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# A Framing Analysis of News Coverage of Book Seizure Following The “17+8 People’s Demands” Demonstration on Tempo.co and CNNIndonesia.com

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**Abstract:** *The seizure of books belonging to demonstrators following the “17+8 People’s Demands” protest in August 2025 sparked controversy in the public sphere. The books confiscated by authorities were considered part of the evidence of the riots, yet they were also viewed as symbols of freedom of thought and literacy. This incident has sparked a debate regarding the boundary between law enforcement and the protection of the right to knowledge. Online media play a crucial role in shaping public perception of this issue through varying reporting styles; Tempo.co and CNNIndonesia.com, as national media outlets, exhibit distinct editorial approaches in presenting this event. This study employs a comparative qualitative approach using Robert N. Entman framing analysis model to examine five Tempo.co news articles from September 23, 2025, to October 2, 2025, and five CNNIndonesia.com news articles from September 19 to 27, 2025, supplemented by in-depth interviews with readers. The results indicate that Tempo.co frames the book seizure as an issue of freedom of thought and literacy, whereas CNNIndonesia.com places greater emphasis on legal and security aspects. These framing differences influence how readers understand the event. This study concludes that the media plays a strategic role in shaping public perception regarding issues of freedom of expression and the actions of state authorities within a democratic context.*

**Keywords:** *Framing, Online Media, Freedom, Book Seizure, Demonstrations.*

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## Introduction

In today’s digital age, the mass media serves as an information channel with significant influence in disseminating various issues emerging in society. The media not only conveys information but also possesses the power to shape and direct public opinion. This public opinion forms part of the social dynamics that can determine how society views a particular issue. This strategic role is clarified through agenda-setting theory, which asserts that the media has the ability to select and highlight specific issues deemed important to the public (Kusnanto & Yusuf, 2024). The media does not have the power to motivate individuals to change their attitudes, but it has a significant impact on what people think (Kusnanto & Yusuf, 2024).

Lately, the growth of online media seems increasingly unstoppable. As information technology advances, various print media outlets have begun producing more content by

expanding into online platforms. This is because the public's demand for the latest information is growing every day. In addition, electronic devices are becoming increasingly user-friendly. Furthermore, everyone's information needs are different. Online media attracts readers because of its ease of access (Lubis, 2018). In this context, online media serve not only as a source of information, but also as the primary platform for the dissemination of and debate on various social events taking place in society.

One event that received widespread attention in online media was the seizure of books in several regions of Indonesia following demonstrations accompanied by riots in August 2025. These "17+8" demonstrations, reflecting the people's demands, were sparked by protests against new allowances for members of the People's Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia—specifically housing allowances—as well as tax hikes and the government's performance, which the public deemed to be poor. The demonstrations also escalated following an incident where a Brimob tactical vehicle ran over an online motorcycle taxi driver in an attempt to break through the crowd. The "17+8" movement stemmed from seventeen short-term demands and eight long-term demands covering social, economic, and public policy issues. As the situation developed, some protests turned violent, prompting authorities to take security measures. Authorities confiscated a number of items carried by demonstrators that were deemed related to the protest, one of which was a book that was later classified as evidence (Tempo.co, 2025). The police arrested and charged suspects believed to have instigated riots during the demonstrations and seized a number of books, pamphlets, and posters suspected of being potential evidence, as they were considered ideological texts promoting anarchism that triggered the riots during the demonstrations. The first reported book seizure occurred in West Java in mid-August 2025, when police secured several books from the site of a student demonstration taking place in the Dago area of Bandung; subsequently, similar actions occurred in Kediri, Surabaya, and several other cities across Indonesia (Nabilah Novel Thalib, 2025).

Some of the books confiscated by authorities during the handling of the demonstrations include *Anarchism and Other Essays* by Emma Goldman, *What Is Communist Anarchism?* by Alexander Berkman, and *Karl Marx* by Franz Magnis-Suseno. In addition, books by Pramoedya Ananta Toer, such as *Child of All Nations*, were also presented as part of the evidence. Authorities stated that the books were seized because they were deemed to be related to the riots and considered to reflect the ideology or mindset of the perpetrators (Sholihah, 2025).

The seizure sparked public debate, particularly in online media and on social media, as it was seen as having no direct connection to the riots. The incident subsequently drew media attention and triggered a variety of public reactions, especially since it was viewed as contradicting the government's ongoing efforts to improve literacy.

Several national media outlets have covered this book seizure, particularly outlets such as Tempo and CNN Indonesia, each taking a different approach. These differences are evident in the perspectives they adopt, such as issues of freedom of expression, law enforcement, and the editorial ideologies upheld by each outlet. The varying ways in which the media frame this issue subsequently shape the public's diverse perceptions of the significance of the book seizure. According to (Reese, 2019) The ideology embraced by a

media outlet is one of the factors that influences how that outlet structures and presents its news coverage, especially when the information conveyed relates to its own ideology. Tempo's editorial ideology upholds freedom of thought, produces independent content, and maintains a critical stance toward those in power, in accordance with the outlet's vision and mission (Tempo.co, n.d.). Meanwhile, CNN Indonesia adheres to an editorial philosophy of delivering factual information in an unbiased manner, while prioritizing efficiency and rationality in its news coverage across various multimedia formats (CNNIndonesia.com, n.d.). Thus, Robert N. Entman framing analysis is essential for understanding how the media shapes public discourse and opinion through specific word choices, perspectives, and emphases in news reporting. Tempo.co and CNNIndonesia.com were selected because both are prominent national online media outlets with different editorial characteristics and approaches in reporting socio-political issues. Their contrasting perspectives make them relevant and representative for examining ideological framing in the coverage of book seizures following the 17+8 People's Demands demonstration.

According to Eriyanto (2002) Framing analysis is used to understand how reality is shaped or presented by the media. In framing research, the focus is on how the media constructs a specific frame around an event, rather than whether the media reports on it negatively or positively. Framing is an approach to understanding the perspectives journalists use when writing news and selecting issues. This study employs Robert N. Entman framing analysis model. Entman framing model is used to understand the process of issue selection and the highlighting of specific aspects of reality or an issue. In Entman conception, framing involves four stages of analysis: Define Problems (Defining the problem), Diagnose Causes (Diagnosing causes), Make Moral Judgments (Making moral judgments), and Treatment Recommendations (Recommendations for solutions) (Entman, 1993).

Previous studies have extensively examined media framing of various social and political issues, but none have specifically focused on media constructions of the issue of book seizures by authorities. A study by (Nurhayati et al., 2024) examining how Magdalene.co frames issues of gender equality and women's rights using Robert N. Entman framing model. Similarly, (Khoerunisa, 2024) which examined the media framing of DetikNews, CNN Indonesia, and Tempo.co regarding the National Data Center leak. Both studies confirm that each media outlet has its own way of shaping social reality in accordance with its ideology and editorial orientation. However, no research has yet been found that examines how the media frames issues of literacy and freedom of expression in the context of book seizures by authorities, nor how such constructions reflect the media's ideology and stance. This gap forms the basis for the development of this study. Unlike previous studies that focused solely on news text analysis, this study also involves interviews with several readers to enrich the understanding of public views and perceptions regarding media framing.

This research is important because it can help the public understand how the media framed the book confiscation incident following the "17+8 People's Demands" demonstration, as well as how certain aspects of the incident were highlighted or concealed.

This study focuses on addressing two research questions, namely: (1) How do Tempo.co and CNNIndonesia.com frame the book confiscation incident following the 17+8 People's Demands demonstration based on Robert Entman analysis model, and how does the framing differ between the two media outlets. (2) How do the public's views and perceptions of the book seizure issue following the 17+8 People's Demands demonstration differ based on media framing? This study aims to identify and compare the framing of news coverage regarding the book seizure following the 17+8 People's Demands demonstration on Tempo.co and CNNIndonesia.com using Robert N. Entman framing analysis model. Theoretically, this study is expected to contribute to the development of communication studies in the field of media framing. Through the application of Robert N. Entman framing theory, this study can enrich our understanding of how the media constructs meaning and influences public perception (Entman, 1993). In practical terms, this study can help the public understand how certain aspects of the book confiscation incident following the 17+8 People's Demands demonstration were highlighted or downplayed by the media, thereby shaping differing public perceptions of the event.

## Literature Review

The framing process occurs through two key dimensions: issue selection and the highlighting of certain aspects of reality. The media chooses to highlight specific aspects of the real world to draw the public's attention to them and to assign them specific meanings and judgments. In other words, framing determines which issues are considered important and how the public understands them (Entman, 1993).

This study employs Robert N. Entman framing analysis model, which emphasizes that framing is the process by which the media frames a reality by highlighting certain elements and imparting specific meanings to the audience. In this model, Entman divides framing into four main elements: Define Problems determines how an issue or event is defined and what is considered the core of the problem. Diagnose Causes identifies who or what is considered the cause of the problem. Make Moral Judgments provides moral or evaluative judgments regarding the parties involved in the event. Treatment Recommendations offers solutions or ways out that the media deems appropriate for the reported problem. These four elements are used systematically to examine how the media constructs meaning around an event, highlights certain values, and ultimately shapes public opinion (Eriyanto, 2002).

Several previous studies have shown that the media plays a dominant role in shaping public perception through the process of framing. Reformansyah & Widiarti, (2022) In his study of the "IDI Kacung WHO" case, he found that Kompas.com and Detik.com presented different news frames in line with their editorial policies and ideological values. Detik.com placed greater emphasis on the legal aspects and the perpetrator's wrongdoing, while Kompas.com provided space for Jerinx SID's defense and the social context of his statements. Meanwhile, Zikrina Munawarah, (2024) This study examined the framing of online gender-based violence (GBV) issues on Liputan6.com and Antaranews.com using Robert N. Entman model. The results indicate that both media outlets emphasize moral responsibility and victim protection, though with differing focuses depending on the nature of each outlet. Wijaya et al., (2024) also emphasizes that online media framing of socio-

political issues in Indonesia is not only intended to convey facts, but also to shape social interpretations that align with the editorial ideology. In line with this, Ariputro & Nugroho, (2024) Titled “Tempo.co Media Framing of News Regarding the Development of the National Capital City (IKN),” this study examines how Tempo.co framed the issue of the National Capital City (IKN) development during the period of July 17–August 17, 2024, using the framing model developed by Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki. The results indicate that Tempo.co not only presents positive representations of the IKN development but also tends to feature negative framing that includes criticism of government policies, particularly regarding environmental impacts and indigenous communities. Tempo.co acts as a social construction agent that shapes public opinion by highlighting the views of observers and experts who are critical of the IKN project. Using a descriptive qualitative approach, this study demonstrates how the media influences public perception through their selection of sources, news structure, and the language used in reporting.

Mass media is a tool used to communicate with many people at once, quickly and simultaneously. Mass media can convey messages to people from diverse backgrounds. One of the advantages of mass media is that it can transcend the limitations of space and time. In fact, mass media can disseminate messages quickly and at any time to people outside a specific region (Kusnanto & Yusuf, 2024). The media serves as a channel used by communicators to transmit information or news to a wide audience (Nurhayati et al., 2024). Media serves as a tool that helps convey information efficiently from the source to the recipient by leveraging networks. Online media, also known as digital media, is another term for media that uses communication devices connected to the internet, thereby making the transmission of information easier (Siagian & Ritonga, 2024).

News is important reporting or information written by journalists to be shared with the public or a wide audience. News is typically urgent or recent, and is disseminated through media such as radio, newspapers, television, and online media (Burhan, 2020). News is the end result of a complex process in which information is gathered, selected, and curated based on specific events and topics within certain categories (Eriyanto, 2002).

Generally speaking, a book is a collection of pages bound together that contains text or images intended to convey information, ideas, or knowledge to readers. According to the Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (KBBI), a book is a bound collection of sheets of paper, containing text or left blank. In addition to being a printed medium, a book is also the result of the author’s concepts, ideas, or analysis, serving to broaden the reader’s perspective and knowledge, and can also serve as a form of entertainment (Detak Publisher, n.d.).

The demonstrations known as the “17+8 People’s Demands” originated from a wave of protests that spread across various regions of Indonesia in late August 2025. This movement was summarized by civil society and activists in a document containing 17 short-term demands with a deadline of September 5, 2025, as well as 8 long-term demands that must be met by August 31, 2026, at the latest. These demands cover various areas, such as the withdrawal of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) from civilian security duties, the formation of an independent investigation team regarding victims of state violence during the August 28–30, 2025, protests, the cessation of the criminalization of demonstrators, transparency in the House of Representatives’ budget, and state institutional reform (BBC NEWS INDONESIA, 2025).

Amid the dynamics of the protest, reports emerged of authorities seizing books belonging to demonstrators as part of efforts to maintain social order and security during the demonstration. This book confiscation subsequently became part of the narrative of conflict between authorities and civil society, raising questions about the limits of freedom of expression, the right to literacy, and the role of the media in framing the protests to shape public opinion (Miftajanna, 2022). In online media reports, the book confiscation was seen as contradicting the spirit of literacy currently being promoted by the government, and it sparked public reaction and discourse regarding citizens' rights to express their aspirations.

The books and articles seized by police authorities contain various ideologies, such as anarchism, leftist ideology, social criticism, and ideologies classified as radical. Some of the titles of the confiscated books include *The Troublemaker* by Maxim Gorky; *The Power Network* by Wolfi Landstreicher; *Why I Am an Anarchist*; *Anarchist Aesthetics*; *The Critic Stirner*; *Above the Dome* by Renzo Novatore; *Locked Up*; *Management and Organizational Structures in Several Socialist Countries*; *From Riots to Insurrections*; *Reka Alam: Visual Artists and Environmental Issues in Indonesia* by Yoshi Fajar Kresno Murti; *The Individual Against the Machine* by John Zerzan et al.; *Mass-Wide for Social War: Guerrillas and Hellish Poets Conspiracy Vol. 01*; *Security Culture and Safe House*; *Armed Queers*; *Resistance in Concentration Camps and Certain Anarchists: Nihilism*; *Surrealist Adventures and Direct Action Poetry*; *A Call to Desertion*; *On Egoism and Ecology*; *Communism and Aidit*; *Literature and Anarchism*; *Hellish Poets Conspiracy Vol. 00*; *The Forest Fire Will Begin*; *Toward an Anarchist Aesthetic*; *Deleuze: Active Nihilism and the Rebel*; *Crowd Control and Riot Manual: A Brief Guide to Combat*; and *Man Ray's Path to Dadaism* (Detik.com, 2025).

Online media outlets such as Tempo.co and CNN Indonesia play a significant role in shaping public discourse regarding this event through their news selection, choice of sources, and emphasis on certain aspects, as explained in Robert N Entman framing theory (Entman, 1993).

Based on the literature review above, the proposed study addresses a research gap in the analysis of media framing regarding the issue of book seizures as part of the broader problem of freedom of expression and state control over discourse. Previous studies have focused on different issues, such as online gender-based violence on Liputan6.com and Antaranews.com, the news framing of the IKN development by Tempo.co, and the representation of women in the hardcore punk music scene through alternative media. Although all of these studies employ framing analysis, they only examine media constructions at the textual level without linking them to issues of literacy, restrictions on access to knowledge, or the state's ideological dimensions within a democratic context. Furthermore, no research has specifically examined how the media frames book seizures by state authorities, even though this issue is directly related to citizens' rights to information, freedom of thought, and the dynamics of power relations between the media, the state, and the public.

This study offers novelty in several aspects. In terms of its subject matter, this study specifically analyzes media framing of the book confiscation incident following the "17+8 People's Demands" demonstration—an issue that has not been addressed in previous framing studies, whether in the context of literacy, freedom of expression, or state control

of discourse. In terms of analytical approach, this study not only uses Robert N. Entman framing model to deconstruct the news coverage by Tempo.co and CNNIndonesia.com but also involves interviews with news readers to examine how media frames are understood, accepted, or rejected by the audience. This approach offers a new contribution by linking media-produced meaning with audience reception, thus going beyond mere textual analysis.

## Methodology

Methods should be described with sufficient details to allow others to replicate and build on the published results. This study uses qualitative methods to explore and understand the meaning of a social or humanitarian issue Creswell (2014). This study employs a comparative qualitative approach using Robert N. Entman (1993) framing analysis model to provide an in-depth description of how the media framed the issue of book seizures following the “17+8 People’s Demands” demonstrations. According to Sugiyono, a comparative approach is a method used to compare one or more variables across two or more different samples, or over different time periods. Robert N. Entman (1993) framing model focuses on how the media selects issues and highlights certain aspects to shape the definition of the problem, diagnosis of causes, moral judgments, and recommendations for resolution.

The subjects of this study are two national online media outlets, namely Tempo.co and CNNIndonesia.com, while the research subjects consist of news articles discussing the seizure of books belonging to demonstrators following the “17+8 People’s Demands” demonstration in August 2025. Data collection was conducted online via the official websites of both media outlets, namely <https://www.tempo.co> and <https://www.cnnindonesia.com>.

The primary data for this study was obtained through the analysis of news texts as the main research subject and semi-structured interviews were conducted with three readers of Tempo.co and CNNIndonesia.com selected from the general public to enrich the framing analysis and provide preliminary insights into how audiences interpret media coverage regarding book confiscation. The interviews complement the analysis of media framing through individual reader perspectives. Secondary data was obtained through a literature review of various relevant sources, such as the book *Framing Analysis: Construction, Ideology, and Media Politics* by Eriyanto (2002) and the theory Robert N. Entman (1993), scientific journals on framing analysis, as well as supplementary documents or articles that provide context for the research. In addition, this study also utilizes observations of reader comments on the official Instagram accounts of Tempo.co and CNNIndonesia.com as supporting data. This data is used to examine how the framing constructed by the media is received, interpreted, and negotiated by active readers in the digital space, thereby enriching the interpretation of the results of the framing analysis and interviews.

The researchers selected five news articles from Tempo.co and five articles from CNNIndonesia.com that covered the issue of the confiscation of books belonging to

demonstrators. The selection of these news articles was based on observations of the coverage by Tempo.co and CNNIndonesia.com and the consideration that these articles represent the media’s perspectives on the same events but with different reporting styles.

**Table 1** News Headline from Tempo.co

News Headline	Date	News Links
The Short-Sightedness of Book Confiscation	23 September 2025	<a href="https://www.tempo.co/kolom/penyitaan-buku-kerusuhan-demonstrasi-2072359">https://www.tempo.co/kolom/penyitaan-buku-kerusuhan-demonstrasi-2072359</a>
Why the Police Are Seen as Misguided Regarding the Seizure of Books on Anarchism and Marxism	22 September 2025	<a href="https://www.tempo.co/politik/kenapa-polisi-dinilai-salah-kaprah-soal-penyitaan-buku-bertema-anarkisme-dan-marxisme-2072125">https://www.tempo.co/politik/kenapa-polisi-dinilai-salah-kaprah-soal-penyitaan-buku-bertema-anarkisme-dan-marxisme-2072125</a>
Why Do the Police Seize Books as Evidence of a Crime?	27 September 2025	<a href="https://www.tempo.co/politik/polisi-menyita-buku-tersangk-demonstrasi-2073838">https://www.tempo.co/politik/polisi-menyita-buku-tersangk-demonstrasi-2073838</a>
Books to Read, Not to Be Confiscated	2 Oktober 2025	<a href="https://www.tempo.co/kolom/penyitaan-buku-tersangka-demo-rusuh-2075336">https://www.tempo.co/kolom/penyitaan-buku-tersangka-demo-rusuh-2075336</a>
Coordinating Minister Yusril Assures That the Government Will Not Ban the Circulation of Leftist Books	27 September 2025	<a href="https://www.tempo.co/hukum/menko-yusril-jamin-pemerintah-tidak-larang-peredaran-buku-kiri-2073915">https://www.tempo.co/hukum/menko-yusril-jamin-pemerintah-tidak-larang-peredaran-buku-kiri-2073915</a>

**Table 2.** News Headline from CNNIndonesia.com

News Headline	Date	News Links
When Books Were Seized from Suspects in the August Protests	19 September 2025	<a href="https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20250919164935-12-1275591/ketika-buku-buku-disita-dari-parat-tersangka-rusuh-dalam-demo-agustus">https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20250919164935-12-1275591/ketika-buku-buku-disita-dari-parat-tersangka-rusuh-dalam-demo-agustus</a>
Education Minister on Police Seizing Books After Protest: Books	25 September 2025	<a href="https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20250925192752-20-">https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20250925192752-20-</a>

Must Comply with Regulations		<a href="https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20250919131746-12-1275444/polri-buka-suara-soal-polisi-sita-buku-dari-tersangkarusuh-demo">1277797/mendikti-soal-polisi-sita-buku-usai-demo-buku-harus-sesuai-ketentuan</a>
Indonesian National Police Speak Out on Police Seizing Books from Suspects in Protest Riots	19 September 2025	<a href="https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20250919131746-12-1275444/polri-buka-suara-soal-polisi-sita-buku-dari-tersangkarusuh-demo">https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20250919131746-12-1275444/polri-buka-suara-soal-polisi-sita-buku-dari-tersangkarusuh-demo</a>
KontraS Criticizes Police Book Seizure: A Crackdown on Freedom of Thought	25 September 2025	<a href="https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20250925050111-12-1277458/kontras-kritik-polisi-sita-buku-memberangus-kebebasan-berpikir">https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20250925050111-12-1277458/kontras-kritik-polisi-sita-buku-memberangus-kebebasan-berpikir</a>
Coordinating Minister Yusril Stresses That There Is No Ban on Any Particular Ideology	27 September 2025	<a href="https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20250927150303-32-1278374/menko-yusril-tegaskan-tak-ada-larangan-untuk-buku-ideologi-tertentu">https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20250927150303-32-1278374/menko-yusril-tegaskan-tak-ada-larangan-untuk-buku-ideologi-tertentu</a>

Data analysis was conducted through the stages of data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions using Robert N. Entman framing model. These stages aim to identify how the media defines issues, determines causes, makes moral judgments, and offers solutions. The analysis of these four elements was then compared to identify differences in framing between Tempo.co and CNNIndonesia.com, as well as how these media constructions influence the formation of public opinion regarding freedom of thought and the actions of state officials in a democratic context (Eriyanto, 2002).

**Table 3.** Framing Analysis According to Robert N. Entman Model (1993)

1. Define Problems	How does the media portray an event or issue? What is being reported about the issue?
2. Diagnose Causes	What is seen as the cause of the problem in the news? Who or what is the culprit?
3. Make Moral Judgement	What moral standards are used to evaluate actions or events?
4. Treatment Recommendation	How are solutions or recommendations for the problem presented in the news?

## Result and Discussion

This study analyzes ten news articles published on the Tempo.co website (five articles) and CNNIndonesia.com (five articles) regarding the police seizure of books deemed as evidence of unrest during the “17+8” public protests. The ten news articles were analyzed using Robert Entman model, which encompasses problem definition, identification of causes, moral judgment, and recommendations for resolution. The selection of Tempo.co and CNNIndonesia.com as research subjects was based on considerations of the characteristics of these two media outlets within Indonesia’s online media landscape. Tempo.co is known as a media outlet with a tradition of investigative journalism and a critical stance toward government policies and state authorities. Meanwhile, CNNIndonesia.com is part of an international media network that tends to prioritize the principles of caution, balance, and an institutional approach in its reporting. These differences in editorial character make both media outlets relevant for comparative analysis in examining how the issue of book seizures following the demonstrations was framed by the media. Tempo.co and CNNIndonesia.com actively reported on the book confiscation incident from various perspectives of their sources. This allows researchers to identify the differences and similarities in the patterns of how the media views issues related to freedom of expression and law enforcement.

### Tempo.co Framing Analysis

An analysis of Tempo.co coverage of book seizures following the “17+8 People’s Demands” demonstration between September 22 to October 2, 2025, reflects an editorial ideology that emphasizes freedom of thought and critical thinking. This aligns with Tempo.co vision and mission, namely: “To serve as a benchmark in efforts to enhance the public’s freedom to think and express opinions, and to build a civilization that values intelligence and diversity.” Furthermore, Tempo also asserts that: “Our journalistic principle is not journalism that favors a single group; the press’s duty is not to spread prejudice, but rather to eliminate it.” This statement indicates that Tempo.co positions itself as a media outlet that prioritizes independence and critical reflection. This is reflected in its coverage of the book seizures, which featured the perspectives of academics, human rights activists, and literacy advocates.

The issue of book seizures was covered in various sections, such as law and crime, politics, as well as opinion and editorial columns. Of the five news articles analyzed, two appeared in the politics section, one in the law section, and two in the editorial and opinion columns. Some articles were also published on the Tempo Plus service, indicating in-depth coverage of the issue. Additionally, Tempo.co features a Fact-Checking channel that specifically explains the information verification process, data sources, and the editorial team’s mechanisms for verifying the accuracy of an issue. The existence of this channel demonstrates Tempo.co commitment to journalistic accuracy and responsibility. This aligns with Tempo.co vision and mission to foster a critical and informed public, as well as to strengthen data-driven and analytically grounded news framing.

Based on an analysis of the coverage, the visual elements featured by Tempo.co include symbolic illustrations such as a book in handcuffs, a book behind bars, and an

illustration of light emanating from within a book. Additionally, Tempo also featured photographs of evidence presented at a police press conference. These visuals convey the symbolic message that books are a source of knowledge that should not be restricted. The use of illustrations and the choice of channels demonstrate the alignment between Tempo.co vision and mission and its journalistic practices, namely defending freedom of thought and critiquing those in power.

Tempo.co coverage of the book seizure following the “17+8 People’s Demands” demonstration has sparked a variety of reactions on Instagram. These reactions were used to examine how readers interpret and respond to the framing constructed by the media, particularly in the news post titled “The Short-Sightedness of Book Seizures”.



**Figure 1.** Reader comments on a tempodotco Instagram post regarding the seizure of books

Source: Instagram @tempodotco, 2025

The comments on the image in the tempodotco post tend to reinforce the critical framing established by the media. Readers emphasize the importance of reading and literacy, and urge authorities to understand the book’s content before seizing it. Furthermore, readers also view books as a means of expanding knowledge, not a security threat.



**Figure 2.** Reader comments on a tempodotco Instagram post regarding the seizure of books

Source: Instagram @tempodotco, 2025

Figure 2 from tempodotco Instagram post shows that criticism of the book confiscation dominated the comments. Several comments highlight methodological and legal aspects, such as questions regarding the evidence that reading books can influence behavior, as well as references to a Constitutional Court ruling stating that book seizures should go through the court system. Additionally, there are sarcastic remarks like “New Order ahh movement,” which associate this incident with past practices of restricting freedom.

**Define Problem**

Problem definition is a framing element that explains how an issue or event is understood by the media (Eriyanto, 2002). In its reporting, Tempo.co defines the book confiscation following the August 2025 demonstrations as a violation of freedom of thought, expression, and critical literacy. Tempo.co views the book seizure not merely as part of a legal procedure, but as a problematic action reflecting the authorities’ flawed perspective on ideology and critical reading. The main issue highlighted by Tempo.co does not lie in the demonstration unrest, but in the use of books as evidence deemed irrelevant to the criminal acts committed. Through various articles and perspectives from sources in Tempo.co coverage—such as legal experts, academics, human rights activists, literacy advocates, and government statements—Tempo.co frames the issue of book seizures as a matter of freedom of thought, freedom of expression, and the authorities’ misunderstanding of the relationship between reading materials and criminal acts. Tempo.co does not position book seizures as a neutral legal procedure, but rather as a problematic practice that has the potential to undermine democratic principles and citizens’ right to knowledge, although it still includes the government’s clarification regarding the absence of a ban on specific ideologies.

Five Tempo.co articles demonstrate a consistent pattern in defining the seizure of books as a misguided and excessive act of law enforcement. This is evident in the first article titled “The Short-Sightedness of Book Seizures,” which explicitly criticizes the authorities’ actions for oversimplifying the issue of riots by linking them to ideological reading materials, thereby framing the book seizures as a reflection of a repressive mindset toward knowledge. Furthermore, in the second report titled “Why the Police Are Considered Misguided Regarding the Seizure of Books on Anarchism and Marxism,” Tempo.co emphasized that ideological reading cannot serve as a basis for criminalization, and highlighted experts’ views that book seizures have no direct correlation with anarchist actions. In the third report titled “Why Are the Police Seizing Books as Evidence of a Crime?,” Tempo.co questions the relevance of books as criminal evidence and asserts that reading is not synonymous with committing a crime, thereby further highlighting the disparity in the legal reasoning of law enforcement. Furthermore, in the fourth report titled “Books Are for Reading, Not Seizing,” Tempo.co explicitly defines the seizure of books as a threat to literary culture and academic freedom. Finally, in the fifth report titled

“Coordinating Minister Yusril Assures Government Will Not Ban Circulation of Leftist Books,” Tempo.co highlights the government’s efforts to defuse the controversy by asserting that the state does not ban books of a certain ideology, yet frames this statement within the context of criticism against the practice of book seizures that has sparked public unease. Through opinion pieces and investigative reports, Tempo.co emphasizes that books are a medium of knowledge that should be read and debated, not confiscated and criminalized.

According to an interview with Informant 1, Tempo.co consistently frames the issue of book seizures within the context of democracy and civil liberties. This informant noted that Tempo.co places greater emphasis on the long-term impact of book seizures on the intellectual climate and academic freedom rather than focusing on the demonstrations themselves (Sudewo, 2026). Meanwhile, Informant 2 views Tempo.co characterization of the book seizure as a symbol of the decline of democracy and a reflection of the state’s repressive stance toward critical discourse. According to this informant, Tempo.co views the authorities’ actions not as a security solution, but as a structural problem in the power dynamics between the state and its citizens (Fallah, 2026). Informant 3, meanwhile, believes that Tempo.co views the book seizure as an epistemological issue—that is, a fundamental error in understanding ideology and critical literature. This informant believes that Tempo.co sees the main problem not in the book or its readers, but in the way the state interprets knowledge (Lestari, 2026).

### **Diagnose Causes**

Diagnosing causes is a framing element that identifies the root causes of an event; it can refer to what, but it can also refer to whom (Eriyanto, 2002). Tempo.co frames the primary cause of the book seizures as misunderstandings and fears on the part of state authorities regarding ideology and critical discourse. This media outlet assesses that state officials tend to directly link readings on anarchism, Marxism, and social criticism to acts of violence, without a strong legal or academic foundation. The book confiscation is positioned as a consequence of excessive security logic and an ahistorical perspective on ideology.

This view aligns with the findings of the interview with Informant 1, who noted that Tempo.co attributes the root of the problem to a lack of ideological literacy among government officials and policymakers. This informant observed that Tempo.co views the book seizures as a reflection of the state’s fear of dissenting ideas (Sudewo, 2026). Informant 2 believes that Tempo.co attributes the root cause of the problem to the state’s failure to distinguish between intellectual expression and criminal acts. According to this informant, Tempo.co argues that the authorities oversimplified the causes of the riots by seeking justification through physical evidence in the form of books (Fallah, 2026). Meanwhile, Informant 3 believes that Tempo.co views the seizure of books as part of a culture of power that still regards certain ideologies as a latent threat. This informant argues that Tempo.co is criticizing the way the state fosters a climate of fear toward knowledge (Lestari, 2026).

### **Make Moral Judgement**

Making moral judgments is a framing element used to present arguments regarding the definition of an existing problem (Eriyanto, 2002). In the moral judgment element,

Tempo.co explicitly asserts that the confiscation of books is an action that cannot be morally justified in a democratic country. Tempo.co emphasizes that reading and owning books are not criminal acts and cannot be used as indicators of a person's legal guilt. Thus, Tempo.co positions freedom of thought, academic freedom, and the right to knowledge as the primary moral values that must be protected.

According to the interview with Informant 1, Tempo.co uses democratic values and human rights as a moral foundation for framing this issue. This informant believes that Tempo.co views the state as having failed to fulfill its role as a protector of civil liberties (Sudewo, 2026). Informant 2 believes that Tempo.co has issued a harsh moral judgment on the authorities' practice of criminalizing reading. According to this informant, Tempo.co views this practice as a regression in legal reasoning and a violation of the principles of the rule of law (Fallah, 2026). Informant 3 believes that Tempo.co views literacy as a moral value that must not be sacrificed in the name of security. This informant believes that Tempo.co views the confiscation of books as contrary to the goals of education and the intellectual development of society (Lestari, 2026).

### **Treatment Recommendation**

A Treatment Recommendation is a framing element used to assess a problem based on how the issue is perceived and who or what is causing it (Eriyanto, 2002). In its reporting, Tempo.co recommends resolving the problem by halting book seizures, evaluating law enforcement practices, and strengthening officials' understanding of ideology and critical literacy. Tempo.co urges the state to clearly distinguish between criminal acts and intellectual activities, and to ensure that books are no longer used as a tool for criminalization.

This recommendation aligns with the findings of an interview with Informant 1, who noted that Tempo.co advocates for reforming the state's approach to knowledge and ideology. This informant observed that the solutions proposed by Tempo.co focus on education and understanding, rather than repression (Sudewo, 2026). Informant 2 believes that Tempo.co advocates for clearer legal protections for freedom of thought and expression. According to this informant, Tempo.co wants the state to act as a guarantor of citizens' rights, not as a restrictor of them (Fallah, 2026). Meanwhile, Informant 3 believes that Tempo.co promotes public dialogue and critical literacy as a way out of the conflict between the state and civil society. This informant views Tempo.co as proposing a democratic approach as a long-term solution (Lestari, 2026).

### **Framing Analysis by CNNIndonesia.com**

An analysis of CNNIndonesia.com coverage of book seizures following the "17+8 People's Demands" demonstrations between September 19 to 27, 2025, reveals journalistic practices consistent with its vision and mission. On its official website, CNNIndonesia.com states: "Graphics, photos, and videos are also our tools. All can stand alone to tell a story while complementing one another as a unified whole. We do not intend to be judges. Nor do we intend to be executioners. Our sole intention is to present the facts as they are." This statement indicates that CNNIndonesia.com prioritizes objectivity and the use of visuals as the primary means of conveying information. This principle is reflected in the coverage of

the book seizures, which extensively featured photos of evidence, suspects, and press conferences by law enforcement officials.

The issue of book seizures was placed in the National section, specifically in the law and crime, news, and politics subsections. Of the five news stories analyzed, three were placed in the law and crime section, one in the news section, and one in the politics section. This placement indicates that CNNIndonesia.com frames the incident as a matter of national importance and law enforcement.

From a visual perspective, CNNIndonesia.com featured photos of confiscated books on anarchism, photos of riot suspects, a photo of the KontraS logo, and photos of government officials. These visuals reinforce the narrative that the book seizure is part of a legal process. Thus, CNNIndonesia.com vision and mission to present facts objectively are realized through the selection of news channels, sources, and visuals. This approach indicates that CNNIndonesia.com constructs a legalistic and institutional framing, which is further analyzed using Robert N. Entman framing model.

CNNIndonesia.com coverage of the book confiscation issue following the “People’s Demands” demonstration also drew a variety of responses on its Instagram account. These comments were analyzed to understand how readers interpreted and reacted to the narrative constructed by the media, particularly in posts discussing the confiscation of books by police officers.



**Figure 3.** Reader comments on a cnnindonesia Instagram post regarding the seizure of books

Source: Instagram @cnnindonesia, 2025

Figure 3 shows the comments on a CNN Indonesia Instagram post, which tend to be critical of the authorities’ seizure of books. Readers question the relevance of books as evidence and doubt the notion that certain reading material can directly incite acts of violence. Furthermore, some readers argue that reading books is an intellectual activity that cannot be equated with criminal acts.



**Figure 4.** Reader comments on a cnnindonesia Instagram post regarding the seizure of books

Source: Instagram @cnnindonesia, 2025

On the other hand, as shown in Figure 4, the comments section also reveals that some readers support the authorities’ actions and view anarchism as a threat to social order. This is reflected in comments such as “Are you seriously supporting anarchism?” as well as assertions that the perpetrators have been proven to have caused damage. There are even discussions that touch on the legitimacy of the state and its coercive authority in maintaining stability.

**Define Problems**

CNNIndonesia.com defines the book seizures following the demonstrations as a legal and security issue related to the investigation into the riotous demonstrations. The book seizures are presented as part of the authorities’ efforts to investigate allegations of incitement and acts of anarchy that occurred during the demonstrations. Through various quotes from sources in CNNIndonesia.com reporting —such as the police, the Coordinating Minister, the Minister of Higher Education, Science, and Technology, and KontraS (Commission for the Disappeared and Victims of Violence)—CNNIndonesia.com frames this issue as a procedural matter in law enforcement, while still leaving room for debate regarding freedom of thought and expression.

Five CNNIndonesia.com news articles show a consistent pattern in defining the seizure of books as part of the legal process and investigations following the demonstration riots. This is evident in the first report titled “When Books Were Seized from Suspects Involved in the August Demonstrations,” which explains that the police seized the books because they were found on suspects involved in the demonstration riots and were deemed necessary for the investigation. This report also highlights ideological books that were used as evidence, thus framing the story to emphasize the tension between the public’s intellectual space and state authority. Next, in the second report titled “Minister of

Education and Culture on Police Seizing Books After a Protest: Books Must Adhere to Regulations,” the minister stated that circulating books must comply with regulations and national values. In this report, the Minister of Education and Culture demonstrated the government’s cautious stance while avoiding controversy. Next, in the third report titled “Police Speak Out on Seizing Books from Riot Suspects,” the police affirmed that the book seizures were conducted as part of the investigation into the riots during the demonstration. The police’s statement—which asserts that certain readings influence an individual’s perspective and actions—reinforces the interpretation of the underlying cause within the framing of that report. Furthermore, in the fourth news report titled “KontraS Criticizes Police Book Seizure: Suppressing Freedom of Thought,” KontraS argued that the seizure of books promoting anarchist and Marxist ideologies as evidence violates freedom of thought and expression. Furthermore, in the fifth news report titled “Coordinating Minister Yusril Emphasizes No Ban on Specific Ideologies,” the government clarifies that there is no ban on specific ideologies and that the book seizures are related to legal investigative needs; Coordinating Minister Yusril seeks to reassure the public and clarify that the perception of book seizures is not a form of ideological prohibition.

This framing aligns with the views of the readers interviewed. The definition of the issue is consistent with the perspective of Informant 1, who noted that CNNIndonesia.com tends to adopt a legal approach in reporting on the seizure of books and normalizes the authorities’ actions as part of an investigation. According to this informant, the repeated use of terms such as “investigation,” “secured,” and “evidence” in CNNIndonesia.com coverage fosters the understanding that the seizure of books is a reasonable step in the context of law enforcement following a demonstration (Sudewo, 2026). A similar view was also expressed by Informant 2, who interpreted CNNIndonesia.com framing as safe and cautious reporting. This informant observed that CNNIndonesia.com placed greater emphasis on presenting facts and a chronology based on statements from law enforcement and the government, so that the book seizure was understood as a continuation of the legal process regarding the demonstration, which was accompanied by (Fallah, 2026). Meanwhile, Informant 3 believes that CNNIndonesia.com framed the book seizure as a consequence of the escalating security situation during the demonstrations. This informant views that, through its choice of sources and focus on law enforcement, CNNIndonesia.com steered readers to see the book seizure as part of an effort to control the situation rather than as a form of restriction on freedom of thought (Lestari, 2026).

### **Diagnose Causes**

In a report by CNNIndonesia.com, the primary cause of the book seizures was framed as a consequence of acts of rioting and alleged incitement during demonstrations that took place in late August 2025. CNNIndonesia.com linked the possession and reading of certain books to the alleged formation of anarchist ideologies that sparked acts of violence, vandalism, and attacks on law enforcement. Consequently, the books were positioned as factors suspected of influencing the motives and backgrounds of the rioters, thereby warranting their inclusion in the investigation process.

According to an interview with Informant 1, CNNIndonesia.com portrayed the book seizure as a direct consequence of the demonstrators' behavior, which was deemed unlawful. This informant noted that CNNIndonesia.com established a cause-and-effect relationship between reading materials with a specific ideology and anarchic actions on the ground, thereby framing the book seizure as a measure to trace the ideological roots of the unrest (Sudewo, 2026). Meanwhile, Informant 2 believes that CNNIndonesia.com diagnoses the root causes of the issue by focusing on aspects of public safety and order. According to this informant, riots, the destruction of public facilities, and attacks on law enforcement officials are the primary reasons the media uses to justify the book confiscation. With this approach, CNNIndonesia.com tends to direct readers' attention toward the demonstrators' actions, rather than the potential civil rights violations resulting from the book confiscation (Fallah, 2026). Informant 3 noted that CNNIndonesia.com also linked the book seizure to the government's concerns about the spread of anarchist ideology. This informant observed that CNNIndonesia.com reporting implied that certain ideologies—often said to spread through reading and digital media—have the potential to influence collective actions during demonstrations. Consequently, the book seizures were interpreted as an effort by authorities to trace the networks, patterns, and ideological backgrounds of the rioters (Lestari, 2026).

### **Make Moral Judgement**

In a report by CNNIndonesia.com, the seizure of books was deemed a morally justifiable measure because it was carried out within the framework of law enforcement and the maintenance of public order. CNNIndonesia.com argued that the state, through its police force, has the legitimacy to seize items deemed related to criminal acts in order to uncover the motives, patterns, and networks of those responsible for the riots. Within this framework, public safety is prioritized over potential concerns regarding freedom of expression.

This moral assessment aligns with the findings of an interview with Informant 1, who noted that CNNIndonesia.com tends to justify the actions of law enforcement officials when they are linked to legitimate legal proceedings. This informant observed that CNNIndonesia.com reporting positions law enforcement as agents carrying out state duties, so the book seizure is not presented as a rights violation but rather as part of the responsibility to maintain stability (Sudewo, 2026). A similar perspective was also expressed by Informant 2, who interpreted CNNIndonesia.com framing as an effort to emphasize the importance of social order. According to this informant, CNNIndonesia.com constructs a narrative that freedom of expression still has limits when it intersects with anarchic acts and violence. Therefore, the book seizure is positioned as a morally acceptable step to prevent the recurrence of riots (Fallah, 2026). Meanwhile, Informant 3 noted that CNNIndonesia.com also provided moral legitimacy through statements by government officials affirming that there was no general ban on books. This informant observed that the inclusion of government sources reinforced the impression that the seizure of books was not a form of ideological repression, but rather a contextual measure taken in the investigation of a specific (Lestari, 2026).

## Treatment Recommendation

In a report by CNNIndonesia.com, the solutions proposed for the issues of book seizures and demonstration-related riots focus on strengthening law enforcement and ongoing investigations. CNNIndonesia.com recommends that law enforcement continue to investigate the motives, ideological backgrounds, and networks of the rioters through applicable legal mechanisms. Thus, the book seizures are positioned as part of the investigative steps necessary to fully uncover criminal acts.

This recommendation for resolution aligns with the findings of the interview with Informant 1, who noted that CNNIndonesia.com advocates for resolving issues through formal legal channels. This informant observed that CNNIndonesia.com emphasizes the importance of a legitimate and transparent investigative process, so that conflicts arising from demonstrations can be resolved through state institutions (Sudewo, 2026). Meanwhile, Informant 2 believes that CNNIndonesia.com recommends the need for oversight and control over the potential spread of anarchist ideology, which is seen as contributing to the riots. According to this informant, CNNIndonesia.com reporting points to preventive measures through the monitoring of activities and networks that could potentially trigger security disturbances, while remaining grounded in applicable laws (Fallah, 2026). Informant 3 noted that CNNIndonesia.com also provided recommendations in the form of a reaffirmation of the government's stance that there is no general ban on books. This informant observed that by featuring statements from government officials, CNNIndonesia.com encouraged the resolution of the issue through policy clarification and public communication, so that the public would understand that book seizures are situational and not intended to restrict freedom of thought (Lestari, 2026).

Based on the results of a framing analysis of Tempo.co and CNNIndonesia.com, there are differences in how the two outlets framed the book seizure that followed the "17+8" public protest. Tempo.co tends to emphasize aspects of freedom of thought and literacy, while CNNIndonesia.com places greater emphasis on legal and security aspects. These differences indicate that the two media outlets construct reality differently when reporting on the same issue.

## Conclusion

Based on an analysis of Robert N. Entman framing model applied to news coverage by Tempo.co and CNNIndonesia.com regarding the seizure of books following the "17+8 People's Demands" demonstration, this study reveals differences in how the media frame the same event. These differences are influenced by the ideology and editorial orientation of each media outlet.

Tempo.co frames the book seizure as an issue of freedom of thought and freedom of expression, which it views as contrary to the values of democracy and literacy. This media outlet tends to portray the authorities' actions as the primary cause of the problem and offers a critical moral assessment of the book confiscation practice. In contrast, CNNIndonesia.com frames the incident as a legal and security issue related to the

investigation into the demonstration riots. CNNIndonesia.com places greater emphasis on the procedural context of law enforcement and positions the book confiscation as part of the authorities' efforts to maintain order.

Interviews with informants revealed that the framing employed by these two media outlets influenced how readers understood the issue of book seizures. Tempo.co was perceived as more supportive of civil liberties, while CNNIndonesia.com was viewed as more neutral and legalistic. These findings underscore that the media plays a crucial role in shaping public meaning and perceptions regarding issues of freedom of thought and the actions of state authorities in a democratic context.

Reader responses on the Instagram accounts of CNNIndonesia.com and Tempo.co indicate that the framing of news coverage regarding the book seizure was not passively accepted but actively engaged with by the audience. On CNNIndonesia.com post, a polarization of opinions was evident, with some readers taking a critical stance toward the book seizure, while others supported the authorities' actions on the grounds of maintaining social order. Meanwhile, on Tempo.co post, the majority of comments tended to reinforce the critical framing established by the media, emphasizing the importance of literacy, freedom of thought, and the legal aspects of the seizure. These findings indicate that social media comment sections serve as both a space for negotiating meaning and an indicator of how media framing interacts with public perception.

These differences do not indicate any fundamental conflict of values. Both media outlets remain within the framework of national and democratic values and uphold the principles of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). CNNIndonesia.com safeguards the interests of the state through a focus on law and order, while Tempo.co safeguards the quality of democracy through criticism and oversight of those in power.

The differences in framing between CNNIndonesia.com and Tempo.co can be understood as differences in journalistic strategy aimed at achieving the same goal: building a stable, democratic, and just nation. This demonstrates that diversity in media framing is, in fact, part of the dynamics of democracy in society.

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