

## Suicide Framing on Online Media in Indonesia

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### ABSTRACT

News about suicides in online media is increasingly worrying. This is due to the fact that the news stories often show specific display and details of suicide incidents. This study aims to analyse two online media in framing suicide news and the compatibility of the news of the rules from the Press Council in 2019 by using a research method adapted from Matthes and Kohring in year 2008. The data used in this research are 85 articles, with the details of 38 articles from *Tribunnews.com* and 47 articles from *suara.com*. This research is important in that, if the news is repeated with high news frequency, the mentioned detailed mode is done explicitly, to hyperbolic reporting, it will be able to cause copycat suicide. It is hoped that the results of this research can provide meaningful input for the Indonesian Press Council to provide guidance to journalists in Indonesia regarding writing suicide reports. The methodology utilised for this research is content analysis of media frames guided by Robert M. Entman and then tabulated using the ward's method by non-hierarchical clustering. The result of the research shows that online media in Indonesia mostly frame suicide as a crime issue and show in detail the ways in which victims commit suicide. This is opposite of the Press Council's rules in 2019 who regulated suicide as a mental health issue because it is caused not only by a single factor.

**Keyword:** *Suicide, online media, contextual journalism, press council, Entman's framing.*

### INTRODUCTION

Suicide happens a lot in the world, including in Indonesia. From 2007 to 2017, WHO (2017) explained the death rate in Indonesia which was caused by suicide based on age range. 3 out of 100,000 people committed suicide in all age categories (Jayani, 2019). For people between 5-14 years old category, at least 1 person out of 100,000 population committed suicide. Meanwhile, for people in the 15-49 years old category, 4 people out of 100,000 committed suicide, followed by people whose age average was between 50-69 years old with 4 people out of 100,000. For the 70 years old and above category, there was a significant rise in suicide numbers with 8 people out of 100,000 population who committed suicide. Generally, suicide cases in Indonesia is mostly committed by the 70 years old and above age category.

In 2005, 30,000 cases were suicide recorded in Indonesia (Press Council, 2019). The Press Council (2019) stated that the number may not be accurate as the number of victims who were not recorded because their families were embarrassed to report or their cases had not been identified. The Basic Health Research conducted by the Ministry of Health of the Republic of Indonesia in 2018 explained that 6.1% of the population aged above 15 years old suffered from depression. However, only 9% of the number received good mental health and treatment services while the other 91% didn't have the access to any health services at all (Press Council, 2019). Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS) in 2015 also recorded suicide cases in Indonesia mostly happened in the Central Java area with 331 cases, followed by East Java with 119 cases. Bali, Yogyakarta Special Region, West Java and, DKI Jakarta each indicate 1 person committing suicide (Press Council, 2019).

Indonesia's Press Council gave an alert through Panduan No.2/Panduan-DP/III/2019 regarding acts and suicide attempts. The guidelines included 20 points that regulated news about suicide. Then, a question arises, "Did the online media already comply with the guide by the Press Council in 2019?" The reason was, based on observations, throughout 2019, online media still used hyperbolic titles, mentioned the reason in detail, and also the real illustrations of the suicide. The first assumption of this research is that online media have not complied with the 2019 Press Council guidelines.

Along with the rapid development of communication and information technology, news about suicide has a significant effect. Ratnasari (2018) in her research titled *Analysis of Press Media Reports on Suicide Cases* explained that suicide news in Indonesia gave a negative impact on the public's mental health because they showed specific details of the suicide action and not complying with the 2019 press council regulations regarding news guidelines related to suicide acts and attempts

Walter Pincus (2009, cited in Anshori, 2011) mentioned this phenomenon as "newspaper narcissism" because news nowadays is created very fast without presenting "in-depth" news. Fikri (2018) added, the need of producing, modifying, selecting, and spreading the "message" at the same time to the public was what pushed the development of media to be very intense. This aligned with the online journalism concept which was explained by Deuze (cited in Santana, 2005, p. 137), that the difference between online journalism with conventional media was at the new decision faced by the cyber journalists. He added, "Online journalism have to make decisions about the most correct media format in disclosing a certain story and needed to consider the way to connect that story with another stories, archives, sources, etc, through hyperlinks (Santana, 2005)."

Mawardi (2021) stated that the characteristic of online journalism was strengthened with its speed, which was interesting yet scary. Eventually, according to Craig (2005, p. 30), online journalism enabled its journalists to present the newest news so the readers would also know about any new things. Ratnasari (2018) also mentioned suicide news that had to emphasise how suicide was harmful and had to increase the public's alertness regarding suicide as a mental health issue that needed serious attention. In other literature, Jenny, Tan and Justin (2019, p.1) in research titled *A Framing Analysis of News Coverage of Suicide by Utusan Malaysia and Kosmo!* added, "Findings ... reveal that the most salient frames were causes of suicide, and the methods." Therefore, a question arised, did online media already position suicide cases as a mental health issue? This was because based on observation, suicide news often only emphasised the viral part and only gave the spotlight to the reason for the act itself.

This research analyses two online media, which are *Tribunnews.com* and *Suara.com* from April to May 2019. *Tribunnews.com* was chosen because it had a 75% traffic appearance in search engines and became a referral site for 31.137 times in three months. Meanwhile, *Suara.com* had a 45.70% traffic appearance in search engines and became a referral site for 4.159 times in three months. Other than that, both media has high consistency and frequency for suicide cases news.

This is worrying as the effect of repetitive news reporting with high frequency, explicit detail reasoning explanation, and hyperbolic reporting can cause copycat suicide (Suh, Chang & Kim, 2014). It occurs due to the media's ability to affect public opinion and how the public interacts and thinks (Littlejohn, Foss & Oetzel, 2017). Heng et al. (2019, p.1) stated, "Most past studies have delved on analysing news reporting practices against ethical guidelines for suicide coverage; however, studies on news frames for suicide cases are scarce." Heng et al.

(2019) also explained many research focuses on suicide news that violated the guideline, but only a few of them focus on the news framing. For this reason, it is important to know how online media understands the suicide issue. This can be seen by analysing the news framing. Therefore, this research aims to analyse how suicide news is framed on Indonesian online media *Tribunnews.com* and *Suara.com*. After that, the synchronisation of reporting in the two online media will be analysed based on the 2019 Press Council guidelines.

## LITERATURE REVIEW OR RESEARCH BACKGROUND

### *Media Framing*

Framing is a method to see how media do storytelling on an event (Eriyanto, 2015). Meanwhile, framing analysis is an analysis that is used to see how media frames reality (Eriyanto, 2015, p. 11). In another definition, Littlejohn, Foss and Oetzel (2017) explained that media framing is also called second-level agenda-setting.

Van Gorp (2016) in *Doing News Framing Analysis: Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives* explained at least the subjectivity in research can be decreased or erased by conducting it in deductive ways such as: (1) Make a Codebook of the Frame Matrix, (2) Look for Clusters in the Coded Devices, and (3) Considering the 'weight' of the frame packages. Weaver (2007, p.145-146) explained, "*frames could be studied through a systematic content analysis approach. It is because frames focus on the most salient or prominent aspects of the themes or depiction of objects of interest.*" This was earlier discussed by Tankard, Hendrickson, Silberman, Bliss and Ghanem (1991), and Weaver (2007, p.143) who found that "*news content carries a media frame as the central organising idea to provide context to issues by actions of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration.*" Tankard (1991) explained that news content brought media frames as the main organising idea to provide context to the problem by selecting, emphasising, isolating, and elaborating.

Matthes and Kohring (2008, p.262) explained, "*there are some deductive studies that theoretically derive frames from the literature and code them in standard content analysis.*" This research is using a similar approach conducted by several researchers, such as Dimitrova, Kaid, Williams, and Trammell (2005), de Vreese, Peter, and Semetko (2001), Igartua, Cheng and Muniz (2005), Semetko and Valkenburg (2000).

In fact, the deductive approach is often shown by repetitive critics, that framing research is challenged by methodological concerns regarding validity and reliability (Gamson, 1989; Miller, 1997; Tankard, 2001). Matthes and Kohring (2015) added that few approaches tried to see the latent meaning or cultural meaning in a text that later became a problem in measuring reliability. Other than that, the other approach promises sharp and reliable measurements, but lacks sufficient validity. Van Gorp (2007, p.67) explained, "*a frame is a quite abstract variable that is both hard to identify and hard to code in content analysis.*" This is in line with Tankard (2001, p.104) who said, "*it is often not clear which elements should be present in an article or news story to signify the existence of a frame.*" This problem was also explained by Gamson (1989, p.159), "*We know from years of content analysis that it is difficult, if not impossible, to get adequate reliability with such a genotypic category as a frame*" (p. 159). Then, Matthes & Kohring (2008) pointed out that a model to identify each element of framing was needed.

### Robert M. Entman's Framing Analysis

Framing concept, according to Entman (2004), gives way to reveal and explain the power of a communication text.

Table 1: Robert M. Entman's Model of Framing Analysis Scheme

<b>Define problems</b>	<b>How is an event seen in?</b>
<i>Causal interpretation</i>	What or who is considered as the cause?
<i>Moral evaluation</i>	What moral values are presented to legitimise the event?
<i>Treatment recommendation</i>	What solutions are offered to resolve the event?

### New Media

Anshori (2011) mentioned at least the characteristics of new media were interactive, intertextual, and multimedia in the form of video, picture, text, and label that were changed into digital data as a byte. The multimedia presents a new model of news to the public so it is not monotonous and can be read anywhere, anytime. Because of its interactive characteristic, the public can easily give their response to the news at the same time and it is immediately connected to the media. From this explanation, it can be said that new media is the result of the development of information and communication technology in the globalisation era. This platform enhances the existing conventional media. With the new media, this can influence the politics, economy, society, and cultural fields of the society. As explained by Lii et al. (2010, cited in Masivo, 2017), that, "*the rise of new media has created extensive opportunities for new business models*".

### Contextual Journalism

According to Jenkins (2001), there are four types of new media and convergence, which are technological convergence, economic convergence, social convergence, and cultural convergence. These can bring online journalism to the future era of journalism. Future journalism, according to John Vernon Pavlik in his book "Journalism and New Media" (2001, p. xiii), mentioned the change in the journalism world. First, the news content is a result of technological convergence. Second, how journalists work and the change of work devices in the digital world. Third, the structure of the editorial room virtually is undergoing a fundamental transformation, no longer relying on conventional patterns and networks. Fourth, new media changes the structure between media organisations, journalists, and the public, including the audience, sources, competitors, advertisers, and government.

For the focus of this study, viral news can be defined as networked news stories that spread online mostly through social media in a much faster and wider manner than other news stories. Meanwhile, repetitive news framing is one important part of our daily news frame exposure (Druckman et al., 2012; Lecheler & de Vreese, 2013; Lecheler et. al., 2015; de Vreese, 2016; Kwak, Hong, & Lee, 2018; Tilak, 2019). Sensational news is news that can trigger emotional reactions in audiences. There is evidence that the growing fragmentation of the mass media and their audiences online (Steppat, Castro, & Esser, 2021; Cheé & Eilders, 2019) leads to increased exposure to one-sided news—the "echo chamber" effect (Pariser, 2011; Cinelli, Morales, Galeazzi, Quattrociocchi, & Starnini, 2021). In this research, writing news repeatedly, then going viral, and using sensational news on suicide reports can attract the attention and emotional attention of the audience to click on the news stanzas, this is due to the fact that these news stories often display a specific view of events suicide incident.

### *The Press Council Guidelines*

Press Council No. 2/Panduan-DP/III/2019 regulated the guidelines regarding the ideal news reporting about acts and attempts of suicide. There are 20 points, briefly as follows:

1. Forbidden to exploit suicide case as sensational news
2. News is better positioned as a mental health issue, not a criminality issue
3. Journalists realise that reporting on suicide can give a traumatic feeling to victim's family, friends, and closest ones
4. Avoid reporting that contains stigma on the suicide victims
5. Avoid mentioning victim's identity
6. Avoid mentioning the suicide location
7. The interview with victim's family needs to consider the traumatic experience
8. The display of pictures, photos, sounds, or suicide videos must take into account the traumatic experience
9. Avoid exposing picture, photos, sounds, our videos of the victim
10. Avoid reporting live of the suicide attempts
11. Avoid broadcasting the details of methods, tools, chemical substances/medicines, or techniques of the suicide victim
12. Avoid taking pictures from victim's social media, be it photos, writings, sounds, or videos
13. Avoid repetitive reporting regarding the victim
14. Avoid reporting that pictures suicide as "natural" or "understandable" to problems
15. Avoid repeating suicide reports that already happened
16. Be careful with using the diction, terms, hyperbolic pictures, and statistics data
17. Avoid showing suicide news on the front page
18. It is allowed to give detail explanation when to disclose the crime behind the death which was originally suspected of being a suicide case
19. Must be followed by relevant expert/institutional guidelines or references for suicide prevention
20. Avoid being associated with supernatural, superstitious, or mystical things

## METHODOLOGY

### *Frames as Cluster Elements*

Miller (1997) explained framing is particular patterns that are in the news text which was produced by several elements. Those elements are cuts of the frame. This research is not directly coding the whole news framing, but divides them into elements that are easily coded with content analysis. After that, the analysed element will have the same patterns in a particular element. This pattern is meant as news framing (Matthes & Kohring, 2008).

This method of this research is Robert M. Entman's model of framing that is combined with content analysis. According to several studies, it can be concluded that, Entman (2004) The study of framing will be combined by means of content analysis. Frames have a very abstract nature. Entman's concept is chosen because it has a more general framing definition and is easy to be used for framing research. As explained by Entman, frame is the process of selecting several aspects of a fact or perceived reality, so that it can be seen in the communication aspect. It aims to define a problem, how the problem started, moral values and problem solving. Entman's analysis model sees how news is framed by classifying them into four points which later becomes the research variable.

If combined, each frame includes frame elements and each frame element has content analysis indicators. Those frame clusters are being decided empirically by using categories from Heng, Ling, and Victor (2019). The categories are as follows:

- 1) Statistics/Prevalence-provide statistics, figures, number of incidences, demographics.
- 2) Strategies-reports strategies to prevent suicide or improve mental health and information on how or where to get help.
- 3) Causes/tendencies-reasons offered for the incident taking place/family members/friends/parents jumping on the bandwagon without understanding the repercussions, bullying, serious illness, drugs/substance abuse.
- 4) Mental disorder-report of the state of mind of the victim i.e. mental illness, depression, previous mental health problems.
- 5) Criminalisation-highlighting suicide as a criminal offense, report of suicide attempt met with police action/ arrest/prosecution.
- 6) Method of suicide-report on method of attempt or completed suicide, e.g. jumping from high-rise building, overdose, hanging, cutting.

The points in Press Council guidelines are used for reference to decide the code. This is based on Matthes and Kohring (2008, p.266), *“The process of creating codes was guided by the following principles: The codes should be mutually exclusive, exhaustive, and independent”*. Generally, several points of the guidelines already meet the principles as code because they are specific, profound, and independent. 14 out of 20 points are used as the code, which means not all points are coded in this research. It is because there are repetition points as a result they don’t meet one of the code principles, which is specific, other points contain suggested sentences so that researchers are limited in making it a variable word, last is because of the quantitative analysis steps according to Tankard (2001) in Tankard (2001); Van Gorp (2016) would be better using two framing limitations to increase the validity and reliability.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Each frame consists of frame elements and each frame element consists of content analysis indicators. Then the frame clusters were determined empirically using categories from Heng, Ling, and Victor (2019). After that, the Press Council's guiding points became the reference for determining the code. The code is described in the following scheme.

Table 2: Research instrument

Define problems	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Suicide Framing on Online Media in Indonesia</li> <li>● How to kill yourself</li> <li>● Original illustration</li> <li>● Family interview</li> <li>● Material from social media</li> <li>● Victim's identity</li> <li>● Superstition/mystical stuff</li> </ul>
Causal interpretation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Mental disorders</li> <li>● Domestic conflict</li> <li>● Economy</li> </ul>
Moral evaluation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Mental health issues</li> <li>● Crime issue</li> </ul>
Treatment recommendation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● There are references to institutional assistance</li> <li>● There are no references to institutional assistance</li> </ul>

*Tribunnews.com*

Table 3: Mean value and frames deviation standard of *Tribunnews.com*

<b>Tribunnews.com</b>	<b>Mental disorder</b> (N = 12) M (SD)	<b>Criminalization</b> (N= 14) M (SD)	<b>Causes/ tendencies</b> (N= 5) M (SD)	<b>Strategies</b> (N=2) M (SD)	<b>Statistics/ Prevalence</b> (N=5) M (SD)	<b>Method of suicide</b> (N=0) M (SD)
Sensational title	0.50 (0.52)	0.40 (0.55)	0.40 (0.55)	0.00 (0.00)	0.20 (0.45)	0.00 (0.00)
Real illustration	0.67 (0.49)	0.80 (0.45)	0.80 (0.45)	0.00 (0.00)	0.40 (0.55)	0.00 (0.00)
Suicide methods	0.92 (0.29)	1.00 (0.00)	1.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.80 (0.45)	0.00 (0.00)
Family interview	0.08 (0.29)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Content from social media	0.00 (0.00)	0.20 (0.45)	0.20 (0.45)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Victim identity	0.83 (0.39)	1.00 (0.00)	1.00 (0.00)	0.50 (0.71)	0.60 (0.55)	0.00 (0.00)
Supernatural/superstitious	0.00 (0.00)	0.40 (0.55)	0.40 (0.55)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Mental disturbance	0.00 (0.00)	0.40 (0.55)	0.40 (0.55)	0.50 (0.71)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Domestic conflict	0.08 (0.29)	0.60 (0.55)	0.60 (0.55)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Economy	0.08 (0.30)	0.60 (0.55)	0.60 (0.55)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Others	0.83 (0.39)	0.40 (0.55)	0.40 (0.55)	0.50 (0.71)	0.80 (0.45)	0.00 (0.00)
Mental health issue	0.17 (0.39)	0.80 (0.45)	0.80 (0.48)	0.50 (0.71)	0.40 (0.55)	0.00 (0.00)
Criminality issue	0.33 (0.50)	0.20 (0.45)	0.20 (0.45)	0.50 (0.71)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Others	0.50 (0.52)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.50 (0.71)	0.60 (0.55)	0.00 (0.00)
Reference from relevant institution	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)

Table 2 elaborates the average value and deviation standard value for each indicator of each frame. The table has a variety of calculations as follows: 12 articles included in frame mental disorder category, 14 articles included in frame criminalisation category, 5 articles included in frame causes/ tendencies category, 2 articles included in frame strategies category, and 5 articles included in frame statistics/prevalence. The data shows that the frame that has the most articles indicates the most important framing.

It was found that *Tribunnews.com* frames suicide more as a criminal act (N=14). From the frame, the suicide issue is shown from the criminality side. It can be seen how *Tribunnews.com* used words such as “corruption perpetrator”, “bombing perpetrator”, “the police”, and “criminal perpetrator” in their articles. This means that suicide victims are seen as perpetrators. Whereas, Ratnasari (2018) said that suicide is a complex problem, which causes are varied, not only from a single factor. This is confirmed by the disclosure of the victim’s identity in the news, such as mentioning the victim as a criminal, a real picture of the victim, as well as the usage of hyperbolic words for the title. Few causes of suicide can be seen as economic motives, and household problems.

Next, the second frame of *Tribunnews.com* is mental disorder (N=12). In this frame, suicide is seen as a mental health disorder of the victim. This is implicated from the usage of words such as “stress”, “depression”, and “frustration” in the title of the articles. This frame also sees suicide is caused by the economic factor and household problems. However, this frame gives the spotlight to another reason aside from mental disorders, such as criminal acts.

*Suara.com*

Table 4: Mean value and frames’ deviation standard of *Suara.com*

<b>Suara.com</b>	<b>Mental disorder</b> (N = 8) M (SD)	<b>Criminalization</b> (N= 8) M (SD)	<b>Causes/ tendencies</b> (N= 7) M (SD)	<b>Strategies</b> (N=8) M (SD)	<b>Statistics/ Prevalence</b> (N=6) M (SD)	<b>Method of suicide</b> (N=10) M (SD)
Sensational title	0.38 (0.52)	1.00 (0.00)	0.86 (0.38)	0.25 (0.46)	0.17 (0.41)	0.60 (0.52)
Real illustration	0.75 (0.46)	1.00 (0.00)	0.43 (0.54)	0.00 (0.00)	0.17 (0.41)	0.70 (0.48)
Suicide method	1.00 (0.00)	0.88 (0.35)	1.00 (0.00)	0.50 (0.54)	1.00 (0.00)	0.90 (0.32)
Family interview	0.00 (0.00)	0.13 (0.35)	0.43 (0.54)	0.13 (0.35)	0.00 (0.00)	0.10 (0.32)
Material from social media	0.13 (0.35)	0.13 (0.35)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.10 (0.32)
Victim’s identity	0.80 (0.46)	0.88 (0.35)	0.86 (0.38)	0.50 (0.54)	0.67 (0.52)	1.00 (0.00)
Supernatural/superstitious things	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Mental disorder	0.13 (0.35)	0.25 (0.46)	0.86 (0.38)	0.13 (0.35)	0.17 (0.41)	0.50 (0.53)
Domestic conflict	0.13 (0.35)	0.13 (0.35)	0.57 (0.54)	0.25 (0.46)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Economy	0.13 (0.35)	0.13 (0.35)	0.14 (0.38)	0.25 (0.46)	0.00 (0.00)	0.20 (0.42)
Others	0.63 (0.52)	0.50 (0.54)	0.43 (0.54)	0.50 (0.54)	0.83 (0.41)	0.30 (0.48)
Mental health issue	0.25 (0.46)	0.50 (0.54)	1.00 (0.00)	0.63 (0.52)	0.33 (0.52)	0.90 (0.32)
Criminality issue	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.17 (0.41)	0.20 (0.42)
Others	0.75 (0.46)	0.50 (0.54)	0.00 (0.00)	0.38 (0.52)	0.50 (0.55)	0.20 (0.42)
Reference from relevant institution	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.14 (0.38)	0.88 (0.35)	0.00 (0.00)	0.70 (0.48)

Table 3 above elaborates the average value and the deviation standard value for each indicator of each frame. The table has variety calculation as follows: 8 articles included in frame mental disorder category, 8 articles included in frame criminalisation category, 7 articles included in frame causes/tendencies category, 8 articles included in frame strategies category, 6 articles included in frame statistics/prevalence category, and 10 articles included in the method of suicide category.

*Suara.com* frames suicide with multiple frames. First, suicide news articles are shown as methods or steps to conduct suicide (N=10). This frame enlightens more on steps or detail modes of a suicide case victim. Words such as “poison”, “medicine”, “hanged oneself”, “jump over a building”, “burnt oneself”, “cut oneself”, “drinks floor cleaner” are often used. This is



because the explanation of suicide method is more emphasised even in the title. Aside from that, a sensational title from the media is also used. Many articles also show the real materials used by the suicide victim.

The second frame of suicide is shown as a mental disorder (N=8). In this frame, suicide is emphasised from words such as “stress”, “depression”, and “frustration”. This frame also shows suicide is caused by the economic factor and household problems. However, this frame is still attached with other several factors related to mental disorders.

The third frame sees suicide more as a criminal act (N=8). This is shown from the headline that used words such as criminal, perpetrators, and bombing perpetrators. It emphasises the victim as a criminal, not as victim who went through a lot of factors so they decided to commit suicide. Other factors of suicide are because of corruption motives, bombing perpetrators, and criminalisation. This kind of frame is also often related to the police.

### *The Comparison of Two News Frame*

Generally, it is found how suicide is framed and how the two media see a suicide case. Suicide framing of the two media is elaborated in the table as follows:

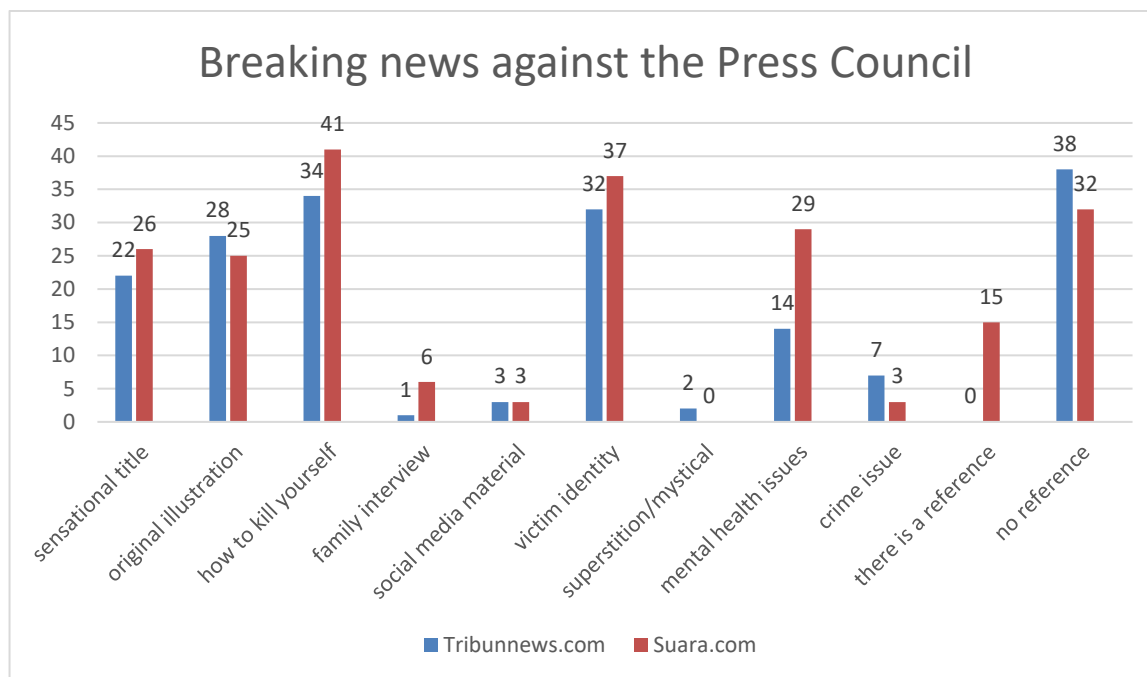
Table 5: The Comparison of News Framing

<i>Tribunnews.com</i>	<i>Suara.com</i>
Criminalization (N=14)	Method of Suicide (N=10)
Mental disorder (N=12)	Mental disorder (N=8)
Causes/Tendencies (N=5)	Criminalisation (N=8)
Statistics/Prevalence (N=5)	Strategies (N=8)
Strategies (N=2)	Causes/Tendencies (N=7)
	Statistics/Prevalence (N=6)

*Tribunnews.com* frames suicide news more as a criminal issue (36.8%), followed by suicide as part of a mental disorder (N=12). Suicide frames like these must be done because the suicide act is caused not only by a single factor. Scholars also explained that many suicide actions were caused by mental disorders, one of them was depression (Bilsen, 2018; Shrestha et. al., 2021).

From the third frame, it is found that suicide is highlighted as the solution of problems/the cause of economic issues and household problems. The fourth frame shows that suicide is seen as the statistic number of population in one city or province changed. This frame also means that suicide is seen as a normal case or is understandable. As explained by Masango et al. (2008), the rate of suicide cases in the community continues to increase. In addition, suicide has a multifactorial nature .

2019 Press Council Regulatory Alignment



Graph 1: Tribunnnews & Suara.com news framing issue

Both media are still negligent in meeting the 2019 Press Council guidelines. If we take a look at other countries, for example India, it is found that media understanding for suicide cases is still low therefore the reporting is still partial. This was explained by Armstrong et al. (2018) in research about media reporting quality according to WHO's guidelines.

Media reports of suicide events in India were found to be common and of low quality when assessed against WHO suicide reporting guidelines, creating risks for the population and missing valuable opportunities to educate the public about suicide and its prevention.

Before knowing the effect of suicide reporting on the public, it is important to know how the media understands the suicide issue. This can be done by using framing analysis, and one of them is Robert M. Entman's model. Framing is seen as a process of selecting information from an event to be reported so it has particular interpretation and evaluation.

According to Entman (2004), framing is made of two classes, substantive and procedural. In the substantive class, news framing is about a certain issue. This research analyses framing only from the substantive class, not the procedural class. Procedural class is how the news is edited and perceived by the readers. The media's role in framing is to create an objective reality into subjective reality with symbols. Those symbols then become a symbolic reality which is produced continuously to the public. Therefore, the public can see them as the objective reality (the true reality).

Robert M. Entman in his book, *Projecting of Power* (2004) explained that an issue in news was produced through a selection process or emphasised one thing and ignored the others. This aligns with what Eriyanto (2015) said that Entman saw framing in two big dimensions: issue selection and emphasising on reality aspects. Entman's conception mostly stressed on giving out definitions, explaining the cause, evaluating moral justification, and recommending in an event so there would be a clear framework. Entman's variables are of course very wide and can be used in multiple contexts.

The result of this research finds that *Tribunnews.com* frames 35% of suicide related news as a criminal act. This goes back to the contextual journalism concept (Anshori, 2011) that orients on click-bait titled news. It is about how news can motivate the public to click and open that news. If we look further, *Tribunnews.com*'s articles frame suicide as a criminal act by using words such as "criminals perpetrators", "suicide bombing perpetrators", and "suicide perpetrators". This seems that the media wants to conclude that it is understandable the perpetrators are committing suicide because what they do is detrimental to society.

As explained previously (e.g. Masango et al., 2008; Ratnasari, 2018; Press Council, 2019), suicide happens not because of a merely a single factor. Several factors drive someone to commit suicide. But, online media, especially *Tribunnews.com*, later only highlights suicide cases from one side only. Therefore, the public's understandings become partial and assume the suicide of a perpetrator makes the public's life better.

From this research, it is found that frame strategies done by the online media are still little to be called a preventive action. The awareness is needed to be built together by the media to create better news that is not misleading. This of course needs specific attention, and the government through the press council ensures that media agencies abide by the guidelines provided. This is inseparable from the contextual journalism concept which is required to produce news as fast as possible.

Suicide reporting on online media often violates 2019 Press Council guideline No.2/Panduan-DP/III/2019 which regulates about the guideline related to ideal news in reporting suicide acts and attempts. This regulation needs to be echoed more massively, because according to Jane et al. (2017): reports about suicide are more likely to result in copycat acts.

But, in practice, online media still commit violations. From the analysis result, it is found that two media still use hyperbolic titles that mentions the victim's identity clearly, and mentions certain suicide methods, from the title or the news content. Other than that, this research mentions that the hotline service for suicide prevention is still a bare minimum. There are also few frame strategies done by the two media, which indicates that the media is still lacking in compliance with the Press Council. For sure, this is a challenge for all online media to find a clickbait in the era of online journalism. The results of this study are different from the research conducted by Heng et al 2019. It explained that online newspapers in Malaysia reports suicide cases in direct ways, and only provide sufficient details without any sensationalism. The sources of information come from trusted sources.

Media is required to produce news as fast as possible, which affects the level of depth of the information and source's accuracy which has not become the main priority. Instead, it becomes a new discourse, with the term contextual journalism. Media nowadays mostly has sensational titled news with the hope of triggering emotions and stirring the public's feelings when they read them. From there, the public would be moved to read. In fact, not all articles have the same level of depth of information as explained by the title. They even tend to exploit the reported events by presenting more than one article for the same event. Therefore, attention is needed to restore the initial function of the media as an informative and educative platform for the public.

This could be a transition process to the establishment of "the new normal" in journalism which will then give birth to a new perspective and system of mass media in framing an event. COVID-19 saw how people, the various systems and civilisation changed. As a result, the media must move forward to adapt to this new norm.

#### CONCLUSION

To put it simply, it can be concluded that Indonesia's online media report suicide cases by exposing frightening and harmful details which does not follow the guidelines that have been created by the Press Council. Therefore, it is hoped that there will be intensive dissemination of the Press Council guidelines to Indonesian journalists to ensure that news is reported ethically and in a credible manner.

#### BIODATA

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