 27 March 2024) - (Yaputra & Hamdi, 2024)**

#### Hadir di Sidang Sengketa Pilpres, Anies Baswedan Singgung Politisasi Bansos hingga Intervensi Pimpinan MK

Reporter  
Hendrik Yaputra

Editor  
Imam Hamdi

Rabu, 27 Maret 2024 09:12 WIB



Bagikan



**Fig. 4.** Present at Presidential Election Dispute Hearing, Anies Baswedan Touches on Politicization of Social Assistance and Intervention by MK Leaders  
Source: Yaputra & Hamdi (2024)

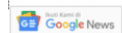
The news above relates to the 2024 presidential election dispute hearing attended by Anies Baswedan at the Constitutional Court. Anies stated that there was an intervention of power from government institutions that caused a loss of independence in the implementation of the 2024 elections. From the analysis that researchers have conducted, there is a definition of problems or what is considered a problem in an event (define problems) with the intervention of the peak of power that causes elections not to proceed a *luberjurdil*. The interventionist actions of state officials led to the destruction of democracy in Indonesia. Tempo.co sees that the cause of the problem (diagnose causes) of election fraud is that the intervention of state administrators is the cause of elections not taking place in a *luberjurdil* manner. Various irregularities such as directing regional heads to win specific candidate pairs and misuse of social assistance by the government are examples. Therefore, the moral judgment reported by Tempo.co is to say that the acts of intervention from the top of power are a real threat to the stability of democracy in Indonesia. Meanwhile, the treatment recommendation given by Tempo.co is that the Constitutional Court, as a judicial institution, should be able to be objective and decide cases as fairly as possible so that fraudulent behavior by government institutions is not normalized in the future.

**News 5: (*Respons Tim Hukum Prabowo-Gibran atas Panen Gugatan Pemilu 2024*) - Prabowo-Gibran Legal Team's Response to 2024 Election Lawsuits (Friday, 29 March 2024) - (Gabriella & Arjanto, 2024)**

**Respons Tim Hukum Prabowo-Gibran atas Panen Gugatan Pemilu 2024**

Reporter: Michelle Gabriela  
Editor: Dwi Arjanto

Jumat, 29 Maret 2024 05:00 WIB



**Fig. 5.** Prabowo-Gibran Legal Team’s Response to 2024 Election Lawsuits  
Source: Gabriella & Arjanto (2024)

This news article contains responses from the head of the KPU and the head of the Prabowo-Gibran Defense Team to the arguments of the Anies-Muhaimin National Legal Team which consist of allegations of election fraud committed by Prabowo-Gibran. From the news above, it was discovered that the defined problems in the news of election fraud reported by Tempo.co are problems regarding the alleged fraud of the 2024 Election which led to the General Election Results Dispute (PHPU). The suspected election fraud was allegedly committed by Prabowo-Gibran and the government institution that organizes the elections, namely the KPU. Diagnose the causes of this news, namely the alleged election fraud committed by Prabowo-Gibran and the state institution KPU in the form of using social assistance, changing the rules for nominating vice presidents, utilizing state apparatus for campaigning, and open support from government institutions. Making a moral judgment in this news is indicated by a quote from the Head of the Prabowo-Gibran Defense Team which assessed that the demands and allegations of fraud filed by TKN Anies-Muhaimin were only assumptions without valid evidence. Treatment recommendation in this news is shown by the actions of the Prabowo-Gibran Defense Team and the KPU which will prepare evidence to answer the lawsuit from TKN Anies-Muhaimin and TPN Ganjar-Mahfud.

**B. Republika.com Framing Analysis of Election Fraud**

Table 2. Republika.com news related to election fraud in March 2024

| News Publication Date    | News Title  |
|--------------------------|---|
| Tuesday, 5 March 2024    | <i>(PDIP: Kita Ingin Pemerintah Memberikan Jawaban Soal Dugaan Kecurangan Pemilu)</i><br>PDIP: We Want the Government to Provide Answers Regarding Alleged Election Fraud |
| Thursday, 14 March 2024  | <i>(Politikus PAN Yakin Hak Angket tidak akan Terwujud)</i><br>PAN Politician Believes Right of Inquiry Will Not Be Realized  |
| Thursday, 21 March 2024  | <i>(Surya Paloh Sebut akan Evaluasi Wacana Hak Angket)</i><br>Surya Paloh Says He Will Evaluate Inquiry Rights Discourse  |
| Friday, 22 March 2024    | <i>(Tolak Tawaran Gibran, Sekjen PDIP: Kami Lebih Pilih Rangkulan Rakyat)</i><br>Rejecting Gibran’s Offer, PDIP Secretary General: We Prefer the Embrace of the People    |
| Wednesday, 27 March 2024 | <i>(Ganjar di MK: Pemerintah Gunakan Sumber Negara Mendukung Kandidat Tertentu)</i><br>Ganjar at MK: Government Uses State Resources to Support Certain Candidates        |

Source: Processed by Researcher

**News 1: (PDIP: Kita Ingin Pemerintah Memberikan Jawaban Soal Dugaan Kecurangan Pemilu) - PDIP: We Want the Government to Provide Answers Regarding Alleged Election Fraud (Tuesday, 5 March 2024) - (Akbar & Firmansyah, 2024)**

## PDIP: Kita Ingin Pemerintah Memberikan Jawaban Soal Dugaan Kecurangan Pemilu

Djarot berpendapat seharusnya pemerintah tak perlu khawatir dengan hak angket.

Rep: Nawir Arsyad Akbar/ Red: Teguh Firmansyah



**Fig. 6.** PDIP: We Want the Government to Provide Answers Regarding Alleged Election Fraud  
Source: Akbar & Firmansyah (2024)

This news article contains a proposal to form a special committee on the right of inquiry by PDIP and PKS to investigate fraud in the 2024 elections that have been reported by the public. From the results of the analysis that researchers have done, there is a definition of the problem or what is considered a problem in an event (define problems) with the proposed formation of a special committee on the right of inquiry to evaluate the policies of the government related to the 2024 elections and to investigate the fraud of the 2024 elections. The 2024 election spent a very large budget and there were reports of election fraud from the public. Republika.com considers that the diagnosed causes of election fraud are the enormous budget spent on the 2024 General Election and reports of election fraud from the public. Therefore, the moral judgment reported by Republika.com is to mention that the 2024 election process should take place in a *luberjurdil* manner, according to the principles of organizing elections. Therefore, the forming of a special committee for the right of inquiry should not cause any concern, because it can help the government to prove the fraud in the 2024 elections. The treatment recommendation of this news is that it is expected that the government can form a special committee of inquiry to prove whether the 2024 elections will take place in a *luberjurdil* manner. The formation of a special committee to investigate the process of the 2024 elections is also considered to improve the quality of democracy in Indonesia.

### News 2: (*Politikus PAN Yakin Hak Angket tidak akan Terwujud*) - PAN Politician Believes Right of Inquiry Will Not Be Realized (Thursday, 14 March 2024) - (Akbar & Ramadhan, 2024)

#### Politikus PAN Yakin Hak Angket tidak akan Terwujud

Politikus PAN Guspardil Gaus meyakini hak angket Pemilu 2024 tidak akan terwujud.

Red: Bilal Ramadhan Rep: Nawir Arsyad Akbar



**Fig. 7.** PAN Politician Believes Right of Inquiry Will Not Be Realized  
Source: Akbar & Ramadhan (2024)

This news article contains the opinion of a political figure from the Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN) that stated the proposed use of the right of inquiry in the DPR would be difficult to materialize even though there are factions that have voiced their support for the use of the right of inquiry. The Defining problem in this news is that the proposal for the

right of inquiry to prove election fraud may not be possible. Diagnose the causes by Republika.com is that the right of inquiry may not be realized because of the complex submission process and because there is no statement from a major party stating the need for a right of inquiry. The moral judgment in this news is that certain parties have collected data related to election fraud to propose a right of inquiry, but few parties consider that filing a right of inquiry has a long process so it is questionable if the right of inquiry can be implemented. Republika.com recommends conducting further and more detailed studies on submitting the inquiry and also exploring other alternatives, such as pursuing a trial at the Constitutional Court.

**News 3: (Surya Paloh Sebut akan Evaluasi Wacana Hak Angket) - Surya Paloh Says He Will Evaluate Inquiry Rights Discourse (Thursday, 21 March 2024) - (Rianti & Saubani, 2024)**

**Surya Paloh Sebut akan Evaluasi Wacana Hak Angket**

Surya Paloh mengatakan perlunya berpikir secara realistis terkait wacana hak angket.

Red: **Andri Saubani** Rep: **Eva Rianti**



**Fig. 8.** Surya Paloh Says He Will Evaluate Inquiry Rights Discourse  
Source: Rianti & Saubani (2024)

This news article contains Surya Paloh's argument as Chairman of the Nasdem Party in response to the discourse on the use of the inquiry right. Republika.com defines the problem by mentioning Surya Paloh, a Chairman of the Nasdem Party, who stated his party's attitude towards the proposed use of the right of inquiry. Even though the candidate he promoted lost in the 2024 elections, Nasdem is still trying to evaluate the urgency of the right of inquiry. Diagnose the causes of this news is that Nasdem has not been able to express a pro or con attitude towards the right of inquiry because Nasdem is not the party with the most seats in Senayan. In addition, Surya Paloh also said that if democracy today is based on the majority vote, then the Nasdem Party must be more realistic before proposing the right of inquiry. Make Moral Judgement in this news is Surya Paloh argues that the national interest is the most important, more important than the election interest alone. The treatment Recommendation made by republika.com is chosen to continue evaluating the discourse of filing a right of inquiry, but to welcome and appreciate parties that want to continue to file a right of inquiry.

**News 4: (Tolak Tawaran Gibran, Sekjen PDIP: Kami Lebih Pilih Rangkulan Rakyat) - Rejecting Gibran's Offer, PDIP Secretary General: We Prefer the Embrace of the People (Friday, 22 March 2024) - (Akbar & Ramadhan, 2024)**

**Tolak Tawaran Gibran, Sekjen PDIP: Kami Lebih Pilih Rangkulan Rakyat**

Soal Gibran yang ingin merangkul lawan, PDIP lebih memilih rangkulan rakyat.

Red: **Bilal Ramadhan** Rep: **Nawir Arsyad Akbar**



**Fig. 9.** Rejecting Gibran's Offer, PDIP Secretary General: We Prefer the Embrace of the People  
Source: Akbar & Ramadhan (2024)



This news contains PDIP's response regarding the fraud that occurred in the 2024 Election and PDIP's decision to provide support to the Ganjar-Mahfud National Winning Team to file a lawsuit related to election fraud to the Constitutional Court. The problem in this news is about the alleged fraud in the 2024 elections that occurred from upstream to downstream. Then, the diagnosed cause reported is that the implementation of the 2024 elections has harmed democracy because there is evidence of real fraud, such as vote inflation at polling stations and misuse of the SIREKAP application. Thus, the moral judgment made is that Republika.com views that the 2024 Election contest has not fully upheld the principles of democracy. On the other hand, elections are an opportunity for the public to participate in democratic activities by electing leaders in a luberjudil manner. As a result, Republika.com provides full support for the Ganjar-Mahfud National Winning Team to file a lawsuit related to election fraud to the Constitutional Court.

**News 5: (Ganjar di MK: Pemerintah Gunakan Sumber Negara Mendukung Kandidat Tertentu) - Ganjar at MK: Government Uses State Resources to Support Certain Candidates (Wednesday, 27 March 2024) – (Akbar et al., 2024)**



**Fig. 10.** Ganjar at MK: Government Uses State Resources to Support Certain Candidates  
Source: Akbar et al., (2024)

This news contains Ganjar Pranowo's response to practices related to the 2024 Election fraud. The results of the research show that the defining problem in the election fraud news is the fraudulent practices of the 2024 Election which are considered to harm the ideals of the Indonesian nation's reform. Diagnose causes in the news are the existence of certain actors who want to obscure the ideals of reform by implementing fraud in the form of abuse of power, misuse of security forces for practical political interests, and the government using state resources to provide support to one of the presidential candidates and their representatives. Meanwhile, the moral judgment in this news is the opinion that the practice of blatant election fraud pollutes the spirit of reform so there must still be resistance. The treatment recommendation of this news is to continue pursuing the lawsuit process related to the 2024 presidential election fraud to the Constitutional Court for a better future for Indonesian democracy.

### C. Comparison of Election Fraud News Framing on Tempo.co and Republika.com

Table 3. Comparison of Election Fraud on Tempo.co dan Republika.com

| Elemen Framing       | Tempo.co   | Republika.com  |
|----------------------|--|--|
| Define Problem       | Tempo.co pays considerable attention to electoral fraud so it consistently tends to see alleged electoral fraud as the main problem. | Republika.com sees the main problem as electoral fraud that has caused distrust of the results of the vote count. This distrust led to the discourse on the right of inquiry and a lawsuit to the Constitutional Court.  |
| Diagnose Causes      | Tempo.co considers that certain actors play a role in the issue of election fraud.   | The discourse on filing a right of inquiry and a lawsuit to the Constitutional Court emerged because the 2024 Election fraud is considered to have been carried out massively and systematically until there were reports of manipulation of vote recapitulation results and vote inflation. |
| Make Moral Judgement | Tempo.co consistently criticizes alleged election violations, viewing election fraud as a negative occurrence.                       | Republika.com finds that filing a right of inquiry can be difficult because it is not necessarily supported by the majority of factions in the DPR.  |

|                          |  |  |
|--------------------------|--|--|
| Treatment Recommendation | Tempo.co emphasized the transparency and independence of the election organizers. In addition, Tempo.co also highlighted efforts to investigate election fraud through legal channels. | Republika.com provides a solution to the right of inquiry by examining the urgency of the right of inquiry in more depth and preparing more support before submitting a right of inquiry discourse in DPR. |
|--------------------------|--|--|

Source: Processed by Researcher

Researchers have conducted a comparative analysis of the two media related to news about election fraud that occurred in 2024. In this study, researchers used Robert Entman's analytical framework which consists of defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments, and treatment recommendations.

In his 2002 publication, Entman in Eriyanto (2002) explains that defining problems is perceived as linked to how problems are defined. After analyzing the news, it was observed that Tempo.co's coverage of the news on election fraud consistently emphasized and highlighted the alleged election fraud as the main issue. This can be seen in an article titled "Respons Tim Hukum Prabowo-Gibran atas Panen Gugatan Pemilu 2024," where Tempo.co quoted a statement from the Anies-Muhaimin TKN, reporting alleged election fraud in the 2024 election. The reported election fraud was allegedly committed by Prabowo-Gibran and the state institution responsible for organizing the election, namely the KPU. In addition, Tempo.co also highlighted various forms of alleged election fraud, including state institutions favoring specific candidate pairs, the use of state-owned social assistance for campaigning, money politics, and the lack of neutrality among officials and regional heads.

Meanwhile, Republika.com sees the main problem as electoral fraud that has caused distrust of the results of the vote count that has been carried out. The distrust of the results of the vote count led to the discourse on the right of inquiry and a lawsuit to the Constitutional Court to prove the election fraud that occurred. Evidence of this reporting from Republika.com can be seen in the news text entitled, "Ganjar di MK: Pemerintah Gunakan Sumber Negara Mendukung Kandidat Tertentu". From the news, Republika.com emphasized that there had been an abuse of power from the government resulting in election fraud in 2024.

Then, related to diagnosing causes, Tempo.co considers that certain actors play a role in the problem of election fraud. As Eriyanto (2002) mentioned, diagnosing causes is related to who is regarded as the actor or cause of the event. The cause of this problem can mean "what" and "who". From the diagnosed causes, Tempo.co mentions that the cause of the problem of election fraud is the existence of a narrative that contains intervention from the leadership of power, changes in rules that benefit particular candidates, and ethical violations committed by election organizers and state agencies. The results of this study can be proven from the news text from Tempo.co entitled, "Jaga Pemilu Sebut Pemilu 2024 Nirintegritas". From the news text, Tempo.co considers the loss of neutrality of election organizers, money politics, the existence of campaigns during the quiet period, and violations of the code of ethics as the causes of massive election fraud. The research data to prove this can be seen from the diagnosis of causes in another news from Tempo.co entitled, "Hadir di Sidang Sengketa Pilpres, Anies Baswedan Singgung Politisasi Bansos hingga Intervensi Pimpinan MK". Tempo.co in the news saw that the cause of the problem of election fraud was the intervention of state administrators, for example, in the form of directing regional heads to win certain pairs of candidates and misuse of social assistance by state institutions.

Meanwhile, Republika.com views that the discourse on filing a right of inquiry and a lawsuit to the Constitutional Court arises because the 2024 Election fraud is considered to have been carried out massively and systematically until there are reports of manipulation of vote recapitulation results and vote inflation.

Regarding moral judgment, both Tempo.co and Republika.com have different moral judgments. Tempo.co makes a moral judgment by viewing election fraud as a negative thing because there is consistent criticism of alleged election violations in Tempo.co. The opinion of the Jaga Suara Association from one of the news texts from Tempo.co is clear evidence of the moral judgment given by Tempo.co. This media mentions in the news text that the 2024 Election is an election with malpractice and non-integrity, which also becomes the headline of Tempo.co news. It means that Tempo.co wants to emphasize the message of the 'Nirintegrity Election' along with the news of Perhimpunan Jaga Suara's opinion on the 2024 Election on Tempo.co page.

Meanwhile, according to Republika.com news, making moral judgements is regarded as challenging to file the right of inquiry because it may not have the full support of the factions in the DPR. Additionally, the process and procedure for filing the right of inquiry is complex. On the other hand, Republika.com tends to give a positive judgment regarding the lawsuit to the Constitutional Court, emphasizing PDIP and Ganjar's efforts to challenge election fraud through this legal avenue.

Thus, to solve the 2024 election fraud problem, Tempo.co provides a treatment recommendation in the form of an emphasis on transparency and independence of election organizers. According to Entman in Eriyanto (2002), treatment recommendations are used to assess what the journalists intend, and the chosen way to solve the problems that occur. From the analysis result, it is clear that Tempo.co strongly emphasizes the issue of election fraud with the neutrality of the election organizers. This is proved in the news text title, "Hadir di Sidang Sengketa Pilpres, Anies Baswedan

Singgung Politisasi Bansos hingga Intervensi Pimpinan MK”. The news text stated that Tempo.co recommended that the Constitutional Court, as a judicial institution, should be able to be objective and decide cases as fairly as possible. So, fraudulent behavior committed by government institutions will not normalize in the future. In addition, Tempo.co also highlighted the efforts to investigate election fraud through legal channels in the form of a lawsuit to the Constitutional Court with valid and concrete evidence.

Meanwhile, from the research results, Republika.com provides solutions regarding the right of inquiry by examining the urgency of the right of inquiry more deeply and preparing more support before submitting a discourse on the right of inquiry in DPR.

Therefore, the news framing done by the two media conducted by the researcher does have differences from the structure of elements such as defining the problem, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments, and treatment recommendations. The news that has been analyzed using Entman’s framing analysis tool proves that there are different framings from certain media related to what issues a media wants to highlight and the issues that the media wants to report. From the results of this study, Tempo.co framed by showing the existence of election fraud was caused by various things such as money politics, ethical violations, and the loss of neutrality of election organizers. Meanwhile, Republika.com considers that the alleged election fraud causes doubts about the election results so the right of inquiry and a lawsuit to the Constitutional Court can be a solution to resolve the General Election Results Dispute (PHPU).

It was said by Nuraini et al (2024) that the construction of reality or reported events lead to media content concerning media and framing. Therefore, what they present is not just reality, but also it is selected and organized in a certain manner. This can be seen in the framing of both media as mentioned above. The construction of reality or reported events leads to media content.

Berger and Luckmann’s (1966) social construction theory also helps to explain these results. According to them, the media shapes what is real through words or just talking. Additionally, Entman (1993) argues that framing selects areas of reality so that people can understand messages the way they were constructed.

The results of this research on the framing analysis of the 2024 election fraud news contribute to scientific development, especially framing analysis. This is because there is an update to the framing analysis framework that can be applied to news about politics, especially topics around election fraud.

In addition, from the results of this study, it can also be seen that although the framing carried out by these two media is different, there is a tendency to criticize and call the 2024 elections as elections that have fraud in them. This has been explained above. So, from the results of the research conducted, researchers recommend that the media in Indonesia continue to be able to carry out their function of criticizing a specific issue, including the issue of election fraud. This is important, considering that one of the elements of journalism that the media must uphold is implementing the watchdog journalism function, which is related to the publication of critical news (Alwatan, 2023; Simons et al., 2017).

Finally, the results of this study support the results of previous research conducted by Fitriningsih F & Nugroho (2023). This study also proves that online media such as Tempo.co still maintains its news that tends to criticize an issue. In addition, the media can be a great agent in empowering and educating the public when the media prioritizes public interests, which leads to democracy and wise decision-making.

## CONCLUSION

This study used Entman’s framing analysis which conceptually examined defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments, and treatment recommendations. From the results of the analysis, it is concluded that Tempo.co and Republika.com see the election fraud problem from different perspectives. Tempo.co framed it by showing the existence of election fraud was caused by various things such as money politics, ethical violations, and the loss of neutrality of election organizers. Meanwhile, Republika.com considered that the alleged election fraud caused doubts about the election results. So, the right of inquiry and a lawsuit to the Constitutional Court could be a solution to resolve the General Election Results Dispute (PHPU). Future research is expected to dig deeper into the topic of election fraud, for example, by using critical discourse analysis.

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