

Narrative Shift in Social Media News Reporting: A Case Study of Ferdy Sambo on Instagram

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Abstract

The Ferdy Sambo case developed into a major institutional crisis in Indonesia, marked by inconsistent official statements, shifting chronologies, and growing public distrust toward the police. In the digital media environment, this crisis unfolded not only through the disclosure of new facts but also through ongoing transformations in narratives circulating within the online public sphere. This study examines how narrative shifts occurred in Instagram news coverage of the case by @narasinewsroom and analyzes the role of digital framing in shaping meaning during a legitimacy crisis. While previous framing studies tend to capture media representation at a single moment, this research highlights the temporal dynamics of narrative construction in social media-driven communication. It also emphasizes multimodal framing, integrating verbal, visual, and vocal elements, alongside the active role of audiences as prosumers in negotiating meaning. Using an interpretive qualitative approach, this study applies Gamson and Modigliani's framing model combined with temporal narrative mapping. Nineteen posts were purposively selected from 182 Instagram uploads published between July 2022 and February 2023 to identify key narrative turning points. The findings reveal five phases of narrative shift: construction, disruption, exposure, escalation, and closure. The transition from the initial "shootout" narrative to the "murder plot" narrative indicates the erosion of institutional narrative authority. Multimodal framing devices and prosumer interactions play a crucial role in delegitimizing inconsistent official accounts and reinforcing alternative interpretations aligned with emerging evidence. This study demonstrates that narrative shift functions as an analytical indicator of institutional legitimacy crisis in digitally mediated communication and underscores the importance of coherent and transparent crisis communication in maintaining public trust in the digital era.

Keywords: narrative shift; media framing; social media; crisis communication

Abstrak

Kasus Ferdy Sambo berkembang menjadi krisis institusional besar di Indonesia, yang ditandai oleh inkonsistensi pernyataan resmi, perubahan kronologi, serta meningkatnya ketidakpercayaan publik terhadap institusi kepolisian. Dalam lingkungan media digital, krisis ini tidak hanya berlangsung melalui pengungkapan fakta-fakta baru, tetapi juga melalui transformasi berkelanjutan atas narasi yang beredar di ruang publik daring. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji bagaimana pergeseran narasi terjadi dalam pemberitaan Instagram oleh Instagram melalui akun @narasinewsroom, serta menganalisis peran framing digital dalam membentuk makna selama krisis legitimasi. Berbeda dengan studi framing sebelumnya yang cenderung menangkap representasi media pada satu titik waktu tertentu, penelitian ini menekankan dinamika temporal dalam konstruksi narasi pada komunikasi berbasis media sosial. Selain itu, penelitian ini juga menyoroti pentingnya framing multimodal yang mengintegrasikan elemen verbal, visual, dan vokal, serta peran aktif audiens sebagai prosumer dalam proses negosiasi makna. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif interpretatif, penelitian ini mengadopsi model framing dari William A. Gamson dan Andre Modigliani yang dikombinasikan dengan pemetaan narasi temporal. Sebanyak 19 unggahan dipilih secara purposif dari total 182 konten Instagram yang dipublikasikan antara Juli 2022 hingga Februari 2023 untuk mengidentifikasi titik-titik balik naratif utama. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan adanya lima fase pergeseran narasi, yaitu konstruksi, disrupsi, eksposur, eskalasi, dan penutupan. Pergeseran dari narasi awal "tembak-menembak" menuju narasi "pembunuhan berencana" mengindikasikan terjadinya erosi terhadap otoritas narasi institusional. Perangkat framing multimodal serta interaksi prosumer terbukti berperan penting dalam mendelegitimasi pernyataan resmi yang inkonsisten sekaligus memperkuat interpretasi alternatif yang sejalan

dengan bukti yang terus berkembang. Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa pergeseran narasi dapat berfungsi sebagai indikator analitis atas krisis legitimasi institusional dalam komunikasi yang dimediasi secara digital, sekaligus menegaskan pentingnya komunikasi krisis yang koheren dan transparan dalam menjaga kepercayaan publik di era digital.

Kata kunci: pergeseran narasi; framing media; media sosial; komunikasi krisis

INTRODUCTION

The murder case involving Inspector General Ferdy Sambo in 2022 was an important event that once again highlighted structural problems within the Indonesian police force. Beyond acts of violence, the case was marked by shifting information, inconsistent official statements, and competing narratives between the police and the media. This revealed structural problems that threatened public trust and institutional legitimacy (Kompas.com, 2023; Putra et al., 2025; Tempo.co, 2023).

A clear narrative shift emerged in this case. Initially, the police stated that Brigadier J's death was the result of a sudden shootout. However, this narrative began to falter when Bharada Richard Eliezer said that he was retracting his statement and revealed that there had been an order to shoot (Maharani et al., 2024). At this stage, the narrative from official institutions is no longer able to cover up the discrepancies in the facts that are increasingly coming to light. The growing fragility of the official narrative illustrates that narratives function not only to explain events, but also to sustain institutional legitimacy, once this function fails, public trust erodes (Waisbord, 2018).

Digital media, particularly Instagram through the @narasinewsroom account, became a key site for narrating, interpreting, and contesting the official narrative, facilitated by its speed, visual orientation, and multimodal affordances (We Are Social & Meltwater, 2023). The combination of text, audio, graphics, and video provides a different kind of experience from mainstream media and allows for a more dynamic interpretation process (S. Meier, 2022). This phenomenon of narrative change can be understood through a number of theoretical frameworks. In the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) theoretical framework, narratives consist of structural elements such as

setting, characters, plot, and moral (Jones & McBeth, 2010; Shanahan et al., 2018).

A narrative shift occurs when these elements shift in line with the emergence of new evidence, changes in the positions of key actors, socio-political pressures, or the inability of institutions to maintain the coherence of the narrative being presented. In the Sambo case, the change in plot, the change in character, and the shift in narrative morality are strong indicators of a fundamental narrative shift.

In addition to the narrative framework, framing theory provides an important explanation of how changes in narrative are mediated by the media. Entman defines framing as the process of highlighting certain aspects of reality to produce specific interpretations (Entman, 1993; Eriyanto, 2002, 2018). Meanwhile, Gamson and Modigliani show that framing works through framing devices and reasoning devices (Eriyanto, 2002).

On visual platforms such as Instagram, framing occurs not only through text but also through multimodal devices. Multimodal devices combine multiple semiotic resources, including text, images, sound, and video, within a single communicative structure (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2021). In digital news reporting, multimodal devices are commonly employed through reconstruction visualizations, infographics, short audio narratives, visual representations of actors' facial expressions, and graphic aesthetics, which together guide the audience's meaning-making process. Recent literature shows that visual framing in digital media has a stronger cognitive influence than text alone, because visuals are able to highlight certain aspects of an event more quickly and persistently (Powell et al., 2015). Repeated visual exposure reinforces audience interpretations and stabilizes dominant meanings, resulting in relatively consistent public perceptions of reported

issues (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2021; Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011).

In the context of digital journalism and social media, the practice of visual storytelling reinforces the process of meaning formation through the integration of text, images, and audio in a continuous narrative sequence (K. Meier et al., 2022). Therefore, changes in visual framing cannot be understood merely as variations in the presentation of information, but rather as an important mechanism that drives narrative shifts. Shifts in visual emphasis can reshape how the public perceives and interprets events, particularly when institutional narratives are fragile and lack coherence, allowing media framing to exert greater influence through the selection and emphasis of information (Amal et al., 2025; Entman, 1993; Eriyanto, 2002; Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2021; Waisbord, 2018).

Recent scholarship highlights digital journalism's role in facilitating narrative change, particularly through platform-specific practices such as visual storytelling and audience engagement (Hermida & Mellado, 2020). In line with this, research by Amal et al. (2024) shows that media coverage is never completely neutral, as it is always produced within a specific ideological and interest framework. In this context, media framing serves as the main mechanism for selecting, highlighting, and interpreting social reality.

Digital media such as social media now function not only as channels for conveying information, but also as producers of fragmented narratives. In this context, various actors can produce micro-narratives that compete directly with the institutional narratives of mainstream media in the dissemination of news (Hendrickx & Opgenhaffen, 2024). Digital newsrooms combine speed of distribution, reader engagement, and visual storytelling to build a narrative ecosystem

that is not only informative but also persuasive (Hermida & Mellado, 2020).

In the context of police crises, Coombs' (2007) crisis communication theory explains that institutions generally employ defensive strategies, such as denial, excuses, or justification, when facing public pressure. However, when these strategies are inconsistent and frequently change, institutions risk losing credibility (Coombs, 2007). The Sambo case shows how constantly changing official narratives have a negative impact on the police's reputation and public trust (Suspaningrum & Sunarto, 2024). This inconsistency created a narrative vacuum, which was subsequently filled by independent media through alternative narratives perceived as more logical, coherent, and consistent with the unfolding facts.

Thus, narrative shift can be understood not merely as a change in storytelling but as a process of power negotiation among state institutions, the media, and the public. In a digital society, authority is no longer monopolized by formal institutions but is constantly being discussed through platform algorithms, audience interactions, and content visibility (Hermida & Mellado, 2020). It can be said that audiences no longer play the role of passive recipients, but rather as prosumers, while platform algorithms serve as new gatekeepers that determine the visibility and circulation of content (Rozaq, 2025). The narrative shift is an important indicator for seeing how institutional legitimacy is tested, questioned, and even reconstructed through interactions between digital media and audiences.

Although this phenomenon is significant, research on narrative shifts in the context of police crises in Indonesia remains limited. Most existing studies focus on static framing at a single point in time, whereas the Sambo case demonstrates a temporal and evolving framing process shaped by unfolding facts and the intervention of new actors.

Moreover, few studies integrate the concepts of narrative shift, Gamson and Modigliani's framing model, and crisis communication to examine narrative dynamics within a visual-based digital media ecosystem.

Several previous studies have explored media framing in the Ferdy Sambo case using various analytical models. Rahman (2023) used Robert N. Entman's framing analysis to compare the construction of Sambo's figure on online news portals. Meanwhile, Meita (2023) applied Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki's model to dissect the cognitive structure of news in mainstream online media. From a linguistic perspective, Maharani et al. (2024) uncovered actor representation through a corpus-based critical discourse analysis of print media.

While these studies have provided an in-depth overview of the construction of reality in mainstream media, significant gaps remain unexplored. First, previous studies have largely focused on conventional journalistic media and online news portals, but have been limited in exploring the dynamics of narratives on visual social media platforms like Instagram, which are characterized by intense prosumer interaction. Second, previous research has tended to be static (capturing a single moment), while this phenomenon requires a temporal approach to map how narratives are gradually delegitimized. Third, this research fills the gap by integrating multimodal elements (vocal and visual) which in previous research have not been positioned as the main drivers of narrative shifts.

Addressing this gap, this study analyzes narrative shifts in the Sambo case on Instagram through the narrative production of the @narsinewsroom account. By mapping narrative changes from the initial phase to case closure, the study conceptualizes narrative not merely as a set

of facts, but as a mechanism of legitimacy, a framing device, and a site of discursive contestation amid public uncertainty.

METHOD

This study adopts an interpretive qualitative approach to examine narrative shifts in digital media coverage of the Sambo case, particularly focusing on Instagram content published by Instagram account @narsinewsroom. Such an approach enables in-depth engagement with contextual meanings and multimodal representations circulating across digital platforms.

Furthermore, this study integrates framing analysis with a multimodal perspective to analyze how textual, visual, and audio elements work together in constructing narratives on Instagram. This approach extends beyond traditional text-based analysis by incorporating visual and auditory semiotics as key components of meaning-making.

Research Design

The study was designed using Gamson and Modigliani's framing analysis, which emphasizes framing devices and reasoning devices. According to Eriyanto (2002), the two framing devices can be described as follows.

1. Framing devices
 - a. Metaphors, which involve the use of similes or analogical expressions,
 - b. Catchphrases, which are phrases that are interesting or prominent in a discourse,
 - c. Exemplars, which are references that link a frame to illustrative examples or comparable events,
 - d. Depictions, which are descriptions of an issue that are connotative in nature, and
 - e. Visual Images, which are pictures, graphics, or images that support the frame.
2. Reasoning devices

- a. Roots, which are causal analyses of discourse,
- b. Appeals to principles, which are basic principles or moral claims regarding discourse, and
- c. Consequences, which are the results or effects caused by the frame.

This model is particularly suitable for Instagram analysis, as the platform integrates text, images, audio, and other visual elements into a single multimodal narrative package.

To capture narrative development over time, this study employed temporal narrative mapping, which maps narrative stages based on the chronology of posts. This technique allows for the identification of phases of meaning change during the crisis.

Data Sources

The main data comes from the Instagram account @narasinewsroom, which actively covered the Sambo case from July 2022 to February 2023. The selection of the @narasinewsroom account as the sole data source was made intentionally (purposely) to avoid bias stemming from variations in editorial policies across different media outlets, thereby ensuring that the research remained focused on the consistency of internal narrative shifts within a single media organization. From the 182 posts found related to the case, the researchers purposely selected 19 posts because they contained narrative turning points.

The selection of these 19 posts was based on strict purposive sampling criteria, namely:

1. Posts that represent a “turning point” in the narrative based on new legal developments.
2. Posts with the highest engagement levels (likes and comments), indicating the significance of interaction between the media and the audience as prosumers.

3. Representation of content types (video, carousel, and static graphics) to ensure the validity of multimodal analysis.

These turning points were identified based on significant legal and social milestones in the Sambo case, such as the initial fabrication of the shootout, the discovery of the CCTV footage, and the final sentencing, which triggered shifts in @narasinewsroom’s reporting tone.

Each post was analyzed based on its caption and narrative, audio transcript of the video, visual elements (such as photos, illustrations, and graphics used in the post), date of publication, and chronological context.

Secondary data consisted of academic articles, books, and scholarly references related to framing, narrative shift, digital journalism, and crisis communication.

Data Collection Techniques

Data collection was conducted in three stages:

1. Content archiving

The researchers downloaded posts, captured screenshots, collected metadata, and transcribed captions, as well as audio and video narratives.

2. Transcription and coding

All audio, video, and text are transcribed verbatim, then coded based on visual, auditory, and textual elements that appear in the uploads.

3. Compiling the analysis corpus

Content is grouped based on its narrative role and arranged into a timeline to map the phases of narrative shift. In this stage, the researchers specifically extracted:

- a. Visual Data, capturing keyframes from video content and carousel images to identify visual metaphors, color grading, and the subject’s facial expressions (Ferdy Sambo) as evidence of characterization.

- b. **Vocal Data**, isolating the voiceover narratives and spoken statements within the video content. The analysis focuses on the vocal delivery, including tone (e.g., authoritative, sympathetic, or skeptical), emphasis on specific keywords, and pauses that signal narrative shifts in each phase.
- c. **Interactional Data**, sampling high-engagement comments from each selected post to capture the audience's role as prosumers who actively participate in the circulation of meaning.
- d. **Chronological Context**, aligning the selected 19 posts with real-world legal milestones of the Sambo case to ensure the "turning points" are analytically justified.

Data Analysis Techniques

The analysis was conducted in six integrated steps to ensure a comprehensive understanding of both media construction and audience interaction:

1. **Framing Identification**

Each post was analyzed using Gamson & Modigliani's framing devices (metaphors, catchphrases, exemplars, depictions, and visual images) to identify how @narasnewsroom constructed meaning and built the initial characterization of the actors involved.

2. **Temporal Narrative Mapping**

Changes in narrative were mapped into five distinct phases: construction, disruption, exposure, escalation, and closure. This mapping used an inductively developed analytical framework grounded in literature on news narratives and journalistic temporality to identify the specific moments when the media's stance shifted. The results of this temporal mapping are visualized in a chronological narrative trajectory to illustrate the intensity and direction of the shift across the five phases.

3. **Multimodal Triangulation (Visual & Vocal)**

To provide a deeper empirical basis, the researchers cross-referenced textual captions with visual and auditory elements. This involved analyzing the emotional tone set by vocal and the visual framing of Ferdy Sambo. This approach aligns with the multimodal analysis practiced by Porto & Alonso Belmonte (2025) in examining digital news threats, ensuring the analysis captures the multi-layered nature of digital storytelling.

4. **Audience-Prosumer Interaction Analysis**

This step examines the role of the audience in the circulation of meaning. The researchers sampled high-engagement comments from each selected post to observe how netizens deconstructed or reinforced the media's framing. By including this data, the study provides empirical evidence of the "prosumer" dynamic, drawing on the concept of collective crisis sensemaking as explored by Khoury & Hemsley (2025).

5. **Comparative Interpretation**

Researchers compared the findings across all five phases to identify patterns of meaning change, narrative inconsistencies, and the tension between the media's framing and the official institutional narratives provided by the authorities.

6. **Validation and Theoretical Synthesis**

Validation was conducted through theory triangulation and chronological checks with other news sources. Finally, the findings were synthesized into a conceptual model of narrative shifting in social media. This model was compared with recent scholarly work, such as Hernández Guerrero (2022) on multimedia narrative rewriting, to ensure the study provides a significant contribution to the state of the art in digital crisis communication.

Analysis Unit

The unit of analysis for this study consists of 19 purposively selected Instagram posts from @narasinewsroom, published between July 2022 and February 2023. These 19 posts were identified as “critical narrative turning points” from a total population of 182 case-related uploads, selected based on their high engagement rates (likes and comments) and their structural significance in shifting the public discourse.

Each unit is analyzed through a multi-layered multimodal framework, categorized into three primary elements:

1. Verbal (Textual)

Examining the linguistic choices in captions and on-screen text to identify metaphors and catchphrases.

2. Visual

Analyzing the composition of images, video keyframes, color grading, and the subjects’ facial expressions or gestures that construct specific characterizations.

3. Vocal

Investigating the auditory qualities of the spoken word, specifically the tone of the voiceover narrative and the emotional inflection of the speaker. This analysis identifies how vocal cues reinforce the textual framing to shape the audience’s perception of the Sambo case.

By treating each post as a multimodal construction, the study captures how individual meaning-making contributes to the broader narrative transformation of the Sambo case.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Narrative Shift in Social Media News Reporting

Overall, the findings identify five main phases of narrative shift, ranging from the initial “shootout” narrative to the judicial closure of the

case. These phases, derived inductively from recurring framing patterns and narrative turning points, capture shifts in meaning, framing strategies, and the positioning of the police institution as new facts emerged, actors’ roles changed, and public responses evolved during the crisis.

1. Phase I – Narrative Construction

Table 1. Findings in the Narrative Construction Phase

Framing Component	Findings
<i>Framing Devices</i>	
<i>Metaphors</i>	Uncertainty language: oddities, mysteries, question marks
<i>Catchphrases</i>	“Irregularities”, “To protect superiors?”, “What really happened?”
<i>Exemplars</i>	Official police statements juxtaposed with critical questions from the media
<i>Depictions</i>	Narrative about delayed information, chronological inconsistencies, and changes to initial explanations
<i>Visual Images</i>	Question mark icon, questioning expression, house plan, screenshot of the location of the incident
<i>Reasoning Devices</i>	
<i>Roots</i>	Unclear initial information and weak institutional transparency
<i>Consequences</i>	Public confusion and growing skepticism toward the official narrative
<i>Appeals to Principle</i>	The public’s right to clear information; the need for transparency in serious cases

Source: Research data analysis results.

In the early stage of reporting, when public information was still limited, @narasinewsroom initially followed the police’s official narrative that Brigadier J’s death resulted from a “shootout” between two officers. However, even at this early stage, Narasi Newsroom’s content did not merely reproduce the institutional narrative. Instead of

affirming the official version as the final explanation, the media simultaneously began to highlight various inconsistencies in the chronology of events that could not be coherently explained by the institution.

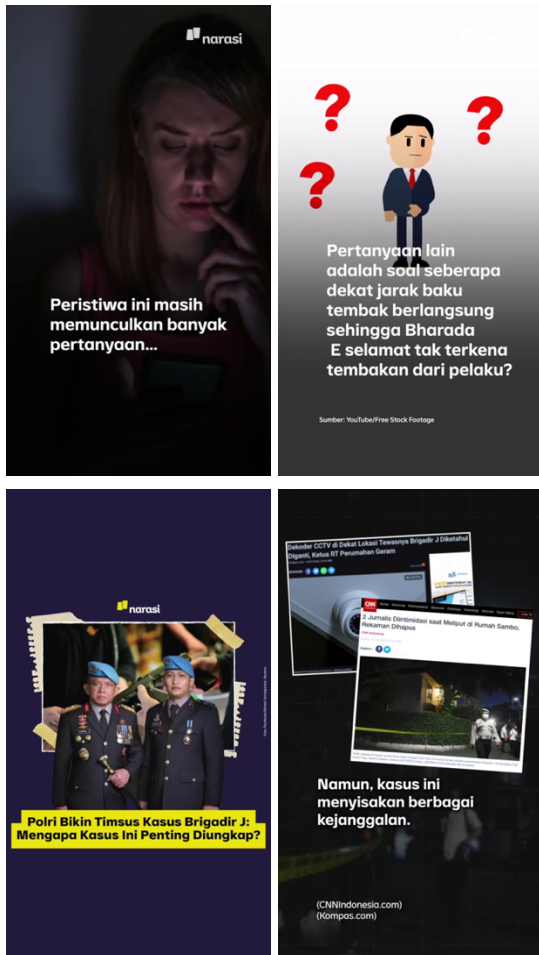


Figure 1. Post related screenshot in the narrative construction phase

The main characteristic of this phase is evident in the use of catchphrases such as “*kejanggalan*” (irregularities), “*melindungi atasan?*” (to protect superiors?), and “*apa yang sebenarnya terjadi*” (what really happened?). These catchphrases function as discursive markers of uncertainty, delaying public acceptance of the official version while opening space for alternative interpretations. Visually, the posts feature questioning expressions, question mark icons, house plans, and screenshots of the location of the incident. This combination of text and visuals creates a carefully managed atmosphere of

confusion, in which the audience is led to recognize gaps in information without being directed to any particular conclusion.

1. Vocal Authority vs. Visual Skepticism

Theoretically, this narrative construction phase shows how framing works as an initial mechanism for stabilizing meaning in a crisis situation that is still fluid. Referring to Entman (1993), framing not only serves to select facts, but also to delay or limit other possible interpretations. However, a deeper multimodal analysis reveals a unique tension:

In alignment with the focused vocal methodology, the voiceover in videos from this phase utilized an authoritative and neutral tone, with the narrator presenting the police chronology without emotional emphasis, thereby standardizing the official version as the dominant initial narrative.

At the same time, @narasinewsroom consistently used official, formal portraits of Ferdy Sambo in full uniform, a visual choice that established his initial characterization as a figure of maximum authority. This strategy reflects what Porto and Alonso Belmonte define as proximization, in which established institutional symbols are used to construct a shared social reality, even as the accompanying text begins to question that reality.

2. Collective Crisis Sensemaking

The most significant finding in this phase, addressing the demand for empirical evidence of the “prosumer” dynamic, lies in the intersemiotic dissonance between the media’s broadcast and the audience’s reception. While @narasinewsroom verbally followed the official line, the digital community acted as active prosumers.

Analysis of the comment sections during this initial phase reveals a dominant sentiment of organized skepticism rather than passive acceptance. Despite the news being delivered with

a neutral and authoritative tone, the top-liked comments, such as “*Jangan sampe ada udang di balik batu*” (Don’t let there be a hidden agenda) and “*CCTV mati kok pas banget?*” (How convenient that the CCTV was off?), served as early indicators of a collective distrust. This negative sentiment was not merely emotional but interrogative, where the audience actively searched for logical gaps in the “shootout” narrative. This sentiment-driven interrogation created what can be termed as an “anticipatory crisis,” where the public’s refusal to align with the official framing accelerated the media’s need to shift its investigative focus.

This dynamic demonstrates what Khoury and Hemsley describe as collective crisis sensemaking. The audience did not passively consume the story, they actively created an emotional climate of skepticism that challenged the media’s authoritative vocal delivery, effectively turning the comment section into a secondary, competing space for narrative negotiation.

3. The Fluidity of Narrative Setting

From the perspective of Gamson and Modigliani’s framing model, this practice forms an initial interpretive package that remains underdeveloped. Framing devices like catchphrases and visual images emphasize the story’s incompleteness, while reasoning devices are not yet directed at establishing root causes, but rather at depicting an ambiguous situation. When read through the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF), the setting (the official residence) is established, but the characters and plot remain fluid.

This phase represents what Hernández Guerrero calls rewriting the digital narrative, where the ultimate meaning is not fixed by the institution but is constantly negotiated through real-time multimodal feedback between the media and its prosumer audience. Instead of covering up the crisis, these

ambiguous narratives opened space for public speculation, laying the epistemic groundwork for the sharper narrative disruptions in subsequent phases.

2. Phase II – Narrative Disruption

Table 2. Findings in the Narrative Disruption Phase

Framing Component	Findings
<i>Framing Devices</i>	
<i>Metaphors</i>	Narrative cracks language: awkward, illogical, questionable
<i>Catchphrases</i>	“Withdrawing statements”, “no shootout”, “ordered by superiors”
<i>Exemplars</i>	Comparison of official statements over time; expert quotes questioning the initial version
<i>Depictions</i>	Narrative about changes in information, inconsistencies in chronology, and gaps in the logic of the story
<i>Visual Images</i>	Timeline of version changes, highlighting conflicting statements, text emphasis
<i>Reasoning Devices</i>	
<i>Roots</i>	Inconsistent institutional communication and weak initial transparency
<i>Consequences</i>	Increasing public skepticism and weakening authority of the official narrative
<i>Appeals to Principle</i>	Accountability, transparency, and the public’s right to know the truth

Source: Research data analysis results.

The most significant narrative shift occurred when Richard Eliezer (Bharada E) withdrew his statement, declaring that there had been no shootout and that the shooting of Brigadier J was carried out on Sambo’s orders. This moment became a narrative turning point that drastically shifted the structure of the story, as the main foundation of the official narrative, the claim of spontaneous gunfire, could no longer be maintained.

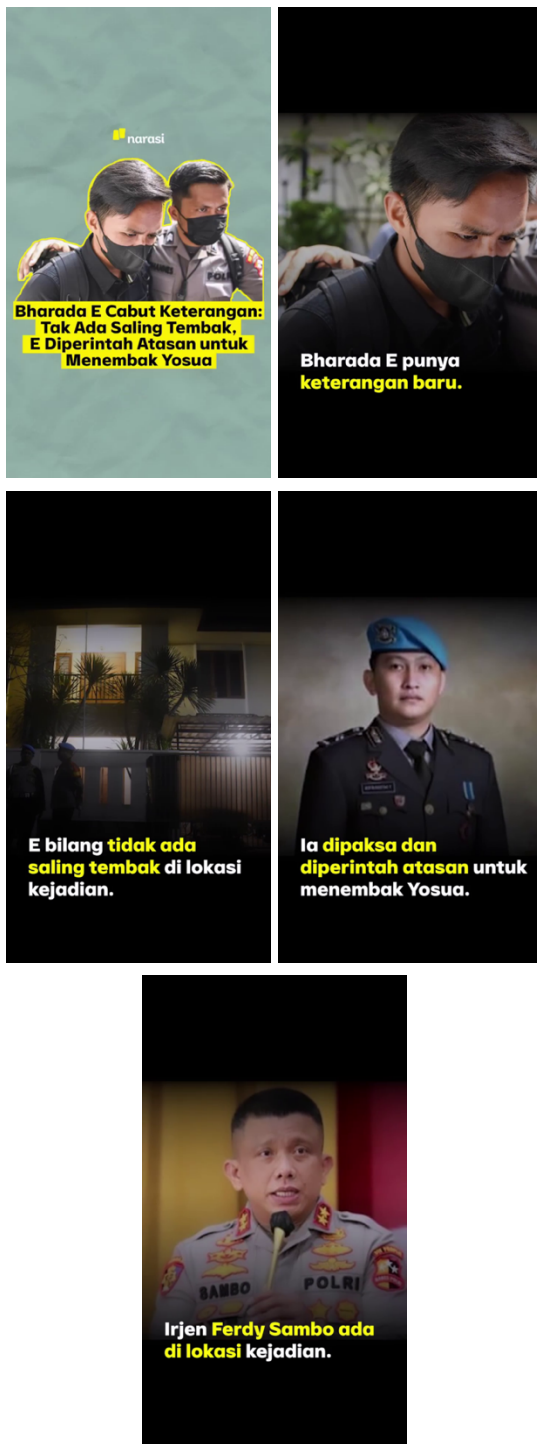


Figure 2. Post related screenshot in the narrative disruption phase

1. Assertive Visuals and Auditory Atmosphere

This phase is characterized by the repeated use of phrases such as “*mencabut keterangan*” (withdrawing statements), “*tidak ada baku tembak*” (no shootout), and “*diperintah atasan*” (ordered by superiors). These phrases mark a shift in framing

from uncertainty to outright denial of the institutional narrative.

In this phase, @narasinewsroom’s posts began to highlight the contrasting figures of Bharada E and Sambo through illustrations and narrative graphics, reconfiguring the perceived relationship between victim and perpetrator. This shift aligns with Porto and Alonso Belmonte’s multimodal perspective, in which the visual rearrangement of actors from “comrades” to “commander and subordinate” constructs a new moral threat centered on institutional abuse of power. The use of high-contrast colors and bold typography on-screen served as a visual “shouting” mechanism to highlight the collapse of the initial story.

In the absence of a spoken voice-over, the media utilized dramatic, fast-paced background music with high-tension strings and percussive beats to heighten the sense of crisis, replacing the neutral atmosphere of Phase 1 with an urgent and confrontational mood. At the same time, “vocal stress” was manifested through kinetic typography, where key terms such as “*kebohongan*” (lies) and “*perintah*” (orders) were displayed with large font sizes with yellowish color, signaling the media’s transition toward a stronger epistemic role as an arbiter of truth through visual-auditory synchronization.

2. Narrative Fidelity and Moral Judgment

The disruption of the official narrative triggered intense interaction from the audience as prosumers. Based on top-engagement comments, the digital community moved from skepticism to active deconstruction of the police’s legitimacy. This phase was characterized by a surge in moral indignation sentiment, where the audience’s emotional response shifted from mere questioning to a structured rejection of the institution’s credibility.

The audience performed what Khoury and Hemsley describe as collective crisis sensemaking, focusing on support for the whistleblower and institutional distrust. Comments such as “*Kejujuran adalah segalanya, semangat Bharada E*” (Honesty is everything, stay strong Bharada E) indicate that the audience began to validate alternative truths, reflecting a strategic pivot in public sentiment in which trust was redirected toward a marginalized figure and empathy was used to destabilize the dominant institutional frame.

At the same time, this shift was marked by sharp moral judgments, with users stating “*Kebohongan yang dikemas rapi akhirnya terbongkar*” (A neatly packaged lie is finally exposed), illustrating an escalation of cynical sentiment that acted as a catalyst for narrative delegitimization. This confirms that the official narrative lost its narrative fidelity, as it no longer provided a logically or morally consistent explanation for the emerging facts.

The prevalence of high-engagement, satirical, and critical comments created a digital consensus that the official story was a fabrication. In this context, the audience did not merely consume the news but acted as moral arbiters who amplified the narrative disruption, effectively forcing the media to mirror this public defiance in its subsequent reporting.

3. The Collapse of Symbolic Legitimacy

Theoretically, this phase marks the collapse of the initial interpretation as described in Gamson and Modigliani’s framing model. Framing devices no longer served to delay meaning but to reveal internal contradictions. As a result, audiences became more receptive to the alternative narratives offered by @narasinewsroom, which were considered more consistent with the values of justice.

From a crisis communication perspective, this phase reflects the failure of institutions to maintain narrative control through defensive strategies. As Hernández Guerrero suggests, digital media fills the narrative vacuum left by failing institutions by constructing a more publicly acceptable interpretive framework. Thus, this phase becomes an important bridge between the initial construction stage and the more explicit dismantling phase in the Narrative Exposure stage.

3. Phase III – Narrative Exposure

Table 3. Findings in the Narrative Exposure Phase

Framing Component	Findings
<i>Framing Devices</i>	
<i>Metaphors</i>	Truth language: exposed, revealed, new facts
<i>Catchphrases</i>	“Case reconstruction,” “obstruction of justice,” “engineered death”
<i>Exemplars</i>	Forensic findings, witness testimony, independent investigation results, official statements revising the initial version
<i>Depictions</i>	Narrative about false scenarios, destruction of evidence, and involvement of internal actors
<i>Visual Images</i>	New flowchart of events, photographic evidence, excerpts from official documents, visual confirmation that it was not a shootout
<i>Reasoning Devices</i>	
<i>Roots</i>	Abuse of authority and internal safeguards
<i>Consequences</i>	The collapse of the credibility of the initial official narrative and rising public anger

Framing Component	Findings
<i>Appeals to Principle</i>	Justice, truth, rule of law

Source: Research data analysis results.

Following the collapse of the initial narrative, @narasinewsroom entered a more aggressive and investigative reporting phase. The focus shifted from merely highlighting inconsistencies to actively exposing case fabrication and indications of obstruction of justice. Reporting at this stage moved beyond delegitimizing the official version to proving the existence of systematic practices used to conceal the truth.



Figure 3. Post related screenshot in the narrative exposure phase

1. Symbolic Evidence and Investigative Vocal Tones

The characteristics of this phase are evident in the use of catchphrases such as “*rekonstruksi kasus*” (case reconstruction), “obstruction of justice,” and “*rekayasa kematian*” (engineered death), signaling that the truth was not merely distorted but actively concealed.

The posts feature technical screenshots, including news reports on the replacement of CCTV decoders and discrepancies in testimony during the reconstruction process, which function as symbolic anchors. This concept aligns with Porto and Alonso Belmonte framework on

evidential framing, where technical data is used to ground journalistic suspicion in concrete and authoritative facts. In this context, Komnas HAM emerged as a key source of legitimacy, anchoring media criticism in normative assessments.

The vocal delivery in this phase became highly investigative and somber, with voiceover narratives employing lower pitches and slower tempos when addressing the issue of obstruction of justice to create a sense of gravity. Emphatic vocal stress was placed on keywords such as “*rekayasa*” (engineering) and “*intimidasi*” (intimidation), reinforcing the narrative that the crisis was no longer an individual mistake but a structural failure.

2. From Suspicion to Structural Critique

The narrative exposure phase triggered a surge in prosumer activity. The audience no longer just questioned the individual facts; they began to critique the systemic integrity of the entire institution. This phase was marked by a transition toward “Systemic Distrust” sentiment, where the audience’s emotional response became more political and structural.

The comments reflect a shift toward what Khoury and Hemsley describe as collective sensemaking of systemic damage. Comments such as “*Satu instansi kok bisa-bisanya kompak bohong*” (How can an entire institution lie in unison?) and “*Mafia di dalam institusi*” (Mafia within the institution) indicate that the audience had moved toward a deeper crisis of institutional legitimacy. This sentiment of “Institutional Betrayal” dominated the digital discourse, showing that the audience felt a personal sense of being deceived by a public protector.

At the same time, the high engagement on comments criticizing the “CCTV engineering” demonstrates how audiences acted as prosumers who validated the media’s investigative findings through their own moral frameworks. Quantitative

indicators of engagement, such as thousands of likes on comments mocking the “broken CCTV” narrative, serve as empirical evidence of a “Sarcastic Resistance” sentiment. This sarcasm was not merely humor, it was a powerful tool of delegitimization that rendered the official police narrative socially unacceptable.

In this context, the digital community functioned as a multiplier of exposure, ensuring that the engineered narrative could no longer sustain credibility in public belief. The audience effectively “policed the police” through their collective digital presence, reinforcing the media’s role as a platform for institutional accountability.

3. The Deepening Crisis of Legitimacy

Theoretically, the narrative exposure phase demonstrates how visual and symbolic framing work as anchoring tools for stabilizing public interpretations. According to Gamson and Modigliani’s model, the combination of altered CCTV visuals and reconstruction schemes functions as framing devices that reinforce the interpretation of “institutional dishonesty.”

From a crisis communication perspective, this phase marks the deepening of the crisis. When attempts to cover up the truth are exposed layer by layer, the institution’s defensive strategy reveals systemic damage. As Hernández Guerrero suggests, this “unmasking” through multimedia storytelling transforms a reputation crisis into a structural crisis that questions the integrity of the institution as a whole. Thus, narrative exposure becomes the point where the crisis moves from a symbolic level to a substantive level that is significantly more difficult to recover.

4. Phase IV – Narrative Escalation

Table 4. Findings in the Narrative Escalation Phase

Framing Component	Findings
<i>Framing Devices</i>	
<i>Metaphors</i>	Conflict and crisis language: scandal, mafia, systemic decay, crisis of confidence
<i>Catchphrases</i>	“Sharp difference,” “attacking each other,” “honesty”
<i>Exemplars</i>	Statements by high-ranking officials, the President’s reaction, criticism from the House of Representatives/ National Human Rights Commission, pressure from the public and academics
<i>Depictions</i>	Narratives about power structures, a culture of impunity, and internal protection networks
<i>Visual Images</i>	Collage of authority figures, public opinion polls, major headlines, confrontational visuals
<i>Reasoning Devices</i>	
<i>Roots</i>	Structural problems within institutions: power hierarchies, internal loyalties, and weak oversight
<i>Consequences</i>	Escalating public anger, institutional delegitimization, demands for reform
<i>Appeals to Principle</i>	Substantive justice, institutional reform, rule of law

Source: Research data analysis results.

This phase marks a clear escalation of the narrative, reflected in both intensified coverage and increasingly complex conflicts between actors. At this stage, the focus shifts decisively to the fundamental inconsistencies between the statements of Ferdy Sambo and Richard Eliezer, particularly those that emerged during the reconstruction and early trial proceedings. Narrative conflict becomes explicit, taking the form of openly competing and contradictory versions of reality.

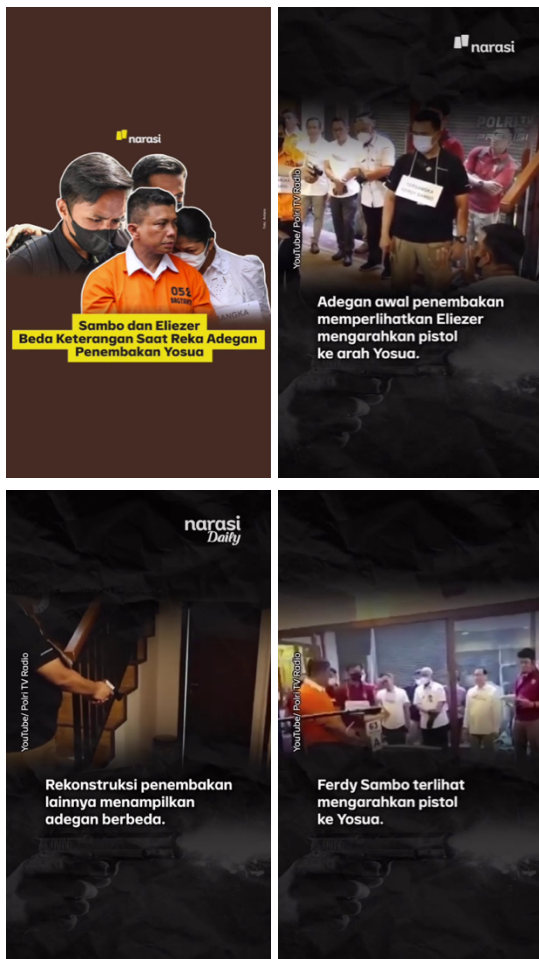


Figure 4. Post related screenshot in the narrative escalation phase

1. Visual Dissonance and Auditory-Textual Stress

In this phase, @narasinewsroom strategically utilized visual dissonance to highlight the conflict of truth. The media presented two contrasting scenes side by side, one showing Eliezer pointing a gun at Yosua and another depicting Sambo doing the same. This visual discrepancy did not merely represent technical differences in the reconstruction but functioned as a powerful symbol of the “battle for truth.”

By placing these versions in direct opposition, @narasinewsroom positioned the public as an arbiter of competing claims, aligning with Porto and Alonso Belmonte’s concept of adversarial framing in which multimodal elements compel audiences to choose between irreconcilable moral and factual positions.

In the absence of a spoken voice-over, the media utilized investigative, slow-paced background music with deep, repetitive bass or synth notes to create a heavy atmosphere of suspense, with this slow pace forcing the audience to linger on the visual contradictions presented. At the same time, “vocal stress” was replaced by textual emphasis on-screen, where keywords such as “*perbedaan tajam*” (sharp difference), “*saling serang*” (attacking each other), and “*kejujuran*” (honesty) were displayed through static or slow-fading text overlays, serving as a paralinguistic substitute that moved the narrative from uncovering facts toward a decisive moral confrontation.

2. Moral Arbiters in a Legitimacy Crisis

The escalation phase transformed the audience from passive observers into active moral claimants. The “prosumer” dynamic became the primary engine for delegitimizing the institutional defense. This phase was marked by a powerful “Solidarity vs. Hostility” sentiment, creating a clear emotional divide between the support for the whistleblower and the rejection of the high-ranking defendants.

The comments reflect what Khoury and Hemsley define as adversarial sensemaking. High engagement was found on comments such as “*Semangat Icad, jujur itu hebat*” (Stay strong Icad, honesty is great) and “*Keadilan untuk Eliezer*” (Justice for Eliezer), indicating clear “Supportive-Heroic” sentiment for the “smaller” actor against the giant institutional and transforming the trial into a moral drama. This collective empathy functioned as a defensive shield for the new narrative, where the audience actively protected the whistleblower’s credibility through their digital presence.

At the same time, users began to criticize the ethics hearings and Sambo’s attempts to appeal his dismissal, as reflected in comments such as “*Masih mikirin pensiun setelah membunuh?*” (Still

thinking about retiring after killing?). This reflects a “Moral Outrage” sentiment, where the audience used sarcasm to highlight the perceived greed and lack of remorse from the institution. The high volume of likes on these critical comments provides empirical evidence of a “Public Verdict,” where the digital community had already reached a moral consensus long before the legal verdict was read. This demonstrates that the audience acted as prosumers who linked criminal acts to institutional ethics, thereby reinforcing the perception of a systemic failure to separate moral accountability from structural protection.

3. The Peak of Narrative Conflict

Theoretically, the narrative escalation phase illustrates the occurrence of competing interpretations, as explained by Gamson and Modigliani. Framing no longer aimed to uncover hidden facts but rather to facilitate open conflicts of meaning between institutional defensive narratives and the media-public narrative.

From a crisis communication perspective, this phase describes a significant deepening of the legitimacy crisis. Institutional defensive strategies lost all persuasive power as they directly confronted the media’s framing of Sambo as a morally contradictory character. As Hernández Guerrero notes, this “peak” in digital storytelling consolidates meaning through intense conflict, serving as a crucial bridge toward narrative closure, where formal legal decisions finally begin to solidify the public’s fragmented interpretations into a single, recognized truth.

5. Phase V – Narrative Closure

Table 5. Findings in the Narrative Closure Phase

Framing Component	Findings
<i>Framing Devices</i>	
<i>Metaphors</i>	Finality language: end of case, decision, verdict, closing of chapter

Framing Component	Findings
<i>Catchphrases</i>	“Defense statement”, “death penalty”
<i>Exemplars</i>	Court ruling, official post-verdict statement, final chronological summary
<i>Depictions</i>	Narrative on legal resolution, individual accountability, and corrective measures
<i>Visual Images</i>	Photo of the sentencing hearing, judge’s gavel, visual summary of the chronology from beginning to end
<i>Reasoning Devices</i>	
<i>Roots</i>	Narrowed down to individual actions and personal legal violations
<i>Consequences</i>	Affirmation of legal certainty and normalization of public discourse
<i>Appeals to Principle</i>	Legal certainty, procedural justice, law enforcement

Source: Research data analysis results.

The final phase marks the consolidation of the narrative as legal proceedings reached their peak with the reading of the charges and verdict against Sambo. This stage transformed a previously fluid and contested narrative into a relatively stable one grounded in procedural certainty.



Figure 5. Post related screenshot in the narrative closure phase

1. Legal Finality and Multimodal Contrast

The characteristics of this phase are evident in the dominance of catchphrases such as “*nota pembelaan*” (defense statement) and “*hukuman mati*” (death penalty) signaling a shift from exposure and conflict to the determination of legal responsibility. In this phase, @narasinewsroom’s posts focused on the climax of the trial, particularly the expressions of the defendants and the reading of the judge’s verdict, with these visuals functioning as markers of legal finality.

By framing Sambo explicitly as the main perpetrator, the media locked in a dominant interpretation of events, aligning with Porto and Belmonte’s concept of narrative stabilization in which multimodal elements resolve a crisis by aligning digital reporting with official institutional outcomes. The auditory dimension in this phase

presents a significant contrast that reinforces the narrative closure. One video utilizes fast-paced background music, symbolizing the unstoppable momentum of the legal process toward its finality.

In contrast, another video incorporates the original audio of Ferdy Sambo reading his defense plea. Sambo’s delivery is characterized by a calm tone and flat intonation, yet with specific vocal stress on phrases where he denies being the “*penjahat terbesar sepanjang sejarah*” (the greatest criminal in history). This juxtaposition between Sambo’s slow and defensive voice and the fast-paced investigative music of @narasinewsroom functions as an auditory representation of the final struggle between the defendant’s self-narrative and the media’s established legal framing. This provides an auditory sense of closure that matches the visual finality of the courtroom scenes, ultimately prioritizing the judge’s verdict over the defendant’s plea.

2. Validating Justice and Residual Trust Erosion

The narrative closure phase reveals that while the legal case ended, the audience continued to act as prosumers, processing the moral and systemic implications of the verdict. This final stage was characterized by a transition from “Adversarial Tension” to “Collective Catharsis,” where the predominant sentiment shifted toward a sense of justice and emotional resolution.

The comments reflect what Khoury & Hemsley describe as moral resonance in narrative closure. Comments such as “*Keadilan akhirnya tegak*” (Justice is finally upheld) and “*Terima kasih Pak Hakim*” (Thank you, Mr. Judge) show that the audience used the verdict to validate their long-term skepticism from Phase 1. This “Vindictory Sentiment” serves as empirical evidence that the audience viewed the legal outcome as a personal victory for their collective digital oversight. At the same time, the high engagement on prayers for the

victim's family, such as "*Tenang di surga Yoshua*" (Rest in heaven Joshua), demonstrates that the audience's role as prosumers remains driven by "Empathetic Resonance" even after legal certainty is achieved. The shift toward a "Commemorative Sentiment" indicates that the digital public sphere does not simply close a case; it archives the emotional journey of the crisis. These final interactions, marked by gratitude and peace, demonstrate that the "prosumer" dynamic effectively bridges the gap between a cold legal verdict and a warm public need for moral closure. This confirms that the digital community acts as a permanent moral repository, ensuring that the narrative shift ends with a reinforcement of public values rather than just a procedural conclusion.

3. The Limits of Institutional Recovery

Theoretically, this phase shows the stabilization of the interpretive package as explained by Gamson and Modigliani. Framing devices no longer serve to shake up meaning but to lock in the dominant interpretation. From a crisis communication perspective, this reflects an attempt to restore legitimacy through procedural closure.

However, as Hernández Guerrero suggests, the "rewriting" of the narrative in the digital public sphere leaves permanent traces. Although the legal narrative and media narrative converged on Sambo as the culprit, the crisis of legitimacy remains partially unrecovered. The erosion of trust, formed through the narrative shifts in previous phases, underscores that legal-formal closure does not automatically erase the digital memory of institutional communication collapse.

Narrative Shift as the Dismantling and Delegitimization of Institutional Narratives

When viewed as a whole, the narrative shift that occurred cannot be understood merely as a change in information, but rather as a gradual dismantling of the institutional narrative. The initial

narrative, which was stable, authoritative, and closed to negotiation of meaning, progressively lost its explanatory power with the emergence of new facts, the testimony of key witnesses, and increasingly critical and confrontational media framing, manifested through assertive vocal delivery and investigative visual evidence.

This delegitimization did not occur suddenly, but took place in clear stages: beginning with the erosion of narrative coherence in the construction and disruption phase, the exposure of truth-suppressing practices in the exposure phase, the escalation of meaning conflicts and legitimacy struggles in the escalation phase, and finally the legal-formal stabilization of meaning in the closure phase. In this process, institutional authority in defining public reality is gradually displaced by the narrative authority of the media and public moral legitimacy.

When the official narrative fails to maintain consistency and narrative fidelity, the public no longer accepts it as a taken-for-granted explanation. Digital media then takes over the role as producer and curator of alternative narratives that are considered more coherent, reasonable, and in line with the public's sense of justice. Thus, narrative shift functions not only as a change in story, but as a mechanism of symbolic delegitimization of the official narrative, as well as an arena for the redistribution of meaning power in the digital media ecosystem.

Framing and Digital Media Roles in Accelerating Narrative Shifts

The framing patterns found in each phase show that Narasi Newsroom utilizes various symbolic devices to progressively and temporally direct public interpretation. Keywords such as "irregularities," "no shootout," "fabrication," "obstruction of justice," and "death penalty" do not merely serve as descriptions of events, but function

as signifiers that gradually shift the position of actors, power relations, and story structure. Through the accumulation and repetition of this diction across phases, the narrative moves from a framework of individual events to a reading that emphasizes intent, abuse of authority, and institutional failure. This process directs the audience to understand the case not as an anomaly, but as a symptom of systemic problems.

The visual images and vocal delivery presented serve as cognitive and affective devices that reinforce this framing. Visuals not only complement the text, but also regulate the rhythm of public understanding by simplifying the complexity of the case into representations that are easily recognizable, memorable, and reproducible. When visual representations of chronological inconsistencies and changes in the official narrative are repeatedly displayed over time, audiences tend to experience interpretive closure, which is the tendency to lock in the perception that there has been dishonesty and manipulation in the handling of the case. Thus, visuals play an important role in accelerating the stabilization of certain meanings while narrowing the space for alternative interpretations.

Social media as a platform further strengthens this process through the speed of narrative updates, algorithmic distribution logic, and the effectiveness of visual content in mediating public understanding of complex issues. Unlike conventional media, which tends to be linear, social media allows narratives to develop simultaneously, in layers, and repeatedly, where old content is constantly reactivated through resharing, comments, and public discussion. Interaction in the comments section makes the audience not only consumers of information, but also discursive actors who collectively negotiate, criticize, and affirm meaning. This circulation of feedback

accelerates narrative shifts as doubts, suspicions, and demands for public transparency continue to be reinforced in open and networked spaces of interaction.

In this context, digital media does not merely function as a channel of information, but as an agent of public transparency that mediates the relationship between institutions, media, and society. By combining verbal framing, persuasive visualization, and the dynamics of digital interaction, digital media accelerates the transformation of narratives from stable official versions to critical readings that challenge institutional legitimacy. This narrative shift confirms that in the digital media ecosystem, changes in meaning are not only determined by the emergence of new facts, but also by the way these facts are presented, repeated, and collectively negotiated in networked public spaces.

Narrative Shift as an Indicator of Institutional Legitimacy Crisis

The shift in narrative from “shootout” to “murder plot” can be interpreted as an indicator of the deep crisis of legitimacy experienced by the police institution. This shift not only represents a factual correction of events, but also marks the collapse of the institution’s symbolic authority in defining public reality. In this context, the narrative shift serves as a structural marker that shows how institutional claims to truth have lost their binding power in the eyes of the public.

Each phase of the narrative shift reflects a different and cumulative level of damage to legitimacy, starting with the loss of control over the initial narrative, continuing with the exposure of obstruction of justice practices, the emergence of conflicting testimonies, to the final verdict that officially confirms the institution’s failure to maintain consistency and credibility in its own public communications. Thus, the crisis of

legitimacy does not occur as a single event, but rather as a process that develops alongside the collapse of institutional narrative coherence over time.

From a crisis communication perspective, narrative shift can be understood as a diagnostic tool that shows the extent to which an institution is able or fails to manage a crisis. It is not only the substance of the actions that are assessed by the public, but also the institution's ability to maintain message coherence, transparency, and narrative honesty across verbal, visual, and vocal dimensions throughout the crisis cycle. At the point when the official narrative continues to change and is corrected by external findings, a reputation crisis develops into a crisis of legitimacy, a condition in which the institutional authority in defining social reality is no longer taken for granted by the public.

In this case, the police institution appears to be only able to restore part of its legitimacy through formal legal mechanisms, such as court proceedings and sentencing. However, this restoration does not fully occur through consistency in public communication narratives. Legal resolution functions as procedural narrative closure, but it does not necessarily erase the impact of the symbolic legitimacy crisis that has been formed through previous phases of narrative shifts. This shows that there's a gap between legal-formal legitimacy and symbolic legitimacy: the first can be restored through legal decisions, while the second really depends on how well crisis communication builds a narrative that's coherent, credible, and acceptable to the public in the long run.

CONCLUSION

This study shows that the coverage of the Ferdy Sambo case through the Instagram account @narasinewsroom underwent a narrative change process that did not occur suddenly, but developed

gradually in line with the dynamics of the facts, public response, and accompanying social pressure. The narrative, which was initially constructed in a state of complete uncertainty, moved towards a series of stories that became increasingly clear and definitive as new information was revealed. Through analysis of the posts produced throughout the case, this study mapped five phases of narrative shift, namely narrative construction, disruption, exposure, escalation, and closure.

Theoretically, this research contributes a new conceptual framework in crisis communication by synthesizing Gamson and Modigliani's framing devices with a temporal-multimodal approach. First, it proposes the concept of "Vocal-Visual Dissonance" as a narrative disruption tool, where the tension between a neutral voice-over and skeptical visual evidence accelerates the delegitimization of official institutional narratives. Second, this study expands the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) by identifying the role of "Prosumer-Driven Reframing," showing that digital narrative shifts are not top-down, but are co-constructed through iterative interactions between media framing and audience's collective sensemaking. This confirms that in the digital era, narrative stability is no longer determined by the source's authority, but by its "narrative fidelity" across multiple sensory layers (vocal, visual, and textual).

This narrative shift shows how digital media has become an important space for the public to negotiate the truth. When the official police narrative no longer aligns with the facts, digital media takes a critical stance by highlighting contradictions, exposing manipulation in the handling of cases, and providing space for testimonies and information that were previously marginalized. In this process, framing devices play a significant role in guiding the public's

understanding and assessment of events in a gradual and layered manner.

Digital media thus no longer functions solely as an intermediary of information, but as an active actor in shaping narratives, reinterpreting events, and forming public opinion. The simultaneous, visual, and interactive nature of social media allows narratives to be continuously negotiated through audience responses, thereby accelerating shifts in meaning and strengthening demands for transparency and institutional accountability.

Ultimately, the narrative shift in the Sambo case reveals more than just a change in story, it shows a change in the relationship between the media, the public, and state institutions in dealing with crises. This study confirms that narrative shifts can be understood as indicators of institutional legitimacy crises, in which the consistency and credibility of public narratives are key prerequisites for restoring trust. Theoretically, this research contributes to the development of studies on narrative, framing, and crisis communication in the context of visual digital media. Practically, these findings provide important reflections for public institutions on the importance of coherent and transparent crisis communication, as well as for digital journalism in carrying out its oversight function in an increasingly decentralized information era.

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