

## Media Discourse Map on Anas Urbaningrum: A Framing Analysis of Neutrality, Conflict, and Sympathy on Detik.Com

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### ABSTRACT

This study aims to identify and analyze how media framing of Anas Urbaningrum's freedom was conducted by Detik.com. Using a qualitative approach and Pan and Kosicki's framing analysis technique, this research examines six news articles published before, during, and after Anas' freedom from Sukamiskin Prison on April 11, 2023. The results showed that Detik.com framed the issue in three dominant patterns: positive framing, conflict framing, and sympathy framing. Positive framing was seen in the news coverage that emphasized Anas' social acceptance and support from loyalists. Conflict framing is evident in the highlighting of political tensions between Anas and the Democratic Party, as well as the criminalization narrative. Meanwhile, sympathy framing highlighted Anas' position as a victim of larger political dynamics and his post-release emotional distress. Although the coverage is generally neutral, Detik.com gives considerable space to narratives that build sympathy and rehabilitate Anas' political image. This research shows that the media not only conveys information, but also plays a role in shaping public perception through the selection of narratives, symbols and actors. The findings underscore the importance of media literacy in understanding agenda and framing in contemporary political reporting.

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## INTRODUCTION

The release of Anas Urbaningrum on April 11, 2023 was widely reported by online media. This figure became a topic of conversation because he had two sides of the public's view: some believed he was innocent, but others continued to link him to the P3SON project bribery case (Erianto, 2023). Anas is widely known in the world of politics since becoming a member of the KPU RI, then a member of the DPR RI, and General Chair of the DPP Demokrat Party for the 2010–2013 period (Erianto, 2023).

Anas completed his undergraduate studies at Airlangga University, then continued his master's studies in political science at the University of Indonesia, with a thesis entitled *Islam-Democracy: Nurcholish Madjid's Thoughts*, which was published as a book by Republika in 2004 (Amsa et al., 2014). He also took doctoral education at Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta.

Anas' political career began with his activities in the Islamic Students Association (HMI). He served as General Chair of PB HMI in 1997–1999 and was involved in the Political Law Revision Team or Team Seven, which was part of the demands of the 1998 Reformation (Amsa et al., 2014). Anas joined the Democratic Party in 2004. His recruitment was seen not only as a result of his intelligence, but also as a form of "return", because the Democrats won significant votes when Anas was a member of the KPU (Setyowati, n.d.). He successfully thwarted the Bank Century case inquiry rights, which strengthened his position until he was elected as the General Chairman of the Democratic Party at the 2010 Congress in Bandung.

However, Anas' victory raised tensions with President SBY, who at that time served as Chairman of the High Council of the Democratic Party. SBY reportedly supported Andi Mallarangeng on the grounds that Anas was still too young (GATRA, 2013). During his leadership, Anas appointed Nazaruddin as General Treasurer, even though Nazaruddin had a legal record, including document forgery in 2005.

Anas was later named a suspect in the Hambalang project corruption case and resigned from his position as General Chairman of the Democratic Party. He also threatened to expose other scandals within the party, including the Bank Century case (Setyowati, n.d.), which shows that internal party conflicts are increasingly complex.

In 2013, Anas was sentenced to eight years in prison and a fine of Rp 20 billion (bbc.com, 2013). He filed an appeal in 2015, and received a 10-year sentence. Then, he filed a judicial review (PK) to the Supreme Court in 2018 (Farisa, 2018). The sentence was eventually reduced to eight years in prison and a five-year ban on political rights in 2020. He was released in 2023.

Anas Urbaningrum's release from Sukamiskin prison has attracted public attention. News about Anas Urbaningrum's release was uploaded on various social media channels. Based on Google Trends, online search interest and news reporting on Anas Urbaningrum's release on April 11 ranked highest. News about the political figure, the former General Chair of the Democratic Party, began to increase from April 6, 2023 to April 10, 2023. (google trends, 2023). News

published in online media discussed the euphoria of welcoming Anas Urbaningrum's exit to flashbacks of the bribery case that implicated him.

The news about the alleged corruption case involving Anas Urbaningrum is a very significant event (Herowana & Tanjung, 2012). This case meets almost all the criteria to be categorized as newsworthy. Some of these criteria include significance, magnitude, timeliness, proximity, prominence, and human interest. If an event includes more than one of these elements, then the level of newsworthiness becomes higher, and the event is considered major and important news (Siregar, 1998).

The use of online media has a big impact on information consumption in the digital era. Online media is widely used to disseminate information virtually. The existence of media has a function to inform, educate and entertain the public (Saifuddin & Zanuddin, 2021). The development of online media is increasingly rapid along with the development of digital technology. People can access information quickly, easily and practically through gadgets. The flow of data and information between users and the online world, and vice versa, continues to show significant increases (Widjanarko et al., 2023).

The media plays a role in shaping the public narrative. There is a strong correlation between media coverage and the public's perception of the importance of the issue (Han et al., 2021). The existence of media is able to influence public opinion (Su & Wang, 2024; Wang & Ophir, 2024) through the news that is made. In this case, the media plays a role in setting the agenda. The media not only directs the public on how to think but also why an issue is important and should be considered.

The agenda setting and framing theory is widely used to understand the perspectives of the media and the public in research. Several studies that use the agenda setting theory such as the thesis written by Pradipta Adi Utama, Master of Diponegoro University (Undip) in 2023 entitled, "Detik.Com's Attitude Towards the News of Ganjar Pranowo Ahead of the 2024 Presidential Election,". The research focuses on the news of presidential candidate number 3, Ganjar Pranowo on the Detik.com news portal.

There has been a lot of use of agenda setting theory for research. Agenda setting identifies which issues are important, and framing suggests how to understand those issues. Scholars view framing as a way to understand agenda setting. Media framing highlights and focuses attention on certain aspects of an issue. One of the issues that was widely discussed was the release of Anas Urbaningrum from Sukamiskin prison which was welcomed by hundreds of sympathizers on April 11, 2023 (Kompas TV Lampung, 2023). Although he has served eight years in prison for a bribery case, Anas Urbaningrum has been in the news quite a lot.

Compared to the news of other politicians who were caught in another Hambalang project bribery case, Angelina Sondakh who was released on March 2, 2022 and the former treasurer of the Democratic Party DPP, Muhammad Nazaruddin. Based on a search on the Detik.co portal within a period of three months from the month of release, the number of news articles about Anas

Urbaningrum's release reached 130 articles. While Angelina Sondakh had 88 articles and Muhammad Nazaruddin had 12 articles. Therefore, the researcher chose news related to Anas Urbaningrum. The figure of Anas Urbaningrum who was caught in a corruption case, however, many media still reported it.

Furthermore, news about Anas Urbaningrum's release from prison became one of the issues discussed in the period April-July 2023. There are two major online media that are intense in reporting Anas Urbaningrum, namely Detik.com and mediaindonesia.com. This is based on news searches on each news portal with the keyword "Anas Urbaningrum". Both online media have been verified by the Press Council as registered cyber media (Press Council, 2024). In addition, both media have a fairly large number of readers. Detik.co is ranked 598th on Alexa in the global scope with the number of pageviews per day reaching 1,782,691 visitors and the number of portal visitors reaching 1,114,181 visitors (statshow, 2024). Meanwhile, the mediaindonesia.com portal has a total of 9.6 million visitors and is ranked 58th as a news media portal (similarweb.com, 2024).

Searching with the keyword "Anas Urbaningrum free" found 58 news items on Detik.co from April 10 to April 25, 2023. Then the researcher also found 73 news items on the mediaindonesia.com page. The following are the search results based on keywords in the two online media:

Table 1 Anas Urbaningrum News in April-July 2023

No	Keywords	Mass media	Number of related news
1	Anas Urbaningrum	detik.co	122 articles
		Mediaindonesia.com	130 articles
2	Anas Urbaningrum is free	detik.co	58 articles
		Mediaindonesia.com	73 articles
3	Anas Urbaningrum Prison	detik.co	127 articles
		Mediaindonesia.com	31 articles

From this comparison, the researcher chose the Detik.com media portal to be studied because it reported a lot about Anas Urbaningrum's release. In addition, the number of articles related to Anas Urbaningrum was also high with 307 related articles within a period of three months from the month when Anas Urbaningrum was released in April 2023 to July 2023. The researcher wanted to see the practice of agenda setting by online mass media in reporting on Anas Urbaningrum's release from Sukamiskin prison.

Then, the researcher will conduct data reduction by limiting the news broadcast in April 2023. 61 news items were found that showed the representation of three main phases in the news about Anas Urbaningrum's freedom, namely before freedom, during freedom, and after freedom. The six selected news items have high relevance in forming the framing pattern used by Detik.com in constructing the narrative about the event. The selection of these six news items was carried out strategically in order to provide a comprehensive

picture of how Detik.com framed the event of Anas Urbaningrum's freedom, both in terms of the momentum of the incident, political reactions, and the dynamics of the developing discourse.

This study explores the framing practices carried out by Detik.com in reporting the release of Anas Urbaningrum. This study will select news on the Detik.com media portal as the largest cyber media with page views reaching more than one million visitors. In addition, Detik.com also intensively reported the release of Anas Urbaningrum. Researchers also have access to conduct in-depth interviews with Detik.com media practitioners, making it easier to collect research data.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### *Agenda Setting and Framing Theory*

This agenda setting theory was first proposed by Lipmann. According to Lippmann, society's response is not to actual events in the environment, but to "the picture in our heads". Lippmann calls it a pseudo environment (Littlejohn et al., 2021). The media basically plays a role in setting the agenda by offering a simple model so that people can understand the world. So that the agenda setting goes through a process of determination. Then McCombs and Shaw developed the theory and described the agenda setting by the press that tells readers what to think and what to think about (Han et al., 2021).

Furthermore, media portrayals can influence how people think about news and help organize the world of experience. According to McCombs, agenda setting is establishing important issues or images in the minds of the public, telling them what is important to think about and why it is important. Agenda setting is seen as a political process that is necessary to determine the priority of issues (Shi & Wang, 2023).

Framing refers to organizing a message by sending certain signals about how a content is covered. The term framing in mass communication was first introduced by Todd Gitlin in the 1960s (Littlejohn, Foss, & Oetzel, 2021). Framing theorists believe that the media itself creates a new way for individuals to understand a concept or information. It is the media that chooses to structure a message by resonating with the schema that is already embedded in cognition.

Framing, from a constructivist perspective, refers to an approach that aims to correct the perspective of news by focusing on the conceptualization of content which is then operationalized empirically through syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical structures (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). These four structural elements interact with each other in the process of forming the theme or main idea of a news narrative, creating global coherence in the presentation of the news. In the framing process, there is integration between news sources, information context, and the use of sentences in the text as a whole. The framing analysis model developed by Pan and Kosicki consists of four main elements, namely syntax, script, thematic, and rhetorical.

1. Syntax refers to the pattern of arranging words or phrases into structured sentences, with many news stories following the inverted pyramid model,

where the components of a story are arranged in order of importance: lead, headline, quote, source, and closing. This is closely related to the way journalists organize events, opinions, quotes, and observations into a coherent news narrative.

2. Script, which follows the basic rules in news writing, such as the 5W+1H model (what, where, when, why, who, and how), and presents complete information from the beginning, climax, to the end of the event.
3. Thematic focuses on how journalists relate their views on certain events into the relationships between sentences to form a complete and consistent text.
4. Rhetorical relates to the way journalists emphasize certain meanings in news content, by using word choices, idioms, graphics, and images to reinforce facts and ensure that the news message is clearly conveyed to the audience.

### ***Corruption in Indonesia***

Corruption has become a phenomenon that is of serious concern. Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW) noted that in 2023 there were 791 corruption cases in Indonesia, involving 1,695 suspects with a total state loss of Rp28.4 trillion. Based on the sector, the most corruption cases occurred in the village sector, with a total of 187 cases (databoks, There are 791 Corruption Cases in Indonesia in 2023, Most in Villages, 2024). The following is data on the ten sectors with the most corruption cases in 2023.

Table 2. Number of Corruption Cases by Sector in Indonesia in 2023 Based on ICW Report

No	Corruption Case Sector	Amount
1.	Village	187 cases
2.	Government	108 cases
3.	Utilities	103 cases
4.	Banking	65 cases
5.	Health	44 cases
6.	Natural resources	39 cases
7.	Agrarian	29 cases
8.	Social Society	28 cases
9.	Election	17 cases
10.	Youth and Sports	14 cases

From the data above, the two highest sectors, namely villages and government, caused state losses of hundreds of billions of rupiah. The details of 197 village corruption cases caused state losses of Rp 162.25 billion. While the government sector had 108 corruption cases with losses incurred reaching Rp 630.83 billion (databoks, There are 791 Corruption Cases in Indonesia in 2023, Most in Villages, 2024).

In 2017, Indonesia's Corruption Perception Index (CPI) was recorded as low and ranked 98th out of 180 countries surveyed (databoks, 2018). Based on data from Transparency.org, an international anti-corruption organization reported by databoks (2018), Indonesia's CPI was at 37 on a scale of 0 to 100. A number

close to 0 indicates a high level of corruption in the country, while a number close to 100 reflects a low level of corruption. The high number of corruption cases in the political and law enforcement sectors is the main factor causing Indonesia's low CPI.

### *Corruption Eradication Efforts*

Efforts to eradicate corruption have been ongoing since Indonesia's independence. Corruption literally refers to all forms of rotten, evil, and destructive behavior. More broadly, corruption can be understood as an act of misappropriation or embezzlement (especially related to state or company money) for personal or other party interests (Widiastuti, 2009). Corruption can also occur when someone uses goods or money entrusted to him for personal gain, or accepts bribes through his power for that purpose. In the Legal Dictionary, the crime of corruption is defined as a fraudulent act that is detrimental to state finances.

The crime of corruption is also regulated by law. Referring to Article 2 and Article 3 of Law Number 31 of 1999 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Corruption, Article 2 paragraph (1) explains that anyone who unlawfully carries out an act aimed at enriching themselves, others, or a corporation that can harm state finances or the state economy, will be sentenced to a minimum of four years and a maximum of twenty years in prison, and a fine of at least Rp. 200,000,000 (two hundred million rupiah) and a maximum of Rp. 1,000,000,000 (one billion rupiah). Based on the formulation of this article, there are several main elements that form the crime of corruption, namely:

1. Actions carried out unlawfully;
2. Actions aimed at enriching oneself, others, or a corporation;
3. There is a loss to state finances or the state economy.

The reason someone falls into corruption is the individual's inability to resist the temptation of material or property that is greater than his ability (Ade Adhari & Sherryl Naomi, 2023). When the urge to be rich is very strong and the opportunity to gain wealth through corruption is open, many people end up choosing to do corruption even though they know that the action is wrong. Thus, a wrong view of wealth can encourage individuals to take the wrong path in gaining wealth. Corruptors are those who cannot control their greed and do not care about the negative impact of their actions on others, society, or the country.

Corruption has become a structural problem that has become part of the culture in Indonesia since the Old Order era, continuing during the New Order, Reformation, and still continuing today. Various efforts have been made to eradicate criminal acts of corruption, with the establishment of various institutions that have a single goal, namely to overcome the problem of corruption in Indonesia (Ade Adhari & Sherryl Naomi, 2023).

During the Old Order, Indonesia began anti-corruption measures by establishing the Corruption Eradication Agency, which was then followed by the establishment of the State Apparatus Retooling Committee. In 1963, Operation Budhi was created and later replaced by the Supreme Command for the

Retooling of the Revolutionary Apparatus. During the New Order, Indonesia formed a Corruption Eradication Team chaired directly by the Attorney General, and formed the Committee of Four to clean up state-owned companies considered to be hotbeds of corruption.

During the Reformation era, President Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie ratified Law Number 28 of 1999 concerning the Implementation of a Clean State Free from Corruption, Collusion, and Nepotism. Then, in 2000, President Abdurrahman Wahid formed the Joint Team for the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Corruption through Government Regulation Number 19 of 2000.

Law No. 28 of 1999 was later revoked and replaced by Law No. 30 of 2002 concerning the Corruption Eradication Commission (UU KPK) on December 27, 2002. This law has undergone two revisions, with the last amendment contained in Law No. 19 of 2019, which regulates the second amendment to Law No. 30 of 2002 concerning the KPK. The birth of this law provides a legal basis for the establishment of an independent Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), with the main task of eradicating corruption in a professional, intensive, and sustainable manner. The Corruption Eradication Commission is a state institution that is within the scope of executive power, but with an independent nature and free from the influence of any power (KPK, 2024). According to the explanation in the law, the role of the Corruption Eradication Committee is as a trigger mechanism that encourages corruption eradication efforts carried out by other institutions to be more effective and efficient.

Before the formation of the Corruption Eradication Committee, Indonesia had passed Law Number 3 of 1971 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Corruption, which was later revoked during the administration of President BJ Habibie with Law Number 31 of 1999 (Ade Adhari & Sherryl Naomi, 2023). The law was then amended through Law Number 20 of 2001 concerning Amendments to Law Number 31 of 1999, better known as the Corruption Eradication Law (UU PTPK). Based on the pocket book on corruption in Indonesia, the definition of corruption is explained in 13 articles detailing 30 types of corruption crimes, each of which can be subject to criminal sanctions in prison and fines according to applicable provisions (KPK & Corruption, 2006).

The Corruption Eradication Commission performance in eradicating corruption can be seen from the number of cases that have been brought up. Since the Corruption Eradication Commission was formed until 2022, billions of state funds have been saved. According to its financial report, the income obtained by the Corruption Eradication Commission from handling corruption cases has increased every year during the period 2020 to 2022, with the realization figure in the range of IDR 94 billion to IDR 318 billion per year.

## **METHODOLOGY**

The study was conducted using a qualitative approach based on media text analysis. The researcher selected data and news sources to be analyzed. Data were obtained from online news portals relevant to the Anas Urbaningrum case. News sources were selected based on the following criteria:

1. News comes from mainstream media or media that has high credibility.

2. The news discusses the political and legal context related to Anas Urbaningrum.
3. News has a variety of reporting styles (neutral, supportive, or critical).

After collecting data based on the above criteria, the researcher will reduce the data for research. Data reduction is done by classifying based on three important phases in the news of Anas Urbaningrum's release from Sukamiskin Prison. Namely the phase before Anas Urbaningrum's release, when Anas Urbaningrum was released and after Anas Urbaningrum was released.

This study took the object of news on the Detik.com media portal about Anas Urbaningrum's release from prison. The sources and types of data in this study include written data and data collected in the field. The researcher collected news related to Anas Urbaningrum's release from Sukamiskin Prison. The news was collected and then sorted for research material. Literature serves as a reference for the hypothesis, while the information needed comes from field data. Therefore, this study uses a qualitative approach, namely descriptive research using written or spoken words as a data collection tool.

## **RESEARCH RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

The researcher summarized three phases of news related to Anas Urbaningrum's release from Sukamiskin Prison on April 11, 2023. Namely before Anas Urbaningrum's release, when Anas Urbaningrum's release and after Anas Urbaningrum's release. Data collection in the form of media coverage collected from April 1, 2023 to April 18, 2023.

The first phase, news on Detik.com before Anas Urbaningrum's release. Data collection in the form of news published by Detik.com from April 1 to 10, 2023. Researchers found 37 news articles containing news about Anas Urbaningrum. The following are the news titles before Anas Urbaningrum's release from prison. Then, the news when Anas Urbaningrum was released from prison on April 11, 2023. The Detik.com media portal reported 19 news articles about Anas Urbaningrum's release on April 11 (Appendix 2). The third phase, after Anas Urbaningrum was released from prison. Detik.com published five news articles about Anas Urbaningrum.

From the three phases, there were 62 news articles during Anas Urbaningrum's release from Sukamiskin Prison. The following is a visualization of the distribution of articles based on the three phases, before Anas Urbaningrum's release, during Anas Urbaningrum's release and after Anas Urbaningrum's release.

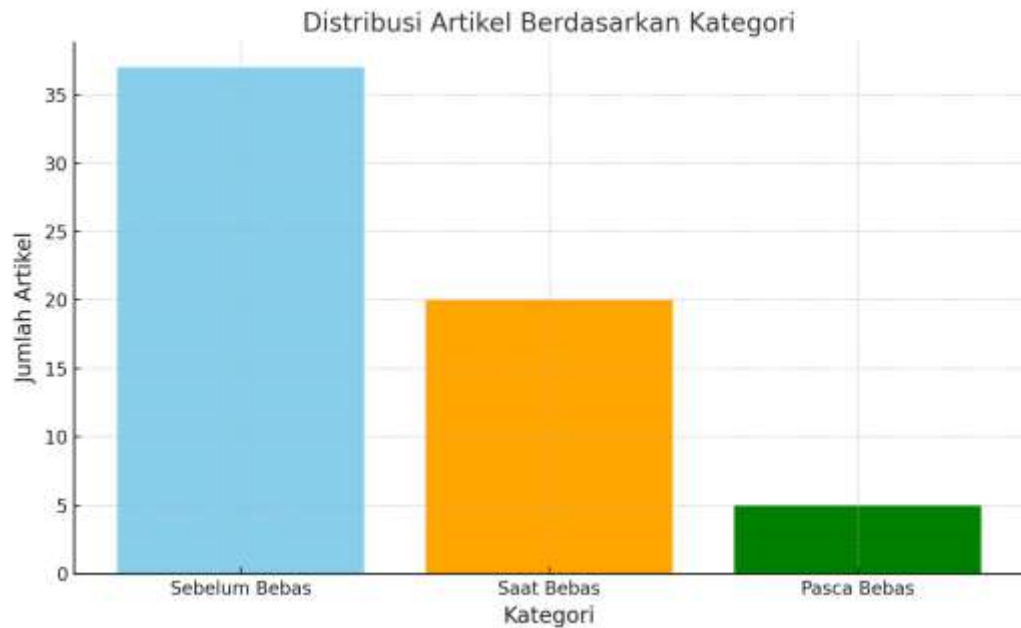


Figure 1. Distribution of Articles Based on News Categories Anas Urbaningrum Classification of news from Detik.com

This image shows that most of the news focuses on the phase before Anas Urbaningrum was free. From the data above, there are keywords that are often used, namely, "Anas"; "Urbaningrum" is always mentioned in all news. Then other keywords that are often used are, "free"; "loyalist"; "PKN" and "Sukamiskin".

In the pre-release phase, Detik.com discussed a lot about the welcoming plan, the response of the community and politicians. Then the second phase of Anas Urbaningrum's release on April 11. Detik.com focused on the theme of the loyalist welcome and Anas Urbaningrum's speech. Then Anas Urbaningrum's post-freedom response, discussed a lot about political activities after his release and his relationship with the Democratic Party and PKN.

From the keywords and themes frequently used by Detik.com, the researcher selected 6 Detik.com news articles to be studied using Pan and Kosicki (1993):

Table 3. Six News Articles Related to Anas Urbaningrum

No	Phase	News Title
1.	Before Anas Urbaningrum's Exit	1. PKN Picks Up Anas Urbaningrum at Sukamiskin Prison April 10: Many Miss Him(Sihombing, 2023) 2. Andi Arief Suggests Anas Urbaningrum Apologize to SBY After Release(detik.com team, 2023)
2.	When Anas Urbaningrum Leaves	1. Freed from Prison, Anas Urbaningrum Immediately Gives Speech in Front of Loyalists(R. Alhamidi, 2023)

		2. Anas Urbaningrum's Appearance When He Was Released from Sukamiskin Prison(Ri. Alhamidi, 2023)
3.	After Anas Urbaningrum's Exit	1. PKN: Herman Khaeron May Know Anas' Motive for Being Removed as Democrat Chair(Rahmawati, 2023b) 2. Democrats Admit They Feel Sorry for Anas Urbaningrum After His Release(Rahmawati, 2023a)

The six news articles will be analyzed using Pan and Kosicki's framing analysis framework. The researchers analyzed one by one the news articles of Detik.com which were divided into three phases.

The news about Anas Urbaningrum's exit on Detik.com shows that of the six news reports, the media tends to be neutral. However, Detik.com also shows a tendency to give more sympathy to Anas Urbaningrum, both from a social and political perspective. The media shows that Anas, despite being involved in a political controversy, has received support from many parties and has become a victim of a larger political game, both by the Democratic Party and other parties.

From the results of the analysis of the six news reports, it can be seen how the media framed the issue and its position in reporting Anas, both in the context of his political freedom and his response to the political dynamics around him.

**Positive Framing**

This framing presents Anas as a figure who is socially and politically accepted again. Three headlines support this frame:

1. News 1 highlights the warm welcome from cadres and organizations such as PKN, HMI, and KNPI. Anas is described as a figure who is still missed and receives moral support (News 1: "PKN Picks Up Anas Urbaningrum at Sukamiskin Prison").
2. News 3 shows Anas directly giving a speech in front of loyalists who welcomed him. The content of the speech and the positive response show that he is still respected and emotionally accepted (News 3: "Anas Urbaningrum Directly Gives a Speech in Front of Loyalists").
3. News 4 displays a visual of the welcome from loyalists, indicating strong emotional support from Anas' social circle (News 4: "Appearance of Anas Urbaningrum When Released from Sukamiskin Prison").

**Framing Conflict**

Detik.com also featured the tension between Anas and the Democratic Party. The media raised the unresolved political conflict after Anas' release:

1. News 2 featured Andi Arief's statement suggesting Anas apologize to SBY and Demokrat. This indicates an open conflict and old wounds that have not healed (News 2: "Andi Arief Suggests Anas Apologize to SBY").

2. News 5 brought up claims of criminalization from the PKN. It was stated that Anas was unfairly removed and was the victim of an internal party conspiracy (News 5: "PKN: Herman Khaeron May Know Anas' Motive for Being Removed from Democrat Chair").
3. News 6 featured accusations from Democrats that Anas was being used by other parties such as PKN and Moeldoko's camp. This shows that Anas is still the center of political conflict (News 6: "Democrats Admit They Feel Sorry to See Anas Urbaningrum After Being Released").

### ***Sympathy Framing***

Detik.com also frames Anas as a victim and a figure worthy of sympathy:

1. News 5 and 6 describe Anas as a victim of criminalization and internal party conflict. Support from PKN shows that he is considered not the main perpetrator, but rather a political victim.
2. Berita 6 also shows the pity from Herman Khaeron who regrets that Anas has not been able to enjoy freedom because he is again trapped in the past conflict. This strengthens the impression that Anas is under heavy emotional and social pressure.

The agenda setting in positive framing is seen from Detik.com which emphasizes freedom as a sign of social acceptance. The media emphasizes how many people support Anas after his freedom, thus strengthening the image that Anas is an individual who is accepted back into his social community. Then the public focuses on moral support. The media sets the agenda so that the public cares more about the emotional aspect and moral support than the legal or political problems that still accompany Anas.

From the three phases, the difference in framing elements is clearly visible that in the phase before release, Detik.com tends to report with positive expectations, hopes for Anas Urbaningrum's freedom and various supports that flow to welcome Anas Urbaningrum's release. Then in the free phase, the news framing tends to highlight the moment of freedom with a positive image. On the other hand, Detik.com also touches on the political controversy involving Anas Urbaningrum. Then after release, the framing focuses more on criticism and political conflict, with a focus on the question of how Anas will navigate the political world after his release. Thus, the framing moves from a granting of hope and welcoming to political utilization and more critical opposition to Anas after his release.

In addition, the analysis of news framing related to Anas Urbaningrum in three phases, namely before, during, and after release has various significant implications. Politically, Anas' freedom provides an opportunity for repositioning in the Indonesian political arena. However, post-freedom news that highlights the potential for conflict with the Democratic Party and allegations of politicization could complicate his political steps. On the other hand, the support seen in the phase during freedom indicates potential political consolidation, even though it must be faced with the challenges of the conflict narrative voiced by the media.

In terms of public image, the positive framing that emerged during the freedom phase strengthened his image as a figure with strong loyalists. However, news that continues to raise issues of the past can make the negative stigma difficult to completely erase. Anas needs to deal with this duality of perception carefully to maintain his political reputation.

Relations with the media are another challenge. The change in framing from positive to critical shows that Anas needs to be more proactive in managing the news narrative. A consistent communication strategy can help maintain a positive image amidst the dynamic media spotlight. In addition, the moral support that is seen in the freedom phase can facilitate his social reintegration, although the conflict narrative has the potential to create polarization among the community.

Overall, Anas Urbaningrum's freedom provides important momentum that can be utilized to rebuild his political reputation and public image. However, this requires strategic communication management and diplomatic steps in responding to various media framings that continue to develop.

Research on reporting of corruption perpetrators was previously conducted by Khuzaimah et al.(2023) about the dramaturgy of Lukas Enembe's preaching. Lalu Setiawan & Harnia (2021) regarding the verdict of corruptors on Suara.com and Kompas.com, as well as Fianto & Aminulloh (2014) which analyzes the framing of the Akil Mochtar case on Vivanews.com and Detik.com. The results of the study on Anas Urbaningrum on Detik.com show similarities, such as the ideological framing of the media, the narrative of corruptors as political symbols, and the use of symbols and rhetoric to shape perceptions. In Anas' case, white clothes and peaceful speeches became symbols of reconciliation and revival, as the media also used similar symbols in other corruption cases to shape certain images.

However, there are also striking differences. First, the focus and media narrative in the Anas case are divided into three phases: pre-release, during release, and post-release. The news shifted from political support and nostalgia to conflict with Democratic figures, such as SBY and AHY. Second, the media strategies are different: Detik.com emphasizes the reconciliation and politics of goodness, while the news about Akil and Lukas focuses more on the legal scandal. Third, the dramatic elements in the narrative are also different; the Anas case is accompanied by loyalist speeches and symbolism, while Akil and Lukas are more focused on the legal aspects and sharper conflicts.

This different framing is influenced by Anas's character as the former General Chairman of the Democratic Party, his closeness to big figures such as SBY, and strong support from loyalists such as HMI and KAHMI. This makes the media focus more on the party's internal conflict, the issue of reconciliation, and the potential for Anas' political revival in PKN. His symbolic appearance and peaceful attitude after his release strengthen the positive narrative. In contrast, Lukas Enembe and Akil Mochtar are framed more simply as perpetrators of corruption without a strong political narrative. Thus, positive news coverage of

Anas is not only influenced by his character, but also the success of building a narrative, social support, and the direction of media framing.

## **CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

Detik.com's coverage of Anas Urbaningrum shows that the media plays an important role in directing public attention to certain issues, such as social acceptance, political conflict, and sympathy for individuals who are considered to have experienced injustice. The framing used forms two sides of Anas' image, namely as a figure who is accepted back by his supporters and as a victim of larger political dynamics. In the moment of his freedom, the media emphasizes the positive side, but in the phase after his release, the focus of the news shifted towards political conflict and the challenges faced by Anas in the national political arena.

The framing of news coverage of Anas moves from a narrative of hope and support before his release, to a positive image when he is free, then becomes more critical after his release. Detik.com shows the dynamics of the conflict between Anas and the Democratic Party, and describes how Anas faces ongoing political pressure. Compared to other figures such as Akil Mochtar and Lukas Enembe, news coverage of Anas emphasizes reconciliation and the potential for political revival, while the other two figures are framed firmly as perpetrators of corruption without a complex political narrative.

This difference in framing shows the media's strategy in shaping public perception, where emotional aspects and political symbols such as white clothes and peaceful speeches are used to strengthen Anas' positive image. Meanwhile, in the case of Akil and Lukas, the media did not provide space for personal or political narratives. This shows that the media not only reports legal facts, but also actively shapes public opinion through the choice of narratives, symbols, and focus of issues presented in the news.

## **ADVANCED RESEARCH**

This study reveals that Detik.com's coverage of Anas Urbaningrum exemplifies a sophisticated media framing strategy that not only informs the public but also constructs layered political narratives through selective emphasis, symbolic representation, and emotive cues. Unlike the consistently negative portrayals of figures such as Akil Mochtar and Lukas Enembe, Anas is depicted with narrative complexity – initially as a political figure returning with hope and public sympathy, then gradually repositioned within a context of political conflict and systemic resistance. This shifting media frame underscores the dual role of digital journalism in Indonesia: as both chronicler and architect of political perception. The nuanced use of visual and rhetorical elements – such as symbolic attire and conciliatory language – highlights the media's agency in shaping not just public awareness but also emotional alignment and political legitimacy, suggesting that news platforms like Detik.com function as active participants in the discursive construction of political redemption and moral legitimacy.

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