Online Media Construction of the Attack on Indonesian National Police Headquarter

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Abstract. The attack on the Indonesian National Police Headquarter by Zakiah Aini (ZA) turns out to create public stigma and opinion that ZA is a terrorist. This is probably due to discriminative media reporting, i.e., when the perpetrators are identified as Muslim, the event tends to be associated with terrorism. Meanwhile, when the attackers are not identified as Muslim, the event is constructed as an attack and is not associated with terrorism. Regarding the Indonesian national police HQ attack, some media projected the issue by labeling the attacker ZA as a 'terrorist'. Such construction triggers comments from several observers. While some observers view the incident as a part of terrorism, others do not. This study applied a qualitative descriptive approach by employing Robert N. Entman's framing analysis. Republika.co.id and Kompas.com were selected as the object of the study. This study found that both online media construct the attack on police HQ differently. Republika.co.id construct the event as a gunfire issue and attempts not to associate the event with terrorism. On the other hand, Kompas.com views the attack on police HQ as a terrorist event. This study confirms that media ideology influences the journalists' view in constructing an event.

Keywords: Online Media · Attack · Mabes Polri · Framing Analysis

1 Introduction

Mass media is an effective instrument to widespread an ideology. The main activity of mass media is to tell an event. In other words, they construct various events and present them as news [1]. Each media has its own ideology, i.e., the value they uphold and exhibit through news, movies, ads, or reality shows [2].

Different ideologies may result in different reality construction. Hence, each media can construct the same reality differently due to ideological differences [3]. Different news we read in different media is results from media construction based on the journalists' ideology or values in seeing an event.

Online media is one of the most common media used by the public as it can be accessed anytime, anywhere. The spread of news through online media is also considered more effective than the mainstream media due to its limitless nature [4].

One of the events constructed differently in some media is the attack on Indonesian Police HQ by a woman named Zakiah Aini (ZA) on 31 March 2021. This incident leads

to different opinions from observers. Al Chaidar, a terrorism observer from Malikussaleh University, argues that Zakiah Aini committed this terrorism action due to poor religious and spiritual knowledge [5]. On the other hand, Haris Abu Ulya from Community of Ideological Islamic Analyst viewed some questionable matters related to the action. Haris hopes that the public does not arbitrarily speculate ZA's action as terrorism [6].

The interesting point in this incident is that several media project the issue by labeling ZA as a "terrorist". One of this labeling can be seen in Tribunnews.com on 31 March 2021, where they entitled the news as "Mabes Polri Diserang Teroris (Police HQ is attacked by terrorist)" At the same time, the police had not released any official statement whether or not the perpetrator belongs to a terrorist network, yet some media, including Tribunnews.com, had already put the stigma of terrorism. Due to this condition, we assume that some media are discriminative to perpetrators identified as Muslims. When the attacker is identified as a Muslim, some media directly construct the incident as terrorism. However, when the attacker is not identified as a Muslim, the media tends to construct the incident as an attack, not terrorism. One of the terrorism labeling is given to the Free Papua Movement (Organisasi Papua Merdeka/OPM), who attack security apparatuses and local people. After terrorizing Papua in 2019, OPM is categorized as a terrorist in 2021. Another example can be seen from the shooting incident involving the member of the Islamic Defenders Front, in which the media do not construct it as terrorism while the incident involves a lethal fire weapon. This is in contrast with the attacker on Police HQ who used airsoft gun and media put a stigma on ZA as a terrorist.

The news construction is the result of the media ideology, which influence how a journalist write news. This condition contradicts the role of mass media that supposes to be neutral and impartial in delivering information. This phenomenon draws our interest to examine the framing strategies used by online media. In this regard, Republica.co.id with its Islamic ideology and Kompas.com with its national ideology were selected as the object of the study.

According to Mulyana, as cited in [7], framing analysis is suitable to see the link between the news and media ideology, especially within the socio-cultural context of discourse. Framing can be defined as an approach used to see how journalists select an issue and write news [8].

There have been many studies on media framing of attack and terrorism incidents, such as the study on Russian and American media framing of counter-terrorism [9]. Some studies also examine the online media framing related to ISIS [10] and attack on Charlie Hebdo [11]. While most previous studies examine the media framing on the attack outside Indonesia, the present study attempts to see the attack incident in Indonesia. This study employs Robert N. Entman's analysis, different from most of the previous studies that use Pan and Kosicki's analysis model.

The present study is expected to see the framing strategies used by Republika.co.id and Kompas.com and the degree to which a media ideology influences the news construction, particularly the articles on the attack on police HQ by ZA.

The constructivism paradigm may affect the media, and the news produced. Through a constructivist paradigm, Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman propose the theory of social reality construction, in which they see that reality does not automatically emerge, yet it is formed and constructed.

Media content is the result of journalists' construction of an event. Based on its nature and reality, mass media activity is mainly to tell a constructed reality [12].

Terrorism is one of the interesting topics in mass media around the world. The terror action, attack on apparatuses, bombing, praying site attack, and capture of terrorists are among the theme drawing more attention in many media. Media and terrorism are indirectly related to each other. While the media needs interesting material as their content, terrorists need media to publish their actions, spread their ideology, and show their existence to the public [3]. In this regard, terrorists use media as one of their strategies since they are aware of the significant role of media in changing an individual's view and mindset. Through media reports, terrorism incidents can be widely known and addressed [13].

On the other hand, the rapid emergence of media companies has resulted in interesting competition, in which some media use terrorism incidents as sensational news topics [14].

Mubarok and Wulandari [3] explain that the term "terrorism" is used more frequently than terms like anarchy, attack, and violence because the term terrorism draws more attention from the public. Therefore, some media take advantage of terrorism action through their report.

Meanwhile, it should be noted that there is a special relationship among the media, public, the reality of an issue, and the government elites in producing information. There are two tendencies in news production. First, The tendency to select certain news, and second, to construct the news [15].

2   Research Method

This qualitative descriptive study used Entman's framing analysis model, consisting of four elements, namely: define problems, diagnose causes, make a moral judgment, and treatment recommendation. We examined Republika.co.id as an online media with Islamic ideology and Kompas.com as a media with national ideology. The data were collected from news published between 31 March and 5 April 2021 by both media regarding the attack on the Indonesian National Police Headquarter. We also collect the data from relevant books, articles, and documents.

3   Finding and Discussion

This section describes the finding of the framing analysis. The finding is presented based on Entmant's four elements of framing analysis.

3.1   Republika.co.id

Define Problems. Republika.co.id saw the incident at the national police HQ as a shooting incident. This can be seen since the first day of report on 31 March 2021, where they use a title *Detik-detik Insiden Penembakan di Mabes Polri* and *Video Penembakan di Mabes Polri (Moment of shooting incident at National Police HQ and Gunfire at*

Table 1. Republika.co.id's Framing Analysis

No	Element	Observed Dimension
1	Define Problems	Gunfire incident
2	Diagnose Causes	A woman called ZA commits an attack due to culture shock and anger on her social status
3	Make Moral Judgment	Gunfire at Police HQ should not be associated with any religion
4	Treatment Recommendation	Police should improve its security system

National Police HQ). The problem definition is also asserted within the content, which is narrated as follows "…*Terjadi peristiwa penembakan oleh personel Polri kepada ter-duga teroris di depan Mabes Polri, Jakarta Selatan, Rabu (31/3) Peristiwa penembakan itu terjadi sekitar pukul 15.00 WIB*" ((*Police officer shot a suspected terrorist in front of the National Police HQ, South jakarta on Wednesday (31/3).* The gunfire occurred at about 3 PM, Western Indonesian Time). Furthermore, the statement from the vice-governor of Jakarta, Ahmad Riza Patria, also supports the problem definition. "*Kami atas nama pemprov mengutuk keras aksi penembakan yang dilakukan oleh orang tidak dikenal di Mabes Polri*" ("On behalf of the provincial government, we condemn the gunfire by unknown person at the Police HQ".). Republika.co.id also attempts to avoid linking the incident to terrorism. This can be seen from the article published in 01 April 2021, in which they narated the opinion from Haris Abu Ulya, a terrorism observer, who hoped that the gunfire at police HQ is not arbitrarily associated with terrorism (Table 1).

Diagnose Causes. Republika.co.id put ZA as the actor in this gunfire incident. Republika.co.id describes that ZA commit the attack presumably due to culture shock, i.e., radicalism that emerges due to poor religious knowledge, citing the opinion stated by Islamic psychologist, Abdul Mujib. Republika.co.id through its article published on 2 April 2021 also reported the opinion of Deborah Dewi, a graphologist who stated that ZA commit the attack due to her anger on social status, not a religious ideology, i.e., jihad.

Make Moral Judgment. Consistent with two previous elements where Republika.co.id try not to associate the incident with terrorism, this online media delegimate every action that associate the incident with a religion, especially Islam. This can be seen from one of its articles on 31 March 2021 that reports that KH Robikin Emhas, a renowned NU figure, said that no religion justifies violence. In addition, the statement from Din Syamsuddin on 01 April 2021 also support the delegitimation, stating that every terror contradicts any religious value. By selecting informants from the largest Indonesian Muslim organization, Republika appears to deliver a message that Islam never justifies any form of violence and expect to get rid of terrorist stigma from Islam. Delegitimation attempt is also stated by the Chief of People's Consultative Assembly, Bambang Soesatyo, on 01 April 2021. He stated that the public does not associate ZA's outfit with certain religion. ZA is known to wear Islamic female outfit when committing attack on the Police HQ.

Treatment Recommendation. Republika.co.id suggests the problem resolution through improving security and intelligence system, as shown in its article reporting the Police Chief instruction to strengthen the security system after the attack. Similar messages are also stated by a Criminologist, Adrianus Meilala, and the speaker of the house of representatives, Puan Maharani on articles published in 01 April 2021, who suggest the police to improve the security of vital objects, such as police office and public places.

3.2 Kompas.com

Define Problems. Kompas.com saw the incident at the national police HQ as a terrorism. This problem definition is implied in the title of articles published by Kompas.com, such as *Mabes Polri Diserang, Terduga Teroris Jatuh Tersungkur Dekat Kantor Kapolri (National Police HQ attacked, a suspected terrorist falls near the police chief office), Kapolda Metro Jaya Tinjau TKP, Fakta-fakta Terkini Penyerangan Mabes Polri oleh Terduga Teroris (Metro Jaya Regional Police Chief visits the genesis place, here are some facts about the attack on the police HQ by a suspected terrorist), and Terduga Teroris Penyerang mabes Polri Lepaskan 6 Tembakan Saat Menerobos Masuk (The suspected terrorist fired six shots when forcing to enter).*

Diagnose Cause. Kompas.com reports that the reason behind ZA's attack is her anger and insecurity related to her social status, as shown in an article published on 02 April 2021 12.39 Western Indonesian Time. Kompas.com reports an opinion from a Graphologist, Deborah Dewi who said: *"Spiritual reason to perform Jihad is not the primary motives of the attacker."* Deborah adds that ZA commit the attack due to lack of respect from her surroundings, leading to sense of insecurity. Graphologist' statement asserts that ZA's motive is not solely jihad ideology, yet social insecurity and anger.

Make Moral Judgment. Kompas.com always tried to delegitimate the action that associates the attack with certain regions. In an article published on 01 April 2021, Kompas.com reports an argument from the Chief of People's Consultative Assembly, Bambang Soesatyo, who states that the attacker's outfit does not necessarily reflect the Muslim citizen. Bambang adds that the one who should be countered is the faithless terrorist. Delegitimation of relationship between the attack and a religion is also supported by Robikin Emhas, whose statement is published in an article dated 01 April 2021, stating that no religion justifies violence or terror.

Treatment Recommendation. Kompas.com recommends the government to exercise cyber operation in social media, particularly contents related to radicalism. This recommendation can be seen in its article *entitled "Anggota Komisi III minta Operasi Siber ditingkatkan Pasca-Penyerangan di Mabes Polri (Members of Comission III demands improved cyber operation after the attack on Police HQ"* published on 01 April 2021. The article also recommends the police chief to perform progressive steps to counter terrorism through early detection. This recommendation is found in an article entitled *"Mabes Polri Diserang, PKB: Kapolri Perlu Lakukan Langkah Progresif Tangani Kasus Teroris (Police HQ attack, PKB: Police Chief needs Progressive Measure to Counter terrorism)".* In addition to recommendations related to terrorist attack, Kompas.com also

Table 2. Kompas.com's Framing Analysis

No	Element	Observed Dimension
1	Define Problems	Terrorism
2	Diagnose Causes	A woman named Zakiah Aini commit the attack due to her social anger and insecurity
3	Make Moral Judgment	Incident at the National Police HQ does not relate to certain religions.
4	Treatment Recommendation	Exercising cyber operation, taking progressive counter-terrorism measure, and not alienating ZA's family

recommends human measure by not alienating ZA's family, as found in an article entitled *"Polisi Minta Warga Tak Kucilkan Keluarga Pelaku Teror Mabes Polri (Police asks the society not to alienate the Police HQ terror actor's family)"* (Table 2).

The result of this study is line with our initial assumption, that both online media applied framing strategies proposed by Robert N. Entman, Eriyanto [7] namely issue projection and selection. Kompas.com appears to use issue projection strategy when labelling ZA as "terrorist." This is different from Republika.co.id that used issue selection when reporting the attack on Police HQ, in which they state that the incident is the shooting by police officer to a perpetrator ZA. This phrasing appears to turn the focus to the police officers' action rather than ZA.

With regard to the social construction theory Bungin [16], The framing of attack on police HQ shown by both online media in this study proves the existence of reality construction, causing the same event to be constructed differently by each media. Some media construct the attack on the police HQ as a terrorism, while others see it as merely a gunfire. Regarding the social construction in mass media Bungin [16], an event is constructed through four stages: preparing the construction materials, spreading the construction, making the reality construction, and confirming the construction.

In the first stage, i.e., construction material, mass media biases can be highly influential, e.g. Partiality to capitalism, pseudo-partiality to the public, and partiality to public interest. Of these three biases, the partiality to capitalism appears to be dominant in the construction of attack on the Indonesian national police HQ. This can be seen from how Kompas.com labeled "terrorist" to ZA, while the fact had not proven the real motives behind the attack. The term "terrorist" is chosen to draw public attention when they look for news related to the attack on the police HQ [3]. Using this technique, the media seems to "sell a news" that can increase their rating for capitalist' purpose.

Regarding the second stage, the main principle of construction spread is the "real-time nature" Both online media have met this concept by reporting this event right after the incident by relying on internet connection [16].

The next stage deals with the reality construction making, in which the report has been published and the public has constructed the reality through their articles. This can be seen from the public opinion regarding the attack on the Police HQ. Some people view this incident as a part of terrorism, while others argue that the incident should not be necessarily associated with terrorism. In this stage, the image construction may lead to

the concepts of good news and bad news. Each reporting is known to have certain image purpose. Republika attempts to build a good news image to the police when appreciating the officers' action who shot dead ZA. On the other hand, Kompas.com builds a bad news image to ZA by giving her a "terrorist" label.

In the last stage, i.e., confirmation stage, the mass media and public give argumentations and accountability to their choice to involve in the reality construction process. This can be seen from how the media provides spaces to the informants from various backgrounds to express their arguments.

4   Conclusion

This study concludes that Republika.co.id and Kompas.com used different framing strategies in constructing the attack on national police HQ by ZA, While Kompas.com frames the attack as a terrorism event, Republika.co.id frames it as the gunfire event.

Both media were found to use framing strategies proposed by Robert N. Entman, namely issue projection and selection. Kompas.com uses issue projection by labeling ZA as a "terrorist," while Republika.co.id uses issue selection strategy by delivering the event from a different angle, i.e., the police officers shot dead ZA.

These framing strategies prove that reality is constructed through four stages: material preparation, construction spread, reality construction-making, and confirmation. Regarding the material preparation stage, the partiality to capitalism appears to be dominant in the construction of an attack on the Indonesian national police HQ. In the second stage, both online media have been real-time by reporting the event only minutes after the incident by relying on the internet. The reality construction-making stage can be seen from the various opinions that emerge after the news on the attack is published, creating images of bad news and good news. In the last stage, i.e., the confirmation stage, the public state their argumentation and are involved in the news construction.

Authors' Contributions.   All authors conceived and designed the study. Pratiwi Purna Nugraha conducted the research, analyzed the data and wrote the paper. All authors contributed to manuscript revisions.

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