



**JOURNALISTIC LANGUAGE AS A FRAMING TOOL: ANALYSIS OF
IMMANUEL EBENEZER'S REPORTS ON KOMPAS.COM AND TEMPO.CO**

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Abstract

This study examines differences in meaning construction within online news reports of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) sting operation against Deputy Minister of Manpower Immanuel Ebenezer in August 2025. The case illustrates how media framing shapes public interpretation of legal and political events. The research focuses on how Kompas.com and Tempo.co framed the incident and how these differences reflect each outlet's ideological orientation in constructing social reality. Using a qualitative approach and the Pan & Kosicki framing model, which analyzes syntax, script, thematic, and rhetorical structures. This study analyzes 16 news articles published by Kompas.com and Tempo.co between August 21-30, 2025. Articles were selected based on their relevance and representativeness of the issue's framing patterns. The findings indicate that Kompas.com adopts a moral-political frame emphasizing legitimacy and the ethical crisis of power, while Tempo.co employs a legal-formal frame highlighting rationality and institutional accountability. These framing contrasts reveal distinct orientations in defining the meaning of corruption and authority. The study concludes that media framing operates as an ideological mechanism that not only reports events but also constructs interpretive frameworks guiding public understanding of the relationship between law, politics, and morality in Indonesia's public discourse.

Keywords: media framing, agenda setting, online news, Pan and Kosicki, media representation

Abstrak

Penelitian ini menganalisis perbedaan konstruksi makna pada pemberitaan daring Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (KPK) terkait operasi tangkap tangan terhadap Wakil Menteri Ketenagakerjaan Immanuel Ebenezer pada Agustus 2025. Kasus ini menggambarkan bagaimana bingkai media memengaruhi interpretasi publik terhadap peristiwa hukum dan politik. Penelitian ini berfokus pada cara Kompas.com dan Tempo.co membingkai insiden tersebut dan bagaimana perbedaan orientasi ideologis masing-masing media dalam membangun realitas sosial. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dan model pembingkai Pan & Kosicki yang menganalisis struktur sintaksis, skrip, tematik, dan retorik. Studi ini menganalisis 16 artikel berita yang diterbitkan oleh Kompas.com dan Tempo.co pada 21-30 Agustus 2025. Artikel berita dipilih berdasarkan relevansi dan representasi pola pembingkai isu tersebut. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Kompas.com mengadopsi kerangka moral-politik yang menekankan legitimasi dan krisis etika kekuasaan, sementara Tempo.co menggunakan kerangka hukum-formal yang menonjolkan rasionalitas dan



akuntabilitas institusional. Perbedaan framing ini mengungkapkan orientasi yang berbeda dalam mendefinisikan makna korupsi dan kekuasaan. Studi ini menyimpulkan bahwa kerangka media beroperasi sebagai mekanisme ideologis yang tidak hanya melaporkan peristiwa tetapi juga membangun kerangka interpretatif yang membimbing pemahaman publik tentang hubungan antara hukum, politik, dan moralitas dalam diskursus publik Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: framing media, agenda setting, pemberitaan daring, Pan dan Kosicki, representasi media

I. INTRODUCTION

The sting operation (OTT) conducted by the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) against Immanuel Ebenezer on August 21, 2025, is one of the most prominent legal-political events in Indonesia recently. This case has attracted public attention due to the involvement of high-ranking state officials within the ministry and is alleged to have been carried out systematically since 2019 (Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi, 2025; Kompas.com, 2025b; Tempo.co, 2025a). The arrest of the former Deputy Minister of Manpower, Immanuel Ebenezer, familiarly known as Noel, was carried out at the Ministry of Manpower. The OTT ensnared Noel and a number of other individuals suspected of being involved in extortion and gratification practices related to the processing of Occupational Safety and Health (K3) certification (Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi, 2025; Kompas.com, 2025a; Tempo.co, 2025c).

The chronology of the arrest began with reports from the public indicating illegal fees were being charged in the K3 certification process (Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi, 2025; Tempo.co, 2025c). This information was then corroborated by KPK intelligence data that detected a systematic pattern of extortion against K3 service providers. On the night of August 20, 2025, until early August 21, 2025, the KPK launched operations at several locations in Jakarta. During these operations, Ebenezer was arrested along with 10 to 14 other people suspected of being involved in the network.

The evidence seized in this sting operation was quite striking, including 25 cars, 7 motorcycles, cash worth around Rp170 million, USD 2,201 in foreign currency, and a Ducati motorcycle (CNNIndonesia.com, 2025; Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi, 2025; Tempo.co, 2025d). According to the Deputy Chairman of the KPK, Fitroh Rohcahyanto (CNNIndonesia.com, 2025; Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi, 2025), this extortion practice is estimated to have been ongoing from 2019 to 2025, with accumulated funds reaching approximately Rp3 billion. The modus operandi revealed shows that there were additional

fees on top of the official K3 certification fee of Rp275,000 per person, which were then channeled through K3 field coordinators to reach high-level officials (Kompas.com, 2025b).

Just one day after the operation, the KPK officially named Noel and several other parties as suspects (Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi, 2025; Kompas.com, 2025c). President Prabowo Subianto responded quickly by issuing a Presidential Decree dismissing Noel from his position as Deputy Minister of Manpower (BBC.com, 2025; Kompas.com, 2025d; Tempo.co, 2025b). The speed of this legal and administrative process can be seen as an effort by the state to assert the integrity of government institutions while sending a strong signal to the public about its commitment to eradicating corruption.

The mass media, including online media, play an important role in constructing public perception (Putrajaya, 2024). Unlike traditional print media, which is slower in distributing information, online media offers speed, interactivity, and much stronger visual power (Grinberg, 2018). News can be disseminated in real-time, accompanied by photos, videos, or infographics, which not only convey information but also have a dramatic effect (Matheson & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2020; Thorsen & Jackson, 2018). In line with this, today's online media focuses on the speed and immediacy of news reporting, even using provocative diction and clickbait (Amal et al., 2024). In fact, different narrative presentation models can also extend the life of a narrative, so that certain frames can repeatedly appear in the public sphere. Recent literature shows that speed, visualization, and public engagement in the digital space give online news a greater influence in shaping public opinion than conventional media (Chadwick et al., 2018; Tandoc et al., 2020).

The socio-political context further strengthens the resonance of this case. The OTT occurred close to the issue of the cabinet reshuffle in August 2025, which led the public to interpret the event not only as an effort to enforce the law but also as part of the dynamics of political power (CNBCIndonesia.com, 2025; DetikBali, 2025; Kompas.id, 2025; MetroTVNews.com, 2025). Public narratives developed, ranging from discourse on the credibility of the government and the morality of officials to speculation about political consolidation in the circles of power (Hilmi, 2025; Indonesia Corruption Watch, 2025; KajianBerita.com, 2025; Liputan6.com, 2025). Thus, this case became a mirror that reflected the intersection of law, politics, media, and public perception.

From an academic perspective, this phenomenon is relevant to be examined through media framing theory. Entman (1993) states that framing is the process of selecting certain

aspects of reality that are highlighted to have a stronger meaning. Pan & Kosicki (1993) developed a more systematic framework by dividing framing into four dimensions: syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetoric. These four dimensions enable a more in-depth analysis of the structure of news texts, narrative strategies, and how the media shapes public perception (Fauziati, 2021). In the digital age, framing has become more complex because it involves not only text but also visual elements, speed of distribution, and public participation through comments and online interactions.

Several contemporary studies show that news coverage of corruption cases in Indonesia often goes beyond legal aspects, linking them to political, moral, and power legitimacy dimensions (Mukhijab, 2014; Pinastika & Triyono, 2024). This indicates that the media functions not only as an information channel but also as an active actor in constructing social and political meaning. The KPK's OTT against Noel thus serves as a relevant case for examining how online media frames legal-political events. Through framing analysis, this study explores patterns of fact selection, narrative construction, and rhetorical strategies, providing insight into how digital media shape public perceptions of the relationship between law, politics, and morality in Indonesia.

II. THEORETICAL STUDIES

Agenda Setting in News Reporting

The agenda-setting theory initially highlighted how the media influences public perceptions of issues that are considered important (Littlejohn et al., 2017; McCombs & Valenzuela, 2021). Essentially, this theory assumes that the media determines “what” is considered important by the audience through the highlighting of issues (Buturoiu et al., 2023; McCombs & Valenzuela, 2021; West & Turner, 2021). The classic or first-level version of agenda setting examines the relationship between media emphasis on an issue and public priorities regarding that issue.

Developments in the last decade show that this process now takes place in a “networked” ecosystem, involving the influence of media, digital platforms, and audience participation. The relationship between the media and the public has become reciprocal and dynamic, rather than one-way as originally assumed (McCombs & Valenzuela, 2021). In this context, agenda setting is understood as a layered ecology, where the media influences the public, the public influences the media, and the media aligns issue priorities through replication, curation, and platform algorithms. The expansion of this concept provides the

basis for linking the measurement of issue prominence to the dynamics of issue networks and actors in the contemporary digital environment.

The development of agenda setting theory to the second level emphasizes that the media not only raise issues, but also highlight certain attributes of issues or actors, such as character, judgment, or evaluative dimensions, which are then prioritized by the public. In other words, what shifts is not simply “what is important,” but “which part needs attention” from something important (Eriyanto, 2018; Griffin et al., 2019; Littlejohn et al., 2017; West & Turner, 2021).

Recent literature places the salience attributes of issues as a link to judgment, and shows how attribute emphasis is formed through intermedia flows and complex association networks (McCombs & Valenzuela, 2021; Su & Xiao, 2021). Methodologically, the second-level approach is important because it positions the media not only as issue-raisers but also as determinants of the evaluative dimensions attached to them. For example, the selection of attributes such as morality, integrity, or political legitimacy is a media discourse strategy in highlighting certain aspects of social events. Thus, second-level agenda setting becomes the conceptual basis for understanding how the media shapes the public's “way of thinking” through the highlighting of specific and repetitive attributes.

Framing in News Reporting

Unlike agenda setting, which highlights the importance of issues or attributes, framing focuses on how issues are organized into narratives through the selection of perspectives, emphasis on elements, sequencing of information, and causal reasoning that shape specific meanings (Entman, 1993; Eriyanto, 2002; Littlejohn et al., 2017). Mau & Amal (2024) assert that the media selects the facts presented to the public, where each news presentation is the result of selection and sorting (Amal, 2024).

Recent syntheses show that small variations in framing can trigger changes in readers' evaluations, emotions, and policy inferences (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2019). In the digital age, the framing process is no longer exclusive to editorial teams; distribution algorithms, video formats, and user participation also shape the circulation and reinforcement of meaning frames. Therefore, research needs to consider factors such as information orientation, political engagement, and trust in the media in assessing its effects (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2019; Tandoc & Maitra, 2018).

From the perspective of text analysis methods, framing models based on discourse structures such as syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical devices remain relevant for operationalizing prominence indicators and linking them to effect testing on audiences. Convergence to second-level agenda setting research is seen when the attributes emphasized become the focus of public attention. Therefore, many contemporary studies combine content analysis (frame as an independent variable) with effect studies to bridge discourse production and audience reception (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2019; McCombs & Valenzuela, 2021).

Media Representation

Representation theory, proposed by Stuart Hall, positions the media as a space for the production of meaning, not merely a reflection of reality. According to Hall (1997), representation is a process in which language, symbols, and images function as a signifying system that enables people to understand their social world. Meaning is not attached to objects or events, but is produced through representational practices that are influenced by social and ideological contexts. Furthermore, Kartika (2022) argues that meaning is present through the representation of concepts in the mind that are externalized through the use of language.

In the tradition of cultural studies, representation is understood as the practice of producing meaning through language, images, and symbols. Media does not merely reflect reality, but constructs it through a system of signs that operates within power relations, namely by establishing categories, standardizing stereotypes, and normalizing certain horizons of meaning. It updates previous classical readings for the current context, with an emphasis on visual politics, representation, and platform infrastructure that changes the circulation and stabilization of meaning in the digital public sphere. Through this lens, the analysis of representation requires sensitivity to how signs/visuals are selected, combined, and distributed, as well as how audiences negotiate and re-represent meaning through the practice of sharing and remixing content (Hall et al., 2023).

III. RESEARCH METHODS

This study uses framing analysis based on the model developed by Pan & Kosicki (1993), which allows for the examination of news text construction through structural devices that frame events and influence how audiences interpret issues. This model includes four framing structures: syntactic, examining the arrangement of news elements such as headlines, leads, backgrounds, quotes, and conclusions; script, assessing the completeness of the 5W +

1H elements; thematic, examining themes, coherence, and sentence structure; and rhetorical, highlighting diction choices and visual elements (Dwi Bramantyo et al., 2024; Matthes, 2012; Pan & Kosicki, 1993). This approach provides a comprehensive analytical framework for mapping how the media frames issues (Siregar et al., 2023).

The research data was obtained from online news documentation on Kompas.com and Tempo.co from August 21-30, 2025, covering coverage of sting operations (OTT) to the political dynamics following the dismissal of Immanuel Ebenezer as Deputy Minister of Manpower. A total of 16 articles were analyzed, eight each from Kompas.com and Tempo.co, based on relevance, completeness of information, and representation of the framing of the issues under study.

IV. RESEARCH RESULTS

The following results and discussion will be described based on the four main structures of Pan and Kosicki's framing. Each section shows the differences in framing patterns between Kompas.com and Tempo.co.

Table 1. Framing Analysis Comparison of Kompas.com and Tempo.co News Coverage

Structure	Analysis Unit	Kompas.com	Tempo.co
Syntactic	Headline	Highlights Noel's role in the KPK sting, emphasizing his position and political ties, with a dramatic yet formal tone balancing legal, political, and moral aspects.	Emphasized the KPK's OTT and the actors' dual identities, framing the case as both legal and political.
	Lead	Summarized key OTT events, with variations highlighting suspects, charges, or reactions to frame the story's focus.	Adds details on time, place, and arrests, framing the case as collective or individual-focused.
	Background Information	Outlines the OTT chronology, charges, and evidence, with some adding Noel's ties to elites, framing it as both legal and political.	Portrays OTT as routine anti-corruption, with context variations framing it as political continuity or legal procedure.
	Quotation	Mainly quoted KPK and political elites, using legal and moral tones to frame the case as both lawful and political.	Dominated by KPK quotes, with some political voices adding depth, framing the issue as objective yet politically charged.

Structure	Analysis Unit	Kompas.com	Tempo.co
	Statement	Used KPK statements to legitimize the OTT, while political quotes showed media framing beyond legal aspects.	KPK clarifications dominated, with added external views framing the case as both legal and political.
	Closing	Emphasized legal steps or political comments, reinforcing either legal or political frames.	Noted follow-ups or political reactions, signaling final framing of legal certainty or political debate.
Script	What	Focused on Noel's arrest, with details shaping frames of law, office, and political loyalty.	Covered the OTT with varying focus, framing it as either criminal wrongdoing or political scandal.
	Who	Centered on Noel but included KPK, Mahfud, Gerindra, and ICW, framing the case as personal, institutional, or political.	Figures portrayed with dual roles, officials and political aides, framing them as either political actors or OTT victims.
	When	All reports note the August 21 OTT, some tying its timing to reshuffle politics and wider dynamics.	Emphasized OTT chronology, linking its timing to national political dynamics.
	Why	Explained as extortion or bribery, with some adding political motives, framing the "why" as both legal and moral.	Cited legal causes, with added political motives framing the case as law enforcement or political intrigue.
	Where	Consistently cited the Manpower Ministry location, adding legitimacy and drama to the event.	Emphasized the ministry setting, symbolizing state-level misconduct and undermining government credibility.
	How	Explained OTT procedures technically, with dramatic visuals enhancing tension and implying guilt.	Explained OTT through KPK statements, reinforcing legal authority and transparency.
Thematic	Topic	Focused on official corruption, expanding to loyalty, reshuffles, and morality, framing it as legal, political, and ethical.	Framed corruption raids as either political moral failure or legal technical issue.
	Coherence	Maintained coherence through facts and chronology, with some adding politics or Noel's history to widen context.	Built on chronology, keeping facts clear while allowing political interpretation.
	Sentence Structure	Used mostly factual narration with quoted evaluations, keeping formal objectivity while implying critique.	Used declarative sentences with occasional rhetoric, balancing objectivity and subtle political tone.

Structure	Analysis Unit	Kompas.com	Tempo.co
Rhetorical	Diction	Used legal-formal diction mixed with dramatic terms, blending legitimacy and political dramatization.	Dominated by legal diction with evaluative words added, framing neutrality or guiding moral judgment.
	Graphics	Visuals of Noel in cuffs and orange vest dramatize and reinforce guilt framing.	Visuals of Noel and political figures emphasized KPK authority and shaped political interpretation.

Syntactic

At the syntactic level, there are differences in the writing style of headlines, leads, background information, quotes, statements, and news closings. Kompas.com tends to present varied headlines, some of which are dramatic with moral-political content, such as the use of the term “a slap in the face for the President.” In addition, other more formal terms emphasize the official’s position. This shows the media’s tendency to balance legal aspects with political and moral criticism. Tempo.co, on the other hand, chooses more concise and factual headlines, emphasizing the main actor and Noel’s dual identity as an official and political volunteer.

From a second-level agenda setting perspective, this variation shows a difference in the prominence given to evaluative attributes. Kompas.com highlights attributes of morality and political legitimacy, while Tempo.co places greater emphasis on attributes of performance and accountability of legal institutions. Thus, what is constructed is not merely what the important issues are, but which parts of those issues the public should pay attention to.

In the lead, Kompas.com often presents the essence of the OTT with a variety of focuses on the number of suspects, legal articles, and political reactions, so that the initial framing of the news is flexible between law and politics. Tempo.co is more consistent in expanding headlines with technical details such as time, place, and the number of parties arrested. This pattern indicates that Kompas.com is more open to the political dimension, while Tempo.co emphasizes factual and legal-formal structures.

The background information on Kompas.com is often linked to Noel’s career history and his closeness to certain political elites, thus shifting the understanding of the case from

the legal realm to a political phenomenon. Tempo.co emphasizes OTT as a routine law enforcement activity, despite variations in the historical context of the figures involved or technical procedures. In the quotes and statements section, Kompas.com presents a variety of sources, including the KPK, politicians, and the ICW, resulting in a combination of legal legitimacy and moral-political criticism. Tempo.co tends to quote the KPK more frequently, adding external comments only at certain moments.

The closing of the news reinforces the difference in framing strategies used by these two media outlets. Kompas.com closes with two patterns, namely legal details or political commentary, thereby emphasizing the position of the frame it wants to construct. Tempo.co tends to be more concise, closing with follow-up investigations, although occasionally providing political implications. This closing structure shows that Kompas.com constructs a moral-political crisis frame, while Tempo.co constructs a legal-formal frame.

Within the framework of representation, verbal signs such as “slap,” “caught,” and “thrown out” function as a signifying system that produces moral-political meaning and places the public as the subject of judgment on the legitimacy of power. Tempo.co, on the other hand, uses legal-formal signs that reinforce the meaning of rationality and trust in law enforcement institutions.

Script

In terms of script, both media outlets presented the same core event, namely the KPK’s sting operation against Noel. However, Kompas.com varied the “what” element by emphasizing the allegations of extortion, public office, and the political status of the actors, while Tempo.co was relatively consistent in emphasizing the sting operation as a criminal act, although it occasionally touched on the political dimension.

In terms of “who,” Kompas.com expands the circle of actors to include not only Noel, but also the KPK, Mahfud MD, ICW, and party elites, so that the case is perceived as a collective political and legal issue. Tempo.co emphasizes Noel’s dual identity as a formal official and political volunteer, and links him to national political figures such as Jokowi and Prabowo.

The “when” element in both media consistently mentions the time of the OTT, but Kompas.com often links it to actual political dynamics, such as the issue of cabinet reshuffles, while Tempo.co emphasizes the chronology of events. In “why,” Kompas.com combines legal reasons, such as extortion and gratification, with political-moral

interpretations, such as “a slap in the face for the President.” Meanwhile, Tempo.co places more emphasis on the legal realm, occasionally opening up space for political motives in the news presented.

The element of “where” also presents different nuances between Kompas.com and Tempo.co. Kompas.com narrates the location of the sting operation, mentioning ministry offices, private homes, or the KPK building. This gives a dramatic impression to the news presentation. Meanwhile, Tempo.co emphasizes the institutional symbolism of the OTT locations, reinforcing the symbolic impression of damaging the government’s credibility. In terms of “how,” Kompas.com often uses technical details alongside dramatization, such as the use of terms like orange vests, handcuffs, and KPK escorts, while Tempo.co emphasizes official procedures to demonstrate the KPK’s transparency. Thus, in terms of script, Kompas.com is more dramatic and political, while Tempo.co is more procedural. The dimensions of “where” and “how” highlight the attributes of morality and accountability presented by Kompas.com, while Tempo.co emphasizes the institutional symbols of the OTT location and official procedures to demonstrate transparency and legal legitimacy.

This diversity of scripts supports the second-level agenda setting finding that the emphasis on attributes, whether morality or accountability, serves as a bridge for the public in assessing the issue. Kompas.com shifts attention from the legal dimension to the political legitimacy crisis, while Tempo.co confirms trust in legal mechanisms.

Thematic

In terms of theme, Kompas.com frames the case not only as corruption by state officials but also links it to political loyalty, the discourse of a cabinet reshuffle, and the morality of the government. This confirms that the framing of the news is directed at legal issues as well as political ethics. Tempo.co, although it also occasionally links the case to political loyalty, is more consistent in presenting the case as a legal issue with limited political context.

In terms of coherence, Kompas.com maintains the factual flow of the news, but expands it with political context and the personal history of the figures involved. Tempo.co presents the news more linearly and chronologically, minimizing room for political interpretation. In the context of framing theory, these differences in thematic structure represent two ways of constructing meaning: the moral crisis frame and the institutional accountability frame.

In terms of sentence structure, Kompas.com uses an informative style mixed with evaluative quotes that carry a moral critique, while Tempo.co tends to be declarative with a rhetorical style to subtly emphasize political irony. Thus, Kompas.com is more expressive in linking law with politics, while Tempo.co is more cautious and maintains objectivity.

From an agenda setting perspective, this difference illustrates salience mapping. Kompas.com encourages the public to assess the government through the lens of morality and political loyalty, while Tempo.co directs attention to the effectiveness of law enforcement agencies. Thus, the attributes that are highlighted produce different evaluative orientations. From a representation perspective, Kompas.com's thematic construction marks political reality as a space full of ethical tension, while Tempo.co constructs a rational and measurable legal reality. This shows that the media not only reflect reality but also produces different horizons of meaning for the public.

Rhetoric

The rhetorical dimension reveals the most striking difference between the two media outlets. Kompas.com uses legal-formal diction such as “OTT” (Operation Tangkap Tangan, or sting operation), “pemerasan” (extortion), and “barang bukti” (evidence), but accompanies it with dramatic and emotional words such as “tamparan” (slap), ‘terciduk’ (caught red-handed), or “dicampakkan” (discarded). This choice creates a framing effect that reinforces the emotions and moral evaluation of readers, giving the impression that the case is not merely a legal matter, but also a political and moral disgrace. Meanwhile, Tempo.co is more consistent with legal-formal diction, only occasionally inserting evaluative words such as “shameful” or “disgraceful,” so that the framing effect that emerges tends to be more neutral and cautious.

In terms of graphics, Kompas.com predominantly displays visuals of Ebenezer in an orange vest, handcuffed, or being escorted by the KPK. These visuals reinforce the representation of guilt as well as the dramatization of the case. Tempo.co prefers to use official photos from the KPK or old photos of Ebenezer with political figures. This choice emphasizes the authority of the institution and the political associations of the figures, rather than the dramatization of individuals, which also shifts the focus from individuals to institutions.

This rhetorical difference underlines the ideological difference in representation. Kompas.com constructs the meaning of the case as a moral-political disgrace that tarnishes

the legitimacy of power, while Tempo.co presents the normality of legal procedures that affirm the reliability of law enforcement agencies. Thus, the public is represented differently: on Kompas.com as a “moral subject” that judges, while on Tempo.co as “procedural citizens” who assess the effectiveness of the legal system.

Understanding Framing of Kompas.com and Tempo.co News Reports

In general, the above discussion shows that Kompas.com and Tempo.co display different orientations in framing the Noel OTT incident. Kompas.com tends to construct a more dramatic and moralistic narrative, with an emphasis on political, ethical, and legitimacy aspects of power. The structure of its news shows flexibility between law and politics, accompanied by the use of emotional diction and a wide variety of sources. In contrast, Tempo.co emphasizes a factual and procedural approach, treating the case as a legal event that is examined rationally and institutionally. With a concise writing style and the use of official sources such as the KPK, Tempo.co strives to maintain objectivity and public trust in law enforcement agencies.

These differences reflect two patterns of media representation in shaping public perception of the issue of public official corruption. Kompas.com emphasizes morality and political legitimacy as the main attributes of its reporting, so that cases are understood as a reflection of the ethical crisis of power. Tempo.co, on the other hand, emphasizes accountability and legal performance, which directs the public towards trust in law enforcement mechanisms. In the context of second-level agenda setting theory, both media outlets construct the same issue but highlight different evaluative attributes, one emphasizing morality and the other emphasizing legality, resulting in different orientations of meaning in the public discourse space.

V. CONCLUSION

This study shows that Kompas.com and Tempo.co framed the OTT incident involving Immanuel Ebenezer with different orientations in the four framing structures of Pan & Kosicki. Kompas.com tended to construct a dramatic and moral-political narrative, highlighting evaluative attributes such as morality and the legitimacy of power. In contrast, Tempo.co presents a more procedural and legal-formal approach with an emphasis on accountability and the rationality of law enforcement. The choice of diction, sources of quotations, and visual elements on Kompas.com reinforce the emotional effect and moral criticism, while Tempo.co emphasizes objectivity and consistency of legal facts. These

differences affirm the concept of second-level agenda setting, whereby the media not only determines which issues are important, but also which attributes the public should pay attention to.

Theoretically, these findings reinforce the understanding that differences in framing between media outlets have implications for the construction of different social realities. Kompas.com emphasizes the moral-political crisis, while Tempo.co emphasizes legal rationality. In practical terms, critical awareness of framing strategies is important in improving media literacy and maintaining objectivity in reporting. Thus, this study confirms that framing is not merely a style of news presentation, but a process of meaning production that determines how the public understands and assesses an event.

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