

Framing Analysis of the News on Alleged Corruption of Madiun Mayor Maldi in the Online Media Kompas.com and Sinergia Mediatama

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Abstract

The Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) arrested Maldi in an operation related to alleged project fee collection and misappropriation of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) funds. This study aims to comparatively analyze the framing of news coverage regarding the alleged corruption against Madiun Mayor Maldi in the online media Kompas.com and Sinergia Mediatama during January 2026. This study uses a qualitative descriptive-comparative approach using Robert N. Entman's (1993) framing analysis model, which consists of four elements: defining the problem, diagnosing the cause, making a moral judgment, and recommending a response. Data consisting of 20 news articles were collected through digital documentation and purposive sampling techniques, then analyzed using a framing coding instrument. The findings of this study indicate that Kompas.com constructed its coverage with a legalistic-structural framework: defining the case as systematic corruption, providing explicit personal causal attributions to Maldi, presenting condemnatory moral judgments, and recommending strict formal law enforcement. In contrast, Sinergia Mediatama developed a contextual-humanistic framework: defining the case through a local impact perspective, being more cautious in causal attribution, acknowledging Maldi's developmental contributions, and emphasizing the sustainability of local public services. These differences in framework reflect the influence of each media outlet's editorial position, geographic proximity, and audience orientation in constructing the reality of coverage of legal cases involving local officials.

Keywords

Framing Analysis; National Local Media; Online Media; Regional Official Corruption.



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INTRODUCTION

Mass media plays a strategic role in shaping social reality and building public perception of various events (Barizki & Riyantie, 2021). In the perspective of constructivism, the media does not solely function as a neutral and objective conveyor of information, but rather as an

actor who is actively involved in the process of constructing reality through the selection of issues, the determination of viewpoints, and the emphasis on certain aspects of an event. News is the result of media construction formed through editorial policies and the way the media interprets an event, so that the reality presented to the public can differ between one media and another (Permadi et al., 2024).

The media's process of constructing reality occurs through framing mechanisms, which are ways for the media to select, highlight, and organize information to shape specific interpretations for their audiences. Entman (1993) defines framing as the act of selecting certain aspects of perceived reality and making them more prominent in a communication text, promoting problem definition, diagnosing causes, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendations. Through this mechanism, the media not only informs but also actively shapes public understanding and assessment of an issue (Eni Saeni, 2024). Trust in news on social media is built more through algorithmic exposure, social validation, and the echo chamber effect than through institutional credibility (Hariyani et al., 2025).

In the Indonesian journalism ecosystem, there are significant differences between national media and local media in terms of editorial orientation, readership reach, socio-geographical proximity to the subject of the news, and institutional importance. The national media tends to view regional events from a macro perspective that links them to structural issues such as anti-corruption law enforcement and governance at the national level. In contrast, local media have a more intimate proximity to the communities covered, thus potentially building a more contextual frame (Ainani et al., 2025).

The alleged corruption case that ensnared the Mayor of Madiun Maldi in January 2026 emerged as a significant news event. The Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) conducted a hand-catch operation (OTT, Operasi Tangkap Tangan) against Maldi and 14 other people related to the alleged receipt of project fees and misuse of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) funds. Maldi, who has served two terms and has a track record of development that is recognized at the national level, renders this case not only a matter of criminal law, but also one concerning the legitimacy of leadership, ethics of public officials, and public trust (Mei Ulina Malau & Khairunnisa, 2023).

The news of this case was intensively covered by Kompas.com as a leading digital national media under the auspices of Kompas Gramedia Group and Sinergia Mediatama as a local online media based in Madiun City. The differences in the characteristics of the two media in terms of reader segments, geographical position, ownership, and editorial policies give rise to potentially significant differences in framing. A study by (Ainani et al., 2025) on the KPK OTT case in South Kalimantan and (Mei Ulina Malau & Khairunnisa, 2023) on the OTT of the Mayor of Bandung confirms that national and local media empirically produce different frames in the same regional corruption case.

Despite the growing body of literature on media framing of corruption cases in Indonesia, a notable research gap remains. Existing studies have compared national media outlets (Novatrianda & Vera, 2024), (Fauzan Akbar et al., 2025) or examined a single regional media context (Mei Ulina Malau, 2023), but few have systematically compared national-

versus-local media framing of a regional official's corruption case using Entman's full four-element model. The novelty of this study lies in its comparative design that documents not only quantitative differences in framing emphasis, but also qualitative distinctions in the moral evaluation dimension, specifically, how a local media outlet actively constructs an appreciation narrative alongside condemnation, a pattern not previously identified in comparable Indonesian studies. This study therefore contributes empirically to the national-local media framing debate in the East Java context.

Based on this background, this study focuses on the question: How do Kompas.com and Sinergia Mediatama frame the news coverage of the alleged corruption against Madiun Mayor Maldi according to Robert N. Entman's framing model? The purpose of this study is to analyze and compare the framing construction of the two media through Entman's four elements: define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and treatment recommendations, as well as identify similarities and differences in framing between national and local media in covering corruption cases of regional officials.

METHODS

This study uses a qualitative-descriptive-comparative approach based on the constructivist paradigm. The constructivist paradigm views that social reality is not something objective and singular, but is actively constructed through the interaction between humans and their social environment (Creswell, 2018). In media studies, this view means that news is a construction product formed through the process of selection, framing, and interpretation by media institutions and all their editorial devices (Eriyanto, 2020).

The qualitative approach was chosen because the purpose of the research is to understand in depth how meaning is constructed in news texts through framing mechanisms, rather than measuring the statistical distribution of variables (Moleong, 2018). The research is descriptive because it aims to systematically describe how each media frames the reporting of the alleged Maldi corruption case, and is comparative because it compares the results of framing analysis from the two media to identify similarities and differences.

The subjects of the study are two online news portals: Kompas.com as a representation of national media and Sinergia Mediatama as a representation of local media in Madiun City. The object of the research is news texts published by the two media during the January 2026 period, which directly covered the alleged corruption of Madiun Mayor Maldi. The analysis unit includes news headlines, news leads (introductory paragraphs), news bodies, choice of quotes from sources, and visual elements (photos and photo captions).

The determination of the news sample uses a purposive sampling technique based on five inclusion criteria: (1) published in the January 2026 period; (2) directly discussing Maldi's alleged corruption; (3) contain at least one relevant keyword; (4) constitutes a complete news article; and (5) contains sufficient information to be analyzed using at least three of the four Entman framing elements. The number of news analyzed was 20 articles, 10 articles from Kompas.com and 10 articles from Sinergia Mediatama respectively (Table 1 and Table 2).

Table 1. Online Media News Headlines Kompas.com

No	Publication Date	News Headlines
1	19 January 2026	OTT Mayor of Madiun, KPK Seizes Hundreds of Millions of Rupiah
2	19 January 2026	Hit by OTT KPK, Mayor of Madiun: I'm Not Tired of Building the City of Madiun
3	20 January 2026	Maldi, the Third Madiun Mayor Entangled in a Corruption Case
4	20 January 2026	Madiun Mayor Maldi Caught by KPK OTT. This is East Java Governor Khofifah's Response
5	20 January 2026	Project Fee and CSR Fund Case, Cause of Madiun Mayor Maldi Caught in KPK OTT
6	20 January 2026	Madiun Mayor Maldi Caught in KPK OTT
7	20 January 2026	KPK Officially Arrests Madiun Mayor Maldi et al
8	20 January 2026	Appearance of Madiun Mayor Maldi After Becoming a Suspect at the KPK
9	21 January 2026	Madiun Mayor Denies Extortion and Gratification
10	21 January 2026	The Revelation of the Madiun Mayor Scandal: Extorting Under the Pretext of CSR to Ask Entrepreneurs for Fees

Source: Kompas.com News, January 2026

Table 2. News Titles Online Media Sinergia Mediatama

No.	Publication Date	News Headlines
1	19 January 2026	Madiun Mayor Caught in KPK OTT Netting, Allegedly Regarding Project Fees and CSR
2	19 January 2026	Madiun Mayor Maldi Brought by the KPK After Being Questioned at the Madiun Police Station
3	20 January 2026	East Java Governor Respects the OTT Legal Process of the Mayor of Madiun
4	20 January 2026	Maldi: I'm Not Tired of Building the City of Madiun, If There Are Shortcomings, Pray for My Health
5	21 January 2026	After the KPK OTT, the Madiun City Government Ensures that the Work Program Continues to Run in accordance with the RPJMD
6	21 January 2026	Regarding the OTT of the KPK, Chairman of the DPRD Armayana Values the Stern Warning of the Madiun City Government Bureaucracy
7	21 January 2026	Silent Operation Continues, KPK Investigation Team Searches Maldi's Private House
8	January 22, 2026	Academics Appreciate Maldi's Performance Achievements, but Have No Tolerance for Corruption
9	January 24, 2026	This is the Message and Support of Residents to the Suspended Madiun Mayor Maldi
10	26 January 2026	Allegedly Related to OTT of Suspended Mayor, KPK Searches Shophouses in Madiun City

Source: Sinergia Mediatama News, January 2026

The data were analyzed using a framing coding instrument operationalizing the four elements of Entman (1993) as follows: (1) Define Problems, identifying how the news text characterizes the main issue or event being reported; (2) Diagnose Causes, identifying which actors, factors, or forces are presented as responsible for the problem; (3) Make Moral Judgments, identifying evaluative language, diction, and tone used to assess the actors or events; and (4) Treatment Recommendations, identifying the implied or explicit solutions presented in the text. Each news article was coded against these four dimensions, with evidence drawn from: headlines, lead paragraphs, body text, source quotations, and photo captions. The analysis was conducted in seven stages: (1) raw data collection; (2) thorough reading; (3) coding Define Problems; (4) coding Diagnose Causes; (5) coding Make Moral Judgments and Treatment Recommendations; (6) in-depth analysis per element; and (7) cross-media comparison and conclusion drawing (Sugiyono, 2023). The validity of the data is ensured through source triangulation by comparing findings from the two media in parallel and cross-referencing with relevant framing theory literature.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Table 3. Entman's Framing Analysis on Mediatama's Kompas.com News and Synergy

No	Media	News Headlines	Define Problems	Diagnosis Causes	Make Moral Judgment	Treatment Recommendation
1	Kompas.com	OTT Mayor of Madiun, KPK Seizes Hundreds of Millions of Rupiah (19/1/2026)	Corruption cases as serious criminal acts enforced by the KPK; Integrity Issues of National Public Officials	Maidi as an official who abuses authority; KPK investigators as law enforcement actors	The diction of 'OTT' and 'confiscation' indicates decisive action; Factual-Legalistic News	Law enforcement by the KPK; Strengthening the National Anti-Corruption Mechanism
2	Kompas.com	Maidi, the Third Mayor of Madiun Entangled in a Corruption Case (20/1/2026)	The systemic pattern of corruption of regional heads; recurring problems in the governance of Madiun City	Individual regional heads as repeat offenders; Weaknesses of bureaucratic oversight mechanisms	Repeated patterns of corruption are considered to be failures of leadership integrity historically	Systemic evaluation; Improvement of the selection and supervision mechanism of regional heads
3	Kompas.com	The Revelation of the Madiun Mayor Scandal: Extorting Under the Pretext of	Extortion and gratuity as a structured and systematic corruption scandal	Maidi as the main actor; Thariq Megah and Rochim Ruhdiyanto as executors; CSR system is abused	Framing 'scandal' and 'blackmail' puts Maidi as a morally damned perpetrator	Legal process and thorough investigation; dismantling the entire network of gratuities recipients

No	Media	News Headlines	Define Problems	Diagnosis Causes	Make Moral Judgment	Treatment Recommendation
		CSR to Ask Fees from Entrepreneurs (21/1/2026)				
4	Kompas.com	KPK Officially Arrests Madiun Mayor Maldi et al (20/1/2026)	Official detention as a formal law enforcement stage; The Issue of Public Officials Accountability	KPK as a law enforcement agent; Proof of gratuity and extortion is sufficient	20-day detention is considered a fair measure based on strong evidence	Detention process and further investigation; Indiscriminate enforcement of formal laws
5	Kompas.com	Mayor of Madiun Denies Extortion and Gratification (21/1/2026)	The suspect's denial as factual information; but framing places the KPK as a more credible party	Maldi seeks to redefine herself not as a perpetrator; However, the KPK's narrative remains dominant	Objections are displayed without strengthening sympathy; framing places Maldi's position as a defendant	Transparent legal process to prove or disprove charges
6	Sinergia Mediatama	Madiun Mayor Caught in KPK OTT, Allegedly Regarding Project Fees and CSR (19/1/2026)	OTT as a shocking event; framing of allegations (unproven); emphasis on the local context of Madiun City	Alleged project fees and CSR as causes; resource persons from the KPK; Caution in personal attribution	The words 'expected' and 'shocking news' indicate caution; did not directly blame Maldi	Waiting for official clarification from the KPK within 1x24 hours; Respect for the principle of presumption of innocence
7	Sinergia Mediatama	Maldi: I Am Not Tired of Building the City of Madiun, If There Are Shortcomings, Pray for Me to Be Healthy (20/1/2026)	Framing focuses on Maldi's statement; Raising the dimension of development contribution in the midst of legal cases	Maldi was given space to voice her perspective; causal agent is not explicitly affirmed	Framing is more humanistic; give space for sympathy and positive contributions that Maldi has made	Public prayer and support; The legal process runs while respecting the services of the suspect
8	Sinergia Mediatama	After the OTT of the KPK, the Madiun City	Focus on the sustainability of government and public services;	The absence of definitive leadership as a potential cause	The government must not be paralyzed; the	Acting Mayor immediately activated; The RPJMD

No	Media	News Headlines	Define Problems	Diagnosis Causes	Make Moral Judgment	Treatment Recommendation
		Government Ensures that the Work Program Continues to Run in accordance with the RPJMD (21/1/2026)	Legal Cases as a Local Bureaucratic Challenge	of the potential hampering of public services	interests of the citizens of Madiun City must continue to be served	program continues without interruption
9	Sinergi a Mediatama	Academics Appreciate Maldi's Performance s, But Intolerance of Corruption (22/1/2026)	Duality: performance appreciation vs. corruption intolerance; the balance of academics' assessment of Maldi's figure	Corruption is defined as personal deviation, not total systemic failure	The diction 'indigo drop of milk' reflects a balanced assessment based on merit vs. violation	Transparency and accountability must be the standard of regional leadership going forward
10	Sinergi a Mediatama	This is the Message and Support of Residents to the Suspended Madiun Mayor Maldi (24/1/2026)	Citizens' moral support as part of the local social response; Legal cases in a community perspective	A system that is not perfect; But the suspect still has to account for his actions	Society is not entirely condemning; Development Services Recognized Despite Allegations of Corruption Still Condemned	Fair and equitable legal process; Consider services and contributions as mitigation factors

Source: Processed Researcher Data, 2026

Table 4. Entman Framing Comparison: Kompas.com vs. Sinergia Mediatama

Elemen Framing Entman	Kompas.com (National Media)	Sinergia Mediatama (Local Media)
Define Problems	Defining cases as structural-national problems: violations of the integrity of public officials, crimes of organized corruption, and failures of institutional accountability	Defining the case as a local dramatic event: Shocking OTT that impacted the stability of the government and the trust of the Madiun City community

Elemen Framing Entman	Kompas.com (National Media)	Sinergia Mediatama (Local Media)
Diagnosis Causes	Assertive attribution of personal causality: Maldi is constructed as the primary causal agent who consciously abuses office; Law enforcement speakers dominate the narrative	Causality attribution is more cautious: caution in naming Maldi as the perpetrator; more often use the word 'alleged'; Provide space for local speakers and alternative local perspectives
Make Moral Judgment	Moral judgment is firm and explicit: the diction 'scandal', 'blackmail', 'entangled' reflects a condemnative tone; does not give room for sympathy for the suspect	Balanced moral judgment: diction of 'expected', 'concerned', performance appreciation; giving space for sympathy for Maldi's development contribution on the sidelines of criticism over alleged corruption
Treatment Recommendation	Oriented towards formal law enforcement and deterrent effect: encouraging the KPK legal process to run firmly; emphasizing institutional accountability and improving national governance	Oriented towards the sustainability of local public services: emphasizing the sustainability of the Madiun City government; Encourage a fair legal process but consider the services of the suspect

Source: Processed Researcher Data, 2026

Discussion

Define Problems: Framing Problems between Structural-National and Contextual-Local Perspectives

In the defining problems element, Kompas.com consistently define the Maldi case as a structural problem in governance and the integrity of national public officials. News headlines such as "The Revelation of the Madiun Mayor Scandal: Extorting under the Pretext of CSR to Ask Fees from Businessmen" and "Maldi, the Third Mayor of Madiun Entangled in a Corruption Case" reflect the tendency of Kompas.com to place this case in a broader frame, namely as part of the recurring pattern of corruption of regional heads in Indonesia. This framing is in line with findings that suggest that Kompas.com tend to build frames oriented to the formal legal dimension and institutional accountability in covering high-ranking official corruption cases. (Novatrianda & Vera, 2024)

On the contrary, Sinergia Mediatama defines the problem in a context that is closer to the local reality of Madiun City. The news headline "Mayor of Madiun Caught in the KPK's OTT Network, Allegedly Regarding Project Fees and CSR" shows caution in defining the problem through the use of the word "alleged", which indirectly places the case as an event that still needs further legal clarification. The news "After the OTT of the KPK, the Madiun City Government Ensures a Work Program Continues in accordance with the RPJMD" defines

the impact of the case not on the legal aspect, but on the continuity of regional public services. This difference in the definition of the problem reflects the epistemic difference between the national media and the local media in understanding the significance of an event. (Ainani et al., 2025)

Diagnose Causes: The Difference Between Causal Attribution and Actor Constructs

In the diagnostic causes element, Kompas.com displays a more assertive and personalized attribution of causality. Maldi was explicitly constructed as the main causal agent, supported by the dominance of resource persons from law enforcement circles such as KPK Spokesperson Budi Prasetyo and Acting KPK Deputy for Enforcement Asep Guntur Rahayu. The news "KPK Officially Arrests Madiun Mayor Maldi et al" emphasized the detention based on sufficient evidence without providing significant room for rebuttal. This construction is consistent with the finding that Kompas.com, in cases involving corrupt officials, places greater emphasis on formal legal processes and place law enforcement agencies as an irrefutable causal authority. (Intan Leliana et al., 2021)

Unlike Kompas.com, Sinergia Mediatama features a wider diversity of speakers, including academics, the Chairman of the Madiun City DPRD Armaya, the head of local agencies, and ordinary citizens. The diversity of speakers reflects Mediatama's Synergia efforts to build a more balanced causality narrative, not solely focusing on personal attribution to Maldi. The news "Regarding the OTT KPK, the Chairman of the DPRD Armayana Values the Bureaucratic Harsh Warning of the Madiun City Government", for example, shifts causality from the personal dimension to the systemic-bureaucratic dimension. This pattern is in line with the finding that media that have a socio-geographical proximity to the subject of the news tend to avoid causal attribution that is too personal and condemnative. (Mezy & Muhammad Thoyib Amali, 2025)

Make Moral Judgments: Condemnatory Versus Balanced Framing

The element of make moral judgments is one of the most contrasting dimensions of framing differences between the two media. Kompas.com uses diction that consistently connotes negative and condemnation of Maldi: "scandal", "extort", "entangled", "exposed". The visual framing also puts Maldi in the position of the defendant, as seen in the photo caption that describes Maldi arriving at the KPK building escorted by officers. This moral assessment is implicitly but consistent, following a pattern found in the framing analysis of Ferdy Sambo's news in Kompas.com, where the media tends to highlight the dimension of office responsibility and violations of institutional ethics. (Saputra & Dadan, 2024)

Sinergia Mediatama displays a more balanced and nuanced moral assessment. On the one hand, this outlet does not shy away from reporting on alleged corruption as shown by factual news about OTT and the determination of suspects. On the other hand, Sinergia Mediatama consistently provides space for perspectives that appreciate Maldi's contribution: the news "Academics Appreciate Maldi's Performance Achievements, But Intolerance of Corruption" reflects a two-way assessment, where violations are condemned but development services are still recognized. Quotes such as "one drop of indigo ruins a pot of milk" from Prof. Parji reflects the nuances of moral judgment that are not black-and-white.

This pattern reflects how the socio-geographical proximity of local media moderates a condemnative tone in the news. (Redho Madani et al., 2025)

Treatment Recommendations: Law Enforcement Orientation versus Continuity of Public Services

In the treatment recommendations element, Kompas.com consistently displays recommendations that are oriented towards strict formal law enforcement and have a deterrent effect. Framing that Maldi is the "third Mayor of Madiun to be entangled in a corruption case" implicitly recommends a systemic evaluation of the recruitment and supervision mechanisms of regional officials. The 20-day detention detailed in the news "KPK Officially Arrests Madiun Mayor Maldi et al" represents a recommendation that the legal process should proceed without intervention. This orientation is consistent with the finding that Kompas.com in reporting high-profile corruption cases tends to construct a narrative as a deterrent-oriented anti-corruption precedent. (Fauzan Akbar et al., 2025)

Significantly different, Sinergia Mediatama presents more plural and contextual recommendations. News "After the OTT of the KPK, the Madiun City Government Ensures a Work Program Continues to Run in accordance with the RPJMD" explicitly recommends that local governments are not paralyzed due to the ongoing legal process. The news "This is the Message and Support of Residents to the Suspended Madiun Mayor Maldi" shows the hope of residents that the legal process will run fairly, taking into account the alleged services as relevant factors. This orientation of recommendations that considers the local impact and sustainability of public services reflects the response of local media tied to communities that directly feel the impact of legal cases involving their local officials (Astuti & Irwansyah, 2022)

Similarities and Differences in the Construction of Reality of the Two Media

Despite significant differences in framing, the two media outlets show a number of fundamental similarities. First, the two agreed on the basic fact that the KPK's OTT against Maldi was an event that occurred, so there was no contestation on the factual reality of the news. Second, both cited the official statement of KPK Spokesperson Budi Prasetyo as the main source in the initial report, which showed that law enforcement institutions are an authoritative reference that is equally respected by both media. Third, both of them display Maldi's statement "I never get tired of building the city of Madiun" as a significant sentence, even though the framing positions of the two are different in interpreting the statement.

The fundamental difference lies in the principles of selectivity and salience which are the core of Entman's (1993) framing theory. Kompas.com selectively highlighted aspects that reinforce the narrative of structured corruption and strengthen the legitimacy of the KPK's actions, while leaving out aspects of Maldi's development contribution. Mediatama's synergy selectively highlights the local context, the impact on the people of Madiun, and the human dimension of the case, while not completely ignoring the legal facts but presenting them in a more balanced frame. This different pattern of selectivity results in epistemically different constructions of reality: Kompas.com constructs Maldi as an undeniable perpetrator of corruption, while Sinergia Mediatama constructs Maldi as a complex figure who is facing legal proceedings.

These findings reinforce and expand the conclusions of (Ainani et al., 2025), who examined the KPK OTT case in South Kalimantan and found a similar pattern: national media emphasized the structural dimension of corruption, while local media paid more attention to direct impacts and contextual solutions. This study confirms this pattern in the context of OTT KPK regional heads in East Java, while adding a new dimension in the form of more complex moral assessment nuances in local media Sinergia Mediatama, which is not only softer but actively builds a narrative of appreciation for the alleged contributions amid criticism over alleged corruption. (Ainani et al., 2025)

CONCLUSION

Based on the framing analysis of 20 news articles from Kompas.com and Sinergia Mediatama using the Robert N. Entman (1993) model, this study concludes the following. First, Kompas.com constructs its coverage of the alleged corruption of Madiun Mayor Maldi with a legalistic-structural frame that places the case as a systemic corruption scandal (define problems), provides a firm attribution of personal causality to Maldi through the dominance of law enforcement sources (diagnose causes), presents a condemnative moral judgment through negative diction (make moral judgments), and recommends strict formal law enforcement oriented towards deterrence effects (treatment recommendations).

Second, Sinergia Mediatama constructs news with a contextual-humanist frame that defines cases from the perspective of local impacts and the sustainability of Madiun City government (define problems), displays more careful and balanced attribution of causality through the diversity of local sources (diagnose causes), provides space for appreciation for Maldi's development contributions in addition to criticism of alleged corruption (make moral judgments), and emphasizes the continuity of public services regions and fair legal processes (treatment recommendations).

Third, the differences in framing found reflect the influence of editorial position, geographical proximity to the subject of the news, and the audience orientation of each media. National media tend to view events from a macro-structural perspective, while local media builds a more contextual frame and considers local social-community dynamics. These findings strengthen the results of previous research in the context of OTT KPK regional heads and provide a new empirical contribution to a comparative study of national and local media framing in Indonesia, especially in the East Java region.

This study has several limitations that should be acknowledged. First, the corpus was limited to 20 articles published within a single month (January 2026), which may not capture the full evolution of media framing over the course of the legal process. Second, the analysis relied solely on textual and visual content within the articles; interview-based data on editorial decision-making were not collected. Third, intercoder reliability was not formally calculated, as coding was performed by a single research team, which limits the replicability of coding decisions. Theoretically, this study contributes to framing theory in two ways: (a) it demonstrates that Entman's (1993) four-element model retains strong explanatory power in

the Indonesian digital media context, particularly in capturing national-local divergences; and (b) it extends the moral judgment dimension by showing that local media can simultaneously condemn and celebrate a subject, producing what may be termed a “bifurcated moral frame”, a contribution that invites further theoretical refinement of how contextual proximity shapes evaluative framing.

This study recommends several things. For journalism practitioners, the framing differences found are material for reflection to encourage more balanced news practices, respect the principle of presumption of innocence, and consider the impact of news on society. For academics, further research needs to be conducted to examine media framing in cases of corruption of regional heads in other regions, as well as explore internal editorial factors that affect the framing construction of national and local media.

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