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#### **Title**

Framing a ‘lone-wolf’ attack: CNN online news treatment on Norway massacre and Sydney hostage crisis

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#### **Abstract**

Since the terrorist attack on American soil in September 11, 2001, Western news media has been accused of being hostile toward Arabs and Muslim’s world in general. Repeated themes developed around Muslim’s acts of terrorism in Western media were seen as the fuel that perpetuated the idea of Muslim culture being barbaric, uncivilized and backward in the mind of the Western society. While the argument is true (on some level) when the act were carried out by terrorist group such as Al-Qaeda, little is known on how media would react to such heinous attacks if it were perpetrated by a single individual or a ‘lone wolf’ attacker who hold different religious background. A total of 214 headlines on Norway massacre and Sydney hostage crisis that were published on CNN website were analyzed and it was found that there was a distinct treatment given to both cases. The findings reaffirmed Powell (2011) model of terrorism coverage whereby the Muslim easily became the immediate suspect in the wake of terrorism event. Apart from that, there were also differences in the description of the suspects in which the

Norway massacre suspect was described as meticulous and his motive was thoroughly investigated while the Sydney hostage taker was portrayed as a criminal who subscribed to radical Islamic ideology. It appears that the way American media such as CNN framed the events could further enhance the exclusion of Muslim from the mainstream American public way of life and perpetuate the idea of 'others' against the Muslim community.

## **Introduction**

On 22 July 2011, a car bomb exploded in front of office block at the heart of Oslo and killed 8 people and injured hundreds others. Less than two hours later, the suspect stormed the youth summer camp in Utøya island and began shooting at the participants. A total of 77 lives were lost that day and the massacre was considered as the deadliest attacks ever occurred in Norway since World War 2. The suspect was then identified as Anders Behring Breivik, a 36 year old Norwegian and a Christian. On December 15, 2014 a lone gunman rushed into Lindt Chocolate Café in Central Sydney and held hostage ten customers and eight employees. The 16 hours standoff had witnessed two of the hostages died while four others including a police officer were injured. The hostage taker was later known as Man Haron Monis, an Iranian-born Australian citizen and a Muslim. The similarity between these two cases was they were perpetrated by single perpetrator or a 'lone wolf' attacker. However, both attackers hold a different religious background. This study will try to examine the way U.S news media such as CNN frame terrorism event committed on a foreign soil by a 'lone-wolf' terrorist who hold different religious beliefs.

## **Terrorism and Islam**

Terrorism event has always captured mass media attention because of its dramatic nature and ability to raise public attention which could increase the viewer's rating, thus profiting the companies as well (Perešin, 2007). There are various definitions of terrorism available but the most comprehensive was by A.P. Schmid (1983, as cited in Powell, 2011, p. 91), who after

exhaustive studies on various definition of the term produces the following definition of terrorism:

Terrorism is an anxiety inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-) clandestine individual, group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons, whereby – in contrast to assassination- the direct targets of violence are not the main targets. The immediate human victims of violence are generally chosen randomly (target of opportunity) or selectively (representative of symbolic targets) from a target population, and serve as message generators. Threat and violence-based communication processes between terrorist (organization), (imperiled) victims, and main targets are used to manipulate the main target (audience[s]), turning it into a target of terror, a target of demands, or a target of attention depending on whether intimidation, coercion, or propaganda is primarily sought.

While in the case of ‘lone-wolf’ terrorism, such act was committed by a person who “operate individually, who do not belong to an organized terrorist group or network, who act without the direct influence of a leader or hierarchy and whose tactics and methods are conceived and directed by the individual without any direct outside command or direction” (Instituut voor veiligheids – en Crisismanagement, 2007, p. 6). Based on the definition given, it is clear to us that terrorism is a violent act committed to get the intended party attention and the victims - either randomly or selectively chosen - serve as the message generator. Therefore, terrorism can be construed as a systematic use of coercive intimidation against civilians for political goals (Norris, Kern & Just, 2003). In the midst of all that, media involvement can be interpreted as the mediator of the message to the government and also to the public.

Since the ‘War on Terror’ was announced in the beginning of the new millennia following the 9/11 attacks, media was among the significant forces that propagate the framing of terrorism. The event of terrorisms were being defined and redefined throughout the course of media coverage which in so doing, brought together stereotypes and labelling of certain culture or race. A poll conducted by a national Islamic civil rights and advocacy group revealed that a majority (57 percent) of American Muslims say they experienced bias or discrimination since the 9/11 terrorist attacks and almost all respondents (87 percent) said they knew of a fellow Muslim

who experienced discrimination. Another poll conducted by Washington-based Council on American-Islamic Relations found that the most frequent forms of bias experienced by the respondents were verbal abuse, religious or ethnic profiling and workplace discrimination. 67 percent of respondents believed that the media have grown more biased against Islam and Muslims (Council of American-Islamic Relations, 2012). This scenario is not something new as Ogan, Willnat, Pennington & Bashir (2014) had explained that “Islamophobia, or the fear or hatred of Muslims and Islam, has been used to describe the anti-Muslim feelings of a mostly Christian population in Europe since immigrants from Muslim countries began arriving there in the early 14th century” (p. 28). The stigmatization of Muslim can be attributed to various factors but the role of media in perpetuating these ideas is instrumental due to the fact that they are the distributors of ideology through the way it manage and arranged information for the consumption of the masses (Gitlin, 1980).

### **Media framing of terrorism**

Media Framing and its effects have been extensively explored in the field of communication and occupy such an important position in the study of journalism. Framing analysis shares the agenda setting research focus which looking at the issues in the news and how public perceived these issues (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). According to Entman (1993), framing can be defined as an act of selecting “some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (p. 53). By doing so, some aspects of the reality will be tone down and sometimes being totally ignored.

According to McQuail (2005) framing has become a method for journalist to give some overall interpretation of fact, and therefore “it is almost unavoidable for journalist to do this and in so doing to depart from pure ‘objectivity’ and to introduce some (unintended) bias” (p. 379). Although the act of framing is justifiable due to inevitable constraints however the effect from it is not something that one could just simply underestimate. Price, Tewksbury and Powers (1997) described the framing effect as “one in which salient attributes of a message (its organization,

selection of content, or thematic structure) render particular thoughts applicable, resulting in their activation and use in evaluations”. In another term, through the emphasis of certain words or images to describe an event, issue or group of people, it will affect audience’s judgment of reality and could lead to warp view or stereotypical notion and mindset about the matter.

Norris et al. (2003) argued that the event of 9/11 has brought a cultural shift in the predominant news frame used by American media in understanding issues of national security which had altered the perception of American public towards terrorism threats at home and abroad. Out of the myriad of ways to describe the events, journalist commonly rely upon the existing familiar frame and based their assumption upon the interpretation of credible sources to interpret meanings, facts, focus of headlines and the structure of the story line. The terrorist and anti-terrorist frames that are available on the media allow us to quickly sort out, interpret, categorize and evaluate these crises. Norris et al. (2003) suggested that the terrorism frame can be understood in two layers. The first layer involves the ‘one-sided’ cases and the second involving the ‘two-sided’ cases. In ‘one-sided’ cases, there is a broad consensus about how the terrorist event should be interpreted within any particular community and there is very little room for any alternative views. This can be exemplified by the coverage of 9/11 in most American media. In ‘two-sided’ cases however, there is likely more contest, awareness and dispute over the terrorism event and these disparities differ sharply among the sub-cultures that deeply affected by it. Some of good examples of such cases are the conflict in Jerusalem between the Muslim and Jewish communities or the Russians and Chechen in Grozny.

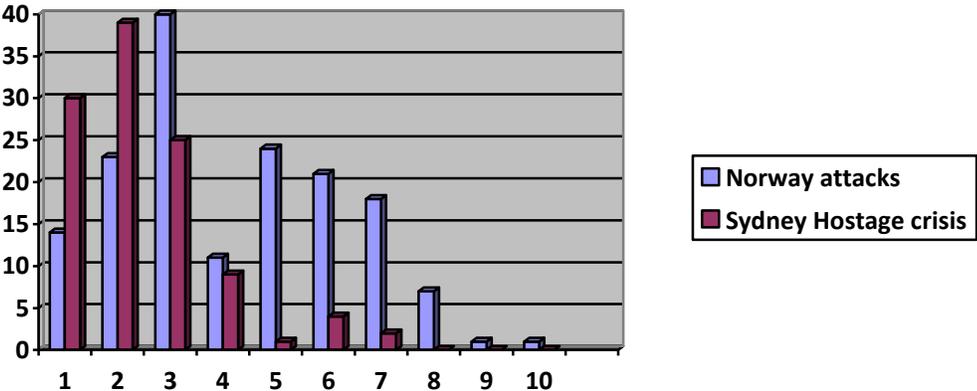
Powell (2011) analysis on the US media coverage of terrorism since 9/11 has found that there are underlying pattern that feeds Orientalism and a culture of fear of Islam. The thematic coverage of terrorism model that emerged from her study revealed that the Muslims were often demonized while Christians were glorified and the fear of outsiders other was intensified. Her analysis has demonstrated how coverage of terrorism has developed through five major themes: naming of the suspect, descriptor assigned to the agent, motive for the act, probability of future threat and portrayal of victims. When the suspect has been identified as Muslim, the media will try to establish the connection between the suspect and a larger cell of terrorist organization such as Al-Qaeda. Their motivation for the act will be reduced to war of Islam against United States.

If the suspects were found to be Non-Muslim and American citizen, they will be covered as mentally unstable individual and the act will be determined as a lone act of a troubled individual, thus posed no future threat. These patterns of coverage create a climate of fear of Muslim while at the same time providing the excuse for the US government to use of ‘terrorism’ to justify otherwise unjustifiable acts of war against the Muslim populated countries.

In this study, a content analysis was employed to identify American media frames of terrorism event committed by a Muslim and Non-Muslim ‘lone-wolf’ attacker on foreign soil. According to Neuendorf (2002), content analysis is a “research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use” (p. 18). In content analysis, there are several approaches in analyzing the data and one of it is using the semantical technique. Semantical content analysis is a procedure which classifies signs according to their meaning, such as the thematic analysis which provide the frequencies with which certain objects are characterized in a particular way. In this study, one of the research question the researcher keen to know is whether the themes that emerged in Powell (2011) analysis would appear in the coverage of Norway massacre and Sydney hostage crisis? Therefore, the thematic frames that emerged in Powell (2011) study were adapted to the current study and serve as the categories for the analysis. To represent American news media, Cable News Network (CNN) news website was chosen due to several reasons. First, CNN is one of major news provider in US and their website was ranked at number two as the most visited news website by *Alexa.com*. In collecting the data for this study, the news related to the Norway Massacre and Sydney hostage crisis that appeared on CNN news portal home page within ten (10) days from the day the event occurred were accumulated and put into groups based on the themes. The researcher then read and highlighted the words or phrases that fit the themes within the news stories. The data were acquired from the archived files available on *archive.org*, a non-profit digital library that provides free access to billions of archived web pages and frequently used by researcher to conduct study of this nature.

### **Comparing the Norway massacre and Sydney hostage crisis coverage on CNN website**

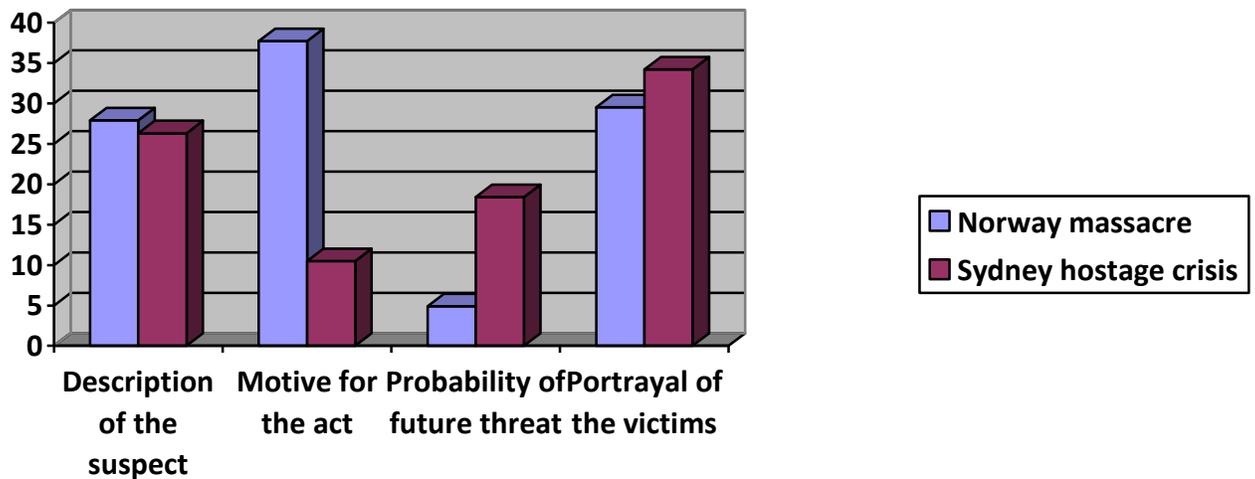
A total of 214 news headlines on the Norway massacre and Sydney hostage crisis were appeared on CNN news portal homepage within the ten days timeframe. To provide an overview of the coverage, the bar chart below (figure 1) illustrates the number of news published on CNN website in regards to the ‘lone wolf’ attacks during that 10 days period:



*Figure 1: Number of news headlines involving the Norway massacre and Sydney hostage crisis that were published on CNN website during the 10 days period*

As we can see in figure 1, CNN was immediately interested with both cases as it happened and several days after the attacks. Norway attacks reached its peak in coverage on the third day with 40 news headlines appeared on CNN website. Sydney hostage crisis reached its peak on day-2 of the siege with 39 news headlines published on the site. Between these two cases, Sydney hostage crisis lost its steam on the seventh day when no more headlines about the crisis appear on the site on the eighth day onward. Unlike the Sydney hostage crisis, Norway’s attacks managed to get CNN attention until the tenth day although very minimal at the end with only one headline appeared respectively on the ninth and tenth day of the coverage.

Figure 2 below illustrates the four themes and their coverage percentages during the 10 days period:



*Figure 2: Percentage of the news according to frame involving the Norway massacre and Sydney hostage crisis that were published on CNN website during the 10 days period*

As we can see in figure 2, the Norway massacre and the Sydney hostage crisis shared an almost equivalence amount of coverage on the description of the suspects. In covering the motive for the act, CNN was seen more interested on uncovering the Norway massacre suspect’s motive than the Sydney siege hostage taker. However, CNN put more emphasis on speculating the probability of future threat in the Sydney hostage crisis coverage in comparison to the Norway massacre. In both cases, they again shared an almost similar percentage of victim’s stories in their coverage.

Contemporary form of journalism especially online news required the news provider to ensure that every news that being published on their website will stay ‘fresh’ and current. According to Siapera (2012) users would read headlines at least four or more times a day. He added that the extent to which sites updates its contents is a determining factor whether users would frequently visit the sites or not. In the case of CNN news sites, it was evident in this study that the news provider were regularly changed the heading of the news by dropping or adding some word in it. For instance, stories about the identity of Norway massacre suspect were published in several titles, such as “Who is the Norway attacks suspect?” and “Picture begins to emerge of suspect” but both headings refer to the same news entitled “Who is the suspect in the

Norway attacks?” (the CNN wire staff, 2011, “Who is the suspect in the Norway attacks?”). Regular changes on the headings as part of the effort to rejuvenate the news can be understood however the move could also lead to misinterpretation on the part of the readers when certain important word are not being included. In the coverage of Sydney hostage crisis for instance, CNN uploaded news with a heading: “Hostagetaker: Cleric, violent criminal” when the actual content unveiled that Man Haron Monis was a ‘self-styled cleric’ and never was recognized as cleric by any Islamic body in Australia. Therefore, such misrepresentation of Man characteristics could further enhance stigmatization of Muslim being inclined toward terrorist activities, especially when the act was being associated with their so called teacher or ‘cleric’ whom purported to be the arbiters of morality.

### **In the wake of the attacks: Implicating Islam to terrorism**

In Powell (2011) analysis on the series of terrorism attacks in US, she found that there was a clear distinction between the treatment given to a Muslim perpetrator and a Non-Muslim perpetrator by American media. In the wake of any terrorism event, the terrorist agents were quickly labeled or suspected as Muslim. It was evident in CNN early coverage on Norway Massacre when they highlighted witness, Ian Dutton description of the aftermath as a resemblance to the September 11 attacks which he himself had experienced when he was in New York in 2001. Despite the scale which was smaller than September 11 attacks, the stunned feeling and confusion in the aftermath was “eerily similar” (CNN wire staff, 2011, “Blast witness: 'The explosion was immense’). Even though the juxtaposition was made in the mid of the confusion of the attack, nevertheless the impact of such reportage would conjured up images of Muslim extremists plotting the same attack around Oslo capital city in the mind of the viewers.

In the case of Sydney hostage crisis, the assertion that the act was perpetrated by Muslim was more visible. During the first day of the siege, CNN highlighted their Australian affiliate accomplishment on publishing photographs of the hostages holding up a black flag with Arabic writings that read: “There is no God but God and Mohammed is the prophet of God”, which is an

Islamic testimony of faith in their reportage (Mullen, Ford & Corren, 2011, “Hostages held in Sydney café”). The association was further enhanced when CNN aired Samier Dandan, President of the Lebanese Muslim Association in Sydney plea to diffuse the situation which connoting how the Muslim feels obligated to condemn and apologize to the Australian for the act of terrorism committed by their fellow Muslim (CNN embed video, 2014). Kuranda Seyit, Director of Forum on Australia’s Islamic Relations had also been invited to appear on Christiane Amanpour segment to discuss on the fear of possible backlash among the Muslim community and to comment on the effort to de-radicalized possible militant activity in Australia (Amanpour, 2014). While in the case of Norway Massacre, even though Breivik professed his action as part of the new incarnation of the Knights Templar (Schoichet, 2011, “Ancient Knights Templar name used in modern criminal crusades”) and was heavily driven by his strong belief of Christianity being under attack by Islamization of Europe, nobody from any churches or Christian groups came forward to apologize or condemned his action.

### **CNN description of the perpetrators**

CNN coverage on Norway massacre and Sydney hostage crisis has demonstrated interesting distinction in terms of the adjectives used to characterize or describe both suspects. Powell (2011) argued that American media depiction of Non-Muslim domestic terrorist tended to be heavily personalized and generally described as intelligent although mentally unstable. Such framing was evident in the case of Norway massacre in which Breivik was described as a troubled but not-insane individual who were meticulous in his work. He was said to have bought a farm as a front to procure fertilizer to build his bombs and planned other details meticulously including photos of himself that he planned to distribute among media outlets after his arrest (McLoughlin, 2011, “From 'privileged' youth to afternoon of carnage”). Apart from that, he was also reported to be a prolific blogger and visitor to sites that reaffirmed his worldview although he rarely, if he ever does advocate a violent response to what he saw as the ‘Islamization of Europe’ (Lister, 2011, “Suspect admired bloggers who believe Europe is drowning in Muslims”).

In the case of Sydney siege, Man Haron Monis was also been given a human descriptor although in a much darker tones. CNN highlighted the Australian Prime Minister, Tony Abbot statement at a news conference during the siege where he described Man Haron Monis as a ‘deeply disturbed individual’ and ‘well known’ to federal and state police as well as the Australian Security Intelligence Organization. He also been described as a self-styled Muslim cleric who subscribed to radical Sunni extremist theology (Fantz, Shoichet & Hume, 2014, “Sydney hostage-taker called himself a cleric -- and had a criminal record”). At the time of the siege, Man was facing dozens of charges including two counts of being an accessory to the murder of his ex-wife, Noleen Hayson Pal (Fantz, Shoichet & Hume, 2014, “Sydney hostage-taker called himself a cleric -- and had a criminal record”). Unlike his Norway’s counterpart, the hostage-taker was portrayed as clumsy in his work (e.g.: “Sydney on alert as hostage held: At least 5 hostages escape cafe”, 15 December 2014) and even do not have an exit plan (e.g: “Gunfire ends Sydney café siege: Hostage taker 'killed in raid”, 15 December 2014).

Powell (2011) further argued that much of the coverage on a terrorism event committed by Non-Muslim perpetrators will be on the investigation of the motive behind the act. In the case of Norway massacre, CNN was obviously interested to understand the motive behind Breivik actions. One of the major highlight on Norway massacre coverage was about Breivik’s work on the 1,500 pages manifesto that lays out right-wing extremist views. Among the important points made in the manifesto was the plan to execute the "cultural Marxists" and the banishing of Muslims (CNN wire staff, 2011, “Purported manifesto, video from Norway terror suspect detail war plan”). Although the content was described as a rambling that full of anti-Muslim rants but to the criminologists, this is not a work of a ‘crazy man’ but a ‘sociopath’ who deliberately planned his every actions (Levs, 2011, “Manifesto suggests massacre suspect troubled, not insane, experts say”).

In the event of terrorism, when the agent involved was identified as Muslim, media coverage will try to make connection between the agent and a larger terrorist cell (Powell 2011). This was evident in the case of Man Haron Monis where CNN National Security Analyst, Fran Townsend stated that the next step after the siege concluded was to investigate whether or not Man has any international ties specifically the Islamic State (ISIS). CNN also used quote from

former Australian Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd during an interview with Christiane Amanpour where he regarded ‘Jihadism as a global challenge that must be tackled collectively’ as one of its news headlines (Araujo, 2014). Lister (2014) reported that Sydney siege has surfaced some troubling truth about Australia being another country at risk of terrorism due to the upheavals in the Middle East. The prevalence reference to ISIS throughout CNN coverage on the siege may have evoked fear among the viewers of future attack. CNN selection of issues following the tragedy suggested that terrorism attacks is looming in Australia and therefore, the effort to de-radicalizing Muslim extreme ideology must be taken seriously. Such framing by CNN would somehow inculcate the culture of fear towards Islam or Muslim despite the siege was later declared as an act of a ‘lone-wolf’ attacker by the authority.

### **CNN Portrayal of the victims**

The percentage of the coverage on the victims of the Norway massacre and the Sydney hostage crisis are almost similar however the focus were slightly different. In covering terrorism, the victims were commonly lifted up by the media as heroes or portrayed as good or innocent (Powell, 2011). In the Norway massacre coverage, majority of the news of the victims were about the victim’s recount of the tragedy. For instance, the story about the massacre survivor, Adrian Pracon who recalled clinging on a dead body, pretended to be dead himself because it was the only way he knew to survive (Basu, CNN, 23 July 2011, “Norway survivor played dead to stay alive”). In the case of Sydney hostage crisis, the ‘good qualities’ of the victims were highly projected in the coverage. One of the hostages who died in the siege, Katrina Dawson was described by the New South Wales Bar Association President as ‘one of the best and brightest barrister’ and also a devoted mother of three and was a valued member of her floor and bar community’ (Pearson, Mullen & Coren, 2014, “With two hostages and gunman dead, grim investigation starts in Sydney”). Apart from emphasizing on her good qualities, CNN also elevated her status to ‘hero’ when they highlighted that Dawson was trying to protect her pregnant colleague when she was killed (Mullen, 2014, “Victims of Sydney siege: A mother of three and a beloved son”). The other victim, Tori Johnson who was the manager of the cafe was described as an ‘amazing person and selfless person who would put other people before himself’.

He also ascribed the 'hero' status when CNN highlighted Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) report that Johnson was 'killed as he tried to wrestle the gun away from the hostage taker (Mullen, 2014, "Victims of Sydney siege: A mother of three and a beloved son"). In both 'heroic' incidents however, no sources was cited and the police also didn't confirm the account. Nevertheless, the portrayal of the victim as 'hero' serve an important purpose which according to Powell (2011) would lead the readers to arrive to the assumption that these 'heroes' are protecting civilian against some evil, thus creating a dichotomy of good versus evil.

## **Discussion**

Samuel Huntington (1998, as cited in Gerhard & Schäfer, 2014, p. 5) an influential conservative political scientist argued that the 21<sup>st</sup> century world is characterized by opposing 'culture's especially between the Christian dominated West and the Muslim who resides primarily in the Arab world. With the emergence of various media, the stereotype of the Arab or in Edward Said (1978) term - the 'Orient' - in the Western world were reinforce overtime. Said (1978) elucidated that "television, the films, and all the media's resources have forced information into more and more standardized molds" and "so far as the Orient is concerned, standardization and cultural stereotyping have intensified the hold of the nineteenth-century academic and imaginative demonology of "the mysterious Orient"" (p. 27). Therefore, when the Western media cover a story about Muslim and Non Muslim especially Christian in terrorism event, differences in term of treatment is expected.

In America, media has played a major role in shaping American opinion about Muslim (Mohammad Abid Amiri, 2012). Popular fiction and Hollywood for instance has been perpetuating the idea of Arabs and Muslims as villains or terrorist for many years (Nacos & Torres-Reyna, 2003). While the problem was not so much of the lack of Muslim's coverage in the news but the way they are framed in the news that can be problematic. Mohammad Abid Amiri (2012) argued that American public was constantly being fed with partial, incorrect and biased news coverage by their media to inject fear of Muslim in the mind of the public. When CNN cover the story on the Sydney hostage crisis, the theme of Islamic radicalization was

prevalence and the public was given a grim reminder of how dangerous it is. While in the case of Norway massacre, the public was only being exposed to the existence of the far-right group with some historical chronology and instances of their actions (*see* Lister, 2014).

Johnson (2011) argued that in order to understand ‘Islamophobia’ in the West, the process of formulating the perception of entitativity towards Muslims should be part of the discourse. She defined entitativity as a concept that described the perception of a group in which its member are bonded together into a unified unit that share common goals, social norms, shared knowledge and interaction. She further argued that the Western media tend to portray Muslims as being isolated, interdependent and sharing common goal and norms. The Muslim has been lumped together into one single category, ignoring all the dynamism and nuances within the group. The pattern of coverage on Man Haron Monis by CNN, although subtle, can be seen as another instances whereby media is responsible in promoting the perception of entitativity towards Muslims. In contrast, when the act of terrorism was committed by a Non-Muslim especially Christians, such categorization is a non-existence. In the coverage of Norway massacre for instance, CNN was seen avoiding the term ‘Christian’ to describe Anders’ Behring Breivik identity despite his motive of being a ‘self-proclaimed’ defender of Christianity but they resolved to the label of him as a ‘far right extremist’ which carried more of a political connotation rather than religion. This can be viewed as an effort to not creating a precedence of ‘Christian terrorism’ which would disharmonize the current framework of terrorism coverage. However, the entitativity effect was then balanced by the act of some concern Australians who initiated a social media campaign against Islamophobia under the hashtag #illridewithyou following the incident at Lindt Chocolate Café. At the time when fears were mounting among Australian Muslims due to possible backlash, some fellow Australian took an initiative to offer their hand by accompanying any Muslims wearing religious clothes on public transport as a gesture of solidarity (Mackay, 2014, “Hostage siege: Australians stand up to Islamophobia with #illridewithyou”). The act signified the tolerance of some Australian who hold different view about Muslim and acknowledge the diversity of Muslim as individual and part of the Australian community. However, from a different perspective this can be understood as an effort to humanize the Christians, which according to Powell (2011) a frame that would emerge although not stated explicitly in news stories but the theme inevitably develops as the coverage progress.

Despite Man Haron Monis confession that he work alone and was not part of any organization, CNN relentlessly tried to bring international terrorist organization into the picture by speculating whether Man's action was inspired by ISIS. By mentioning the name ISIS alone, it could construct extraneous fear among the public. Such mechanism is deliberate as Finseraas and Listhaug (2013) has found that terrorism event that occurred on foreign soil could increased the perceived threat of terrorism among the public at home. Therefore, the accentuation on the role of radical Islamic theology in Sydney hostage crisis in CNN coverage was not intend to be merely consumed by Australian alone but the frame was also served as a caution to the American public themselves. Since America still directly involved in campaign against the Taliban in Afghanistan, the 'War on Terrorism' that was declared by George W Bush in 2001 is still very much 'alive'. This trend can also be observed when the hostage crisis was abruptly toppled down from the main headlines following the Taliban attack on the Army Public School and Degree College in Peshawar which claimed at least 137 lives on December 16, 2014. Apart from the much bigger scale and claimed more lives, the fact that the perpetrators are well-known to the American public –the Taliban- is seen as one of the important factor that made it a major highlight of the day. According to Reese & Lewis (2009) American journalist are still captivated by a powerful master narrative of 9/11 to a point they found themselves facing difficulty to resist being drawn into the national anxiety and become the conduit to pass the government principles to the public. Through manufacturing fear, the public's level of pessimism and risk-aversion will increase and they will likely be more supportive to government-provided security (Lerner, Gonzalez, Small & Fischhoff, 2002).

The framing of the victims in terrorism event should not be undermined or taken in isolation from the other themes because its effect on the reader can be tremendous. The narrative of victims being good, innocent and undeserving peoples has become an ever-present theme in terrorism event coverage. In this study, this frame was prevalence in the coverage of both cases. By highlighting on these qualities combining it with heroism of the victims and the masses, it stimulates a feeling that the attacks were not only targeting the victims but targeting 'humanity' itself. But this, according to Powell (2011) has to be juxtaposed with negative portrayal of the terrorists to create an underlying theme of good versus evil. By describing the events based upon

these two extremes, the fear and animosity towards the terrorist will be intensified and becomes more focus.

This analysis illuminates our understanding on how American media responded to terrorism event committed by Muslim and Non-Muslim 'lone wolf' terrorist on foreign soil. The findings at some degree consistent with Powell (2011) major themes that emerged from her previous study on terrorism event in US which include the way media described the Muslim and Non-Muslim perpetrators, the possibility of link to a larger cell terrorist group and future threat, and the way media humanizing the victims of terrorism events. It appear that the way American media such as CNN cover the events could further enhance the exclusion of Muslim from the mainstream American public way of life and perpetuate the idea of 'others' against the Muslim community. However, this analysis is not an overall representation of American media response to terrorism event committed by lone wolf perpetrator since it only included CNN coverage within a 10 days' time frame of the event thus leaving a large room for further exploration in the future. Nevertheless, the analysis is deemed sufficient to indicate that the 'War on Terror' is still very much an ongoing campaign in American media.

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