

Conference Paper

The Construction of Reality of Media Regarding Ustadz Abdul Somad's Refusal to Enter Singapore

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Abstract.

Media shapes the reality perceived by the readers. The issue discussed by the reader is based on how the media report the case. In the case about Ustadz Abdul Somad's (UAS's) refusal to enter Singapore was framed differently by two big online news portal: kompas.com and detik.com. Those two media were chosen since they are considered as the big and most-read news portal. The objective of the study is to analyze how the media framed the reality of UAS's refusal to enter Singapore. The data used in this study were the news published by kompas.com and detik.com during 16-23 May 2022. The news articles were analyzed using the framing analysis method by Pan and Kosicki. This study found out that those two media constructed the reality differently. Kompas.com reported the news in more balance manner in a sense that they took the source both from UAS's and Singapore's side. On the other hand, detik.com tended to construct this event on more provocative way: they took the source more on UAS's side or those who were in the same side of him.

Keywords: constructing reality, framing, news

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1. Introduction

Media plays an important role to shape reality. Choudhary [1] did research and found that media indeed has a force in forming public opinion about what happens in the world. It has been a long-time practice in which media covers the area that interests the public. From this point of view, we can see that the way media reports certain case or incident is not purely what it is. This article wants to examine how two different media constructs public's opinion by structuring its news article. The case of Ustadz Abdul Somad's refusal to enter Singapore was chosen as the example of how media shapes public opinion.

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The case of Ustadz Abdul Somad's (UAS) refusal to enter Singapore has stirred public opinion. This case becomes a trending topic since UAS is one of the most famous and respected religious leaders in Indonesia. Despite the controversy he has made when lecturing, many people honored him as a scholar as well. *Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme* (National Counter Terrorism Agency) released the list of controversial ustadz. Atika [2] reported in *kendalku.com* that UAS is mentioned as one of the controversial ustadz.

UAS showed his anger in his social media. He mentioned that Singapore was an arrogant small country which could be drowned just by urinating it. It shows how disappointed he was when he was not allowed to enter Singapore for vacation. He even asked the Indonesian House of Representatives to investigate this case because he had completed all documents needed to enter.

The news about this case was spread in a blink of an eye. Television also interviewed UAS regarding this refusal. This case continued to roll on and caused the anger from UAS's supporters. A demonstration was held at the Singaporean Embassy in Indonesia demanding the explanation of this refusal and an apology to UAS.

Singapore government, through the Foreign Minister, stated that Singapore sees UAS as a religious leader who spreads hatred and blasphemy to other religions. The Singapore Foreign Minister, Shanmugam, mentioned that Singapore has the right to reject someone to enter the country. This action is taken to maintain national security from radicalism. He said, "We will not allow people like Somad the opportunity to build a local following or engage in activities that threaten our security and communal harmony."

Based on how trending this news is and how the two parties, UAS and his supporters and Singapore Government see this case, the study on how media shaped the story is relevant to conduct. It is important to enhance the critical thinking in perceiving the news since what is happening nowadays is media plays an important role to lead the readers towards certain directions.

2. Theoretical Review

News coverage by the media can now be done freely in constructing messages which are then displayed in mainstream media, both newspapers and electronic media [3]. Even today, what is even more powerful is spreading the news through social media [4]. According to his order, the mass media must be fair and proclaim the truth. In addition, the effect of the media is that the attitudes and behavior of the masses can also be created by the media through the messages they construct.

News is a way to create the desired reality regarding the reported events [5]. This implies that news has gone through a process of selection and reproduction which can be artificial or the result of construction which is then claimed as an objective reality by the media to achieve its ideological goals. Therefore, the media not only convey messages but also create certain meanings.

According to the theory of social construction of reality, it is stated that social reality is a social construction created by individuals. Individuals are free human beings who make relationships between humans with one another. The individual becomes the determinant in the social world that is constructed based on his will. Media consisting of individuals who are members of a media has a specific purpose in each message / news it produces.

Berger and Luckmann [6], the developer of The Social Construction of reality theory, are of the view that reality is socially constructed, so the sociology of knowledge must analyze the process of its occurrence. In terms of the individuals in society that build society, the individual experience is inseparable from the community. Humans are seen as creators of objective social reality through the process of externalization, as objective reality affects humans through the process of internalization (which reflects subjective reality).

2.1. The function of mass media in social construction

Mass media are means to build mass communication [7]. The process of transferring messages of mass communication has a broad and diffuse nature of communication [8]. In the form of mass communication, the sender and receiver of information are considered not to know each other. The mass media themselves have two different views, namely the views of positivism and constructivism. The following is the difference between these concepts in relation to the function of the mass media.

First function of mass media is according to positivism theory. In this view, the mass media have a function as a means of distributing messages [9]. Mass media are a means by which information is disseminated by communicators, in this case journalists, to the wider community. Mass media are seen as neutral tools with the main task of conveying messages.

Second function of mass media is according to constructivism theory. According to the constructivist view, media do not only have a role as a messenger, but also as a subject in social construction, which has its own views and alignments. Mass media are actors of social construction that defines reality [10]. News consumed from the mass

media not only provides social reality, but also shows the social construction of the media. Mass media shape social reality through the news they do.

How the formation of the construction of reality is carried out by the media. The formation of the construction of media reality is divided into three important stages. First, the construction of the reality of justification. The media have the *power* to shape the reality of justification in society [11,12]. People judge that what is reported in the media is the truth. Therefore, the social reality that is built from the mass media can be used as a justification for something.

Second, the willingness of mass media construction. People who want for a social construction by the media [13]. The mass media actively shape social reality by taking the *framing* of an event to be reported to the public. The media not only have a role in choosing events and news sources, but also define events and news sources according to the mass media.

Third, consumer choice. Society has depended on the presence of mass media, so it is referred to as a consumptive pattern [14,15]. The audience are free to choose the media according to their wishes and needs. From the media side, the dissemination of social construction is carried out using a mass media strategy. The concept of spreading social construction that is now being emphasized is real time news. The concept of activity from the mass media is the main consideration in shaping the construction of social reality in the mass media. As mentioned earlier, the characteristic of mass media is one-way communication. This makes the mass media have full control over the information disseminated. What is considered important by the mass media, will also be important for readers, listeners or viewers.

2.2. News framing

Framing is an approach to find out how the perspective or point of view used by journalists in constructing news [5]. An event can be a source of inspiration for the media to package it into a news presentation that is presented to the public. Thus, facts can be modified, added and subtracted according to the wishes of the media. Which parts need to be highlighted and which parts need to be covered or at least disguised depending on what the media wants to target.

There are two aspects in framing news [5]. First choose facts/reality. It is impossible for a journalist to cover an event without a point of view. Journalists should have had their views on what they want to highlight and what should be disguised or not even

mentioned in the news. Journalists will take a certain position in seeing reality and constructing it according to the goals to be achieved.

Second, write down the facts. When journalists arrive at writing facts, journalists will choose titles, headlines, and resource persons and so on. He will also choose an image or photo that supports the content of the news. Journalists will choose the data that has been obtained to be highlighted or emphasized. So, journalists will construct news using pictures with a certain point of view, certain titles and leads, the use of certain sentences to produce all the desired news.

In reporting, it is not only journalists who play an important role in constructing the news. Before news is presented and ready for mass consumption, it must pass through a gatekeeper or editor. In this section, ready-to-read news can be added, reduced, or even canceled either because it is considered unattractive, the timing is not right, or other considerations by the gatekeeper.

According to Pan and Kosicki in Eriyanto [5], the *framing process* is divided into two. The first is a psychological conception that concerns a person's psychological position in processing information within himself. The second sociological concept is the process of how a journalist clarifies, organizes and interprets his social experience to understand himself and the reality outside himself. In other words, it will construct reality so that it is easier for the public to understand.

3. Methodology

This study is included as discourse analysis. The data was 6 news articles each from kompas.com and detik.com in the period 16-23 May 2022. This study includes all news article about UAS published during that period. Each news article was analyzed using Pan and Kosicki framing analysis introduced in 1991. Based on this method of framing analysis, in order to reveal how the news frames the case, the article needs to be analyzed in four structures: syntax, script, thematic, and rhetorical.

4. Research Findings

The analysis of each article is presented on the table below. Table 1 presents the analysis result on the articles published in kompas.com.

From those six articles from kompas.com, the articles have complete script: five out of six articles have had a complete 5W1H component. The syntax of the articles is somewhat problematic. Only two articles which can be considered as well-written in

TABLE 1: News from Kompas.com.

No	Title	Structure	Analyzed Units
1	UAS is not allowed to enter Singapore, this is the response of the Indonesian ambassador and the chronology	syntax	The news was written based on a statement by the Indonesian ambassador to Singapore quoting from ICA Singapore and the chief coordinator of the Social and Cultural Affairs function at the Indonesian Embassy in Singapore. The news closed with a statement by UAS saying that he did not receive an explanation regarding his return from the Singapore government.
		script	This news has a complete 5W+1H element, starting from the time of the incident, where, who provided the info, and other sources such as Twitter accounts.
		thematic	News consists of 4 paragraphs. The news has been presented proportionally referring to news sources from 3 parties: Singapore, the Indonesian Embassy, and UAS. Sentences are transcripts of what the speakers said.
		rhetorical	The photo presented is See Photo of North Sumatra Governor Edy Rahmayadi giving a speech at Ustaz Abdul Somad's virtual preaching from his private residence on Jalan Pantaibunga, Pamah Village, Delitua, (photo not related to news). The use of the word "confess" for UAS when he was asked about this case. The verb confess has the meaning of agreeing and confirming. This choice of words contradicts the statement by UAS which said that he did not know the issue of his return.
2	Batam Immigration Ensures Complete UAS Documents When Going to Singapore	syntax	The title and the content of the news are out of sync (the title seems to be misleading) the title says the UAS document is complete, but in the content of the news source it says that the rejection is not because of the document. There is a source quote from a Singaporean doctor who does not have the capacity to be a resource person and is not even identified/ named. The news closed with a statement from the Indonesian Embassy in Singapore.
		script	There was no time for the incident/interview to be held.
		thematic	Paragraphs have been arranged coherently
		rhetorical	Photo: Ustad Abdul Somad (center) Proud to wear Upiah Karanji Gorontalo does not support the content of the news The use of the word "affirm" which is directed to Singapore immigration and the Indonesian Embassy in Singapore shows that this news aims to straighten out the circulating issues regarding UAS being deported (though <i>not to land</i>).
3	Questioning the Content of Religious Lectures, the Singapore Government Bans UAS from Entering Their Country	syntax	The news was written based on the results of interviews with the Singapore Ministry of Home Affairs. The Ministry of Home Affairs explained the content of the UAS lecture which was considered to contain separatist elements. The news closed with a statement by UAS saying that he had not received an explanation regarding his return from the Singapore government.
		script	The 5W1H element has been fulfilled
		thematic	News has been organized coherently. However, in paragraph 3, the information regarding the tweet from the @Hilmi28 account does not match the main idea of the paragraph.

TABLE 1: (Continued).

No	Title	Structure	Analyzed Units
		rhetorical	Photo: Ustaz Abdul Somad (center) just before giving a public lecture in front of thousands of students and the public at Malikussaleh University, North Aceh. The use of the word "confess" to the Singapore Ministry of Home Affairs with the intention of confirming the information that UAS was refused entry on the grounds that the content of the lecture was deemed to contain elements of terrorism.
4	Getting to know the "Not to Land" that Singapore imposes on UAS, how is it different from deportation?	syntax	The news sources from the official website of the United States Embassy in Malaysia are not in sync with the title and the UAS case which happened in Singapore. The news closes with a conclusion regarding the reason someone was deported.
		script	Contains complete 5W1H elements.
		thematic	Deliver sufficient detailed information related to the <i>not to land policy</i> and the definition of deportation as well as the difference between <i>not to land</i> and deportation.
		rhetorical	Photo: Ustaz Abdul Somad (center) just before giving a public lecture in front of thousands of students and the public at Malikussaleh University, North Aceh. It is interesting to see that the use of the phrase <i>Deportation Not to land notice</i> is different from deportation. This sentence intends to straighten out as well as provide information on the difference between deportation and <i>not to land</i> .
5	Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Rejection of Entry to UAS, Singapore's Sovereignty	syntax	The title of the news corresponds to the content (a statement that can be trusted because it comes from an authorized party).
		script	There is a complete 5W1H element.
		thematic	Reporters use reliable and primary sources, namely the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The way the news is delivered is also good; it can be seen how the reporter showed a more neutral and reliable side to counter the circulating issues regarding this case (the assertion that UAS was not deported, but not to land and this is the authority of a country).
		rhetorical	Spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Teuku Faizasyah. Reporters do not use personal pronouns. Neutral choice of words, no indication of partiality, only stating facts.
6	Singapore Home Minister Claims UAS Has Radicalized Singaporeans	syntax	Reported that a number of Singaporeans were affected by the UAS lecture. One of them is a 17-year-old teenager who is reported to believe that he belongs to a militia group, but it is not explained what actions lead to acts of terrorism.
		script	5W1H complete
		thematic	The news is written coherently.

term of taking the source of the news. The other three articles took unreliable sources. For example, the article entitled *Batam Immigration Ensures Complete UAS Documents When Going to Singapore* mentioned that a doctor whom we do not know since he was

TABLE 1: (Continued).

No	Title	Structure	Analyzed Units
		rhetorical	The use of the word 'claim' in the title. The meaning of the word claim as a verb according to the KBBI is to state a fact or truth (showing that this incident was not fabricated) . The use of the phrase "return to speak up" and has been on the radar of the Singaporean authorities for a long time shows that the Singaporean side seems tired of responding to questions from the media and other parties regarding the ban on UAS from entering Singapore so that there is a phrase "back up" and a statement that the act of refusal has a clear and well-founded reason and basis. It is legally valid.

not named on the article. The same problem happens in article entitled *Getting to know the "Not to Land" that Singapore imposes on UAS, how is it different from deportation*. On that article, the information was taken from the official website of the United States Embassy in Malaysia. The article would have been more credible if the information was taken from the official website of Singaporean Government. The article entitled *Batam Immigration Ensures Complete UAS Documents When Going to Singapore* has a potential to mislead the readers because the articles says that UAS was rejected to enter Singapore not because of the document. When the reporter knows that the cause is not the document, then it will be more reliable if the title says so.

The result of analysis on the articles published in detik.com. As it has been mentioned that there are six articles taken from this portal. The analysis is presented in Table 2.

Similar to articles published in kompas.com, articles published in detik.com has good script; each articles has a complete 5W1H information. However, the analysis on syntax and rhetorical show a problem. Only one out of six articles that took the information from Singapore or embassy' side. The rest five articles were published based on UAS's point of view. Even in one article entitled *Singapore's clear answer after being urged to open reasons for refusing UAS*, the informant was Yusril Ihza Mahendra who has nothing to do with this case. The word choice in those five articles showed how detik.com see UAS as someone who was being humiliated here. By using the word such as *interrogated, jail, and imprisoned* made the readers believe that UAS was indeed being humiliated by Singapore Government. In fact, if we read the description of the immigration room, the room is spacy and the staff there do not interrogate a tourist but ask and confirm his arrival.

TABLE 2: News from Detik.com.

No	Title	Structure	Analyzed Units
1	Sitting on the case of Ustadz Abdul Somad cannot set foot in Singapore	syntax	News is organized and separated using subtitles: there are 3 subtitles News sources from the official UAS twitter and the statement from the Indonesian ambassador to Singapore.
		script	5W1H complete but only from UAS side; there is information from the Indonesian Embassy in Singapore but it does not explain the detailed reasons why UAS is refused entry (only reported that the Singaporean side applies <i>not to land</i> to UAS)
		thematic	The relationship between sentences is coherent.
		rhetorical	UAS uses <i>our community</i> when asking Singaporeans to provide an explanation (it appears that UAS emphasizes that this problem does not only concern him but all Indonesian citizens (probably what Muslims mean) have the right to know the reason why UAS is not allowed to enter Singapore; the use of this word indicates that UAS is exaggerating. magnify the problem).
2	Singapore's reason for rejecting UAS: known as a divisive extremist	syntax	Source news from the Ministry of Home Affairs Singapore
		script	5W1H complete There is a sub-heading from the Ministry of Home Affairs in Singapore saying that UAS pretended to be doing a social visit, but there is no further information on how the Singaporeans found out about this (whether they questioned / interrogated UAS or was it just an assumption).
		thematic	The news is written in detail by writing examples of UAS statements that are considered to have elements of separatism
		rhetorical	The use of the word known in the sentence <i>UAS known as ...</i> shows that the image of UAS in the eyes of Singapore is bad.
3	Singapore's clear answer after being urged to open reasons for refusing UAS	syntax	News source from Yusril Ihza Mahendra who does not have the capacity to provide information regarding the reasons for Singapore's refusal to enter UAS
		script	There is an element of 5W1H but it doesn't match the title , just looking at it from the UAS side. Of the 14 paragraphs, only 2 paragraphs report the Singapore side's statement.
		thematic	The paragraph contains a direct quote from the resource person, namely Yusril Ihza Mahendra, the selection of the source is also not in sync with the title
		rhetorical	Yusril reportedly asked for a statement from Singapore regarding the refusal to enter UAS
4	This is the UAS sermon about the suicide bombing that the Singapore government is questioning about	syntax	The news source is from the UAS statement uploaded on the UAS Youtube account. Another source is from the staff of the Indonesian Ministry of Home Affairs.

TABLE 2: (Continued).

No	Title	Structure	Analyzed Units
		script	5W1H is complete. However, the content of the news does not match the title. It was not reported which/when/what UAS sermons were about in Singapore.
		thematic	The sentences have been arranged coherently.
		rhetorical	The choice of words triggers one's emotions (leading to the reader's opinion that UAS is treated as a crime by using the word imprisoned and included)
5	UAS Still considers Singapore deported, this is the reason	syntax	The news comes from UAS's statement/description of the case. From this news, it can be seen that UAS does not understand the difference between <i>not to land</i> and deportation; he said he was deported because he had entered Singapore and had passed the immigration office. The second part of the news reports on the Singapore side's statement. Singapore gave the order <i>not to land</i> because UAS was considered an extremist religious leader.
		script	5W1H complete
		thematic	No pronouns like him were found; repetition of subjects such as the Ministry of Home Affairs and UAS
		rhetorical	<i>Statement</i> pronouns refer to the Ministry of Home Affairs of Singapore.
6	UAS responds to extremist allegations that led to Singapore's entry ban	syntax	The news is an adaptation of the UAS Youtube content with the title <i>UAS clarification</i>
		script	5W1H complete
		thematic	This news explains in detail why UAS delivered such a sermon. It was reported that UAS, who claimed to be a scholar, only spoke based on Islamic teachings. UAS also stated that he would not stop preaching despite being judged as an extremist.
		rhetorical	It is interesting to see how UAS stated that he would not stop preaching even though he was considered an extremist. Another interesting statement is that UAS said that teachers should not talk carelessly. It should be noted that the meaning of <i>indiscriminate</i> is irregular / not directed.

5. Discussion

Based on the analysis, it is found out that news published by kompas.com is more neutral; the word *neutral* here refers to the portion of information from UAS and government side. The portion of news regarding statements from the UAS and Singapore sides, both from the Indonesian Embassy and from the Singapore government is balanced. There is also news that explains the difference between deportation and *not to land*. The sources used by Kompas are also more credible. For example, in news numbers 1, 3, 4, 6, and 7, it can be seen that the news sources are parties directly related to the UAS incident. As it is known that the authority to allow entry to a country lies with the

immigration office and the case is known by the immigration office and the interior minister of the country of origin and abroad of the country of destination.

Kompas.com wrote news related to the difference between deportation and not to land. This news can be seen at kompas.com to maintain the neutrality of a media. As we can see that some news stories only explain the incident without actually giving information whether UAS was deported or something else. Many of the news are even just a copy from the news that already exists. By writing news report providing information about the difference between deportation and not to land, kompas.com wanted to show that these two things are different things.

There are 2 news published by kompas.com that are interesting to see further. The first is news number 2 where the title does not match the content of the news. In the title it is written that the UAS document is complete when you enter Singapore, but in the content of the news it is written that the reason Singapore refuses the UAS is not because of the document but because of Singapore's not to land policy. The title formulation like this is classified as misleading which leads to a hoax; because the news headlines lead the reader's opinion that UAS should be allowed to enter Singapore because there are no problems with documents. Based on the hoax structure theory formulated by Khan, Brohman, and Addas [16] misinformation is one of the characteristics of the hoax message structure. Misinformation is defined as how much truth is contained in the message. From the title Immigration Batam Ensure Complete UAS Documents When Going to Singapore, it can be seen that UAS has no problems when leaving; and it is true that UAS can go to Singapore from Batam.

The issue here is the fact that Singapore does not allow UAS to enter. The uncritical reader will understand that Singapore has been unfair to UAS; they do not know or even think that someone cannot enter a country for other reasons unrelated to documents; for example, in the case of UAS because UAS is included in the list of people who are not allowed to enter for certain reasons. Therefore, the title on the news has the potential to spread hoaxes.

Another interesting news to watch is news number 4. News with the title "Getting to Know the "Not to Land" imposed by Singapore to UAS, What's the Difference from Deportation?" Provide useful information for readers. However, the sources used to write the news are not appropriate. The UAS case occurred in Singapore; however, the news takes information from the official website of the United States Embassy in Malaysia. Indeed, the notion of not to land is the same in every country: it is related to the prohibition of certain people from entering that country. However, the news will

look more credible if you look for sources that are directly related to the events being reported.

On the other hand, detik.com seems pro UAS. This can be seen from the number of news reports on how UAS seems to have been criminalized. Detik also reported more about UAS, both the statement that UAS felt deported and treated arbitrarily to Yusril Ihza Mahendra's statement which was very clear in defending UAS. Yusril said that UAS was deported by Singapore. As a legal expert, he should understand the difference between deportation and not to land; Besides that, it would also be wiser to look for other credible sources such as the official government *website* which has provided an explanation regarding this case. Yusril also asked the Singaporean government to provide a statement and this statement invites the opinion that the Singapore government has treated UAS badly.

The second news article entitled *This UAS Sermon about the suicide bombing in question in Singapore* needs to be analyzed further about the hoax theory triggering readers' emotions because of the use of words and descriptions that describe how UAS suffered while at the immigration office. Based on Wardle quoted by Silalahi and Sevilla [17] there are seven types of misinformation and disinformation content. One of the seven types is propaganda. The use of the words imprisoned, put in, burrow, and the wide description of the narrow room makes the reader believe that UAS was indeed put in prison. In fact, the room where immigration staff question tourists is called a detention room and the room is wide and comfortable enough without making tourists feel confined. Prison is synonymous with detention and crime, while Singapore has never stated that UAS is a criminal.

In the news with the title *UAS answering accusations of extremism which is the reason for the ban on entry to Singapore* is interesting to look into. Two things are interesting to look at: the structure of the news and the choice of words. UAS also stated that he would not stop preaching despite being judged as an extremist. The information is not related to the title because the Singapore government does not prohibit UAS from preaching; Singapore took issue with the content of UAS' sermons which were deemed to be bad for other religions, instead of focusing on the fact that UAS was a preacher.

The choice of words in this news also shows that there is an element of negative sentiment from UAS. The use of words and terms scholars, based on Islam, and teachers should not speak carelessly shows that UAS believes that what he is doing is right and grounded. The emphasis that he is a scholar and teacher show that UAS claims to be a respected figure and does not deserve such treatment. The use of the

word carelessly and based on the Islamic religion looks contradictory. Referring to the Indonesian Dictionary, arbitrary art is irregular/undirected. While based means based on and direction. The teachings of Islam, and all religions, are certainly based on good values and have a clear teaching direction. However, when someone interprets religious teachings in an extremist way by demeaning other religions, then the content of such sermons is not in harmony with the context of a pluralistic culture.

6. Conclusion

The media has been long known as a tool to shape public opinion. What public knows about certain case is based on what they read on the news article. As the news and report should support public knowledge towards recent issue, it is essential from the news to report what the real situation is to avoid misinformation and hoax spreading. However, since media also carries certain agenda, the way a media frames the news is somewhat driven by what they want the public to know or focus on.

The case of Ustadz Abdul Somad was rejected to enter Singapore is one example of how media constructs the reality. Actually, the case of being refused entry to a country is a natural thing and does not need to be exaggerated. Likewise, the Indonesian government may refuse foreign nationals to enter the territory of the Republic of Indonesia every day without having to publish the reasons for refusing the foreign nationals. The media construction in this case is framed differently by kompas.com and detik.com. Kompas tends to prioritize information with sources who are authorized to provide information about whether or not a country's color is allowed to enter another country. Meanwhile detik.com tends to put forward a description or situation where Ustadz Abdul Somad is placed which is considered less human.

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