Democratisation of Media
Issues and Realities

Edited by

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FRAMING A 'LONE-WOLF' ATTACK: CNN ONLINE NEWS TREATMENT ON NORWAY MASSACRE AND SYDNEY HOSTAGE CRISIS

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Introduction

Terrorism event has always captured mass media attention because of its dramatic nature and ability to raise public attention that could increase the viewer's rating, thus profiting the companies as well (Perešin, 2007). In the context of 'lone-wolf' terrorism, such act was committed by person who "operate individually, who do not belong to an organised 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 veuligheids – en Crisismanagement, 2007, p. 6). This study examines 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.

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 was being defined and redefined throughout

the course of media coverage which in so doing, brought together stereotypes and labelling of certain culture or ethnicity. A poll conducted by a national Islamic civil rights and advocacy group revealed that a majority (57 percent) of American Muslims said that 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. About 67 percent of respondents believed that the media have grown more biased against Islam and Muslims (Council of American-Islamic Relations, 2012). Ogan, Willnat, Pennington and 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 manages and arranged information for the consumption of the masses (Gitlin, 1980).

Media Framing of Terrorism

Entman (1993) defines framing 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). Framing has become a method for journalist to give some overall interpretation of facts, 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" (McQuail, 2005, p. 379).

The event of 9/11 has somehow altered the perception of American public towards terrorism threats either at home or abroad (Norris et al., 2003). Powell (2011) analysis on the US media coverage of terrorism since 9/11 has found that there is an underlying pattern that feeds Orientalism and a culture of fear of Islam. Her study revealed that the Muslims were often demonized while Christians were glorified and the fear of outsiders was intensified. Moreover, the 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 organisation such as Al-Qaeda. Contradictorily, if the suspects were found to be a 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.

Method

A content analysis was employed in this study to identify American media frames of terrorism event committed by a Muslim and Non-Muslim 'lone-wolf' attacker on foreign soil. One of the research questions 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. The Cable News Network (CNN) news website was chosen because it is one of the major news providers in US and their website was ranked at number two as the most visited news website by Alexa.com. 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 appeared on CNN news portal homepage within the ten days' timeframe. Figure 1 illustrates the number of news published on CNN website in regards to the 'lone wolf' attacks during that 10 days' period:

Y-axis = Number of news, X-axis = The day they were reported

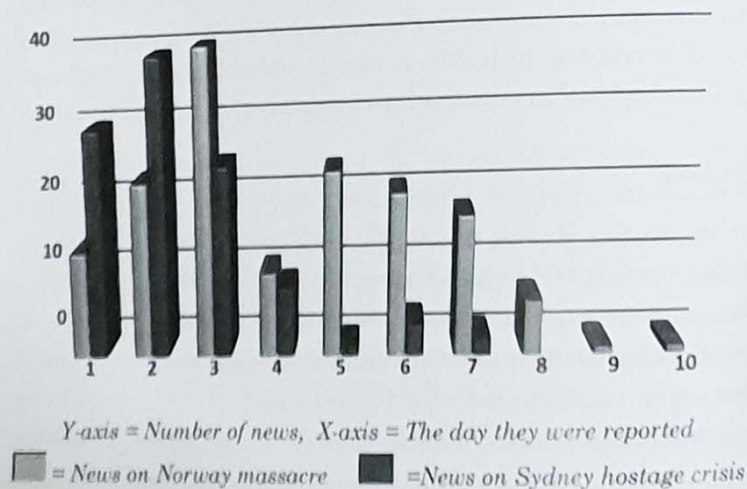■ *= News on Norway massacre*   ■ *=News on Sydney hostage crisis*

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

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 eight 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.

Y-axis = Number of news, X-axis = The news theme

□ *= Norway massacre*   ■ *= Sydney hostage crisis*

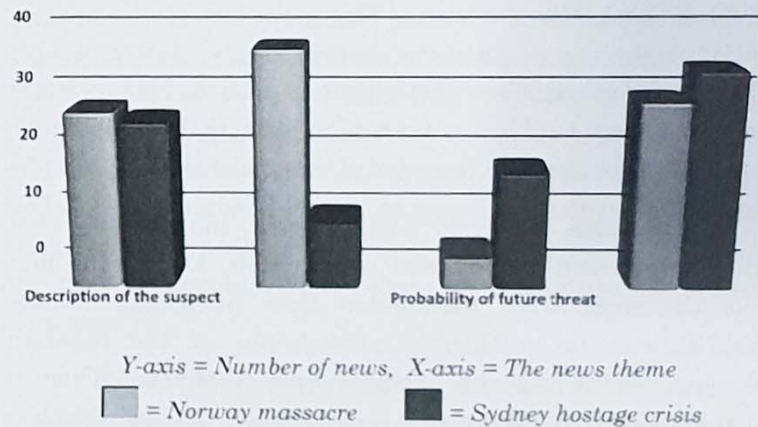Figure 2: Percentage of the news according to frame involving the Norway massacre and Sydney hostage crisis that were published on CNN website during the 10 days' period

Figure 2 depicts that the Norway massacre and the Sydney hostage crisis shared an almost equal amount of coverage on the description of the suspects. In covering the motive for the act, CNN was seen more interested in uncovering the Norway massacre

suspect's motive than the Sydney siege hostage taker. However, CNN had put more emphasis on speculating the probability of future threat in the Sydney hostage crisis coverage in comparison with the Norway massacre. In both cases, they again shared an almost similar percentage of victim's stories in their coverage.

In the Wake of the Attacks: Implicating Islam to Terrorism

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'). Eventhough 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 readers.

In the case of Sydney hostage crisis, the assertion that Muslim perpetrated the act 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, 2014, "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). 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 personalised 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").

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. One of the major highlights on Norway massacre coverage was about Breivik's work on the 1,500-page 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 action (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 are 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 coverage on victims of Norway massacre and Sydney hostage crisis are almost similar however their focuses 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, 24 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"). In both 'heroic' incidents however, no sources were cited and the police also didn't confirm the account. Nevertheless, the portrayal of the victim as 'hero' serves 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 21st 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 reinforced overtime. Said (1978) elucidated that "television, the films, and all the media's

resources have forced information into more and more standardised moulds" and "so far as the Orient is concerned, standardisation 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 are expected.

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 prevalent 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 (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 members are bonded together into a unified unit that share common goals, social norms, shared knowledge and interaction. 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-existent. 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' who carried more of a political connotation rather than religion. This can be viewed as an effort to not creating a precedent of 'Christian terrorism' which would disharmonise 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 Australians 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 works alone and was not part of any organisation, CNN relentlessly tried to bring international terrorist organisation 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 increase 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 intended 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 factors that made it a major highlight of the day. According to Reese & Lewis (2009) American journalists 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, 2003).

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 prevalent in the coverage of both cases. By highlighting these qualities and combining them 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 become more focused.

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 to a certain degree are consistent with Powell's (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 appears that the way American media such as CNN covers 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-day time frame of the event thus leaving a large room for further exploration in the future. Nevertheless, the analysis is still sufficient to indicate that the 'War on Terror' is still very much an ongoing campaign in American media.

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6

PRESIDENT JOKO WIDODO'S VISIT TO MALAYSIA: A FRAMING ANALYSIS OF BILATERAL ISSUES ON INDONESIAN ONLINE MEDIA

Ahmad Nizar Yaakub

Introduction

Malaysia and Indonesia have a 'special relationship'. In diplomacy, the term 'special relationship' is used to describe a condition where there are exceptionally strong bilateral ties between countries and even emotional connections between their leaders. The former British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill used the term 'special relationship' to depict the exceptionally close cultural, diplomatic, historical and political relations that the United Kingdom had with the United States.

In the Malaysian and Indonesian context, the 'special relationship' is grounded on *nusantara* and *serumpun* sentiment, which has been a foundation of the relationship since both countries gained independence. *Nusantara* literally means archipelago in old Javanese written word and *serumpun* comes from the root word *rumpun*. In *Bahasa Malaysia* and *Bahasa Indonesia* it means 'cluster, clumps, family, group, stock or race'. *Serumpun* refers to the idea of co-identification on the basis of stock or racial lineage.

The current general perception is that there is more conflict and rivalry than co-operation between Malaysia and