

CIRCULATION OF PRODUCTION AND FRAMING OF ISLAMIC TERRORISM (CASE STUDY OF THREE CHURCH BOMBINGS IN SURABAYA)

Muhammad Sabiq

Universitas Hasanuddin
muh.sabiq@unhas.ac.id

Imam Nawawi

Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga
felem2imam@gmail.com

Arisnawawi

Universitas Hasanuddin
arisnawawi@unhas.ac.id

Abstract:

Islamic radicalism and terrorism are social facts, and continue to metamorphose until they become digital facts. The transition from physical space to digital space does not change the status of radicalism and terrorism as social facts but changes its character to become a digital social fact. Character changes are accompanied by narrative shifts, where the framing by the media is often more solid than before the transition. The solidity of the media's framing of Islamic radicalism and terrorism creates a distinct digital social structure, which consists of producers, production stages, and ongoing reproduction of issues. This research argues that narrative shifts due to media framing are supported by corporate interests, media political affiliations, and the ideology promoted. Scheufele and Tewksbury explained narrative shifts due to media framing, and the agenda behind media framing was analyzed based on McCombs' theory. This research concludes that the narrative shift due to framing by the media was carried out deliberately because of corporate interests, political affiliations, and the ideology of the media owners. During the production of framed information, civil control over framing media is not optimal.

Keywords: Capital Production, Media Framing, Terrorism.

Introduction

Radicalism, terrorism, and Islamism are often described as one package (Mujibuddin, 2022). The intersection of radicalism and terrorism with Islamism occurs in the Jihad discourse. The practice of understanding jihad which leads to terrorism is often counter-productive, not only alienating humanity from Islam but also dividing people themselves, even giving birth to new skepticism and atheism (Khalil, 2008). This kind of prediction is indeed accurate, considering the facts in the form of the bombing of three churches in Surabaya, in May 2018, which was carried out by one family consisting of a husband, wife, and children. The total number of perpetrators was six people.

The problem is, that the bombing of three churches in Surabaya is not only a problem of radicalism and terrorism in the name of Islam. There are many other components involved, mixed together, infiltrating and influencing how the public consumes discourse. The media plays a big role in spreading propaganda, even the media cannot be separated from racist behavior itself (Steuter & Wills, 2008). In this way, the media is not present to fully report the news but also includes agendas that must be revealed more seriously. Media agendas through framing have great potential to lead to racism and religious discrimination, such as the emergence of phobia about Islamism.

Lila Abu-Lughod noted that Islamism which leads to radicalism and terrorism spreading in the mass media is not only a global problem. Often Islamism must also be seen from the local context (Abu-Lughod, 2006). A similar view was expressed by Riaz Hassan, that radical Islamism and preaching of violent terror are basically caused by specific determining factors, both political and social dimensions, such as problems of development, education, and the deficit of freedom (Hassan, 2018). Specific factors like this are often more likely than understanding local problems framed by global upheaval.

Radical Islamism which preaches violent terror has been re-framed, especially regarding the coverage of the suicide bombings at three churches in Surabaya in May 2018. However, critical readers can clearly and definitively differentiate based on the framing made by the media which ones are facts and which ones are hypotheses. Many studies have tried to partially read media that carry out such framing. One of them is research by Anang Sujoko and Rosalina Bilqisth, from Brawijaya University, which confirms that the news about suicide bombings in three churches in Surabaya was an act of framing. Sujoko and Bilqisth gave the example of Vice.Com media as a perpetrator of positive framing. According to Sujoko and Bilqisth, vice.com media adheres to an anti-racist punk ideology, which tries not to link the suicide bombing incident to the religion of the perpetrator. Even though vice.com displays photos of the perpetrator's family who have Islamic attributes, in its explanation vice.com does not link the incident to the Islamic religion (Sujoko & Bilqisth, 2022).

Rendi Eko Budi Setiawan and Suyato developed their material objects compared to Sujoko and Bilqisth's research. Setiawan and Suyato raised two big national media: *Republika* and *Kompas*, looking at how these two big media framed their news from 14 to 31 May 2018. The framing that the Republic wants to build, the suicide bombing is a

problem of the government's inaction in passing the law. Anti-Terrorism law. This inaction was caused by debate over the definition of terrorism, and the inclusion of TNI elements into it. Meanwhile, Kompas frames the bombing incident as an act of terrorism that threatens the nation, where the terrorist network in Indonesia is still very strong (Setiawan & Suyoto, 2020)

Setiawan and Suyato's views follow the reality of Kompas narrative, which brings together analysts and religious figures to jointly condemn religious terrorism, especially Islam. However, Setiawan and Suyanto's findings were opposed by Yulian Dwi Putra, who also researched Kompas, compared with Detik.com, throughout May 2018. According to Y. D. Putra, Kompas throughout May had not done any framing at all. Kompas' narrative still refers to a single source, namely the police. However, Dwi Putra noted that Detik.com and Kompas.Com carried out unbalanced framing so that news of the same event and time was presented with different data (Putra, 2019). In this way, the framing carried out by Kompas according to these two different views on the one hand can be combined, so that they complement each other, namely that Kompas has carried out framing, which often presents different data.

From the explanation above, the events that occurred in physical space were actually the actions of people who blew themselves up, causing themselves and others to lose their lives, including other material losses. However, after transitioning into the digital space, perspective through media framing changed the meaning of the suicide bombings. Events are not single, but networked, starting from local networks between JAD administrators or international networks between JAD and ISIS in the Middle East. More than that, this incident is empirical proof for many assumptions, ranging from the strengthening of the roots of terrorism in Indonesia to the government's slowness in issuing anti-terrorism laws, especially because of the TNI's involvement in it.

The topic of media framing regarding the bombings at three churches in Surabaya on 13 May 2018 has attracted the attention of many academics. Winda Meidiana Putri, for example, wrote framing news about the bombing of three churches in Surabaya carried out by Al-Jazeera English and The Guardian. According to him, it is very possible that news is reproduced continuously using different methods and techniques. This is due to the ideology behind the media. Ideology becomes the background for news production, which is created in covert methods to shape readers' perceptions. Putri gave an example of the different ideologies between Al-Jazeera English and The Guardian in reporting on the bombing of three Surabaya churches. There are two findings: first, of the 27 research samples, Al-Jazeera English and The Guardian have the same attitude, namely opposing the phenomenon of families of church bombers. However, their production techniques are different. Al-Jazeera English seeks to position itself as a positive and objective external observer with an Arab-centric perspective. Meanwhile, The Guardian shows a negative attitude with a Liberalism-Eurocentric perspective (Putri, 2019).

Media Framing of the Bombings in Three Churches in Surabaya

On May 13, 2018, bombs exploded in three churches in Surabaya, East Java. The perpetrators are one family: a husband named Dita Oepriarto (48), a wife named Puji Kuswati (43), and their children with the initials Famela Rizqita (9), Fadhila Sari (12), Firman Alim (16), and Yusuf Fadhil (18). The first incident occurred at 06.30 WIB at Santa Maria Catholic Church, Jalan Ngagel Madya 01. The perpetrators were Yusuf and Firman. Two perpetrators and five people died. The second incident occurred at 07.15 WIB at the Indonesian Christian Church (GKI) on Jalan Diponegoro. The perpetrators were Kuswati, Famela, and Firman. All three died and there were no other victims. The third incident occurred at 07.53 WIB at the Central Pentecostal Church, Jalan Arjuna Surabaya. The perpetrator was Oepriarto. The perpetrator died and seven other people also died. The title of the bombing incident in detikNews.com media was Cursed Terrorism 2018: Family Bomb Rocks Surabaya (Damarjati, 2018)

There are two dictions chosen which have an emotional nuance, "cursed" and "family". These two dictions from detikNews.com are an important emphasis on how the narrative shifts from the date of the incident (13 May) to 25 December 2023. The earlier news, one of which was broadcast by BBC Indonesia, was dated 13 May 2018. The selected news title read: "Bomb Attack "In Three Surabaya Churches: Suicide Bomber 'Woman Carrying Two Children'". In the BBC Indonesia reporting narrative, the curse diction "cursed" as in detikNews has not appeared at all. However, a framing linking the bombing of three churches to terrorism and ISIS has emerged. For example, BBC Indonesia reported the view of a terrorism observer from the University of Indonesia, Stanislaus Riyanta, that the target of terror acts that only targeted places of worship and the police were a typical ISIS style that must be watched out for (Kriswanto, 2018).

BBC Indonesia uses two different dictions interchangeably, between "suicide bombing" and "terrorism". A suicide bombing is defined as an act of terrorism or an act of terrorism as a suicide bombing. VOI Indonesia offers a new perspective. According to VOI, the suicide bombers were allegedly part of Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD), which pledged allegiance to the leader of ISIS, Abu Bakar al-Baghdadi. However, VOI presented the opinion of the founder and pansehit of JAD himself, Aman Abdurrahman, who was shocked by the horror of the Surabaya bomb. According to Aman Abdurrahman, the incident of two mothers leading their children to blow themselves up in a church is an act that cannot possibly occur from someone who understands the teachings of Islam and the guidance of jihad and cannot even occur from someone who is of sound mind (Tifada, 2021). The consequence of this VOI report is as if radical groups such as JAD are joining in condemning the suicide bombings in Surabaya churches

Reporting that is free from assumptions and based entirely on facts is presented by state media, for example, the East Java Province Communication and Information Service, which published news on May 16 2018 with the title "This is Complete Data on 13 Suicide Bombers Who Died in Surabaya and Sidoarjo." In its narrative, the Kominfo report does not discuss the relationship between the suicide bomber and ISIS, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi,

terrorism, but is limited to the names of the perpetrators, population registration number, birth address, month and year of birth (Kominfo Provinsi Jawa Timur, 2018). The government seems to be trying to be objective in reporting, eliminating assumptions before scientific and legal proof is complete. Completely different from media narratives which are controlled by corporations, and the private sector, and promote their ideology.

A neutral news narrative as published by the government by Tempo, dated May 13, 2018, entitled "Bomb Explosions in Surabaya Occurred in Three Churches." Apart from chronology, Tempo focuses on reporting the number of victims (Akbar, 2018). This narrative style that focuses on victims remained consistent from Tempo until the following day on May 14. Kompas did the same thing, through its report dated May 13, 2018, entitled "Bombs at Three Churches in Surabaya, 6 People Killed, 35 Victims Injured." The emphasis of Kompas and Tempo is equally on the number of victims (Gatra, 2018). However, the following day, May 14, Kompas began to shift in the way it narrated its news. In the news entitled "Surabaya Bomb, Between Revenge and Proof of the Existence of ISIS," Kompas reported analysis from terrorism observer The Community Ideological Islamic Analyst (CIIA), Harits Abu Ulya. Based on police data, Abu Ulya said the perpetrator wanted to prove the existence of ISIS because in the Middle East ISIS was being bombarded by America and its allies (Kuwado, 2018).

If that wasn't enough, one day later, on May 15, Kompas again published a news story entitled "Changes in New Patterns of Terrorism, Children Included in Suicide Bombings". This time, Kompas presented the opinions of religious figures. For example, the Deputy Chairperson of the Indonesian Ulema Council Zainut Tauhid Sa'adi, Archbishop of Jakarta Ignatius Suharyo, and former members of Jemaah Islamiah (JI), all of whom share the same opinion that suicide is not justified because it is considered to be against religion and Pancasila, a big sin, especially involving children, really tears humanity apart. (Setiawan, 2018). Kompas is quite comprehensive in presenting the reasons for condemning the behavior of suicide bombings in three Surabaya churches, from political observers to interfaith figures

Different from Kompas' method of condemning the suicide bombing, Tempo focused on reporting on Dita Oepriarto's academic background, to correct public opinion that the perpetrator was a student at Airlangga University. Tempo published news about the view of the Chancellor of UNAIR, M. Nasih, that the perpetrator had indeed been a student, but did not graduate, aka Droup Out (DO), only taking 47 credits with a GPA of 1.47. According to Nasih, it is not relevant to link Dita's behavior to the UNAIR institution. Universities never teach acts of terror, radicalism, or inhumanity, and are far from reason and common sense (Farmita, 2018). Tempo plays a role in straightening public opinion, clearing up wild opinions, and ensuring that educational institutions are not involved in teaching radicalism, let alone terrorism.

KontraS Surabaya, on May 22, 2018, published a striking report showing its support for the public, with the title: "Ensure the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Surabaya Bombing Terror Victims!". This news contains the cooperation of many parties;

Commission for Missing Persons and Victims of Violence in Surabaya, representatives of the Santa Maria Immaculate Church, Indonesian Christian Church, Surabaya Central Pentecostal Church, Surabaya Kasih Bangsa Foundation, Human Right Law Studies, and Yakkum Emergency Unite Jogja, who held a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) . From the FGD, it was found that there were many abuses and acts of taking advantage of murky waters, such as many people who claimed to be government officials but were unable to show their identity or letter of assignment, instead asking for physical data on the losses suffered by the victim, such as STNK, BPKB, KK, victim's salary. , area of the house, and others. The FGD also produced several recommendations for the government, such as the need for a leading sector that coordinates all field actors, the government immediately forming an integrated team in efforts to handle victims, and involving church authorities in the integrated team as affected institutions (Kontras Surabaya, 2018).

Shifting Narratives Through Media Framing

Media framing is a theory about the ideological behavior of media in influencing public perception. The framing framework by the media starts from the process of defining, determining topics and organizing people's views. Therefore, media framing theory complements another theoretical perspective, namely Agenda-Setting, where news is a representation of a planned agenda (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). The difference is, that media framing is about how information is presented by the media to the public in a certain frame, to influence how people choose and process information. Media framing focuses on the technical problems of presenting information by the media (Scheufele, 1999).

Meanwhile, agenda setting broadens the point of view about news that has been framed in a certain framing, through a more critical study of the essence of the issues presented, rather than the topics raised on the surface. Goffman for example, states that interpreting what is happening in the world around us is done through certain main frameworks. This framework is considered to be taken for granted by its users. Therefore, interpreting is the act of using a certain mental framework to extract meaning from the external world. This framework can be natural as well as social. This means that individual experiences can be understood in a broader social context. This natural and social framework is functional (Goffman, 1986).

Media framing is linguistic work, involving or using several linguistic techniques in the framing process, including metaphor, story, tradition, slogan, artifact, replay, and contrast (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996). When a particular social fact is framed using various linguistic framing methods, efforts to explore the event as it is (a *sich*) become increasingly distant, because they have to penetrate the increasingly thick framing "walls". For example, readers who are influenced by the ideology of Eurocentric liberalism will definitely be negative in understanding the bombing of three churches in Surabaya. Likewise, those who are influenced by the Kompas ideology which wants to say that the roots of terrorism are very strong in Indonesia will also be affected.

When the reading public has been influenced by the framing carried out by the media, the true meaning of reality in physical space will shift to a new, artificial meaning in digital social space. This is what Sylvia Sierra says is the action taken by the main reference media in shifting the epistemic framework, by shifting their conversation into another game framework and also shifting the conversation into a framework in which the majority of those present can participate, because of their equal epistemic access (Sierra, 2021). In other words, media framing is an information-based social movement. As a movement, it definitely carries the ideology it is fighting for, mobilizing the masses through epistemic access

However, ideology and interests that are hidden or deliberately hidden as much as possible by the media can still be exposed. Agenda-setting theory allows its users to see the process of engineering or issue creation by the mainstream media so that the publication of news presented by the mainstream media not only shows its artificial side but also its fundamental-ideological side. The process of creating an issue is carried out by the media first through intensive coverage, followed by giving it a prominent place on a particular page, and at the same time ignoring other more important issues or topics (McCombs, 2014).

Agenda-setting theory refers to the strong idea of correlation in the emphasis of mass media to certain issues (for example, based on the placement or amount of coverage) and the importance of those issues to the public (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Moreover, something is often displayed intensively with big headlines by certain media that are important to society. Agenda-setting theory enables readers' ability to illustrate the reality that exists amidst the media interests, Marianne Dainton and Elaine D. Zelley (2018) say that agenda-setting theory must go beyond political news, and cultivation theory goes beyond media violence (Dainton & Zelley, 2018).

Critical reading, beyond the news and the violence the news depicts, is hard work. However, repetition of news and violence also backfires, where even ordinary readers will realize what Sally Johnson and Tommaso and Milani (2009) said that media discourse is in a position to ideologize them from the beginning of their social life (Johnson & Milani, 2009). Language, text, and media discourse will lead readers to the ideology that was originally intended to be hidden by the media itself. Repetition brings clarity upon undeniable clarity. Ultimately, according to Johnson and Milani, all of this led to political interests and media affiliation.

Research on media framing and agenda setting was carried out on the news about the bombing of three churches in Surabaya in the period between 13 May to 30 December 2018. The media population in Indonesia, based on data from the Press Council, reached 1,711 verified media companies as of January 2023. From of this number, digital media dominates 902 companies (Finaka & Nurhanisah, 2023). This research is digital sociology, only a few samples taken from digital media, not print media. With the large digital media population (902 companies), the researchers chose the random sampling method from Bradford Tuckfield. In the case of two identical samples, for example, Bradford Tuckfield

emphasized that there are no things that are truly the same, and therefore researchers must go further into the sample data to see the extent of the differences between two things that almost look the same (Tuckfield, 2023).

Furthermore, the finding aspects might be differentiating factors between two similar news stories and follow the steps of Suprawoto (2018) that during increasingly competitive competition and media ownership by politicians like now, the media often lacks objectivity. It can be seen from the naked eye that the partiality of certain media is very clear. However, as professionals, government public relations must also work professionally in any situation (Suprawoto, 2018). From this, it can be assumed that the media is owned by companies (corporations) and by politicians or the government. This kind of categorization will be used in determining the sample. The researcher will present two representations at once; corporate media and government media.

Manufacturers, Production, and Reproduction Issues

Regarding the news regarding the bombing of three churches in Surabaya in May 2018, the producers of the news were digital media belonging to two different categories; government and private. Government digital media can be official websites of the central, provincial, and regional governments. Meanwhile, private digital media can also be divided into two categories: large corporations and indie. The difference between digital media managed by corporations can be seen from the appearance, design, editorial structure, number of employees, number of journalists, professionalism, and the honorarium given to civil journalists. Digital media is managed independently by a certain group of people or communities, both at the level of social organizations and certain communities. The simplicity of the menu, the proportional number of contributors, the streamlined editorial board, the minimalist appearance of the design, and even the rare presence of advertisements, are all distinguishing marks for indie-managed digital media.

The way of producing, the number of news posts, including the number of postings of articles related and not directly related to reporting on the bombing of three churches in Surabaya, has fundamental differences between digital media managed by the government, those managed by private corporations, and those managed by the private sector. indie. The amount of government media news production is the smallest. The government is only interested in two things: reporting detailed facts about what is happening on the ground, and informing the government of its stance to protect victims. Even though the number of articles or news articles may decrease and increase, each one still provides factual data, both regarding events and protective measures from the government.

Massive news production is carried out by digital media managed by private corporations. There are at least three types of news production that are made; first, news is created to describe events, perpetrators, time, and place of events in the field. Second, news is created to describe public opinion, expert analysis, and religious responses. Third, news is created to be targeted at the government. These three types of production often

occur at the same time. So that the same event, the same actor, and the same time, are produced by three different production methods. From here, news has its own reader segmentation, starting from the grassroots who only want to know about the incident, the middle class who are starting to be curious about the wider background behind the incident, and the elite class who hold power and need to absorb the aspirations of the perpetrators. -media actors regarding government governance and political policy formulation.

At this first production stage, it can be said to be mature, because the media not only presents images of events that occurred in the field but also presents abstract images from observers and experts, as well as presenting certainty about the government's stance through the policies taken after the event. Let's just say, the incident was just a bombing at three different churches in the morning in Surabaya. Analysis by experts, political observers, and religious figures presents the same event in a more abstract way, such as a narrative of the relationship between the incident and the global terrorism network, the rooting of the ideology of Islamic terrorism in Indonesia, the slowness of government governance, weak laws, and so on. However, when government representation is involved in creating narratives, the most urgent need is the need for a leading sector that coordinates all field actors, the formation of an integrated team by the government in efforts to handle victims, and the involvement of church authorities in the integrated team as affected institutions..

However, the problem is not over, because there is a time variable that comes into play. P's production continues continuously regarding the same event content, giving birth to a new one called P's reproduction. The transition from P to P' is not simple, because the movement of time must be accompanied by the movement of materials; Different times can contain different new material. Let's just say, detik.com's reporting in May 2018 as P was different from detikNews.com's reporting on December 25 2018 as P'. In this way, the reproduction process is basically a determining factor as well as a driving reason for framing by the media. Framing media will not be visible throughout the P production cycle, and even though it has begun to appear, it is still in the very early stages, like a seed that has just grown. Framing media matures after entering the P reproduction phase.

Digital media managed by the government or privately owned indies often do not reach the P' reproduction stage. The P' stage is only carried out by private corporations. In this way, we can call the news production cycle $(S) = P(A) \text{---} \text{..MF..} \text{---} P'(A')$. P production is carried out by three different manufacturers; government, corporations, and indies. The reproductive stage leaves only one producer; corporation. Media framing (MF) occurs throughout the variable time since completing stage P and starting to move towards stage P'. Media Framing also influences producer actor A, making him a producer actor who produces A's news framing.

Three Circuits of Media Framing: Corporate, Affiliation, and Ideology

Digital media corporations are the only remaining producers and are entering the reproduction stage of news issues. Corporations do not solely fight for the interests of capital but also enter affiliate networks, and at the top join in certain ideological movements. Corporations are about capital accumulation, starting from the extent of readers' consumption of information on the digital media sites they manage. The greater the number of readers, the greater the number of investors to advertise, but also the more affiliates who want to be published, whether regarding movements, ideals, work programs, or so on. When corporations continue to push media as a tool for their capital accumulation, it is normal to seek attention, such as likes, subscribers, and followers. However, when corporations have used investors as ideologies and the basis for spreading ideology, then the affiliation variable becomes an important part of the framing.

Kompas, for example, is a media that is very strongly affiliated with churches. However, Kompas is a different corporation than a religious movement entirely. However, pragmatic liberal churches and corporations can work together and help each other. In addition, the owner of Kompas himself is a person whose religious affiliation is not Muslim. So, it is not impossible that Kompas' reporting was very biased regarding the bombing of three churches in Surabaya. In contrast to Tempo, this corporation has from the start been committed to empowerment, liberalism, and freedom of expression. With empowerment, Tempo's framing of the three Surabaya church bombing cases aims to criticize the government and public policies that are not right.

Corporations are thus no longer merely economic institutions, but also socio-political institutions, even religious institutions. Therefore, Kompas's report, May 14 2018, entitled "Those Raising Donations for the Surabaya Bombing Victims," explained how many parties and religious figures were raising humanitarian funds for the suicide bombing victims. The public figure shown is Alissa Wahid, daughter of the 3rd Indonesian president Abdurrahman Wahid, Gusduriah's group, who is compared with those who are members of the Boston University Alumni Association Indonesia (Azanella, 2018). Boston University itself does have alumni ties, including those in Asia and especially Indonesia (Boston University, 2023).

With framing, Kompas does not just display events that occur in the physical space as they are but has turned it into a common locus for all interested parties, having the magnetic power to attract other components that are not actually directly related to the event, apart from the analytical relationship. which is framed. Local events become global-scale events, and events that were originally limited to individual actions become transnational humanitarian events. Finally, Kompas does not exist alone but also together with other existences that can become its affiliates, at least ideologically, such as the Gusdurian network, the Boston University alumni network, and others. Thus, the

corporate ideological movement that uses the media as a tool for its expansion can be formulated as follows: $(S) = P'(A')^2$.

That is, $P'(A')$ which represents the reproduction of reproductive issues and actors enters reproductive interests and reproductive actions that never end, depending on the extent to which reproductive interests and actors meet new affiliates with whom they can collaborate, or with supporters of the new ideology. The opening of new affiliations and ideologies becomes a driving force for reproduction that previously contained elements of framing. As a result, $(S) = (S)^2$. If (S) reflects the production of news issues that have been framed at the initial level, then $(S)^2$ is the reproduction of framing on top of framing. The first framing was born from the interests of producers during the production process and up to the initial reproduction level. The second framing was born from the interests of affiliates who network with producers to reproduce news that has been framed to be re-framed again (Wolf, 2006).

Conclusion

The bombing of three churches in Surabaya in May 2018 appeared in digital space through a long process of media framing. The act of terrorism carried out by one family, consisting of a husband, one wife, and four children was initially local but was framed by the media so that it became the main node of various problems at the national and global level. This act of terrorism is said to be evidence of the strengthening of radical ideologies and groups in Indonesia as well as evidence of the government's failure to sign a law on eradicating terrorism which is considered slow, due to the large interest of the TNI in it. At the global level, acts of terrorism involving a family are not only condemned but also become a new trigger that must be responded to. The Middle Eastern media which tries to label terrorism in Surabaya as a local problem is at odds with the condemnation of the Eurocentric Western media and calls it a desecration of human values. Substantial changes in digital media narratives cannot be separated from the two stages of production and reproduction. As long as the news production process is only to serve the public interest in accessing information, media framing is not too far from the actual facts. However, when the media becomes an agent that helps build interests, and networks and promotes certain ideologies, both on a local and global scale, then the media narrative and the way the media frames events become increasingly distant from the facts. The composition of opinions competes with the composition of facts. At this stage, the framing carried out by the media changes the media itself, from being just a presenter of information to an actor carrying interests, both capital and ideological. The problem is that public control over news framing carried out by the media is limited to academics through their scientific research, and does not become a movement for civil control over the behavior of the media which often carries out framing. This is a suggestion that future research should carry out.

Bibliography

- Akbar, C. (2018). *Ledakan Bom di Surabaya Terjadi di Tiga Gereja*. Tempo. <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1088304/ledakan-bom-di-surabaya-terjadi-di-tiga-gereja>
- Azanella, L. A. (2018). *Mereka yang Galang Donasi untuk Korban Bom Surabaya*. Kompas. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2018/05/14/10180511/mereka-yang-galang-donasi-untuk-korban-bom-surabaya>
- Boston Universty. (2023). *Asian Alumni Committee*. Boston University. <https://www.bu.edu/alumni/get-involved/volunteer/leadership-councils-cocommittees/asian/>
- Dainton, M., & Zelle, E. D. (2018). *Applying Communication Theory for Professional Life: A Practical Introduction*. SAGE Publications.
- Damarjati, D. (2018). *Terorisme Terlaknat 2018: Bom Sekeluarga Mengguncang Surabaya*. Detik News. <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4358370/terorisme-terlaknat-2018-bom-sekeluarga-mengguncang-surabaya>
- Fairhurst, G. T., & Sarr, R. A. (1996). *The Art of Framing: Managing the Language of Leadership*. Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Farmita, A. R. (2018). *Rektor Unair: Pelaku Teror Bom di Gereja Surabaya DO dari Kampus*. Tempo. <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1088776/rektor-unair-pelaku-teror-bom-di-gereja-surabaya-do-dari-kampus>
- Finaka, A. W., & Nurhanisah, Y. (2023). *Media Digital Semakin Mendominasi*. Indonesia Baik. <https://indonesiabaik.id/infografis/media-digital-semakin-mendominasi>
- Gatra, S. (2018). *Bom di Tiga Gereja di Surabaya, 6 Orang Tewas, 35 Korban Luka*. Kompas. <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2018/05/13/10034771/bom-di-tiga-gereja-di-surabaya-6-orang-tewas-35-korban-luka>
- Goffman, E. (1986). *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Northeastern University Press.
- Hassan, R. (2018). "Political and Social Changes in the Muslim World with Special Reference to Development, Knowledge and Freedom Deficits," in Fethi Mansouri and Zuleyha Keskin (eds.), *Contesting the Theological Foundations of Islamism and Violent Extremism*. Springer International Publishing.
- Johnson, S., & Milani, Tommaso M. (2009). *Language Ideologies and Media Discourse: Texts, Practices, Politics*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Khalil, M. H. (2008). *Jihad, Radicalism, and the New Atheism*. Cambridge University Press.
- Kominfo Provinsi Jawa Timur. (2018). *Inilah Data Lengkap 13 Pelaku Bom Bunuh Diri yang Tewas di Surabaya dan Sidoarjo*. Dinas Kominfo Provinsi Jawa Timur. <https://kominfo.jatimprov.go.id/read/umum/inilah-data-lengkap-13-pelaku-bom-bunuh-diri-yang-tewas-di-surabaya-dan-sidoarjo>
- Kontras Surabaya. (2018). *Pastikan Perlindungan dan Pemenuhan Hak-Hak Korban Teror Bom Surabaya!* Kontras Surabaya. <https://kontrassurabaya.org/hukum->

- ham/pastikan-perlindungan-dan-pemenuhan-hak-hak-korban-teror-bom-surabaya/
- Kriswanto, J. (2018). *Serangan bom di tiga gereja Surabaya: Pelaku bom bunuh diri "perempuan yang membawa dua anak."* BBC News Indonesia. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-44097913>
- Kuwado, F. J. (2018). *Bom Surabaya, Antara Dendam dan Pembuktian Eksistensi ISIS.* Kompas. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2018/05/14/08515911/bom-surabaya-antara-dendam-dan-pembuktian-eksistensi-isis>
- Lila Abu-Lughod. (2006). *Local Contexts of Islamism in Popular Media.* Amsterdam Universty Press.
- McCombs, M. E. (2014). *Setting the Agenda: The Mass Media and Public Opinion.* Polity.
- Mujibuddin, M. (2022). *Radikalisme, Terorisme, dan Islamisme.* IRCiSoD.
- Putra, Y. D. (2019). Konstruksi Pemberitaan Terorisme Surabaya di Media Onlie Detik dan Kompas. *Jurnal Dakwah Dan Komunikasi*, 3(2), 121. <https://doi.org/10.29240/jdk.v3i2.642>
- Putri, W. M. (2019). *Perspectivization in Al Jazeera English and The Guardian Online News Articles about the Phenomenon of Church Bombers Family in Surabaya.* Universitas Brawijaya.
- Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of Communication*, 49(1), 103–122. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1999.tb02784.x>
- Scheufele, D. A., & Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models: Models of Media Effects. *Journal of Communication*, 57(1), 9–20.
- Setiawan, R. E. B., & Suyoto. (2020). Duka Surabaya dalam Bingkai Surat Kabar (Analisis Framing Pemberitaan Terorisme di Surabaya pada Surat Kabar Republika dan Kompas Edisi Mei 2018. *Jurnal Audiens*, 1(1), 26–34.
- Setiawan, S. R. D. (2018). *Perubahan Pola Baru Terorisme, Anak Disertakan dalam Aksi Bom Bunuh Diri.* Kompas. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2018/05/15/11354801/perubahan-pola-baru-terorisme-anak-disertakan-dalam-aksi-bom-bunuh-diri>
- Sierra, S. (2021). *Millennials Talking Media: Creating Intertextual Identities in Everyday Conversation.* Oxford University Press.
- Steuter, E., & Wills, D. (2008). *At War with Metaphor: Media, Propaganda, and Racism in the War on Terror.* Lexington Book.
- Sujoko, A., & Bilqisth, R. (2022). Framing Pemberitaan Bom Bunuh Diri Di Tiga Gereja Surabaya di VICE.COM. *JOEL: Journal of Educational and Language Research*, 1(8), 1103–1116.
- Suprawoto. (2018). *Government Public Relations: Perkembangan dan Praktik di Indonesia.* Prenada Media.
- Tifada, D. A. (2021). *Pengeboman Tiga Gereja di Surabaya dalam Sejarah 13 Mei 2018.* VOI. <https://voi.id/memori/51062/pengeboman-tiga-gereja-di-surabaya-dalam-sejarah-13-mei-2018>

- Tuckfield, B. (2023). *Dive Into Data Science: Use Python To Tackle Your Toughest Business Challenges*. No Starch Pres.
- Wolf, W. (2006). *Framing Borders in Literature and Other Media*. Rodopi B.V.