

## NARROWING THE ROLE OF WOMEN TERRORISTS IN INDONESIAN MEDIA COVERAGE

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### Abstract

*Dian Yuli Novi is the first Indonesian women to be directly involved in an act of terrorism. However, a number of Indonesian media coverage if this case actually dwarfed Dian Yuli Novi's role as the main perpetrator of terrorism. This paper aims to identify a number of framings found in Dian Yuli Novi's terrorism reporting. Furthermore, this paper finds that the euphoria of number of media in exploiting this news actually makes the into symbiosis mutualism, and indirectly provides publicity for terrorist group network in Indonesia.*

**Keywords:** Media, Framing, Female Terrorist.

### Abstrak

Dian Yuli Novi merupakan seorang perempuan Indonesia pertama yang terlibat langsung di dalam aksi terorisme. Akan tetapi, berdasarkan temuan dalam penelitian ini sejumlah pemberitaan media Indonesia terhadap kasus tersebut justru mengerdilkan peran Dian Yuli Novi sebagai pelaku utama terorisme. Penelitian ini ditujukan untuk mengidentifikasi sejumlah pembingkai yang terdapat pada pemberitaan terorisme Dian Yuli Novi melalui metode *framing*. Lebih lanjut, penelitian ini menemukan bahwa euforia sejumlah media dalam mengeksploitasi pemberitaan tersebut justru menjadikan mereka masuk ke dalam sebuah simbiosis mutualisme, dan secara tidak langsung memberikan publisitas bagi jaringan kelompok teroris di Indonesia.

**Kata Kunci:** Media, Framing, Teroris Perempuan.



Lisensi

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## A. INTRODUCTION

Terrorism is basically not a simple thing that arises on the basis of spontaneity driven by certain political interests. Rather, terrorism involves the role of the media so that the action can successfully achieve its goals. The relationship between terrorism and the media itself has long been the subject of study. Many of these researchers say that both parties, media and terrorists, enjoy a mutually beneficial relationship with each other. Terrorism itself is defined by U.S. law as premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience. Referring to this definition, it can be said that the main purpose of terrorism is to influence the audience. So it is not wrong if Seib and Janbek say communication is the core of terrorism. This is because the essence of terrorism is to convey messages to the audience, so to achieve this goal, terrorists often carry out their actions in certain ways, situations, and conditions to get media attention.<sup>1</sup>

The symbiotic mutualism between the media and terrorists has also been debated among researchers. Weimann and Win in 1994 explained that many terrorist groups are very sensitive to the timing of news and audience dynamics, so they often plan their actions based on these two aspects.<sup>2</sup> Spencer explained that there are three forms of media utilization by terrorism; first, terrorism seeks to gain public attention, second, to gain sympathy, and third, to spread terror to the public so as to change political policies.<sup>3</sup> From this argument, there is a criticism that the media often exploits the sensationalism of terrorist attacks for economic gain. However, this view is not solely without rebuttals, one of which was put forward by Michel Wieviorka.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Seib, P. dan Janbek, D. M. (2010). *Global Terrorism and New Media*. Taylor & Francis e-Library

<sup>2</sup> Ross, I. J. (2007). Deconstructing the terrorism-news media relationship. *Crime Media Culture*, Vol 3(2): 215–225. SAGE Publications

<sup>3</sup> Spencer, A. (2012). *Lessons Learnt: Terrorism and the Media*. Wiltshire: Arts and Humanities Research Council

<sup>4</sup> Peresin, A. (2007). Mass Media and Terrorism. *Medij istraž.* Vol 13(1): 5-22

The development of social and political backgrounds that underlie terrorism attacks is increasingly diverse. The need for greater media attention eventually brings terrorism into new forms, one of which is terrorism involving women. Although not new<sup>5</sup>, female terrorists still attract the attention of several researchers, especially those related to the representation of female terrorists in the media. This is interesting because often the framing that appears in media coverage creates a misrepresentation of female terrorists; the role of women tends to be dwarfed. Despite raising a fundamental issue, many media outlets are still trapped in patriarchal domination when reporting on female terrorists. The coverage of female terrorists often maintains the prevailing gender stereotypes in society; although some media framings try to package female terrorists as a form of gender resistance movement.<sup>6</sup> In addition, business logic also forces the media to emphasize sensationalism over substance, which should be the main need of the public when dealing with terrorism issues. As a result, the news then creates a false perception in the public; that female terrorists are not dangerous and are only victims of the doctrine of terrorist groups.

So that way, this research aims to discuss the symbiotic relationship created between terrorism and the media, as well as how female terrorism is framed in the media coverage. To examine this theme, the 2016 pot bombing case, which involved Dian Yuli Novi as a terrorist, will be the subject of this research. This case was chosen because Dian Yuli Novi is the first Indonesian woman to be involved, and has a vital role, in acts of terrorism. Furthermore, the focus of the research on one case of terrorism coverage is considered to be a novelty in this research to uncover the relationship between terrorists and the media as well as how to frame the coverage of terrorism cases in Indonesian online media.

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<sup>5</sup> Crenshaw, in the early 1980s, noted that there was a growing speculation about the important role of women in terrorist groups. Brigitte L. Nacos (2005) *The Portrayal of Female Terrorists in the Media: Similar Framing Patterns in the News Coverage of Women in Politics and in Terrorism*. 438.

<sup>6</sup> Brigitte L. Nacos (2005) *The Portrayal of Female Terrorists in the Media: Similar Framing Patterns in the News Coverage of Women in Politics and in Terrorism*. 444.

## **B. RESEARCH METHOD**

This research uses a qualitative method with a framing analysis research design. Popular framing analysis is used to find out how the media constructs a certain reality. Framing can be used to see how the media frames and presents an event or reality with two essences contained in it, namely how facts are written and how an event is interpreted.

The emphasis in framing analysis is on how messages or meanings are formed from a text. In the context of this research, of course, researchers will see how messages or meanings are constructed by journalists through a news report that is presented to a wide audience. From a communication point of view, framing is used as an analytical scalpel in uncovering media ideology when the media constructs a reality or fact. In addition, framing is a method to find out the media perspective applied by journalists in selecting and filtering issues in writing news.

There are two popular framing styles used by researchers. Pan & Kosicki model and Gamson & Modigliani model. However, in this research, the Pan & Kosicki model is used. In this model, there are four dimensions used in operationalizing a text, namely syntax, script, thematic, and rhetorical. Pan and Kosicki's view considers that each frame in the news has a function as a warehouse for organizing ideas. The four dimensions proposed by Pan and Kosicki as a way to operationalize the text have the following explanation. First, the syntactic dimension is something related to journalists' efforts to organize events and make statements, quotes, and observations of certain phenomena into a news frame structure. Usually, this syntax can be observed from the structure of a news story, such as news headlines, news sources, and news leads.

Second, the script dimension has the view that every news has its own strategy in telling a story. Basically, this dimension pays attention to how the journalist's style of writing or speaking in packaging an event. Third, the thematic dimension is closely related to how journalists put their ideas into a

news format, starting from words, sentences, to an overall news structure. Fourth, the rhetorical dimension is closely related to the way journalists emphasize the meaning of certain events. In other words, this dimension can usually be used to examine the use of additional information to emphasize something. Such as the use of pictures, graphs, and idioms to make it easier to understand something.

Based on the framing analysis method conducted in this research, what is documented and observed are news texts related to the terrorist act committed by Dian Yuli Novi in online media such as detik.com and Kompas.com. The selection of the two online media is based on the researcher's observation that the number of visitors in quantity is more than other online media in Indonesia.

## C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### The Mutualism of Media and Terrorists

The study of media and terrorism often leads to a debate about the mutual benefits that result from the relationship between the two parties; the symbiotic mutualism of media and terrorists. Some researchers argue that both media and terrorists benefit from the relationship. Among them, Rohner and Frey said that extremist groups, terrorists, use terror as a communication strategy.<sup>7</sup> What this means is that the main goal of terrorism is not the number of victims, but the insemination of fear among the public.

Another researcher, Manuel Castels, responded to the terrorist act by saying: Ultimately, the action is geared toward human minds, toward transforming consciousness. The media, local and global, media-oriented are the means of communication through which the public mind is formed. Therefore, action has to be media oriented, it has to be spectacular, provide good footage, so

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<sup>7</sup> Rohner, D. dan Frey, B. S. (2007). Blood and ink! The common-interest-game between terrorists and the media. *Public Choice*, 133, 129-145.

that the whole world can see it: like a Hollywood movie because this is what has trained the human mind in our times<sup>8</sup>.

These two opinions confirm that killing a lot of people or blowing up several places is not the main goal of terrorism, but terrorism is an act of communication. As an act of communication, terrorism requires a medium to convey its messages. In this case, the media becomes a means of conveying terror messages for acts of terrorism. Therefore, terrorists often deliberately choose certain targets, times, and places to maximize media attention.<sup>9</sup>

Rohner and Frey argue that the media is one of the fundamental aspects of terrorism. This is because, through media coverage, terrorist groups, or extremists, can raise funds and increase their popularity; the media becomes a facilitator. This makes terrorist groups stronger, richer, and ideologically more influential. In addition, the media also has a strong influence on future acts of terrorism. This is explained to happen because media coverage of terrorist acts can increase motivation for the perpetrators.<sup>10</sup>

However, not all researchers agree with this symbiotic mutualism between media and terrorism. One of them is a French sociologist named Michel Wieviorka. Through his work entitled *The Making Terrorism* in 1993, Wieviorka argued that there are at least four different relationships between terrorism and the media: pure indifference, relative indifference, the media-oriented strategy, and total break.<sup>11</sup> In pure indifference, Wieviorka argued that terrorists do not plan to terrorize a group of people outside their target population, nor do they realize the propaganda power of their terrorist acts.<sup>12</sup> However, this view is refuted by Wilkinson by says that even though the goal

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<sup>8</sup> Philip Seib dan Dana M. Janbek. 2011. *Global Terrorism and New Media The post-Al Qaeda generation*. 10.

<sup>9</sup> Rohner, D. dan Frey, B. S. (2007). Blood and ink! The common-interest-game between terrorists and the media. *Public Choice*, 133, 129-145.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>11</sup> Anita Peresin. 2007. *Mass Media and Terrorism*. 8

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*

of terrorism is to instill fear in a certain group of victims, the perpetrators still rely on communication channels or mediums to carry out their actions.<sup>13</sup>

The second is relative indifference, Wieviorka said that terrorists tend to be indifferent to several news reports about their actions. This is because they already have channels that can be used to explain their position: among them are public spaces such as universities, churches, and mosques. This view is then refuted by Wilkinson by stating that Wieviorka tends to ignore alternative media that are also used by terrorists to convey terror messages. Furthermore, Wieviorka's third view is the media-oriented strategy. In this case, Wieviorka explains that terrorists use mass media as an instrument to spread terror messages.<sup>14</sup> Wilkinson argues that this form of relationship is the only relationship, between media and terrorism, that Wieviorka recognizes.<sup>15</sup>

Wieviorka's final view on media and terrorism is a total break. Regarding this, he explains that the media is the target of violence from terrorists. Wieviorka based this view on several cases where media organizations, journalists, editors, and broadcasters tend to be seen as enemies by terrorists; working in the media sphere is often the target of threats and violence from acts of terrorism. However, Wilkinson argues that these attacks and threats do not necessarily make the relationship between the media and terrorists irrelevant. Referring to these explanations, Wilkinson emphasizes that terrorism is a psychological weapon that relies on delivering messages to the public.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, terrorism lives on publicity, and media freedom in an open society opens up opportunities.

The benefits of this symbiotic mutualism are not only felt by the terrorists but also by the media industry. This is because the media views terrorist acts as sensational news; a potential to attract readers. This is then

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<sup>13</sup> Wilkinson, P. (1997). The Media and Terrorism: A Reassessment. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol 9(2): 51-64

<sup>14</sup> Peresin, A. (2007). Mass Media and Terrorism. *Medij istraž.* Vol 13(1): 5-22

<sup>15</sup> Wilkinson, P. (1997). The Media and Terrorism: A Reassessment. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol 9(2): 51-64

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*

emphasized by Schmid and de Graaf, who stated that news about terrorism, especially those related to long incidents such as bombings, hijackings, and hostage-taking, can provide many sources of sensational information as well as visual news that can increase readership.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, terrorism is an attractive subject for the media because it can bring more profit when compared to serious news. Furthermore, driven by the desire for shocking news and exciting images, the media eventually accepted a form of symbiotic mutualism with terrorists.<sup>18</sup> The fear and fascination spread by terrorism then turn into a business field for media organizations.<sup>19</sup>

But, this view was later refuted by a number of professional journalists by claiming that they would not give excessive publicity to terrorism because it is related to public policy issues, thus requiring substantial coverage from the media. In addition, Walsh added that the media's desire to exploit terrorism news is also limited by the norms of professional journalism, which require balance and objectivity.<sup>20</sup>

However, a study by Muhammad Zubair Iqbal on media coverage of the Mumbai attacks can give us an idea of the symbiotic relationship between terrorism and the media. The act of terrorism received great attention from the media in the UK; it was covered for four consecutive days. This then triggered various criticisms from media critics because the coverage seemed too dramatic and sensationalized. Terrorism attacks are a field for the media to seek profit. Moreover, Iqbal's research also showed that the UK television media played an important role in mediating the terrorists' messages,

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<sup>17</sup> Iqbal, M. Z. (2015). The media-terrorism symbiosis: a case study of Mumbai attacks. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 25(2), 197-212. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01292986.2014.944924>

<sup>18</sup> Prajarto, N. (2004). Terorisme dan Media Massa: Debat Keterlibatan Media. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*, 8(1), 37-52.

<sup>19</sup> Rohner and Frey explained that the media benefits from the public's desire to seek information about terrorism. This means increasing the number of sales as well as the number of audiences. (p. 130).

<sup>20</sup> Bennett, W. L., & Paletz, D. L. (1994). Taken by storm: The media, public opinion, and U.S. foreign policy in the Gulf War dan Zaller, J., & Chiu, D. (1996). Government's little helper: U.S. press coverage of foreign policy crisis, 1945-1991. *Political Communication*, 13, 385-40



especially about the depiction of terror and violence during the Mumbai attacks.<sup>21</sup>

The various explanations above show that in the symbiosis between media and terrorism, there is a mutually beneficial bond. Walter Laquer in 1976 claimed that the media is a good friend of terrorism.<sup>22</sup> Reinforcing this statement, Wilkinson, quoting Margaret Thatcher, said that the media provides "oxygen of publicity" for terrorism. Based on these two opinions, it can be said that the media is the lifeblood of terrorism. The publicity created by media coverage seems to be the breath of life for the act of terrorism. Furthermore, Brian Jenkins explained that the symbiotic mutualism between the media and terrorists is a product of freedom, especially freedom of the press.<sup>23</sup> Almost in line with this statement, Cohen-Almagor said that free speech and free media, as the cornerstones in a democracy, provide the publicity needed by terrorists to inform their goals and operations to the public. Then, media coverage of acts of terrorism seems to illustrate that "you cannot be revolutionary without a color TV: it's as necessary as a gun".<sup>24</sup>

### **Media and Female Terrorist**

One of the elements raised in terrorism news is about terrorism committed by women. Although it is no longer a new phenomenon<sup>25</sup>, the case of female terrorists remains a source of news that is often exposed by the media. This is based on the opinion that women's involvement in terrorism has more news value compared to male terrorism because the act is seen as

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<sup>21</sup> Iqbal, M. Z. (2015). The media-terrorism symbiosis: a case study of Mumbai attacks. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 25(2), 197-212. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01292986.2014.944924>

<sup>22</sup> Raphael Cohen-Almagor. 2005. *Media Coverage of Acts of Terrorism: Troubling Episodes and Suggested Guidelines*. 385

<sup>23</sup> Iqbal, M. Z. (2015). The media-terrorism symbiosis: a case study of Mumbai attacks. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 25(2), 197-212. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01292986.2014.944924>

<sup>24</sup> Cohen-Almagor, R. (2005). *Media Coverage of Acts of Terrorism: Troubling Episodes and Suggested Guidelines*. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 30, 383-409

<sup>25</sup> Christopher Harmon explains that today more than 30 percent of international terrorist members are women, and women have occupied strategic positions in insurgencies. Other statistics suggest that this membership is estimated at 20 to 30 percent of all domestic and international terrorist groups. Brigitte L. Nacos (2005) *The Portrayal of Female Terrorists in the Media: Similar Framing Patterns in the News Coverage of Women in Politics and in Terrorism*. 436.

having gone against gender stereotypes that exist in society. It is not uncommon for news about female terrorists to last for a relatively long period of time.

Based on the previous explanation, an interesting aspect of the coverage of female terrorists is the way the media maintains stereotypes and general depictions attached to women. In this regard, Reyes stated that the portrayal of women in acts of terrorism is often based on a number of framings, including physical appearance, relationship with family, love-based involvement, and aggressive attitudes as feminists. Some of these framings often misrepresent female terrorists.<sup>26</sup>

Reyes explained that in packaging the news about female terrorists, the media tends to have an interest in the way women look and dress; the feminist appearance of female terrorists is often the main highlight of the news.<sup>27</sup> The same thing was found by Brigitte L. Nacos in her research on *The Portrayal of Female Terrorists in the Media: Similar Framing Patterns in the News Coverage of Women in Politics and in Terrorism*. In the study, Nacos examined the media's portrayal of the first female suicide bomber in Palestine, Wafra Idris. The results of the study found that the opening sentences that appeared in media articles tended to expose the physical appearance and dress of suicide bombers: "she was an attractive, auburn haired graduate who had a loving family and liked to wear sleeveless dresses and make-up".<sup>28</sup>

In addition to appearance, the framing used by the media in reviewing the news of female terrorists is about the family relationships of the terrorists. As explained by Reyes, the media uses women's status as wives, mothers, or daughters to explain their involvement in terrorism. Furthermore, Reyes

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<sup>26</sup> Reyes, N. (2016). Women and Terrorism: Challenging Traditional Gender Roles. *Undergraduate Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 1 (1), 119-124.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>28</sup> Nacos, B., L.(2005) *The Portrayal of Female Terrorists in the Media: Similar Framing Patterns in the News Coverage of Women in Politics and in Terrorism*. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 28(5), 435-451. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10576100500180352>

added that when discussing female terrorists, the media often emphasizes their relationship with their family as part of the news review. This, in Reyes' opinion, even occupies a more important position than other facts that might explain the motives of women's involvement in terrorism.<sup>29</sup>

This tendency is also confirmed by Nacos in her research. Nacos explained that the news, the media, paid great attention to the family background of female terrorists. Nacos added that when the female terrorists are beautiful, the reporter will question why they are not married.<sup>30</sup> Referring to these statements, it can be seen that the media's portrayal of female terrorists cannot be separated from their role in the domestic sphere. Women, despite being a terrorist, are still bound by their status and role in the family environment.

The next aspect that is also related to family relationships is the love background. Nacos explained that "love relationships" have always been a theme used by the media in reporting on female terrorists. One example Nacos gave was when the German media quoted a criminologist who said that women joined extremist groups based on their admiration for someone in the group.<sup>31</sup> This news is very different if the motive is found in terrorism committed by men. Reyes said that "While the news makes notice of women's participating in terrorism because of love, it's particularly quiet about men's participating in terrorism for the exact reasons".<sup>32</sup> This view is a wrong perspective built by the media. The motivation of love can basically also be found in men who are involved in acts of terrorism. This is because, empirical reality shows that both men and women tend to join terrorist groups

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<sup>29</sup> Reyes, N. (2016). Women and Terrorism: Challenging Traditional Gender Roles. *Undergraduate Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 1 (1), 119-124.

<sup>30</sup> Nacos, B., L.(2005) The Portrayal of Female Terrorists in the Media: Similar Framing Patterns in the News Coverage of Women in Politics and in Terrorism. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 28(5), 435-451. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10576100500180352>

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>32</sup> Reyes, N. (2016). Women and Terrorism: Challenging Traditional Gender Roles. *Undergraduate Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 1 (1), 119-124.

motivated by people they recognize: relatives, friends, or acquaintances. However, the media often does not expose this point of view.

An interesting framing of the coverage of female terrorists is the struggle for gender equality. Contemporary media still quite often explain the movement of female terrorists as being based on the desire to achieve gender equality. In fact, in the mid-1970s, a number of women engaged in leftist organizations in several countries such as America, Europe, Latin America, and Japan were often described as a manifestation of women's independence. In addition to the tendency to use these four aspects, the media also often puts women in the position of victims in every news coverage on terrorism. This also applies when the woman becomes the perpetrator of terrorism; this framing is called victimization. Tervooren stated that when the media conveys the fact that women are involved in acts of terrorism, the majority of the news will convey that these women are used by men as weapons.<sup>33</sup> Nacos added that this victimization continues because of the general assumption in society that terrorism is a man's world so women are not included in it.<sup>34</sup> This should not continue because although the methods, ideologies, and atrocities of male and female terrorists are different, the goals and impacts remain the same.<sup>35</sup>

## **Discussion**

The suicide bombing plan by Dian Yuli Novi is one of the most high-profile terrorist cases in Indonesia. This was due to the fact that Dian Yuli Novi was the first Indonesian woman to be directly involved as a potential suicide bomber.<sup>36</sup> Although the suicide bombing, also known as a pot bomb, which was planned to be detonated at the State Palace was foiled, the Dian Yuli Novi

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<sup>33</sup> Tervooren, K. (2016). *Representing Women and Terrorist Violence: A feminist interrogation of female agency in the gendered discourse of the public*. Universiteit Utrecht. <https://dspace.library.uu.nl>

<sup>34</sup>Victimization basically views that women's profiles do not meet the requirements to be categorized as terrorists. This is based on the stereotype in society that violence is always synonymous with the world of men, so women will never be able to enter the criteria.

<sup>35</sup> Nacos, B., L.(2005) The Portrayal of Female Terrorists in the Media: Similar Framing Patterns in the News Coverage of Women in Politics and in Terrorism. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 28(5), 435-451. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10576100500180352>

<sup>36</sup> <http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-38280882>

case has more or less opened a new perspective on the terrorism movement in Indonesia; women also have the potential to commit acts of terrorism. However, the media coverage that exploited the non-substantive aspects of the case trivialized the strategic role and the real threat of Dian Yuli Novi as a terrorist. Referring to a number of concepts that have been explained previously, this research found several forms of framing used by Indonesian media in the news coverage of the female terrorist suspect.

The first framing found in a number of articles in the Indonesian media is physical appearance. This can be seen from the description given by one of the articles from online media [aceh.tribunnews.com](http://aceh.tribunnews.com) which wrote: The photo shows a woman with long hair, flowing over her shoulders and partially touching below the front of her neck, up to her chest. Her face is clearly visible, wearing a green shirt, similar to a high school student's uniform. (Faisal, 2016).

The same article also describes Dian Yuli Novi's appearance after being arrested by the Indonesian police: Another photo, of a hijab-wearing woman with her hands tied behind her body. She wore a black hijab, long enough to touch her hips. Her face was covered with a green mask, matching the green clothes of [tribunnews](http://tribunnews.com).<sup>37</sup>

Another article provides a description that is not much different, noted media [detik.com](http://detik.com) wrote; In the photo received by [detikcom](http://detik.com), Sunday (11/12/2016), Dian wore a long black hijab and glasses.<sup>38</sup>

A number of these depictions are in accordance with the statement from Nacos who said that the media often package the news of female terrorists in the realm of how women dress and perform, especially in the representation

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<sup>37</sup> Faisal. (2016). *Inilah KTP dan Surat Wasiat Wanita yang Berencana Melakukan Bom Bunuh Diri di Istana Negara*. Dirujuk dari <http://aceh.tribunnews.com/2016/12/11/inilah-ktp-dan-surat-wasiat-wanita-yang-berencana-melakukan-bom-bunuh-diri-di-istana-negara?page=all>

<sup>38</sup> Jordan, R. (2016). *Ini Wajah Dian Si Calon 'Pengantin' yang Ditangkap Densus 88 di Bekasi*. <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-3368841/ini-wajah-dian-si-calon-pengantin-yang-ditangkap-densus-88-di-bekasi>

of the feminist side.<sup>39</sup> In this case, Dian Yuli Novi's appearance as the first female terrorist in Indonesia is considered more interesting than the ideological or political views underlying her actions. Furthermore, the portrayal also seems to create an impression of Dian Yuli Novi as a woman in general; maintaining gender descriptions tied to women; that women do not fit the terrorist profile.<sup>40</sup>

The second framing found was about family relationships and romance. A number of articles found in the Indonesian media show that the coverage of Dian Yuli Novi's terrorism case focused more on the personal life of the perpetrator such as the will she left for her husband and parents<sup>41</sup>, as well as her status as the backbone of the family<sup>42</sup>. In addition, Dian Yuli Novi's involvement in terrorism has also been linked to her status as the wife of another suspected terrorist.<sup>43</sup> The relationship that emerges from the depiction of the female terrorist's relationship with her family is in accordance with Beauvoir's statement, namely the existence of women who appear in society depends on the existence of her husband.<sup>44</sup>

Through this depiction, the media seems to say that Dian Yuli Novi's involvement in terrorism was solely due to the influence and approval of her husband. This is also confirmed by Sydney Jones, in a bbc.com article, who said that in a state of war women can participate in acts of terrorism as long as they have received permission from their husbands. Furthermore, this depiction also emphasizes the position of women in society as objects of male

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<sup>39</sup> Nacos, B., L.(2005) The Portrayal of Female Terrorists in the Media: Similar Framing Patterns in the News Coverage of Women in Politics and in Terrorism. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 28(5), 435-451. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10576100500180352>

<sup>40</sup> Katherine E. Brown. (2011) *Muriel's wedding: News media representations of Europe's first female suicide terrorist*. Hal. 706

<sup>41</sup><http://nasional.news.viva.co.id/news/read/858265-isi-lengkap-surat-wasiat-dian-calon-pengantin-bom-bekasi>

<sup>42</sup> <https://m.tempo.co/read/news/2016/12/12/063827377/terduga-teroris-bom-panci-tulang-punggung-keluarga>

<sup>43</sup><https://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/kapolri-sebut-wanita-calon-pengantin-istri-terduga-teroris-solihin.html>

<sup>44</sup>De Beauvoir, S. 1953. *The Second Sex*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf

patriarchal hegemony who are always bound and have no power over themselves.<sup>45</sup> This means that terrorism tends to be the domain of masculinity, and the role of female terrorists is dwarfed by the media.

But, not all news reports of terrorist acts committed by women have family and romantic motives. The suicide bombing committed by female terrorist Muriel Daguque was portrayed by the media as having no connection to her husband or family. This was because she had been estranged from her family and her husband had died in an accident in Iraq. The element of Daguque's beliefs became the motive highlighted by the media in acts of terrorism. The findings in Brown's study indicate that there is a possibility that the media does not portray women involved in acts of terrorism based on family and romantic motives. In the case of Muriel Daguque, her "Islamic" status became the focus of the news coverage of suicide bombing terrorism.

The third framing found in Dian Yuli Novi's terrorism case is victimization. In this case, Dian Yuli Novi as a female terrorist is often portrayed as a victim by a number of media reports. One of the articles that emphasized this representation came from detik.com: Dian Yulia Novi was consumed by the horrific doctrine of terrorism. As a result, she became brave enough to become a suicide bomber to attack her own country. "The person concerned communicated intensively with BN".<sup>46</sup>

This statement is an affirmation of Terranova's explanation, which says that when the media convey the fact that women are involved in acts of terrorism, the majority of the news will convey that these women are used by men as weapons.<sup>47</sup> This condition is in accordance with the opinion conveyed by Beauvoir, who highlighted the freedom that women may have, but in the view of society she still cannot escape the shadow of men in every action she

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<sup>45</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>46</sup> Rizki, K. A. (2016). *Doktrin Ini yang Membuat Dian Rela Jadi Pengantin Bom Bunuh Diri*. <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-3368545/doktrin-ini-yang-membuat-dian-rela-jadi-pengantin-bom-bunuh-diri>

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*

takes. Beauvoir added that this continues to happen in society because women are not given trust.<sup>48</sup> In this case, the position of women in the media who are portrayed as victims of terrorism even though they themselves are perpetrators, explains the inferior position of women to men. Furthermore, the *victimization* of women in terrorism news also reaffirms that women are not considered in the world of terrorism because it is synonymous with men.

Referring to some of these framings, it can be seen that the Indonesian media tends to be trapped in the discourse of masculinity in reporting on female terrorism. Despite bringing up an issue that is quite fundamental to society, the media often gives an image that downplays the role of female terrorist, Dian Yuli Novi. This is the opinion of Terranova, who argued that the portrayal of victimization as the main motivation of terrorists is rarely or even not presented in the news.<sup>49</sup>

In addition, the exposure of Dian Yuli Novi's personal life and background also makes important facts about her involvement in terrorism; the perpetrator's relationship with her parents and husband is considered more important.<sup>50</sup> This is inseparable from the media's desire to find interesting news topics. The status and family relationships of female terrorists can fulfill this demand. Furthermore, Schmid and de Graaf stated that news about terrorism, especially those related to long incidents such as bombings, hijackings, and hostage-taking, can provide many sources of sensational information as well as visually appealing news that can increase readership.<sup>51</sup> In this case, the case of Dian Yuli Novi, as the first female terrorist in Indonesia, became a profitable business opportunity for media companies.

What should be of concern is the impact of the news coverage. The dominance of the patriarchal perspective in the Indonesian media has

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<sup>48</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>51</sup> Iqbal, M. Z. (2015). The media-terrorism symbiosis: a case study of Mumbai attacks. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 25(2), 197-212. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01292986.2014.944924>



indirectly weakened the role and threat posed by female terrorists. This then results in the weakening of public awareness of the potential of female terrorists who might threaten their safety. Regarding this, Cohen-Almagor said that the media's view of what and how an event is reported can affect people's perspective on terrorism.<sup>52</sup> In line with this opinion, Nacos revealed that the framing of female terrorists can be utilized by terrorist groups to attack people who have gender prejudice; women are not suitable to be terrorists.<sup>53</sup>

Furthermore, the business logic and the desire of Indonesian media to get sensational news has indirectly made them fall into a symbiotic mutualism with the group. Then, as a result of this relationship, the Indonesian media has indirectly become an effective medium for the spread of terror by terrorists. As Ross explains, terrorists use the media to communicate messages.<sup>54</sup>

The effectiveness was due to the massive coverage of Dian Yuli Novi's terrorist act during December 2016. Furthermore, the media exploitation of Dian Yuli Novi's terrorist act can give the terrorist group publicity, which is the main goal. In addition, the excessive coverage of Dian Yuli Novi's terrorism case may also motivate terrorists to use women more often in their future actions.

#### D. CONCLUSION

Indonesian media coverage of Dian Yuli Novi's terrorist act of planning a suicide bombing at the State Palace is a phenomenon that has attracted considerable attention. This is due to the emergence of women who are directly involved in potential suicide bombings. An act of female terrorism had occurred in the suicide bombing of a European woman, Muriel Dagueque, in 2005. In that case, the media highlighted different things when compared to Dian Yuli Novi's

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<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>54</sup> Ross, I. J. (2007). Deconstructing the terrorism-news media relationship. *Crime Media Culture*, Vol 3(2): 215–225. SAGE Publications

action; the media focused on the aspect of Dagueque's beliefs. Although both perpetrators have the same belief background, the media in Indonesia tend to portray women's terrorism in terms of appearance, relationship with family and feelings of love, and view women as victims in terrorism.

This can unconsciously lead to a symbiotic relationship between terrorism and the media; the media gets a business advantage by showing news of female terrorism, while terrorists succeed in conveying their terror to the public. Media coverage of female terrorism should not minimize the role and position of women. Furthermore, media coverage that views female terrorist acts in terms of gender stereotypes and victims should no longer be done because it can build wrong perceptions in society. This aims to build public awareness that acts of terrorism committed by women are just as dangerous as acts of terrorism committed by men.

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