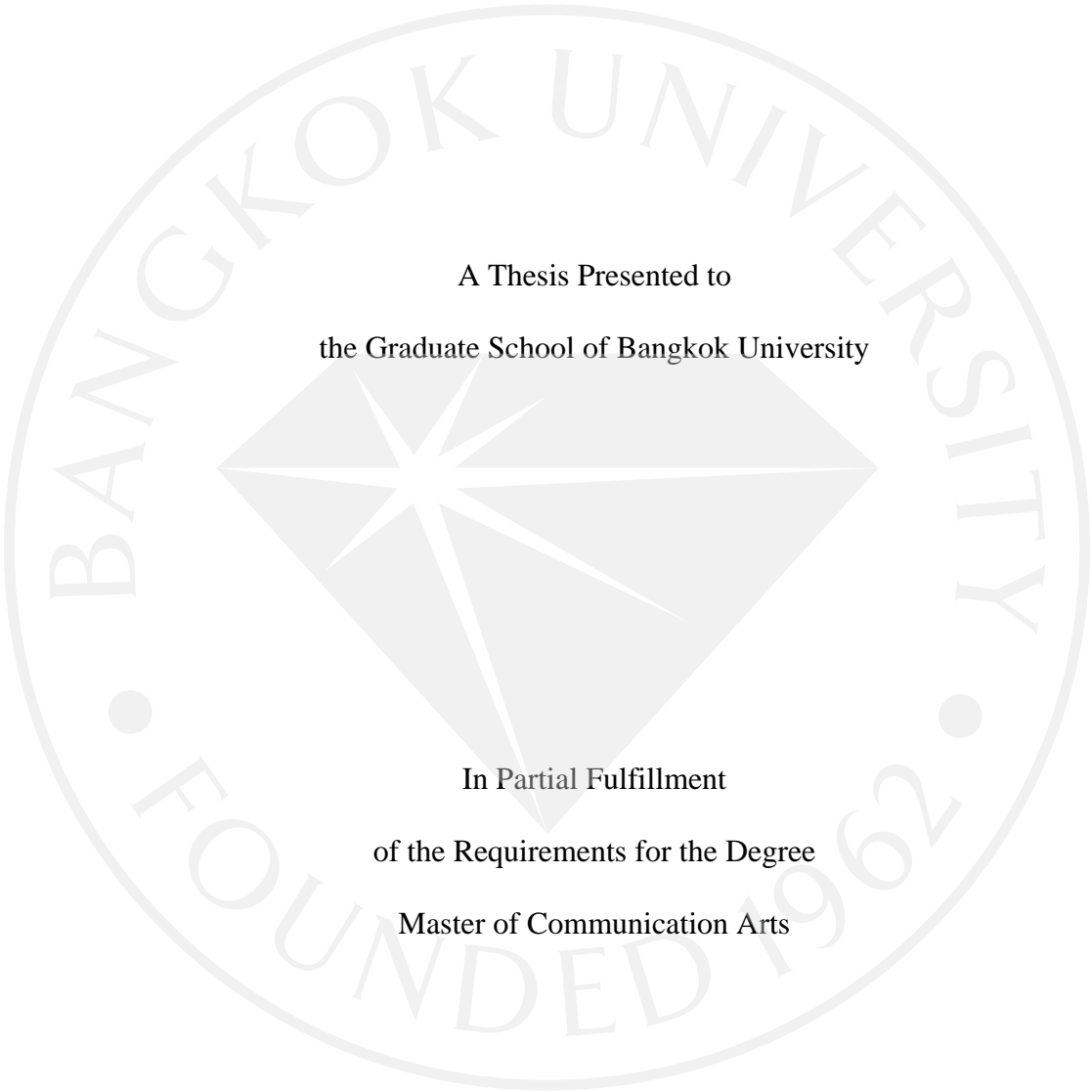


FRAMING OF NEWS ON TERRORISM IN SOUTHEAST ASIAN NEWSPAPERS



FRAMING OF NEWS ON TERRORISM IN SOUTHEAST ASIAN NEWSPAPERS



A Thesis Presented to
the Graduate School of Bangkok University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Communication Arts

by

Galina Bannavong

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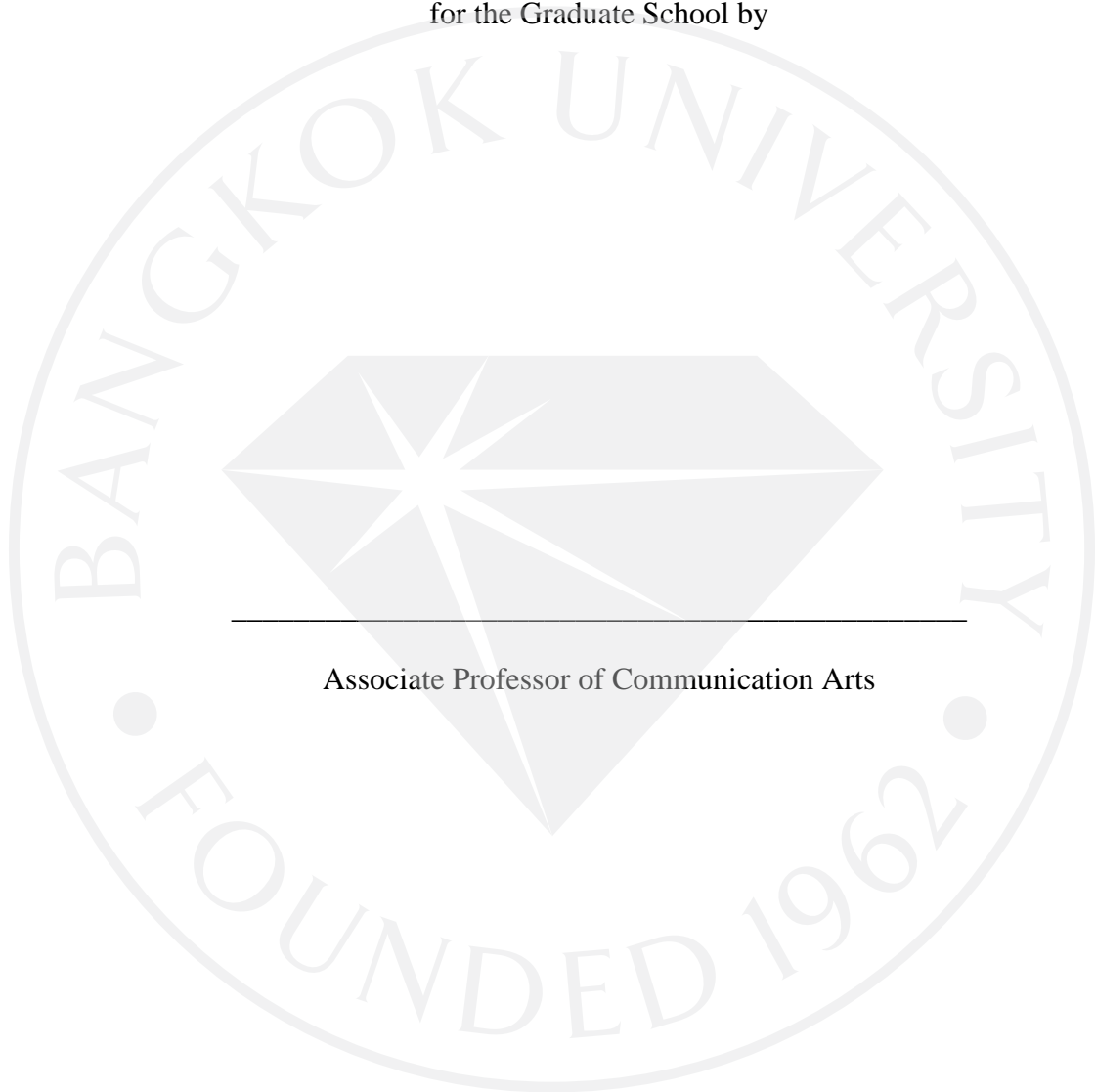
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This thesis has been approved

for the Graduate School by



Associate Professor of Communication Arts

Dean of the Graduate School

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Framing of News on Terrorism in Southeast Asian Newspapers (165 pp.)

Advisor of thesis : Assoc. Prof. Rosechongporn Komolsevin, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

This study examines news frames on terrorism coverage during the year 2003 in four Southeast Asian, English language newspapers – the Bangkok Post, the Jakarta Post, the Manila Times, and the Phnom Penh Post. Qualitative content analysis was conducted using 590 articles, which are characterized as the “straight news”. The study looked at the emphasis of the story, the structure of the article, the sources used as a reference, and the opinion statements of the journalists to draw common themes for the frame construction.

Thirty three frames including sub-frames were derived during the analysis. The findings suggest that the coverage of terrorism revolves around three common categories of frames, which differ in their number of usage across four newspapers. PPP and BP coverage is characterized by using “issue-oriented” frames, MT coverage is dominated by “conflict – oriented” frames, and JP coverage – by “destruction/ disaster-oriented” frames. Discussion of findings with the application of the Media Framing theory is provided as well as the suggestions for the future research.

Approved: _____

Signature of Advisor

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Rationale

Many decades ago, Walter Lippmann, an American journalist for The Herald Tribune and the Washington Post, argued in 1922 that the “news is a picture of reality on which the public can act...” What he meant is that people depend on the news in order to get accurate, credible, trustworthy and relevant information. Without news, our access to information about the events would be limited to those that we could learn through experience or personal interactions. In a sense, news helps construct our geopolitical image of the world. Hartley (1982) wrote:

Neither news nor language are transparent windows on the world. They are both more like maps of the world. A map differs from the terrain it indicates in very obvious ways, without ceasing to maintain a relationship which allows us to recognize the terrain through it... The way news “maps” the world and produces our sense of reality depends very largely on the nature of the various signs it uses (p.15).

In present days, the definition of news has not been changed much in terms of factual presentation of events. News is usually defined as reporting on current events in a news style, which is characterized by comprehensiveness (i.e. an attempt to answer five basic questions of ‘what,’ ‘when,’ ‘where,’ ‘who,’ and ‘why,’ sometimes ‘how’), fairness and balance (Kohler,unk; see also, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/News_style for definition of news and news style). Thus, the news is an important element in our understanding of the world outside the realm of our experience and interactions. But to

serve its primary function – providing ways for readers to organize and understand events – news must give factual and unbiased information. That is what makes news totally different from editorials, op-eds, and other opinion pieces. An editorial is an article that expresses an opinion rather than simply reports facts. Although editorials, like news, contain facts, they, unlike news, offer an opinion based on those facts, provide arguments to support writer's opinion, and often conclude with the solution to the problem/ issue.

Contemporary Research and News on Terrorism

After the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack in the USA terrorism has suddenly become dominant in minds across the world, evoking wide range of emotions. The spectacular Al-Qaeda operation started a debate over the definition of terrorism, its roles, dangers, and the ethics of counter-terrorism operations. Governments started to speak about new forms of terrorism that threaten international communities and global security. Politicians and scholars began to raise deep concerns about the root causes of this phenomenon.

Two years after the attack, the effects continue to impact on international relations, public opinion, politics and economics. The threat of global terrorism was one of the major issues discussed on the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit held in October 2003 in Bangkok, Thailand. Tej Bunnag, APEC 2003 secretarial chief, stressed that this issue is unavoidable if countries want secure trade and cooperation since terrorism is not only the problem of the USA. “ Southeast Asia is now very much aware that it is one of the fronts in the war against terrorism,” he said, giving as examples Bali nightclub bombing and attacks planned to disrupt the

summit (Global terror, trade to dominate APEC summit in Bangkok, AFP, October, 2003).

Given the consideration, with which governments attend the threat of terrorism, it is unsurprising that media also pay close attention to the issue. It is now a basic staple of the TV news, newspapers, and the Internet in many if not all countries.

Previous research on media coverage of terrorism investigated the wide range of topics related to the coverage. Quantitative studies analyzed the newsworthiness of news on terrorist events (Weimann & Brosius, 1991), the amount of coverage on terrorism (Straubhaar et al., 1988; Adams, 1985; Altheide, 1982) and TV and newspaper news reporting on terrorist events (Paletz et al., 1982; Barton & Greg, 1982; Altheide, 1981). Qualitative studies investigated media messages in terms of semantics and descriptions (Knight & Dean, 1982), ideological underpinnings of news on terrorism (Steuter, 1990), and discourse of news. Dobkin (1992), for example, examined the discourses of television news about terrorism from 1981 until 1986 through the statements and words of the government officials and leaders. She concludes that:

Television news gives audience a highly stylized picture of terrorism. It provides stories about terrorism that are molded by the expectations of audiences, the preconceptions of journalists, and the materials of violence and political discourse that surround such events. The features of news narratives about terrorism are noteworthy not just for the public reality of terrorism that they come to define but also for the larger relationship between news and foreign policy that they reveal (p.103).

Since the audience learns about national and international events mostly from the news media, media play an important role in shaping the meaning of events. One way to do so is through framing of the story. Tankard et al. (1991) defines a media frame as “the central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration” (cited in Werder & Golan, 2002). Framing differs from gatekeeping and agenda-setting in a sense that it selects and emphasizes different aspects of one issue, while agenda-setting refers to the selection of particular issues to be given as news (Scheufele, 1999).

By framing the events, journalists – consciously or unconsciously - put some facts, images or developments ahead of others, thus reinforcing one particular interpretation of events. They frame their stories based on the interpretation of events by credible sources and rely on familiar news frames, that is, they look at how similar stories were covered in the past, to communicate the story. Thus, the news stories created in this way ,establish the salience of issues, influence how people think and understand the world around them, and contribute to the formation of stereotypes, judgments, and decisions (Ross, 2002).

Norris, Kern and Just (2003) in their book *Framing Terrorism: The News Media, the Government & the Public* analyzed an existing literature on framing terrorism in the news. They explain that most news articles provide “one-sided” frame, that is, the frames that do not offer alternative perspectives on the issue but include interpretation of the issue by government officials and political interest groups, journalists and the public. The media coverage in many cases is “uncontroversial” and readers are probably unaware of the other side of the issue:

Conventional news frames never provide a comprehensive explanation of all aspects of any terrorist act, leaving some important puzzles unresolved, while accounting for those factors which best fit the particular interpretation of events (p.6).

One may argue that acts of violence in general, and terrorist acts in particular, are easily recognized and accepted by divergent systems of beliefs. Thus, a terrorist event in the USA might be interpreted the same as a terrorist event in Britain or Sri Lanka. However, due to cultural, political and historical factors there are discrepancies in perceptions and attitudes of the society in general, and media and journalists in particular, especially when those attitudes are displayed toward the so-called “insurgent terrorism.” Riches (1986) states that “from the standpoint of witnesses on one side of a divide (ethnic or otherwise), the violence perpetrated and displayed by people on the other side comes to symbolize the existence of an alternative way of life” (cited in Schlesinger, 1991,p.127). Thus, the labeling of acts as terrorist or non-terrorist largely depends on the societal cognition, which is regulated, among other factors, by the media as well.

In addition, such labeling is frequently a question of political perception involved: the governments often apply the term according to their political preferences. No country wants to admit to terrorist actions or support of terrorist groups, yet many states, including the US, have been involved with or have lent support to groups considered by other countries to be terrorists (Donohue, 2001). At the heart of that matter is that one group’s ‘terrorists’ are another group’s ‘freedom fighters’ or ‘martyrs.’ Zulaika and Douglas (1996) ask, "What can we make of the fact

that terrorism has become such a shifty category that yesterday's terrorists are today's Nobel Peace Prize winners?" (cited in Nagai, 2002).

Furthermore, there is a problem with the definition of terrorism. Scholars, politicians and media have not come into agreement on how to define the term "terrorism." The rough estimate of all existing definitions is around 200. Cindy Combs (1997) states that, although not defined clearly, the term "terrorism" has some specific features that most scholars recognize as common to the phenomenon. Such components or features are acts of violence, which involve an audience, the creation of a mood of fear, innocent victims, and usually - although some scholars disagree - is imbued with political motives and goals (p.8).

Thus, the images of terrorism are being constructed by media according to the political and economic policies and conditions of a society, in which media function. In addition, given the complexity of the issue and problems arising around definition, it can be stated that news discourse on terrorism varies across different countries.

Media in Southeast Asian Countries

Although different media systems all around the world are getting closer due to globalization and influence of international agencies, which provide ready-to-use news to national and regional news agencies (Kamalipour, 2002), media in different countries and regions have their own distinctive features that influence the choice of news, events to cover and reporting style (Curran & Park, 2000).

According to the annual Freedom House Survey of Press Freedom (2003), Southeast Asian countries can be classified as having "free press" (in the Philippines), "partly free press" (in Thailand and Indonesia) and "not free press" (in Myanmar,

Brunei, Vietnam, Singapore, Laos, Cambodia, and Malaysia). Survey showed that Myanmar media scored highest in press restrictions among other Southeast Asian countries and the Philippines were the freest in press freedom.

Many critics have tried to explain restrictions on press freedom in many Asian countries. The supporters of the “Asian values” school believe that despite globalization and great influence from Western media, media in Asia have their own distinctive features, values and style, which have to be preserved by collective efforts of the governments and media. Those distinctions are based on the nature of Asian philosophy, historical, cultural, political and economic conditions (Latif, 1998).

Anwar Ibrahim, the former Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia, in his opening speech for the Conference on Media and Asian Values said: “Our press must be seen as heirs to the journalistic tradition of Asia, which now has 200 years of history, born out of the Asian struggle to reform itself and later to liberate itself from Western imperialism...” (cited in Datta-Ray, 1998,p.IIX).

Societal values in Asia promote and support community, family and traditional culture rather than individual rights, as in western societies. Strong emphasis is placed on national unity, as in Indonesia, for example; on social equity and traditions as in Malaysia; and on family, and racial and religious tolerance as in Singapore.

Moreover, well being of people in Asia is believed to be an obligation of the state and the government, not the individuals themselves. This, in turn, dictates the relationship between media and the government. In many Asian countries, the press is controlled by the government. Press freedom here is often equated with “press-government harmony” (Gunaratne, 1999), which means working closely with the government to support and promote Asian values and development efforts (Latif, 1998). Thus, it is

not surprising that the press-government relationship is one of the cited Asian values practiced in Asian journalism because media, being one of the tools for the nation's building, becomes "too important to be left to journalists" only and have to be controlled (Masterton, 1996).

Some critics have questioned the distinction of Asian media. The main reason that critics provide is that news values do not differ much from one media system to another and that the readers of the news in Asia are the same human beings with similar curiosity as elsewhere (Masterson, 1996). Another argument made by the opposition of Asian values holds the idea that colonialism and post colonialism brought influence from the West, which has been reflected in Asian journalism as well.

To summarize, media in Southeast Asian countries have features that distinguish them from media in other countries. "Press-government" relationship together with the societal values and norms may have its impact on content of national and international events covered by local journalists and effect on the selection of news.

Problem Statement

Despite a significant number of research on terrorism coverage, there are some limitations and inconsistencies exist. In his review of the existing literature on the content and meaning of media coverage on terrorism, Picard (1993) pointed out that the number of studies carefully examining media coverage has been limited to those of US American and European newspapers and television networks. The content of Israeli and some non-Western Muslim newspapers – Iranian, for example – has also been examined, although not as extensively as other newspapers. Moreover, he states that the tendency of major news organizations to similarly cover acts of terrorism has

been noticed by many scholars. This factor, he explains, is due to “strong professional norms that define news and influence the types of coverage given to various incidents” (p.88).

Other research examining different media systems and production of news in general is in contrast with the Picard’s statement and provides us with valid reason to believe that the news coverage of events varies from country to country (Werder & Golan, 2002). Werder and Golan (2002) examined news framing in ten Western print media – the USA, Canada, Australia, Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Austria and Russia. Their findings suggested that framing of the same story is influenced by political ties between Israel and other country. Moreover, journalists in different countries tend to apply a more specific cultural values and norms when reporting on the story that is of national or international interest. This finding is supported by other research as well. Donsbach and Klett (1993) studied objectivity in reporting in different countries. They concluded that journalists learn and nourish those frames that reflect national values rather than proposed universal professional norms.

Journalists do not always intentionally bias their stories choosing one frame over the other. First of all, frames that media construct are influenced by some external factors. Scheufele (1999) found five factors that mostly influence framing of an issue: 1) social norms and values; 2) organizational pressures and constraints; 3) pressures of interest groups; 4) journalistic routines; and 5) ideological and political orientations of journalists.

Norris, Kern and Just (2003) argue specifically for the terrorism coverage that three factors shape the news frame in each society: 1) “basic facts surrounding the

terrorist event itself; 2) the way that these events are interpreted by official sources in the government, and 3) by communiqués, manifestoes, press statements, or interviews with spokespersons articulating the grievances or demands of dissident groups.”

The implication that shared values and practices throughout nation’s media affect framing of news (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996) is particularly interesting since it supports the assertion that media systems differ from one region to another, from one country to another despite globalization and industrialization of news production by international agencies. Since majority of the research has been focused on Western media, it seems interesting and useful to examine Asian media and coverage of events by Asian journalists. The question of how Asian journalists frame their stories on terrorist events that occur in Asia and elsewhere is the focus of this study.

Another interesting implication for this study is drawn from the debates over the existence of Asian values in Asian journalism. Massey and Chang (2002) examined 10 Asian on-line newspapers to see the presence of key Asian values – harmony and supportiveness – in news reports. Their findings showed that Southeast Asian press could be distinguished from other Asian press by the presence of such values, which in turn affect the reporting. Moreover, the government restrictions on the press in this region seem not to harm but support and promote Asian values in journalism.

At the same time, some researchers argue that at the time of international or national conflicts the role of media is not as simple as it seems. Wolfsfeld (2001), for example, studied the role of news media in conflicts in the Middle East and Northern Ireland. He found that media question government frames according to the media level of autonomy (cited in Ross, 2002). Since Southeast Asian media can be

classified as “free,” “partially free,” and “not free,” we can speculate that the framing and coverage of events will be different throughout the Southeast Asian region, especially when reporting on the “war on terrorism” and insurgent terrorism.

Objectives of the Study

Thus, the objectives of the present study are as follows:

1. To identify frames used in terrorism coverage in Southeast Asian newspapers.
2. To find out if news framing of terrorist events varies across different Southeast Asian newspapers.

Scope of the Study

The present study analyzes contemporary news reports on terrorism that appeared during the year 2003 (January 1 – December 31) in four different Southeast Asian newspapers: Phnom Penh Post (Cambodia), Jakarta Post (Indonesia), Manila Times (the Philippines), and Bangkok Post (Thailand). Each newspaper has its own on-line version that is similar to the printed version. Thus, the on-line version of each newspaper was used to collect news articles on terrorism.

Research Questions

1. How news on terrorism is being framed in Southeast Asian newspapers?
2. How do frames used in news reporting on terrorism vary across different Southeast Asian newspapers?

Significance of the Study

This study is the contribution to the research on Asian journalism because it analyzes Southeast Asian newspapers in order to look at reporting on terrorist events of Asian journalists, who write about them from the local perspectives. Previous research, as indicated in rationale and problem statement, has been usually focused on

European and American media with little analysis of newspapers and television networks of Middle East and virtually ignoring Asian media.

Moreover, as previous research on framing suggests, distinctions in reporting can be found if media have different levels of autonomy. Again, this implication was drawn from the studies examining Western media, mostly from developed nations. Although media in Southeast Asia can be classified as “free,” “partly free” and “not free” (i.e. they operate at the different levels of autonomy), even the free media in Asia work closely with the government to support the development efforts made by government of each country. The present study is sought to examine if the close relationship between “free,” “partly free,” and “not free” media and government affects framing of terrorist events.

This chapter provides an overview of the study starting with the definition of what news story is and how it is different from opinion writing. It looks at the issue of discourse and framing of news stories on terrorist events and research examining it. Moreover, it argues that media in different countries have their own distinctive features despite globalization. It looks at the media in Southeast Asian countries, their classification and debates over the existence of specific Asian values that differentiate Asian media from Western. In addition, it states the problem that the present study is going to explore, outlines the scope of the study, and provides objectives and research questions.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

When three planes were commandeered and crashed almost simultaneously in New York, Washington and Pennsylvania on September 11, 2001, Americans became seriously concerned about the vast destructiveness of international terrorism hitting at the very heart of their major financial center and the nation's capital... When Chechen rebels took hundreds of people hostage at the Moscow theatre in October 2002 to show protest against the Russian military war in their republic of Chechnya, the Russian government called them terrorists... When organizations like OPM (the self determination movement in West Papua) or the Moro National Liberation Front in the Philippines fight for independence by any possible means using violence, protest actions or resistance, the opposing governments call their actions terrorism... The movement of the New People's Army – the armed forces of the Communist Party of the Philippines – has been frequently described by the international press agencies as terrorism.

These and other examples found in media coverage of terrorism provide their readers with a complex and sometimes confusing picture of what constitutes as terrorism and / or terrorists. The purpose of the first part of this chapter is to look at the existing frames that are used by media to describe terrorist activities. First, we look at all possible definitions of terrorism that media and researchers use to describe terrorism phenomenon and review previous research on terrorism.

Communication, Media, and Terrorism

Groups can be seen as “terrorists” or “armed rebels,” “guerillas,” “extremists,” “dissidents,” just as states can be labeled “terrorists” or seen as “repressive regimes,” “authoritarian systems,” or “dictatorships.” Poisoning can be called “bioterrorism” or more neutrally “contamination” and “ecoterrorism” may be characterized as industrial pollution and so on.

Before we explore the existing literature on how the mass media cover terrorist events, we need to look more closely at the basic concept of terrorism. This concept, as Norris et al. (2003) argues, is “essentially contested, value-laden, and open to multiple meanings located within broader cultural frames, so that...terrorism is in the eye of the beholder” (p.2). Moscow war in Chechnya, for example, has been viewed by the Russian government as the war against terrorism long before the Bush administration declared their own “war on terror.” However, this view was not shared by the Western governments who criticized Russia for its alleged use of force against Chechens until the events of 9-11 took place (Bransten, 2001). Thus, the construction of the concept of terrorism and its definition, as indicated earlier in this study, largely depends on the political and economical factors, with the media playing an important role.

To understand the concept of terrorism we first look at the definitions of terrorism provided by scholars and used by media, identify the techniques, targets, and goals that are regarded as necessary for an act to qualify as terrorist, and provide the theoretical background for the concept used in communication scholarship.

Defining Terrorism

In the early history of the terrorism, especially during the Reign of Terror, when French Jacobins unleashed a campaign of repression that resulted in thousands of people being tortured, imprisoned, and guillotined, this term was used to describe an unspeakable crime - the product of moral depravity and madness (Charters, 1991 cited in Nagai, 2002). Hence, terrorism was coined to indicate a state's brutal treatment of its citizens.

Research shows that these days the term “terrorism” is used in a variety of ways to denote everything from all anti-government violence to all political violence. Weimann and Winn (1994) found one hundred different definitions that have been offered by scholars: some of them focus of the special nature of the victims of the terror; some stress the difference between the victims and the true goal of terror; other definitions focus on the violent act itself, its abnormal nature, or the unusual character of its perpetrators (see also Schmid, 1983). Picard (1993) argues that differences in definitions of terrorism result from the different approaches to the study of this type of violence: the legal approach emphasizes criminal aspects of the acts; the political approach relates to governmental interests, emphasizing military and political characteristics and threats to governments; the psychological approach emphasizes the cognitive aspects of the terrorist acts; and the moral approach contains definitions emphasizing social and religious norms and values against violence and the killing of humans.

These approaches have been criticized by scholars for their tendency to overemphasize one side of the definition, rendering discussion on the problem of terrorism difficult. In recent years, social scientists have attempted to develop other

definitions that encompass different sides of the problem. Schmid and Jongman (1988) studied 109 different definitions in order to isolate common components and developed a 200-word definition, which includes the following elements: an act of violence, symbolic or chance victims (innocent people); performance by an organization; methodicalness or seriality in the operation; advance planning; criminal character; absence of moral restraints; political demands; attempt to win attention; use of fear (terror); and unpredictability or unexpectedness. Other recent scholarly definitions also emphasize that terrorism is a particular type of violence that is designed to create extreme fear, that attacks symbolic targets, usually civilians, and that is used for influencing the government, communities, or specific social groups (see, for example, Mickolus, 1989; Wilkinson, 1997).

Norris, Kern, and Just (2003) list all possible techniques that terrorists may use: sabotage, destructive riots, hijackings, assassinations, kidnappings, arson, mass poisonings, torture, rape, bombings, and unlawful imprisonment “designed to instill fear, insecurity, and anxiety among its target population” (p.3). Other scholars emphasize only four forms of actions that have been widely used by terrorists. Those are assassinations, bombings, hostage taking, and the hijacking of planes (Halliday, 2001).

From all known definitions, scholars highlight three major types of terrorist acts: pathological terrorism, criminal terrorism and political/ social terrorism (adopted from Picard, 1993; see also Dowling, 1986). Pathological terrorism is usually non-political and often the work of mentally unbalanced individuals. It is this type of terrorism that is most often studied by clinical psychiatry and psychology. Criminal terrorism is a nonpolitical act of violence, which is usually carried out for economic

purposes. It is often the work of organized groups, such as the Mafia or Oriental triads (Wilkinson, 1997; Schneider & Schneider, 2002).

Political / social terrorism is what many have in mind when they actually think about terrorism – it is “ideologically based violence that is part of an effort to attack social and political institutions” (cited in Picard, 1993, p.11-12). The activities to achieve specific goals of terrorists, which can be political, religious, social, or economic in nature, may be carried out by nongovernmental groups – nonstate terrorism (international terrorism included), and by governments (or supported by governments) – state terrorism (Anderson, 1998).

Wilkinson (1974) presents a different typology that includes four types of terrorism: criminal, psychic, war, and political. He goes further to divide political terrorism into three subcategories: revolutionary, or use of violence to obtain a radical change in a political order; sub-revolutionary, or use of violence to change public policy without altering a political order; and repressive, or use of violence to suppress or restrain an individual or groups from forms of behavior considered undesirable by the state (cited in Alali & Eke, 1991).

There are other typologies as well presented by other, mostly political communication scholars. Still, the typologies of Picard and Wilkinson represent the most comprehensive approach to the definition of terrorism and include every possible aspect of the terrorist act, such as performed by an individual or group, state or nonstate, criminal or an organized political group.

Media and the Definition of Terrorism

For media, and for journalists in particular, the definition of what may be covered as terrorist event is as complex as for scholars, especially in today’s world. In

1983, Robert Picard, examining the use of words in reporting on foreign conflicts, noted that the word “terrorism” at that time was used with three denotations: to describe the actions of small groups with little support that reject existing society, large groups with wide popular support that oppose a particular regime, and governments that use violence to maintain or expand their power. John Hopkins (2002), a copy editor at the Miami Herald (the USA) and one of the prominent members of the International Journalism Committee, wrote: “more broadly, terrorism is one way to make war when you don’t have what it takes to face an army that threatens you or stands in the way of your ambition” (p.37). He argues that a terrorism story requires especially careful attention from reporters, revision of the elements for the responsible reporting and in-depth analysis of the concept of terrorism.

Modern journalism, as compared to the study of Picard (1983) applies different rules to the definition of terrorism and terrorist events. The Wall Street Journal, for example, cautions their journalists that the word “terrorist” “should be used carefully, and specifically, to describe those people and non-governmental organizations that plan and execute acts of violence against civilians or noncombatant targets” (“Media Spin Revolves Around the Word ‘Terrorist’”, Oct. 4, 2001). The Star Tribune (Minnesota) states:

In the case of the term ‘terrorist’, other words --- ‘gunman’, ‘separatist’ and ‘rebel’, for example --- may be more precise and less likely to be viewed as judgmental. Because of that we often prefer these more specific words...

However, in some circumstances in which non-governmental groups carry out attacks on civilians, the term is permitted (“Lou Gelfand: Newspaper Careful in Use of Label ‘Terrorist’,” Feb. 3, 2002).

Reuters puts the word “terrorist” into the category of emotive words. Reuters’s policy toward its usage is simple and straightforward: not to “use terms like “terrorist” and “freedom fighter” unless they are in a direct quote or are otherwise attributable to a third party” and not to “characterize the subjects of news stories but instead report their actions, identify and background so that readers can make their own decisions based on the facts” (“Media Spin Revolves Around the Word ‘Terrorist’,” Oct. 4, 2001).

There is also some anecdotal evidence that the media can be quite confused in how to approach the term “terrorism.” FAIR (1998) investigated 500 newspaper and broadcast stories that involved two politically motivated crimes, the murder of a doctor and ski resort arson, on use of the term “terrorism” by reporters. The study revealed that the reporters were likely to use it in connection with property destruction, which fits more easily into category of sabotage, than with the anti-abortion murder of the doctor (“Terrorists Attack Ski Lodges, Not Doctors”, December, 1998). Moreover, the media can label actions terrorist, which may seem so only at the first glance, and thus, make the picture of terrorism even more complicated. In 1989, for example, British newspapers reported about the “consumer terrorism,” referring to the industrial contamination of baby food, when slivers of glass, drawing pins, razor blades, and other objects were found in jars. The Sunday Telegraph made a direct analogy with airplane terrorism in an article “How to Fight the Supermarket Terrorists” (April 30, 1989). The Times and the Mirror put the baby food contamination into the same category as bombings, hijackings, and assassinations, describing it as an attack against the most vulnerable members of the society, “the work of madmen,” a murderous and antisocial tactic. After thorough investigation, however, it became clear that at least

some reports were falsely compiled in order to gain publicity (see Fowler, 1994, pp. 204-205 for discussion).

In conclusion, the universally accepted definition of the term “terrorism” is still a major problem for the scholars and government officials. More than 100 different definitions exist, emphasizing various sides of the concept. Moreover, the ambiguity of the concept causes governments to apply the terms “terrorism” and “terrorist” according to their political preferences, which makes the problem more complicated. The media respond to such ambiguity by employing different rules and regulations on how to report about the terrorism, often coining new terms in order to dramatize events and/or make them more appealing to the readers. Such terms as “consumer terrorism,” “sexual terrorism,” and “industrial terrorism” that appeared in the media during the last years only create more confusion around the definition. Apparently, there should be some guidelines or policies in the media designed specifically to the terrorism coverage, as in the case with Reuters’ policy. But, as Wilkinson (1997) concludes, “One needs to bear in mind that many of those who work in mass media organizations appear blissfully unaware of any guidelines on terrorism news coverage” (p. 63).

The Role of Media in Terrorist Events

Research on political communication has debated the role of media in terrorist events as either being pro-terrorist or anti-terrorist. As pro-terrorist, media have been blamed for providing terrorists with information, encouraging terrorism by thorough coverage of terrorist events and / or becoming participants rather than observers of the events (Miller, 1982; Wardlaw, 1982; Nossek, 1985). By employing Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1977), the “arousal hypothesis” (Tannenbaum & Zillmann, 1975)

and learning and imitation (Schmid & De Graaf, 1982), researchers have been trying to explain the occurrence of terrorism as other forms of violence, such as crimes, suicides, and abuses, indicting the media for providing a handful of ideas to be imitated and /or inspired by. Brosius and Weimann (1991), examining three US television networks and nine newspapers from various countries in order to measure the reoccurrence of terrorism, revealed that the media, especially television networks, contribute significantly to the reoccurrence of terrorism. Their findings claim to provide a support for the “contagion hypothesis,” which states that news of sensational violent crimes often prompts people to commit similar acts (p.63).

Other researchers, however, disagree that the media can trigger terrorist events. Picard (1986), reviewing the literature that implicates media for their purported contagion effect, believes that it does not provide any credible evidence for supporting such a hypothesis (see also Picard, 1993). He argues that “such terrorist events as bombings, suicides and single events, although they do not attract media attention, continue to occur” (1993, p.84). Moreover, he points out that “there are other arguments exist, generally ignored by the mainstream research, believing that media can actually reduce the level of violence” (1993, p.70). Paul Rogers (2002), professor in Bradford University’s Department of Peace Studies, also agrees: A relationship [between media as being pro-terrorist and terrorism exists, G.B.] only in the sense that major terror incidents provide immediate and copious news which is of interest to a wide audience.

Other research charges the media of being anti-terrorist, disseminating the views of Western governments on terrorism, which then significantly determine attitudes toward terrorist groups and the definition of terrorism. One of the most

prominent proponents of this view is Gerry O'Sullivan, who coined the term "terrorism industry," describing government officials, analysts, private security firms and dependent media as having their own interests in defining terrorism (Herman & O'Sullivan, 1989).

Recent research, however, especially in political communication scholarship, has been cautious to label the media as being either anti- or pro-terrorist. Debates on the role of media in covering terrorist events emphasize that the media can be exploited by governments and policy-makers as well as terrorists, who use them as a propaganda machine, with the latter even more successful than the governments (Terrorism Experts Debate Role of Media, 2003).

The media role in reporting terrorist events is considered to be one of the most important. Indeed, the debates over the role of the media have been intensified during the last three years, triggered by the September 11 and the "war on terror". On the one side of the scholars' debates are those who believe that the media can create sensationalistic and dramatic news by reporting every detail of the event or overemphasizing certain aspects such as giving a profuse exposure of the hostage families and their grief in hostage situations or reporting long-lasting events while ignoring others that are shorter but occur more frequently. If one looks at the reportage from the 9-11 attacks, for example, it seems clear that the reporters used all aspects of the "sensationalistic" reporting to create a "spectacular" that is not comparable to anything occurred before in the whole terrorism history: the plane crashing into the World Trade Center (WTC) was shown by TV networks from different angles, people jumping out of the windows with the faces full of horror, and the devastation (and astounding fascination at the same time) of the people watching from the street as the

WTC collapsed. The newspaper reporters exercised almost the same amount of “sensationalism” and “drama” in reporting on 9-11 events as did the TV networks: pictures from the place, words full of dramatic effects, interviews with people from the streets, with families of those who were on the boards of the planes and inside the WTC. In fact, the construction of the WTC tragedy by the media was so powerful that the planes crashed in Pennsylvania and Washington were almost forgotten.

The question that arises here is why the media are interested in construction of such “spectaculars.” Some communication scholars agree that the major media outlets compete fiercely for the audience market and for the advertising revenue they gain through boosting their readers’ interest. The media in many countries are businesses that have to survive in a highly competitive market with all implications coming from this fact. That is why the media around the world tend to have an obsessive interest in threats and violence with the issue of terrorism as one of them. Moreover, the media is often believed to disrupt or interfere with the work of government or police forces when some extraordinary events take place, as in case with terrorist events. They can emphasize the risk and dangers; raise the legitimacy of those opposed to concessions, and reinforce negative stereotypes of the enemy. Thus, some scholars argue that the main role of the media is to become less disruptive in such events, allowing governments do their jobs (Wolfsfeld, 2001).

Not all, however, agree that the media do only harm; the media themselves debate the role of disruptive agents. During the Moscow Siege in Russia in October – November 2002, for example, some journalists believe that the Russian media saved lives to at least eight children after one of the radio stations in Moscow allowed one of the Chechen rebels to speak in a live broadcast (Uferova, 2002). Despite this, Putin

government imposed a very strict censorship on media reporting on terrorist events, asking the media not to interview militants involved in such events or allow them airtime to voice their grievances (IFJ Condemns Russian Crackdown on Media Reporting of Chechen Militants, 2002). Professor Paul Rogers from Bradford University's department of Peace Studies concludes: It is certainly true that the way an act is represented in the media does help to define it...depending upon whether they [the terrorists] are opposed to the interests and culture of the society that a particular part of the media represents. There is a real polemic aspect to the coverage of terrorism.

In relevance to our study, "press-government" relationship in Southeast Asian countries and restrictions toward the content and choice of reports put local journalists in a controversial position toward news on terrorism. On the one hand, terrorism is sensationalistic in its nature, drawing readers to the newspapers and increasing sales. On the other hand, this relationship affects what events are being covered and how they need to be covered, thus, giving the readers a somehow distorted picture of terrorism.

Media Coverage on Terrorism

One of the first research questions on media coverage of terrorism has been in identifying whether or not a terrorist event is newsworthy. Allen and Piland (1976), for example, interviewed newspaper editors in order to find out under what conditions their newspapers would cover an unsuccessful assassination attempt. They conclude that "the sensationalistic side of this news would outweigh possible negative consequences of the coverage, such as contagious effects or providing other terrorists with information" (p.98). Weimann (1987) argues that the media are eager to cover

terrorist events because of their newsworthiness: “the conditions of rarity, unexpectedness, negative reference to elite persons and nations, violence, intensity and unambiguity” make these events news (p.23).

Despite the newsworthiness of terrorism as an issue, there has been a preference as to which events media cover and which are excluded. Weimann and Brosius (1991), examining three American television networks and nine newspapers from different countries, found that characteristics of newsworthiness were the level of victimization, the type of action, the identity of perpetrators, and an attributable responsibility – these were the best predictors of media coverage.

Most researchers agree that international terrorism has been the focus of media attention, with emphasis on the Middle East and Western Europe. State, domestic, and insurgent terrorism, especially in the regions of Latin America, the Far East, and Africa has been ignored or underrepresented. Kelly and Mitchell’s (1981) study of coverage in the New York Times and The Times (London) showed that although in 1970 there had been active movements of well-organized terrorist groups in South America, the press generally ignored even such acts as kidnappings and assassinations of American diplomats and businessmen.

The most reported tactics have been hijackings and hostage taking, while bombings and suicides, although the most common, were covered the least (see, for example, Brosius & Weimann, 1991). Wilkinson (1997) points out that for the media, such incidents as hijackings and hostage situations provide a source of “sensational and visually compelling news stories capable of boosting audience / readership figures” (p.52). Moreover, the sensational side of such news often outweighs other aspects of the issue such as demands of the terrorists or possible targets (not victims).

Kelly and Mitchell (1981) content-analyzed the coverage by Western newspapers of 158 terrorist attacks in the period of 1968–1974 and found that news media at that time had usually focused on the violence and criminal aspects of the terrorist events.

Only when the terrorist event lasts longer do the reporters begin to provide some background information, considering the issues besides the immediate actions, such as causal factors of the event, cultural issues and other topics. However, Milburn et al. (1987), examining the coverage of television networks in 1986 and 1987, found that attributions of the causes of the terrorist events were biased: most coverage was focused on the internal personality explanations rather than on external situational explanations. Moreover, they noted that “when the United States was not the target of the terrorism, external explanations were presented in reports, while the internal explanations were given when the United States or its citizens were attacked” (cited in Picard, 1993, p.88).

Other researchers have studied the context of the news on terrorism and the news sources cited. Picard (1993) indicates that the largest amount of space and time in reporting of incidents are given to the statements of the government officials and individuals and groups involved, usually the victims. In a study of US television network news coverage of the TWA hijacking in June 1985, Atwater and Green (1988) found that the most frequent sources were hostages and their relatives, with the government’s statements ranking the third in the first few days of the incident. Moreover, as the time passes, government – related reports became dominant as interest in the incident declines. Picard (1993) explained that often due to the lack of other developments in incidents, the government statements predominated in the reports of terrorism.

How Terrorist Acts are Covered

Some earlier studies on media coverage of terrorism have found that media appear to be neutral in their reporting of terrorism. Picard and Adams (1987), for example, examined three elite US daily newspapers – the Los Angeles Times, New York Times and Washington Post – in order to find out how media, government officials and witnesses characterize acts and perpetrators of political violence. They concluded that the media tend to use more neutral terms in relation to terrorists than government officials did. Government officials used words that are more judgmental, inflammatory and sensationalistic. However, other studies, examining US television networks coverage of terrorism, highlighted the sensationalistic and dramatic side of the reports (Atwater, 1987), when media tend to overemphasize the drama of the situation even when little was taking place (see also, Altheide, 1985; Larson, 1986).

Some studies also indicate that there is a similarity in how terrorist acts are covered by different media. Paletz et al. (1982), for example, found that three terrorist groups they studied – the IRA, Red Brigades, and FALN – were covered similarly by TV organizations: “they reported the same events and depicted them similarly. Violence and government responses were emphasized; terrorists’ goals, objectives, perspectives were neglected” (p.162). Altheide’s (1985) study of the television network coverage of the US embassy takeover in Iran shows the similarity in terms of the number of reports, minutes of coverage, topics covered, and topics emphasized. Picard (1993) argues that similarity in the coverage by major and popular news organizations may be due to the “strong professional norms that define news and influence the types of coverage given to various incidents” (p.88).

More recent studies, however, argue that the previous research findings may not depict the reality of the international journalistic practices simply because there has been little research examining other media besides American-owned outlets. Furthermore, when research examines media in other countries, it usually finds differences not only in reporting, but in the perceptions of the journalists and their values as well. Hickey (2002) content-analyzed the coverage of the bombing campaign in Afghanistan and the terrorist bombings in Jerusalem in 2001 of six television networks – Al Jazeera, BBC, CNN and three other US networks – and found that media of different countries cover those events quite differently. US coverage of the bombing campaign in Afghanistan, for example, relied more on the official sources, while Al Jazeera news were full of interviews with the citizens of Kabul, along with pictures of destructions and air raids. Overall, “Al Jazeera ...conveyed far more of the human truth of a massive bombing attack and its effects at ground zero.” When covering the terrorist bombings in Jerusalem, the Arab-speaking Al Jazeera focused more on the Palestinian reaction and the arrest by Palestinian police of people suspected of having a connection to the bombings. CNN and other US television networks, on the other hand, showed the devastation and the hysteria in the streets of Jerusalem, the bloody victims and the reaction from the Israeli and Palestinian officials.

Rhetorical Traditions and News Frames in Terrorism Coverage

Much of the research on the coverage of terrorism has been done quantitatively, although some qualitative studies also emerged in media and terrorism scholarship. Earlier qualitative research on media coverage of terrorism has been interested in examining the rhetorical traditions in conveying news, which, as Picard

(1993) puts it, can affect the meaning of the news. There are four traditions employed by reporters, all of which are used in the coverage of terrorism. First is the information tradition, which emphasizes factual information and documentation of the events. The second tradition, sensationalism, is usually emotional and dramatic and is widely used in reporting about conflicts and terrorism. The third journalistic tradition, storytelling, or feature story focuses on individuals, rather than events per se, which makes a story more personalized. The fourth tradition, the didactic approach, stresses explanation and education about how and why things work. Articles about the tactics of terrorists and authorities often fall into this category (see Picard, 1993, for a more detailed explanation).

Some studies, analyzing coverage of terrorism, indicate that different media use different traditions in reporting news. British media, for example, employ the feature story tradition with the emphasis on the individuals, victims and on the horrific details of war or the event (Kennedy, 2002). US television networks are likely to use sensationalistic approach, emphasizing drama, immediate actions, and the emotional side of the events (see Atwater, 1987, for example). Other researchers have been interested in analyzing the formats of the news on terrorism (Friendly, 1986), the themes and issues addressed (Palmerton, 1985), and the media portrayals of victims of terrorism (Lule, 1988).

One of the recent questions that researchers have attempted to study has been the idea of news frames, which represent the patterns of selection, emphasis and exclusion of what will be in the news (see, for example, Schaefer, 2002; Nacos & Torres-Reyna, 2002). Norris et al. (2003) argue that media have “conventional news frames” of terrorism, which

...provide contextual cues, giving meaning and order to complex problems, actions, and events, by slotting the new into familiar categories or storyline 'pegs.' Conventional news frames of terrorism are important because they furnish consistent, predictable, simple and powerful narratives that are embedded in the social construction of reality (p. 2).

Some frames that were identified by previous research as widely used in news reports on terrorism are "war on terrorism" and "Islamic extremism." "War on terrorism" frame was first adopted in the White House after September 11 attacks and used to explain and justify the US President administration' decision toward Afghanistan, Iraq, and North Korea. This frame offers an explanation for and makes sense of such stories about international security, civil wars, and global conflict. The repetition of words and phrases like "war on terror," "war on terrorism," "US – other country relations," "anti-terrorism law," "preventive measures," etc. shows the existence of such a frame in the text (see Norris et al., 2003 for more explanation on this frame).

"Islamic extremism" frame, which is largely evaluative, puts an emphasis on terrorism that is explained by Islamic activities. Key words "Islam," "Islamic," and, less frequently "Muslim" become synonymous with the negative evaluative words such as "terrorism," "extremism," "fundamentalism," "jihad," and "radicalism" (see Martin & Phelan, 2002; Said, 1997). Nacos and Torres-Reyna (2002) analyzed framing of Muslim-Americans in US news. They concluded that the image of Muslims and Arabs in the US has been largely influenced by the Hollywood movies, depicting them as terrorists and villains for many years. The events of September 11,

2001 also affected the news in terms of framing, stereotypical references and viewpoints, but in some positive ways as well.

Norris et al. (2002) conclude that although accuracy in reporting and portrayal of events is the goal of journalism, construction of news largely depends on selection and emphasis, in which reporters are constantly and necessarily engaged. They argue that mainly three factors shape the news frame in each society: 1) basic facts surrounding the terrorist event itself; 2) the way that these events are interpreted by official sources in the government, and 3) by communiqués, manifestoes, press statements, or interviews with spokespersons articulating the grievances or demands of dissident groups.

The first part of this study is an attempt to show the complexity of the concept of terrorism. The definition of terrorism that scholars use is usually the one that emphasizes the political side of terrorism, ignoring other salient aspects. Moreover, when referring to terrorism, commentators may overlook other forms of non-international terrorism that still exist in many parts of the world. With media and governments focusing only on international terrorism and the “war on terror,” it can be a very dangerous mistake to ignore insurgent and state terrorism or more modern forms such as bio- or cyber-terrorism.

As Carragee (1991) points out, news stories are “symbolic accounts [that] provide the public with definitions of social and political reality” (p.1). Thus, the way media cover terrorist events shapes the audience perceptions of this phenomenon. Still, there is relatively small percentage of terrorist events that media cover. Because a lot of focus is on few terrorist events, the perceptions are often linked to those

events, which are usually sensational, long lasting, and involve citizens of more powerful countries.

In relevance to the present study, it should be noted that terrorist activities in some Southeast Asian countries dated back as far as the middle of the 20th century showing lots of cases with involvement of insurgent terrorist organizations in the Philippines and Indonesia, for example. How local media respond to those events that are not classified as international terrorism and, thus, draw little attention of other media outlets, how government restrictions influence the coverage of such events – these two questions are, indeed, interesting to explore further.

Media Systems Around the World

The study of comparative media systems and the development of the philosophies of the press have long histories in the mass communication research. Dominick (1994) argues that this is because of the relationships between government and the media and the implications for the media freedom as derived from these relations. He believes that in any analysis of national systems, the media structures and their institutions as well as their relationships with economical and political structures have to be taken into account. These relationships and structures are integral to the content, distribution and reception of information in a society.

Early attempts to classify the media internationally can be traced as far back as 1950s, starting with the book *Four Theories of the Press* by Siebert, Peterson and Schramm (1956). They developed a taxonomy that divides the world's media systems into four models: authoritarian, Soviet, liberal, and social responsibility (cited in Downing, 2002). Their taxonomy not only highlighted the differences among various media systems but emphasized each system's particular characteristics. The

distinction between different media systems was based on ownership of the press and their functions (Ostini & Fung, 2002).

In 1980s, two other models were added to the normative theories of the mass media: the development and the participatory/democratic models (McQuail, 1994) that were based on the political as well as economic factors.

Although these theories (called normative in mass communication scholarship) explain comparative media systems and define how those systems should be operating according to certain principles, they do not explain why the media should follow a particular model. They are prescriptive, that is, they prescribe how the things should be and do not necessarily reflect on how they really are, and are lack of explanatory power (Ostini & Fung, 2002). Akhavan-Majid and Wolf (1991) argued that the main failure of the first four normative theories was that they ignored the economic influence on media systems. They argued that a number of fundamental changes to the media systems have occurred for which a new explanatory model has to be developed. Downing (2002) agrees that the recent changes in many media systems around the world (particularly the Russian and European media in the EU countries) must be considered while developing such a model:

In the world at large, issues of extreme poverty, economic crisis, political instability even to the point of civil war, turbulent insurgent movements, military or other authoritarian regimes, and violent repression of political dissent are the central context of media. To pretend that we can generalize about what all media are by just studying U.S. or British media, or even just media in the G8 countries minus Russia, is wildly silly (p.26).

The recent attempts to classify the media around the world try to take into account these political and economic changes. McQuail (2002), for example, proposes five main dimensions of national media system differences: scale and centralization; degree of politicization; diversity profile; sources of finance; and degree of public regulation and control. He believes that the differences in the national media systems are rooted in politics, culture, history and varying market conditions, not only politics and economics alone.

One of the recent models for the national media systems is developed and tested by Ostini and Fung (2002). Their classification includes two levels, or dimensions lying along both structural and professional factors, while earlier models emphasized only structural factors. Structural factors are those that represent the structural constraints imposed on the press and journalism by governments. They lay in two opposite sides: democracy, which is defined as “being political freedom for the media to freely criticize state policies and to operate largely without government controls in a free marketplace of ideas without precluding the possibility of invisible control of the market,” and authoritarianism, which is defined as “a strict control of content by the state and a general lack of freedom for the public to criticize state policies.” Authors argue that the media system of a particular country can lie on the opposite sides of the dimension as well as along the axis.

Second dimension, conservatism-liberalism, is presented by professional factors such as individual journalistic values and the autonomy of individual journalists within media institutions. Conservatism refers to the media institutions and journalists as being averse to rapid change, avoiding extremes, and supporting the societal status quo. Ostini and Fung (2002) believe that conservative journalists and institutions may

sacrifice their autonomy and professional values for the state policy and media stance. Liberalism refers to the media institutions and journalists that support social change and reform. Thus, all national media systems, according to Ostini and Fung, can be classified into four categories: democratic-conservative, democratic-liberal, authoritarian-conservative, and authoritarian-liberal.

This model was further tested on printed national newspapers from four countries: Japan (two newspapers), Hong Kong (seven), People's Republic of China (one), and the USA (five). The authors quantitatively analyzed attitudes, themes, main actors and agencies in the articles that were concerned about the dispute over the ownership of Diaoyu/ Senkaku Islands between China and Japan. The findings suggest that the media of the USA are democratic-liberal; Japanese media are seen as democratic-conservative; Chinese media are authoritarian-conservative followed by Hong Kong media as being authoritarian-liberal. Overall conclusion from their study was that, although different newspapers from each country were examined, significant differences could be found according to different national media systems, especially with the issues that are of great national concern.

This model of the national media system differences corresponds with the global system of political and economic systems proposed by Curran and Park (2000). In their overview of the literature on the relationship of the media to power in societies, they conclude that modern changes in market conditions are unavoidably changing the media systems all around the world. Those changes, in turn, lead to the emergence of absolutely different from what normative theories assumed relationships between media and power. For example, the newly emerged commercial

media in Russia are mostly influenced by major economic interests, which in turn influence the direction of the state (Downing, 2002; McNair, 2000).

Different studies in recent years have attempted to explore the divergent media systems on the vast variety of issues. The research on the media systems around the world consistently reports that interplay between economic, political, social, and historical conditions deeply affects the media and differently influences the media construction of reality (see, for example, Ma, 2000; Sparks, 2000; McNair, 2000; Downing, 2002). Yam (1997), for example, compared the frames used by three international newspapers – The International Herald Tribune, South China Morning Post and The Times of London – in covering the Hong Kong's new airport issue. He studied the emphasis of news reports that were produced in different cultural and geopolitical perspectives but covered the same issue. His study revealed that political, economic and socio-cultural contexts affect the presentation of news. Therefore, cultural values and ideological frames of reference play an important role in constructing the news, particularly in times of international conflict. Another study by Malinkina and McLeod (2000), as mentioned earlier, compared the coverage of the Russian *Izvestia* and the US *New York Times* in reporting on the Chechen conflict and Afghan war. They conclude that ideological remains of the Cold War still can be found in news reports of these two newspapers.

To conclude, the media systems around the world despite the globalization still preserve some of the distinctive features that allow researchers to classify them. As studies indicate, these features reveal themselves especially clearly when the issue being covered is of national or international importance.

Southeast Asian Media

According to the annual Freedom House Survey of Press Freedom (2003) Southeast Asian countries can be classified as having “free press” (in the Philippines), “partly free press” (in Indonesia and Thailand) and “not free press” (in Myanmar, Brunei, Vietnam, Singapore, Laos, Cambodia, and Malaysia). This classification shows the autonomy of the national press from the government control: “free press” is allowed to criticize government and politics and freedom of expression is protected and encouraged by the constitutional law; “not free press” is controlled by the government and strict censorship is imposed upon the media content. Sussman (1998) points out that Freedom House measures press freedom in any country using four specific criteria: 1) laws and regulations that affect media content; 2) political pressures and control over media content; 3) economic influences over media content; and 4) repressive actions. Survey showed that Myanmar media scored highest in press restrictions among other Southeast Asian countries and the Philippines were the freest in press freedom (Gunaratne, 1999; see also Coronel, 2000 and Quintos de Jesus, 2000).

Although some governments still maintain strict censorship on that news, which, in their opinion, would threaten their regimes, the overall trend for Southeast Asian media has been toward liberalization and more openness. The changes in political arena at the end of 1990s in some Southeast Asian countries affected national press as well. In Indonesia, for example, after the fall of Suharto’s authoritarian regime the national press has been set free, enjoying the freedom of expression and free flow of information. In recent year, there has been a move toward “partly free” state for Indonesian private press due to more independent reporting and open

discussion of issues being taboo: government corruption, political protests, civil conflicts and others (Karlekar, 2003). In Laotian newspapers, criticizing the government and its practices had been impossible for the local journalists two-three years ago, yet nowadays Lao and English language newspapers publish articles about corrupt practices of government officials. Comparing to the year 2001, Thai press moved from “free” to “partly free” status due to increased pressure on local and foreign media from PM administration on 2002 (Karlekar, 2003). Local press criticized the Prime Minister’s decision to ban articles from Far Eastern Economic Review and to expel two foreign journalists from the country (Early 2002: Thailand criticized for Censorship). Nevertheless, Coronel (2000) believes:

Today the media in the region’s democracies are powerful, shaping the political agenda, catalyzing reforms and forcing the resignation of erring officials. There is broad support for an unfettered press and attempts to restrict free expression are met with public disapproval. The press is seen as an important democratic institution, and despite its excesses, its watchdog role is appreciated and deemed essential to the functioning of democracy (p. 67).

Many critics have tried to explain restrictions on press freedom in many Asian countries. Existence of “Asian values” in Asian journalism has been one of the questions, intensively debated over the last decade. Two schools have emerged from the debate: one believes that Asian journalists’ practice is totally different from practices in the West; another school disagrees with the former. Both schools, however, find it necessary “to identify certain universal values which are rooted in the Asian context and to promote them in the professional sphere” (Masterton, 1996, p. 171).

The concept of “Asian values” can be defined as “an idea of a shared, continental identity forged from core beliefs unique to a geographically vast land that is noticeably diverse by most other measures” (Massey & Chang, 2000, p. 988). The supporters of the “Asian values” school believe that despite globalization and great influence from Western media, media in Asia have their own distinctive features, values and style, which have to be preserved by collective efforts of the governments and media. Those distinctions are based on the nature of Asian philosophy, historical, cultural, political and economic conditions (Latif, 1998). Societal values in Asia promote and support community, family and traditional culture rather than individual rights, as in western societies. A strong emphasis is placed on national unity, as in Indonesia, for example; on social equity and traditions as in Malaysia; on family, and racial and religious tolerance as in Singapore.

Another reason for restriction of press freedom in Southeast Asia lies in a belief that the well being of people in Asia is an obligation of the state and the government, not the individuals themselves. This, in turn, dictates the relationship between media and the government. In many Asian countries, the press is controlled by the government. Press freedom here is often equated with “press-government harmony” (Gunaratne, 1999), which means working closely with the government to support and promote Asian values and development efforts (Latif, 1998). Therefore, media, as being one of the tools for the nation’s building, have to be controlled because journalism becomes “too important to be left to journalists” only (Masterton, 1996). Thus, it is not surprising that the press-government relationship is one of the cited Asian values practiced in Asian journalism.

To summarize, media in different regions have their distinctive features despite globalization and monopolization of news' production by international news agencies. They are shaped not only by political factors, but economic and social situation as well. Not less influence has traditions and history of the country and press in particular. SEA media are influenced by outside forces such as expansion of international news' agencies, but at the same time have their uniqueness in reporting news shaped by the government-press relationships, by the level of "freeness" and openness as well as traditions.

Theoretical Framework

The present study based on the assumption that media help us construct realities through news discourse. This assumption is derived from the theories of discourse, specifically from Media Framing theory. Central to this study is Framing theory and framing analysis in which media are seen as propagating the social orders and helping members of society shape the reality (Parenti, 1993).

Framing Theory

McQuail (2000) refers to Erving Goffman as the originator of framing. In his work *Frame Analysis: an Essay on the Organization of Experience* (1974), Goffman was among the first to suggest that "a frame is needed to organize" fragments or pieces of information into meaningful news (McQuail, 2000, p. 343-344). He defined frames as models that are needed to make sense of reality. Using Mead's symbolic interaction theory, Goffman theorized that people need frames to define diverse situations for themselves and others. Frames are learned through social interaction with other members of a given society. Thus, many frames are shared among members. Hence,

since many frames we learn are shared, they are culturally specific, that is they are shaped by our belonging to the particular culture or community (Wood, 2000).

Frames are used both for presenting the information and comprehending it. Individuals use frames to interpret and discuss public events (Tuchman, 1978), often using media and news in particular as reference. Although individuals construct their realities based on different factors - personal experience and interaction with others as some of them, they also seek information from the mass media and interpret it according to their preferences in selection. Since news media play an important role in organizing and shaping a reality for the audience, frames they set are important for presenting and comprehending information (Coleman, 1999).

Contemporary research on frames differentiates between media frames and individual frames. Gitlin (1980) makes a point on the existence of both, media and individual frames arguing that two concepts “organize the world both for journalists who report it and, in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports” (p. 7). Individual frames are defined as “mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals’ processing of information” (Entman, 1993, p. 53). The discussion on definitions and concept of media frames follows since this is the purpose of the present study.

Media Frames in Contemporary Research

In contemporary research, media framing is not a clearly defined concept that can be applied generally across studies (Brosius & Eps, 1995). Some studies have viewed media framing as a part of agenda-setting or priming. Framing was even called a “second-level agenda-setting” (McCombs, Shaw & Weaver, 1997). Hence, framing, agenda-setting and priming have been often referred without differentiation

between them. The word “frame” was also used interchangeably in place of terms “frame of reference,” “context,” “theme,” and “news angle” (McQuail, 2000, p.343). Other researchers have viewed frame as script and schema (see Scheufele, 1999 for discussion).

Media frames are defined as the central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration (Tankard et al., 1991 – cited in Werder & Golan, 2002); as patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis and exclusion, or “working routines for journalists,” which help identify and classify information (Gitlin, 1980); as “devices embedded in political discourse” (Kinder & Sanders, 1990); as “central organizing idea or story line” (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987); and as organization of everyday reality (Tuchman, 1978). Entman (1993) argues: “to frame is to select 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.52). For the purposes of this study, the definition of media frame proposed by Gamson and Modigliani (1987) is used. They conceptually defined a media frame as “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events... The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue” (cited in Scheufele, 1999, p. 143).

“News frame” is another term sometimes used instead of “media frames,” although suggesting more specific frames that journalists construct specifically for the news (hence, editorial frames and feature story frames also exist and can be different from the news frames). News frames refer to the structures that journalists use in

news to interpret events and set them within their broader context. Norris et al. (2003) follow this logic arguing that journalists select “some facts, images and developments over others, thereby unconsciously promoting one particular interpretation of events” (p. 6).

All definitions of media or news frames that are used in research, nevertheless, highlight the fact that frames are constructed by selection of certain aspects of an issue and by emphasizing these aspects while de-emphasizing others. Thus, according to the media framing theory, diverse events can be interpreted through similar patterns or “conventional frames” constructed by journalists (Norris et al., 2003). That is, journalists frame their stories based on the interpretation of events by credible sources and rely on familiar news frames looking at how similar stories were covered in the past, to communicate the story. Norris, Kern and Just (2003) argue specifically for the framing of terrorist events:

Conventional news frames never provide a comprehensive explanation of all aspects of any terrorist act, leaving some important puzzles unresolved, while accounting for those factors which best fit the particular interpretation of events (p.6)

Using conventional frames of terrorism, many events can be explained similarly - Bali nightclub bombing in October 2002, Moscow theater capture by Chechen rebels in October - November 2002, suicide bombers in Israel, communist insurgent movement in the Philippines or bus attacks in the northern part of Laos. Without knowing much about people involved, their intentions, purposes and issues, such framing allows news media – and their audience – to quickly interpret, categorize, and evaluate these events.

Journalists do not always intentionally construct or choose existing news frames that emphasize or de-emphasize particular ideas. There are several factors exist that influence construction of news frames. Scheufele (1999), analyzing existing literature on media framing, highlights five factors that may have an influence on frames' construction: 1) social norms and values; 2) organizational pressures and constraints; 3) pressures of interest groups; 4) journalistic routines; and 5) ideological and political orientations of journalists. However, she argues that no systematic evidence has been collected to show how different factors impact the news in terms of framing.

Norris, Kern and Just (2003) point out specifically for the news on terrorism that three factors shape the news frame in each society: 1) basic facts surrounding the terrorist event itself, and 2) the way that these events are interpreted by official sources in the government..., and 3) by communiqués, manifestoes, press statements, or interviews with spokespersons articulating the grievances or demands of dissident groups.

Other research suggests that dependency on government sources leads media to construct frames mostly using the government's interpretation of issues and events (see, for example, Wolfsfeld, 1997; Shoemaker & Reese, 1991). McQuail (2000) believes that "the more powerful the source and the more control of information flow, the more extra-media influence there is on the framing process" (p. 344). Moreover, as Goffman (1974) suggested, shared values and practices in society lead to common frames that media use throughout the nation. Hence, culture, in which news media function, strongly impacts the frames' construction. Some research shows that when there is a two-sided conflict, especially in case with insurgent terrorism, each society

may offer different interpretations of events and images (see, for example, First & Avraham, 2003; Norris et al., 2003; Steuter, 1990).

This chapter provides an overview of the existing research and literature on terrorism and media systems around the world. It focuses specifically on the features of SEA media, offering an explanation why SEA media can be considered as different and unique. Moreover, this chapter provides a theoretical framework for this study, using Frame Theory and Media Frames analysis as guidelines and basis for the methodology employed.

Media in different regions is believed to have distinguishable features due to different economic, political, social, and historical factors. Since all these factors are also important for framing a story in reporting news, the first research question is as follows:

RQ1: How news on terrorism is being framed in SEA newspapers?

Journalists often rely on “conventional frames” to report on news. That is, they use pre-designed and familiar frame to construct a story. It may happen unintentionally or intentionally due to many factors: globalization of news industry leads to the frames adopted by local journalists through the usage of international news agencies’ materials; different levels of autonomy, that is, government control of the press, lead to adoption of frames that are convenient for press-government relationship; different press policies and regulations may also influence framing. Thus, the second research question is designed to see what the differences are, if any, in framing terrorism issue across four SEA newspapers examined:

RQ2: How do frames used in news reporting on terrorism vary across different SEA newspapers

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides a detailed description of methodology employed by this study in order to answer the questions of how online media in different countries cover the issue of terrorism in news reports. Subjects, instruments and procedures of data gathering are described in addition to data analysis.

Study Design

This study analyzes frames in news reports on terrorism and terrorist events that appeared in four Southeast Asian online newspapers from Cambodia, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand. The focus of this study is on contemporary news on terrorism that are presented by Southeast Asian newspapers, since this issue have been discussed widely in the recent years and was the topic of attention at the last ASEAN leaders' summit held in Bangkok in 2003. Thus, the study looks at the news reports that were published during the year 2003 – from January 1 to December 31.

Qualitative analysis is used in this study to describe the way in which online news media cover terrorist events. As Carragee (1991) points out, qualitative methods have been widely used by researchers in recent years in order to examine news. Heavy reliance on quantitative measures in the past years has limited the opportunities to fully explore research problem. Chu (1988) states:

We tend to tackle only those research problems that can be handled by quantitative measures and statistical tests. We often let methodology determine our choice of research topics. This tendency is sometimes referred to as “the tail wagging the dog.” The result is that communication research in the Western

perspective tends to become repetitive and lacks a clear focus, tackling the problems that may seem to be trivial or irrelevant, although methodologically rigorous (cited in Miike, 2002, p.205-206).

Besides becoming more popular among scholars in recent years, qualitative analysis has other qualities that put it aside from quantitative research. It is more sensitive to the role of language in the construction of meaning within news stories than quantitative analysis due to its descriptive character (see Carragee, 1991, p.6). Using qualitative design, media researchers look deeper into problem investigating it from the perspectives of how it was reported, not how many times. Looking at the problem from the perspective of quantity does not make quantitative studies immune against mistakes. The researchers may also interpret data incorrectly. For example, past quantitative studies investigated terrorism in terms of number of occurrence. They concluded that media reports triggered further terrorist activities based on counting of terrorist activities occurring after the coverage. However, the number of terrorist attacks, as estimated by the US State Department, is about 400-500 annually (Kern et al., 2003). Picard (1993; see also Picard, 1986) points out that such terrorist activities as suicide bombing do not receive much media attention, although they occurred more often than assassinations and hijackings. Later has been covered by media extensively due to newsworthiness. Thus, the conclusion made by researchers about media coverage triggering terrorist activities could not be proved.

Many qualitative researchers are concerned with the validity and reliability of their studies. Some of them argued that these terms, applicable to quantitative research, should be redefined for the qualitative research due to their differences (see, for example, Trochim, 2002; Golafshani, 2003). Nevertheless, the validity of this

research is established by providing evidence in terms of direct citations from the articles to support the notions and claims made. Moreover, the literature review of previous research (quantitative as well as qualitative), detailed description of the procedures and the coding instrument presented further in this chapter allow the researcher to establish a foundation for validity of this study.

Sample Selection

This study focuses on the online newspapers. On-line newspapers were selected over other forms of media for this study for several reasons. First of all, as Ericson et al. (1991) states, newspapers are the most consistent and have the greatest ability to provide detailed descriptions comparing to other forms of media such as TV or radio. Second, the on-line media provide their users with direct and immediate access to the vast variety of content. For some on-line newspapers the archives available are dated as far as 1980s (Wu & Bechtel, 2002). Third, due to the constraints to obtain the printed Southeast Asian newspapers' archives in Bangkok, the researcher decided to turn to the on-line newspapers' archives.

A list of Southeast Asian on-line newspapers indexed on the WWW was compiled from several sources, primarily from the online databases of Newslink (<http://newslink.org/nonusa.html>), World Association of Newspapers (<http://www.wan-press.org>), and Organization of Southeast Asian media (<http://www.seamedia.org>). From this list, nine World Wide Web companions of Southeast Asian print newspapers were selected. These newspapers, first of all, represented those that have the highest circulation figures for their particular country. This requirement was important for this study because it limited the number of online

newspapers to a manageable number while offering the newspaper that was used by the majority of readers in the domestic context.

Second, they offered an edition in English. This criterion was considered important because, given the diversity of languages across Asia and the general acceptance of English used globally (Elliott, 1998), an English-language version of the newspaper was considered important to reach a world audience. Moreover, newspapers publishing in English tend to be the most influential publications in multilingual nations (Merrill, 1991 – cited in Massey & Chang, 2002).

Third, the online newspaper's archive could be used without payment. Considering the cost of accessing the paper's archive, which can be as much as 3 to 4 US dollars per retrieved article, this criterion was also important due to the inability of the researcher to pay the cost for using archives. However, before the decision of excluding a particular newspaper was made, the researcher sent a letter to the editors requesting a free access to the archives for a limited period of time. In some cases, this request was granted (as with Phnom Penh Post).

Fourth, researcher also looks at the reporting source of the articles: is it an international news agency or a domestically employed reporter? The online newspapers that mostly utilize their local staff for writing the articles were chosen. This criterion is considered important because local staff is more aware of the domestic problems and probably will write more detailed reports on the issue. Moreover, practices and values of journalism differ from one region to another, from one country to another. The particular interest of this study is its examination of how Southeast Asian journalists report about the issue of terrorism. Massey and Chang (2002) found, for example, that the journalistic emphasis in the Southeast Asia region

is on the values of harmony and supportiveness, which, in turn, affects the reporting style of the local journalists. Thus, choosing newspapers, in which reports of local journalists appear more frequently, will help to highlight the differences, if any, in framing of the issue due to different journalistic practices.

The newspapers chosen have to meet all these four criteria set for this study.

Borneo Bulletin, Brunei (<http://www.brunet.bn/news/bb/front.htm>),

The Phnom Penh Post, Cambodia (<http://www.pppost.com.kh/>),

The Jakarta Post, Indonesia (<http://www.thejakartapost.com/>),

Vientiane Times, Laos (<http://www.vientianetimes.gov.la>),

Daily Express, Malaysia (<http://www.dailyexpress.com.my/>),

Manila Times, the Philippines (<http://www.mb.com.ph>),

Bangkok Post, Thailand (<http://www.bangkokpost.com/>), and Saigon Times Daily,

Vietnam were chosen as representatives for the regional online newspapers. Each selected newspaper has its own on-line version that is similar to the printed version.

No newspapers from Singapore were selected because each of them requires a payment for accessing the archives (for example, The Straits Times requires 8 S\$ per retrieved article).

After preliminary review of archives' search, only four newspapers were left:

The Jakarta Post, Manila Times, Bangkok Post, and Phnom Penh Post. The only

Brunei English newspaper Borneo Bulletin did not offer any search engine to look at

the last year articles and was excluded from the list. The only Laotian English

newspaper Vientiane Times, as well as Daily Express from Malaysia did not return

any articles with terrorism coverage. Another popular newspaper from Malaysia, The

Star did not offer any articles' search for the year 2003. Saigon Times Daily from

Vietnam did not have any search engines to look for the past editions. In addition, after preliminary looking at the content of Vientiane Times (Laos) printed edition it was noted by the researcher that all articles covering terrorism issue were adopted from international agencies, such as AFP and AP and none of them were written by local reporters or covered local issues.

Article Selection

The focus of this study is the coverage of terrorism in SEA newspapers. The coverage was presented by the whole year (2003). It was noted that past studies analyzed news during a period of at least one year and that “year” is often used by researchers for collecting a data. Moreover, if the article discussed an event that happened prior to year 2003, or if it was a continuation of coverage from previous year, earlier articles were also examined. Previous research suggests that it has to be done for the purpose of looking deeper into the issue and developing more understanding and familiarity with a problem being covered (Travers, 2001).

Generally, news stories concerning terrorism and terrorist actions from January 1 until December 31, 2003 were examined. Only news stories were included in the study. News was defined as a factual reporting on international, regional and domestic events related to terrorism and terrorist activities, as opposed to editorials and other opinion articles. It excludes editorials, letters, opinions, and op-eds, which cannot be characterized as news. All articles included were written by local reporters only, since it is one of the criteria for selecting a particular newspaper. Moreover, special reports were also read through for better understanding of the issue. Special reports are one of the special features that make online newspapers more comprehensive than printed editions.

For the purposes of this study, only essential articles dealing with terrorism were included in the sample. The following criteria were used to determine if the article was essentially about terrorism:

1) Fifty percent or more of the article was about terrorism;

2) the central idea or a framing aspect of the article was terrorism even if less than 50% of the article dealt with terrorism. The researcher looked at the headlines and the quotes first to determine what the article was about. In some cases, opening few lines and the closing paragraphs dealt with terrorism indicating the main idea of the article.

Data Collection

Data was collected from the on-line newspapers' archives using Boolean search engine provided by the newspapers. The inquiries were words "terror," "terrorism," "terrorist," and "terrorists" appearing in the whole article from January 1 to December 31, 2003. After the search, there were total of 1157 articles returned. However, only 590 articles were considered as valid for further analysis. The number of articles varied among newspapers: Bangkok Post produced 155 articles, Manila Times – 130 articles, The Jakarta Post – 286 articles, and Phnom Penh Post – 19 articles. The small number of articles from Phnom Penh Post can be explained by the fact that this newspaper' edition is limited to one issue per two weeks (another English newspaper from this country Cambodia Times, which has been issued weekly, did not offer any comprehensive archives' search engine). The Table 1 on the next page shows the number of articles chosen as valid for the present research.

Table 1: Number of Articles Respective to Each Newspaper

Newspaper Title	Number of articles	%
1. Bangkok Post	155	26.3
2. Jakarta Post	286	48.5
3. Manila Times	130	22
4. Phnom Penh Post	19	3.2
Total:	590	100%

Data Analysis

Theme, “a single assertion about some subject,” (Keyton, 2001) is chosen as the unit of analysis. As Cramer (1998) suggests, the text can be constructed by repetition of certain themes, phrases and rhetoric. Since framing refers to the “angle, slant or point of view” (McGregor, 2003; see also Huckin, 1997), recurring themes would certainly show what angle is adopted by journalists. For the purposes of this research, the subject is “terrorism issue,” that is, an event considered as directly relating to terrorism. It can be an action that is described as terrorist attack or terrorist activity or a meeting, in which the terrorism was one of the topics discussed.

Since the purpose of this research is to identify frames used in SEA media, that are related to the terrorism issue as a whole, not one specific single event, the researcher used a middle-ground (an accounting-scheme guided) approach between deductive and inductive approaches. That is, before examining the content of articles the researcher created basic categories found from literature review suitable for the purposes of this research. Content-specific categories, however, are developed after

analyzing the text of articles. It was necessary because previous research on terrorism and framing usually analyzed one single event or activities related to one issue, for example Israeli - Palestinian conflict only (Ross, 2002). Pre-designed frames from such research are not suitable for the purposes of this research because they are related to the specific event of interest.

The present analysis was divided into two levels. First, through the first reading of the article the researcher looked at the overall emphasis of the article and the basic structure of the story. The emphasis of the article refers to the aspects that are emphasized/ stressed in the article. If there is more than one emphasis in the article, the researcher coded only one with the majority of lines devoted to it. The structure of the article refers to the overall form used in the article. The researcher used three forms to code articles, each of which is described below (for the complete coding instrument used in this study, see Appendix).

At this level the researcher intended to answer the following questions:

1) What is the emphasis of the story?

a) Political/ strategic interest (general news stressing the importance of fight against terrorism for the country, cooperation between regions, US-other country relations, etc.);

b) Legislative aspect (news related to laws, passing bills);

c) Crime and law enforcement (news about terrorists actions, police investigations, arrests, prosecutions, etc.);

d) Personal profiles (stories on who the terrorists are);

e) Cause analysis (news analyzing the cause of terrorism in general or terrorists' activities);

f) Mixed/ general context (news including two or more emphases at the same time with no clear majority);

g) Other context.

2) What is the structure of article?

a) Narrative story telling (news using this form describe the actors and set the scene, unfolding a story over time);

b) Description (news describing an event, action or a position rather than emphasizing the unfolding of events over time);

c) Analysis and Overview (news analyses and special reports about current political processes; news with the focus on analyzing ideas rather than events, etc.);

d) Other (news using other forms to tell a story).

With the second reading of articles, the researcher looked at the details of reporting, particularly at two elements- speakers and statements (utterances). These two elements are essential part of the frames since framing processes of selection are usually guided by the statements of authors (Ferree et al., 2002; see also Huckin, 1997; McGregor, 2003). The specific purpose of looking at speakers is to analyze who is defining the terrorism issue, and to understand the importance given to certain actors and organizations.

1) Speakers/ sources – are people or organizations that make statements. It includes authors (journalists), government actors (judges, presidents, officials, etc.), experts (academics, scientists), other actors (terrorists, victims, people on the street, spokesmen rather than the government', etc.), organizations, and written documents used as sources. Some actors and individuals may belong to certain organizations,

which are mentioned in the article. In these cases, the researcher noted actors/ individuals and the organizations they belong to.

2) Statements – are text or what is being said by the source/ speaker. Since some parts of the text may not be related to the terrorism issue (“naked text”), only text that is directly related to terrorism issue was analyzed, that is, only statements containing explanations, judgments, or descriptions about terrorism or terrorists.

Through such coding, the researcher intends to find more categories and summarize them into common themes, which will serve as the basis for the frame.

This chapter provides a detailed description of study design and sampling procedures. It describes how the researcher collected data, and outlines the coding procedures for analyzing data. Moreover, this chapter defines terms used throughout this research. To answer research questions, this study employs middle-ground approach, which means that the basic categories were created based on the previous research as well as the thorough first reading of the articles.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

The research questions were designed to analyze the terrorism coverage in Southeast Asian newspapers. Specifically, two research questions were intended to be answered from the data obtained from four SEA newspapers – “Phnom Penh Post” (Cambodia), “Manila Times” (the Philippines), “Bangkok Post” (Thailand), and “Jakarta Post” (Indonesia). First RQ looked at the construction and the use of different news frames found in all articles that appeared during the year 2003. Second RQ was designed to analyze the differences found in frames’ usage and frame’s construction across four SEA newspapers.

Part I: Frames

The first research question was designed to analyze frames found in four SEA newspapers. The RQ 1 was: “How news on terrorism is framed in four SEA newspapers?” Through analyzing total of 590 news articles found in four newspapers, which devoted their coverage to terrorism issue, the researcher found 33 different frames including sub-frames and described each of them. Table 2 (p. 59-60) shows that the coverage of terrorism revolves around four major frames: “war on terrorism” frames, “action” frames, “causal frame, and personal profile frames. The following pages summarize the findings of this study with the detailed description of each frame to follow.

Table 2: Summary of Major Frames and Sub-frames

Major Frames	Sub-frames
1. War on Terrorism Frames	1.1 Political Issue/ Priority Frames <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1.1.1 High Priority Frame 1.1.2 Lower Priority Frame 1.2 Political Game Frame 1.3 Impact Frame 1.4. Strategic Frames <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1.4.1 Cooperation/ support Frames <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i) Positive toward cooperation/ support ii) Citizen help/ cooperation frame iii) Critical toward cooperation frame 1.4.2 Military Assistance/ Exercises Frames <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i) Positive toward military assistance ii) Critical toward military assistance 1.4.3 Education as strategy Frame 1.4.4 Legislation as strategy Frames <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i) Positive toward legislation frame ii) Terrorism as crime frame iii) Critical toward legislation
2. Action Frames	2.1 Events Frames <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2.1.1 Investigation Frame

(Continued)

Table 2 (continued): Summary of Major Frames and Sub-frames

Major Frames	Sub-frames
	2.1.2 Trial frame 2.1.3 “Drill”/ Preparation frame 2.1.4 Protests/ rally frame 2.2 Threat Frames 2.2.1 Threat: negative impact frame 2.2.2 Threat: positive impact frame 2.2.3 Travel advisories frame
3. Causal Frame	
4. Personal Profile Frames	4.1 Muslims Frames 4.1.1 Marginalizing/ negative frame 4.1.2 Differentiating frame 4.1.3 Balancing frame 4.2 Enemy frames 4.2.1 Enemy – government point of view 4.2.2 Enemy – ‘terrorist’ point of view 4.3 Terrorists are foreigners frame 4.4 Mastermind frame

1. War on Terrorism Frames

This frame is central to the articles analyzed. In fact, more articles employed this frame than any other frames. “War on terrorism” frame is mostly characterized by political strategic interest emphasis with government actors playing the central role as

sources. Throughout this frame, authors (journalists, reporters) highlight the importance of fight/ war against terrorism, state various reasons for such importance, and provide readers with some clues on what strategies are employed by the SEA and other countries' governments to fight against terrorist threat. It should be noted here that, although "war on terrorism" frame can be used as a sub-frame in other frames, like "action" frames or "personal profile," here it is a primary frame, which means that the whole articles, from the beginning, are devoted to this frame with other frames as secondary.

The "war on terrorism" frame is divided into several frames with different emphasis in each. First, - "political issue or priority" frame - stressed that terrorism is a political issue that needs to be dealt with or is regularly addressed at high-ranking government levels. Second, "political game" frame was found during the analysis, which questions the governments' attention paid to the war on terrorism. Third, "impact" frame highlights different levels of impact that the war on terrorism may or will have on the Asian countries. Last, "strategic" frames represent set of frames that stress anti-terrorism measures and the means with which governments are fighting against terrorism threats in light of the global war on terror.

1.1 War on Terrorism: Political Issue/ Priority Frame

Using "political issue/ priority" frame, journalists address the war on terrorism from the governments' standpoint toward it. Respectively, this frame highlights times and events when the war on terrorism is given high priority compared to other issues. On the other hand, from time to time the governments shift their priorities in favor of other issues, which they consider as more important for the development of the countries and for the well-being of the citizenry.

High Priority Frame: To construct “high priority” frame, journalists employ descriptive article structure with a summary of ministerial, high ranking official meetings, where comparing to other issues terrorism and the war on terrorism is placed very high on agendas. Headlines such as “Terrorism highlights visit of Aussie PM to RP” (MT, Jul 5), “Asian bonds, terrorist funds and SME support top agenda” (BP, Sept 3), “ASEAN Tourism Forum focuses on war and security” (PPP, Jan 31 – Feb 13), “Ministers pledge to fight terror together” (BP, Jun 20), “Terrorism is a big issue when GMA visits US” (MT, May 17), “Thai PM to discuss terrorism, drugs during Philippine visit” (MT, Sept 6), “Terror link in South to top agenda” (BP, Jun 8), and “Antiterrorism to Get Highest Priority” (MT, Apr 8) signal to readers right from the beginning of the article that terrorism is indeed a political issue of high importance that nobody overlooks or ignores, especially political leaders. BP reporter noted that the issue of terrorism “overshadows” even such important topic as economic agenda during numerous meetings and forums of ASEAN leaders (Megawati to talk trade, security with PM, BP, Aug 21, 2003).

From the very first paragraphs throughout the articles, journalists use phrases like “focusing on terrorism,” “terrorism is very high on agenda,” and “top agenda” while referring to terrorism issue discussed at various meetings of government officials. War on terrorism and the security issues frequently “lead the agenda,” took “central stage,” “dominated the agenda,” and became a “key focus” during the meetings of countries’ leaders, ministers and other high-ranking officers. The choice of such phrases put even more emphasis on what is the top concern for most, if not all, major political figures.

The construction of articles also supports “high priority” placement of the terrorism issue. If other key issues besides terrorism were to be discussed at those meetings, terrorism and the security matters would be placed higher inside the articles with other items on the agenda to follow. The article by PPP reporters – Green, C. and Sokheng, V. - on the ASEAN Tourism Forum held in January 2003, for instance, stated from the beginning the promise of leaders to “work together ... [words omitted by journalists – GB] in combating terrorism...” (ASEAN Tourism Forum focuses on war and security, PPP, issue 12/03, Jan 31 – Feb 13). However, the top concern of this forum was to address tourism industry and economic development of ASEAN members, which journalists stated in the first paragraph of the article. Those concerns, instead, were addressed toward the end of the article, after terrorism issue was covered. In another example, APEC finance ministers’ summit in September 2003 had three items on the agenda: expansion of Asian bond markets, support of SME development and terrorist groups’ funds. The reporter from BP, while describing the meeting, put more emphasis on “clamping down on the financial sources of terrorists” placing these words at the first paragraph with the economic issues to be discussed later in the article (Asian bonds, terrorist funds..., BP, Sep 3).

Lower Priority Frame: Although numerous articles emphasize heavily that terrorism issue is the most important among other issues discussed by government officials, small number of articles highlight that from time to time government priorities change and other concerns come to replace terrorism. Economy, SARS, and reduction of poverty are among issues that governments focus on as well.

The “lower priority” frame is characterized by descriptive article structure through presentation of similar viewpoints of country leaders and government

officials. Using paraphrase and/ or direct quotations, journalists report on decision-making process of their governments regarding war on terrorism and other issues. At the beginning of the year 2003, Dancel J., a reporter from MT, believed that “the fight against terrorism will now take a lower place in government priorities because improvements in peace and order are allowing government to focus on economic goals, job generation and the anti-corruption campaign, according to President Macapagal-Arroyo” (Terror takes backseat: GMA to concentrate on job creation, war on corruption, MT, Jan 5, 2003).

During the summer 2003, Thai PM Thaksin Shinawatra and ministers of health, foreign affairs and tourism shifted their focus from the war on terrorism onto tourism promotion in Thailand declaring the country to be a safe destination with “zero...transmission [of SARS – auth.] and effective surveillance measures against terrorism” (Agency to be set up to boost ravaged economy, BP, Jun 15). Paraphrasing the words of Foreign Minister, the BP reporter reasonably noted that the time for European travelers to choose their travel destinations is coming and “officials must try to attract those who are still hesitant.”

1.2 War on Terrorism: Political Game Frame

Some journalists cast a little doubt on high concern about terrorism issue in so many political gatherings of countries’ leaders. They believe that terrorism, as a political issue becomes a political game that governments are engaged in playing with each other as well as with those, whom they call “terrorists.”

Actors that used as sources for this frame differ from what one can see in “political issue/ priority” frame. In presenting “political game” frame, journalists rely

more on opinions of independent analysts, human rights activists, scholars, opposition leaders and, though rarely, opinions of reporters themselves.

This frame is characterized by negative remarks and opinions given by authors or paraphrased regarding (1) what governments are doing to win the support and assistance of other, more powerful countries and (2) what more powerful countries are doing to “drag” Southeast Asian countries into “their” war.

Especially strong voices regarding the first subset of “political game” frame – own governments’ political games – are heard from two newspapers, the MT and the BP. Reporters from MT are being especially straightforward. Mostly it is through reporters’ own opinions with support by other sources’ statements that they challenge the governments’ decisions from the pages of their newspapers. Juan and Antiporda, reporters from MT, for example, directly accused Philippine government officials of playing games with some rebel groups: “In the diplomatic front, the Macapagal-Arroyo administration officials went into their own version of terrorist-hunting in the United States and in Europe. They succeeded in having the Communist Party of the Philippines and its guerilla wing the New People Army (NPA) tagged as terrorist organizations” (9/11 fortifies US-RP security alliance, MT, Jan 3, 2003). According to San Juan, J.R. and Palangchao, H., other MT reporters, the Philippine government tries very hard to justify its military campaigns against some rebel groups such as MILF, trying to present “an evidence that the MILF are now engaged in terrorism and are undermining the prospects for peace” (MILF cease-fire starts today, military to continue attacks, MT, Jun 2).

Criticism in the direction of the Philippine president and her government is not only heard from the reporters themselves. It also comes from other sources, often

unnamed, such as communists or “military insiders,” who also believe that the government is engaged into their own version of war, “cooking up” evidence and interfering with investigations (see, for example, *Struggle continues for rebels*, MT, December 26, 2003 and *Al-Ghozi in govt hands: 'Captured' in time for Bush*, sources say, MT, Oct 12).

The BP journalists also raise concerns about Thai government involvement into the “war on terrorism.” However, they rely more on outside sources to present evidence that the government officials are being somehow unfair in fighting terrorism. Sources that Thai journalists use include representatives of several groups such as the National Human Rights Commission and the Campaign for Popular Democracy group. Most concerns aroused around the issue of Thai government trying to please “the security-conscious United States” for getting more aid and support to fight terrorism (see, for example, *Outcry over laws by decree*, BP, Aug 12, *Secretive decrees are public concern*, BP, Aug 13, and *Military calls for new law*, BP, Jun 20). In addition, to present news BP journalists usually provide arguments from both sides in the same article - those who criticize the government actions and those who deny any wrongdoings of the government: “Justice Minister Pongthep Thepkanchana, meanwhile, denied that the bill to amend the Criminal Code was to appease the United States. Saneh Jamarik, chairman of the National Human Rights Commission, said the government was buckling under superpower pressure” (*Military calls for new law*, BP, Jun 20)

The second set of negative responses to the war on terrorism and the involvement of the Asian countries in this war are given even more coverage. Some journalists believe that the USA tries hard to “drug” other countries into “its” war

(BP, Jun 22, 2003), thus interfering with countries' internal affairs. Voices trying to give their readers an alternate opinion on the war on terrorism and the USA involvement are heard from the BP, the JP, and the MT.

Using paraphrase, the journalist from BP presents a point view of Muslim leaders on the arrest of Jemaah Islamyah (JI) members in Thailand: "Muslim leaders and a Thai intelligence officer in the South yesterday contended that the United States orchestrated the recent arrest of alleged Jemaah Islamiyah members in an effort to drag Thailand into its war against terrorism" (US accused of setting up arrests of trio, BP, Jun 22, 2003; see also Strong faith in evidence, BP, Jul 8, 2003, and Legal advice offered to arrested men, BP, Jun 23, 2003 – on the same topic). Moestafa B.K, a reporter from the JP, views the US insistence to "crack down" on terrorists in Indonesia as a direct interference into "domestic affairs," which negatively affects local "sentiments toward America." He further presents a point view of human rights activists arguing that the USA shouldn't concentrate so much on the war on terrorism, since there are other, as important as terrorism, issues to be concerned about: "Analysts warned Washington might have gotten its priorities wrong by making terrorism the focus of its ties with Indonesia. Human rights groups raised concern the U.S. might soften its stance against Indonesia's poor human rights track record in favor of increasing support behind the war on terror" (More talks will do RI – U.S. ties good, JP, Jan 27, 2003).

1.3 War on Terrorism: Impact Frames

Impact frames present different degrees of impact that the war on terrorism have on the countries. Journalists use this frame to highlight either positive or negative impact of the war on terrorism. Very small number of articles, however, uses

this frame. Positive impact of the war on terrorism on the Asian countries is seen as a future momentum for the countries that support the war on terror. PPP journalist Rith, S. evoked words of the US President G. W. Bush saying, “that nations which resolutely fight terror "will earn the favorable judgment of history" (Hor Namhong addresses UN assembly, PPP, Oct 10-23). He didn't elaborate the statement further, however, not explaining how far the governments or the countries can go in their determination, or resolution, to fight terror.

Some articles are framed as to show the negative impact that war on terrorism may have on the Asian countries. Journalists use mostly their own opinion and are being critical toward the war and the impact it has on the countries' economies and relationships. Muqbil, I., an editor of Travel Impact Newswire, wrote a news analysis for the BP focusing on ASEAN and APEC travel industry. Discussing the impact that the war has on Thai and regional tourism, he stated that this “so-called war on terror has put ... ASEAN visa-free goal in jeopardy,” which in turn will affect the economies of those countries, which rely heavily on tourism sector to earn their income (Other ways to tackle terrorism, BP, Jun 16).

1.4 War on Terrorism: Strategic Frames

“Strategic” frames category answers the question of what strategies governments implement to prevent the threat/ spread of terrorism in the region. There are several frames in this category: “cooperation/ support” frame, “military assistance/ exercises” frame, “education” frame, and “legislation” frame.

1.4.1 Cooperation/ Support Frame: one answer that is seen to be central to others on what should be done to tackle terrorism is “cooperation.” Throughout “cooperation” frame journalists put special emphasis on cooperation and unity among

Asian region countries/ governments as well as with governments from other countries, such as the USA, UK, Australia, Sweden, and Russia.

Two article structures are dominant in construction of “cooperation/ support” frame. First structure employed by the journalists is usually a simple description/ summary of events, where no position by actors – sources or journalists themselves – about these events are given. Events, during which the cooperation among countries is stressed, are mostly meetings of government officials at the regional level and visits of government officials to their counterparts in other countries. In these articles, cooperation/ support is never seen as negative, and is not criticized by sources/ authors. From the headline throughout the article cooperation is the central, positive theme of such an event: “Asean police chiefs vow united front against terrorist threats” (MT, Sept 12), “Thailand, India to cooperate in fighting world terrorism” (BP, Feb 1), “Ministers pledge to fight terror together” (BP, Jun 20), and “RP, Brunei decide to work together to fight terrorism” (MT, Jan 28). It should be noted here that the “cooperation/ support” frame is closely linked with the “high priority” frame, where terrorism issue and the war on terrorism are placed very high on meeting agendas together with anti-terrorism measures and security concerns.

Second article structure employed by journalists is a description presenting similar points of view of several actors or spectrum of response regarding cooperation and support in the fight against terror. Articles with such structure are characterized as positive toward cooperation/ support and negative or critical.

Positive toward Cooperation/ Support Frame: through “positive” framing of countries’ cooperation, authors emphasize positive impact and benefits that cooperation and unity would bring to the countries supporting the war on terrorism.

Sources cited by authors as supporting cooperation are usually countries' presidents, prime - ministers, and high-ranking military and police officials: Thai PM Thaksin Shinawatra, Australian PM John Howard, the Head of the Philippine National Police Commission Lina Jose – to name only a few. They believe that “united front” is the best answer when dealing with global terrorism threat (‘United front’, key to fighting terrorism, MT, Jun 23). From the articles, actors are reassuring their citizens and their counterparts in support of the war and their determination to do everything possible to eliminate the terrorism threat:

Cambodia’s Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Hor Namhong, addressed the United Nations General Assembly on September 30 to ... reaffirm Cambodia’s commitment to the fight against terrorism...

Namhong offered the recent arrests of terror suspects in Cambodia as proof of the nation's support for the US-led war on terrorism (Hor Namhong addresses UN assembly, PPP, issue 12/21, Oct 10-23).

Leaders from SEA countries put heavy emphasis on cooperation stressing that without regional collaboration and unity the terrorism would be impossible to tackle:

“The President [Arroyo – GB] said the Jakarta bombing clearly shows that the war on terrorism is far from over. "Terrorism in the region must be pursued without let-up through more intensive multilateral cooperation," the President said in her speech before the gathering of finance ministers of the ASEAN in Manila” (Alert up vs new terrorist attacks, MT, Aug 7); “Thai PM Thaksin Shinawatra said... that as a member of the anti-terrorism convention, his government would cooperate in the fight against terrorism regardless of suspects’ nationalities” (Smiles all round at ‘historic’ Thai-Cambodian meeting, PPP, issue 12/12, Jun 6-19).

Governments that are not willing to cooperate are criticized from the pages of newspapers. Since such countries lay a shadow on other regional countries, which are willing to support the fight against global terrorism, they receive highly negative or critical attitude. Unidjaja and Hakim, reporters from JP, cast a doubt on the ability of ASEAN members successfully fight terrorism since some of the members have been reluctant to cooperate. They warned that “Singapore and Malaysia's refusal to send witnesses and suspected terrorists to Indonesia raises serious questions on how far ASEAN members countries are willing to cooperate in fighting against terrorism” (Doubts remain about ASEAN’s resolve to fight terrorism, JP, Jan 21, 2003).

The BP reported on 2003 Cobra Gold joint military exercise, which is an annual war game and a part of anti-terrorism measure, noting, “Malaysia has refused an invitation to join... as a participant.” The overall opinion presented throughout the article was “a real surprise” and a warning from an unnamed source that “the exercise will be of significant benefit to terrorism suppression, and Malaysia is among those nations that face risks from terrorist movements” (Malaysia refuses invitation, BP, Jan, 2).

Citizen’ Help/ Cooperation Frame: It is not only at the level of governments and countries where cooperation is seen as the central aspect to tackle terrorism. Own citizens of the country can be of great help to fight terrorists. The journalist from the MT cited the words of the President Arroyo saying that “many planned NPA attacks were foiled because of the help of the citizenry. Let us prove once again that peace can be attained by helping one another” (Arroyo exposes terrorists’ links to drugs trade, MT, Jul 6). However, this frame is used only in discourse, or the government

officials' statements. Journalists do not devote much space in their articles to the help of citizens.

Critical toward Cooperation/ Support Frame: this frame is presented through article structure that employs spectrum of responses toward cooperation/ support of the war on terrorism. In other words, through critical framing journalists introduce voices that raise concerns toward countries' involvement in the war. In this frame, journalists and the cited sources mostly question relations between the USA and the regional countries. They criticized the US foreign policy focusing too much on terror and warned that the USA may have its own interests while insisting on cooperation and support for "their" war against terrorism. Voices raising such concerns are those of scholars, opposition and Muslim leaders, and others. It should be noted here that, at a first glance, this frame seems to be similar to the "political games" frame, where both - the USA and the local governments are criticized for "drugging" Asian countries into the war and "singing the same tune." However, what makes "critical toward cooperation/ support" frame different is the focus on relationships between the USA and the countries and the stress on cooperation. From time to time, the US politicians, as it seems from articles, become "unpleased" with some of the Asian regional countries' "half-hearted cooperation" (Suspects admit plot to bomb embassies, BP, Jun 12). In turn, the local newspapers would criticize the USA on focusing too much on terror and ignoring other important issues. Moestafa B.K., the reporter from the JP, cited the words of American scholar and former US Ford Foundation executive John J. Bresnan, who believed that "the U.S. is much too narrow, it measures everything in terms of actions against terror... Somehow the accomplishments of the government [Indonesian government trying to solve the Bali

bombing case – GB] here do not seem to come through to people back there [in the USA – GB], so they've gotten the idea that Indonesia cannot be counted on" (Scholar warns of 'turbulence' in Indonesia-America ties, JP, Jan 13).

1.4.2 Military Assistance/ Exercises Frame: the focus of this frame is on military assistance that countries provide to each other to successfully fight local and international terrorists or to be prepared for terrorist actions. Two opposite views are presented in this frame: positive or supporting military assistance, and negative.

Positive toward Military Assistance Frame: throughout positive framing, newspapers highlight the importance of military assistance to national safety and security. Military in general is seen as one of the central forces to fight terrorism, and to provide/ receive military assistance to/ from other countries is a strategic move toward eliminating terrorism threat. Actors voicing their opinions from the pages of regional newspapers are high-ranking government officials with the expertise in military, national security and defense: Philippine National Security Adviser Bunye, Philippine Defense Secretary Reyes, US Navy commander in chief, Thai Armed Forces chief of staff Surapol Shinajit – to name only a few.

From the headlines to the end of the articles journalists stress that there is, indeed, a war, which the governments are determined to win. The Philippine Armed Forces vice-chief of the staff, Garcia R. proclaimed: "We will not rest easy...Terrorism is a scourge and the efforts exerted against it are continuous. You have to sustain the efforts. It does not stop" (40 JI terrorists still at large in Mindanao, Ermita says, MT, Oct 21). And if there is a war, the armed forces are the answer how to win this war. At the opening ceremony for the Cobra Gold 2003 exercise, held in Thailand, the US Ambassador in Bangkok Johnson D. linked the Bali bombing in

Indonesia in 2002 to the Cobra Gold 2003 exercise. From his words, military assistance and recent exercises are the answers to the need of the governments to protect their “citizens from the menace of terrorism.” He sees the importance of such exercises in being “ready to serve our national interests when called on to do so by our political leaders” (Exercises launched with focus on terrorism and peace-keeping, BP, May 17).

Some headlines highlight the events in a military front that seen as beneficial for the regional countries’ peace and safety: Britain to join military drill for the first time (BP, Apr 11), Exercises launched with focus on terrorism and peace-keeping (BP, May 17), and Govt plans to move Marines to Manila (MT, Aug 11). Other headlines emphasize the role of military assistance in the multilateral relations between countries: Surayud, Myers to discuss expansion of joint exercises (BP, Jun 16), Bush OK’s stronger RP-US military ties (MT, May 21), and US to help improve RP naval forces (MT, Jun 6).

Critical toward Military Assistance/ Exercise Frame: through critical framing, newspapers present an opposite view toward military assistance/ exercises warning that focusing on military actions alone is not enough to succeed in the war against terrorism. Corpuz J. F., a correspondent from the MT, cited a statement of the Philippine Foreign Affairs Secretary Blas Ople, who commented on the decision of the USA to keep some Philippine rebel groups on the list of foreign terrorist organizations: “what several years of military action have failed to do, diplomacy was able to accomplish.”(RP supports terrorist label on NPA, Sison, MT, Oct 24). Indeed, as it seen from the MT pages, many in the Philippine government believe that tagging these rebel groups as terrorists and treating them accordingly would “paralyze”

groups' operations and "force them to the negotiation table." Military campaigns launched in the past to fight rebels in the Philippines are not seen as the only answer to fight terrorists: "when the United States and the European Union tagged Sison and his group as terrorists, their bank accounts were frozen, rendering Sison and his wife penniless" (RP supports terrorist label on NPA, Sison, MT, Oct 24).

Other critical set of responses toward military assistance from other countries questions some of the countries' support with military equipment and even forces to help fight terrorism in Asian countries. Headlines such as 'Govnt warned to be wary of US military partnership' (MT, May 21), 'Pros, cons cite stronger US-Philippine ties' (MT, May 23), and 'Other ways to tackle terrorism' (BP, Jun 16) show their readers that the articles' focus is on another side of military assistance. It is not always the right and the only one answer if the governments want to eliminate terrorism threat. In addition, there is, indeed, another side of the military assistance that readers should be aware of. Throughout some articles, the negative opinion is directed toward the US assistance. Journalists and their sources are concerned that the USA could use such support for its own advantage. In an article 'Bush OK's stronger RP-US military ties' (MT, May 21), the reporter Torres presented two alternate opinions on the military assistance offered by the USA. Leaders of the USA and the Philippines strongly believe that giving a "major non-NATO ally" status to the Philippines would allow the countries to cooperate on military research and development as well as successfully fight against terrorist threat. However, the reporter also cited the concerns of other government officials, who believe that the USA wouldn't do anything if there was no advantage for the US interests: "Biazon, vice chairman of the Senate Committee on National Defense and Security, said it is impossible for the

superpower like the US to give a big break to a developing country without any tradeoff. I am sure the tradeoff is much bigger than what the US has given us...”

Later on, Torres cited words of Senator Pimentel, who believes that the Philippines do not need military aid as much as they need economic aid:

He repeated his earlier call that the United States... must concentrate on neutralizing the terrorists, not by using guns but by playing as peace broker...

“This is the best gift the US can offer to the Filipino people, because if the US succeeds, we will expect the influx of investors, both local and foreign,”

Pimentel added.

1.4.3 Education as Strategy Frame: using education frame, newspapers stress another strategic move that the governments use or might use to fight “the war on terror” – education. They believe that it is through educating people that the peace could be achieved and the spread of extremist ideas could be stopped. As “a nonconventional weapon,” education is viewed positively by journalists and the sources. The reporters from the MT, Villaviray and Torres, share the point view of the Philippine government, which used money given by the USA as a part of counterterror assistance to launch an educational program aiming at Muslims living in remote areas. They believed that this remote education program would “provide would-be recruits an alternative to bearing arms” (Education latest tool in antiterror war, MT, Oct 19).

A journalist from the PPP, Bugge J., reports on US funding of training courses for Muslim community in Cambodia “as part of its support for the US war on terror.” The reason behind this educational program was twofold: first, “to block inroads by Islamic fundamentalists in the traditionally moderate sect” [Cham Muslims in

Cambodia – GB], and, second, to train people “to pass on their knowledge of human rights and democracy to Cham communities in the provinces” (US funds courses for Chams, PPP, issue 12/25, Dec 5-18, 2003).

The BP also reported on the concerns of Thai government to provide educational assistance to Muslims by giving them “more learning alternatives outside the religious field” (Partial funding bid for Muslims, BP, Jul 23). In another article, the author cited words of the public affairs director of the Islamic Supreme Council of America Hedieh Mirahmadi, who emphasized education as being an important step in preventing people to become “extremists in Thailand and other South East Asian nations”: We need to take care of education, to prevent schools being manipulated by certain courses of Islamics that cause young people to turn to violence... We cannot completely ignore education” (US Muslim council urges true teaching, BP, Aug 12).

It is not only for the communities that education is “the latest tool.” Education is seen as important for the government officials, police and lawyers that fight terrorism. The JP correspondent reported on the UK scholarships offered to the police and the Supreme Court justices. The aim of this educational support is “to improve” Indonesian “security sector” by training security officials on “counter-terrorism crisis management” (UK offers scholarships for RI officers, JP, Jan 10).

1.4.4 Legislation as Strategy Frame: perhaps, the second largest after cooperation/ support frame that is used by newspapers to highlight different strategies in the war on terror is legislation frame. The general positive perspective of this frame emphasizes laws and governmental policies as the way to establish peace and order in a troubled by terrorists society. As one of the sources cited in the BP put out, “feelings

alone cannot prove who is good and who is bad, but the judicial system can. We must believe in justice and the law” (Lawyer denies trio confessed to JI links, BP, Jun 14).

Looking just at the headlines alone throughout all newspapers, one can see that the policy makers are quite concerned about defining terrorism and bringing terrorists to justice. Headlines such as House to back terrorism regulation (JP, Mar 5), House to discuss antiterrorism bills (JP, Jan 21), Review sought for terrorism law (JP, Jul 2), House panel passes antiterrorism bill (MT, Mar 21), Decree petitions accepted (BP, Aug 20) indicate that strong laws would support fight against terrorism.

Actors raising their voices in support of such regulations are ministers, National Security Councils, other high-ranking government officials with expertise in judicial system and legislative procedures, and countries’ leaders. Thai Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra, for example, strongly believes in the power of legislation to eliminate terrorist threat: “We must do everything in our legislative power to pre-empt danger... Failing that, we will become a breeding ground for international terrorists” (Summary of the news: Aug 10 to Aug 16 2003, BP).

The lack of strong and adequate laws and regulations is seen as a major drawback in the fight against terrorism: “Hassan [Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs Hassan Wirayuda – GB] admitted that the country had limitations in its laws and lacked the institutional capability to deal with the extraordinary crime” (Jakarta to set up antiterrorism group, JP, Jan 9). Countries that do not have an adequate judiciary system are heavily criticized by the international communities since the lack of laws to tackle terrorism is often seen as one of the causes for terrorist activities: “Raymond Alikpala, legal officer at international NGO Jesuit Service (JS), said the country's lax regulations and reputation for lawlessness has long enticed those looking to escape

persecution at home... “The fact is that the country is so corrupt you can get away with anything” (Government: US Embassy keeping close tabs on Iraqis, PPP, issue 12/07, Mar 28-Apr 10). However, it is not only the responsibility of a single country to update its legal system. The whole SEA region, if it wishes to crack down on terrorists effectively, must undergo “reform in the current criminal justice system,” which can be “realized with cooperation among ministries of justices..., Kusnanto [Centre for Strategic and International Studies, no position given – GB] said” (ASEAN must compromise to fight terrorism, JP, Jan 24).

Terrorism as Crime Frame: It is only in the articles using legislation frame, where one can find the definition of terrorism and terrorist acts as defined by the countries’ laws. The definition that policy makers in respective countries use is quite similar. It usually includes a definition of what is considered as a terrorist act and the punishment against those who commit such an act. One interpretation of such definition drawn from the Thai law is cited by the BP:

Under the decrees, terrorism covers a broad spectrum of activity perpetrated by use of force and violence. Liable to a range of severe penalties, from two years imprisonment to life behind bars, or the death penalty, are those whose actions cause harm to lives, personal freedoms, public utilities, transport infrastructure, private and public property. These include acts against individuals, governments and property belonging to Thailand, other countries and international organizations (Secretive decrees are public concern, BP, Aug 13).

The terrorist actions throughout the legislation frame are often viewed as a crime, “an extraordinary crime,” (Jakarta to set up antiterrorism group, JP, Jan 9)

which only the laws can beat. The Indonesian National Police chief, Bachtiar D., categorized eight “crimes” that are considered as terrorist actions: “terrorism, drug trade, arms smuggling, people-smuggling, money laundering, sea piracy, cyber crime, and economic crimes” (Not easy to define terrorism: Police, JP, Feb 20). However, the source didn’t elaborate further nor the journalist stated elsewhere in the article what exactly is terrorism and how to recognize one. But apparently it is something very different from the other seven “crimes.” Another article from the JP, written by Kurniawan M.N., also states the point view on terrorism as a crime and stresses the importance of legal proceedings to successfully combat “transnational crime” in ASEAN countries (ASEAN must compromise to fight terrorism, JP, Jan 24).

Critical toward Legislation Frame: although many in the governments and outside believe in justice and view terrorism laws as necessary to support countries’ stability and security, criticism is also present. It is directed toward laws and decrees as well as toward policy makers. Three main themes can be found in the news: criticizing the local laws themselves, criticizing law and policy makers of the local country and criticizing the foreign countries’ policies.

The hot debates over the local laws and decrees are heard from the pages of the BP from June to August 2003. When the draft of the antiterrorism bill was submitted for reviewing in June 2003, some Thai officials raised concerns that it would “compromise personal rights and freedoms.” When the Prime Minister’s office submitted two antiterrorism executive decrees to the Cabinet for approval in August 2003, the opposition Democrat Party leaders named them as “highly controversial,” “unconstitutional,” “draconian,” “politically motivated,” and “against the human rights principle.”

Along with focusing on criticism of antiterrorism bill and decrees, the focus is shifted from time to time toward accusations of some officials that the government would use such laws for its advantage. In these articles, journalists would cite sources criticizing actions of the governmental policy makers, not analyzing those laws and decrees. The government and its actions are seen by the Thai opposition, for example, as “dictatorial,” “opportunist,” “result-oriented...on forceful and blanket suppression,” and “concentrating too much on the end rather than the means.” The dean of the law at the Thammasat University Surapol Nitikraipoj exclaimed: “only twice in our history has the criminal code been amended without parliamentary scrutiny...both times by dictatorial governments” (‘No logic, no reason’, BP, Aug 14). Kraisak Choonhavan, the chairman of the senate foreign affairs committee, warned: “laws purportedly serving national security tended to be exploited by governments as a tool to oppress or persecute opponents. He cited the repealed Communist Act which had led to prosecution of dissidents in the past...” (Bill could compromise rights, BP, Jun 18). In another article Executive decrees go to House today (BP, Aug 14), journalist cautions that the government “could abuse powers granted by the decrees to single out Islamic clerics suspected of terrorist links.” The Thai government with its endorsement of the decrees without “parliamentary scrutiny” is seen by some opponents as “dancing to the United States’ tune.” It is because of the US’ President attending APEC summit in October and to ensure the highest level of security that the decrees were “pushed” so quickly (Outcry over laws by decree, BP, Aug 12).

In the MT, the researcher found another critical set of response toward legislation system. At the first glance, those articles are not directly related to the terrorism laws and terrorism in general, as it being presented in the JP and BP. Here,

another side of terrorism is seen, state terrorism, or what is called “legal terrorism” in the articles, which involves government officials. MT presented news on raising concerns of some officials with the present judiciary system in the Philippines believing that, at current state, it “serves as a barrier to the efforts of the government to improve the economy” (SC stays mum on “terrorists in robes,” MT, May 30).

Journalists informed their readers on the development of a debate between the Philippine President’s former senior advisor for PR, Dante A. Ang and the Philippine Supreme Court. Ang is also an owner of the Manila Times newspaper (Citizens, RP economy biggest victims of ‘legal terrorism,’ May 28). Ang’s statement about “legal terrorism” and accusations toward some judges, whom he called “terrorists in robes,” received a high resonance in the press and among policy makers. MT journalists are being very careful to present the evidence supporting Ang’s accusations as well as state the opposite opinions of other officials, who disagree with Ang’s view point (see also Justices unfazed by ‘terrorist’ tag, Jun 5). They would not, however, state their own opinion on the debates.

2. Action Frames

“Action” frames represent another, different from the “war on terrorism,” set. Here, the emphasis is put on the actions of terrorists, the reaction of governments and forces, police or military, to their actions, and conducted investigations. Although articles frame some actions and issues in the light of the war on terror, the focus in general is not on the war but activities per se. Similar framing could be found in the “war on terrorism: strategic” category, where description of activities is also present. However, those activities are seen and framed through the prism of the local and foreign governments’ leading the war: the main explanation for such activities is that

it is a necessary step in the war on terror. Activities that have “war on terrorism” explanation are not included in “action” category. There are several sub-frames that the researcher identified in “action” frame: events frame and threat frame, each with several sub-frames.

2.1 Events Frame

Through events frame, newspapers show their readers what is going on in their countries as well as abroad. The main focus of events frame is to describe (1) terrorist activities such as bombings, violent actions against citizens and the governments, threatening messages; and (2) military or police actions against rebels/ terrorists that is not viewed as a part of governments’ war on terrorism but merely as a reaction to terrorist actions; (3) arrests of terrorists, and (4) protests organized by various Muslim groups for different reasons, which directly or indirectly linked to terrorism issue.

Each subset of “events” frame is represented in several ways. First, there is a purely descriptive article structure, in which no sources are cited and no positions by actors are given. It is what one may think of news: the description of what happened, where, when and who was involved. Such articles are usually short, one to two paragraphs at most. The focus of these articles is on describing, not analyzing or presenting opinions on events. For example, in the article Companies threatened in letter in the BP (Jul 12), the author describes what happened – “copies of an extortion letter...written in the Malay language, contained an M16 assault rifle bullet and a demand for “protection fees,” where – “in Narathiwat and a bank branch in ... Pattani,” when – “yesterday,” and who – “received by about 10 business people,” “owner of a construction material shop,” “from a local Muslim terrorist group.” Although some victims receiving the letter were cited, it was a simple statement of

facts, not opinions: "...owner of a construction material shop in Bacho district, said yesterday it was the second threat letter she had received from the group" (for similar framing, see '2 bandits killed in Basilan encounter,' MT, Sept 14; '2 suspected terrorists arrested in Taytay,' MT, Oct 19; 'Hambali was here,' PPP, issue 12/02, Jan 17-30; 'Rescued fishermen deny terrorist links,' BP, Aug 21, and 'Police arrest alleged Singapore JI leader,' JP, Feb 4). However, the number of articles employing description without stating anyone's opinions is quite small.

The second way to describe events is through descriptions with opinion statements given by sources as well as authors – journalists. Sources, whose opinions presented, are victims of terrorist actions, judges and prosecutors, police and military officers, experts and other people who were somehow involved in the action. The voices of political leaders, high-ranking officials are also heard, although not as frequently as in the "war on terrorism" frames.

It is an interesting fact, that usually it is not journalists who would call somebody "terrorists," but the sources, mostly those who stay at the top of the government. In the article Four marines killed in raids on outposts in the BP (Apr 29), the journalist described a fight between government posts and those whom he called "gunmen." The word "terrorist" first appears in the quote of the Thai Prime Minister's words, who "blamed the attacks on foreign-backed terrorists": "I was informed that about 30 trained terrorist had crossed the border," Mr. Thaksin said." Another example shows the same pattern – it is the country leader, the President Arroyo of the Philippines, who would call rebels "terrorists": ""We shall isolate this group [NDF - National Democratic Front, CPP - Communist Party of the Philippines, and NPA - New People's Army -GB] from the international community by exposing them for

what they are - terrorists masquerading as revolutionaries," the President said in her weekly radio address" (Arroyo exposes terrorists' links to drugs trade, MT, Jul 6).

The journalists usually use more neutral words like rebels, gunmen, bandits, separatists, suspects, etc., or use the word 'terrorist' in quotes.

For the MT, other actors step out, whose statements are widely cited by the journalists and who otherwise are not cited anywhere else. Those are the spokesmen of rebel groups like Eid Kabalu, the MILF spokesman. His statements in regard to actions/ activities of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), one of the rebel groups operating in the Philippines, are used by the journalists to provide a wider picture of what was happening. When there was an action involved, like military and rebels fight or terrorist activities like bombings or violence, the MT journalists would cite Eid Kabalu as the main source from the rebels' side: "Rebel spokesman Eid Kabalu [admitted – GB, missing word in article] the MILF's attack on the military detachments, but he denied five villagers had been killed... "We ask forgiveness from the government. Those involved in the attack might have not yet received our directive suspending military operation," he said" (19 killed in MILF attack: Army detachments in Cotabato hit anew, MT, May 30).

The JP articles at the researched period focused more on arrests of alleged terrorists or suspects of various bombings, occurred around the country recently and in the past: Bali bombings in October 2002, McDonald outlet bombing at Macassar in December 2002, bombings in Medan, North Sumatra in April 2003 as well as other actions. The headlines from the newspaper indicate that the Indonesian police, indeed, are eager to "pin down" those, who are responsible for the attacks: 'S. Sulawesi Police uncover terrorist training camps,' JP, Jan 7; 'Police arrest two more suspects in Bali

blast,' JP, Jan 15; 'Police arrest alleged Singapore JI leader,' JP, Feb 4; and 'Another Macassar bombing suspect arrested,' JP, Feb 18.

Some headlines from the events' frame also highlight which force is responsible for "pinning down" terrorists in each respective country. In the JP case, it is the Indonesian police, which play an important role in actions against terrorists (see above examples). In the MT, it is the Philippine army forces, the military that steps ahead: '19 killed in MILF attack: Army detachments in Cotabato hit anew,' MT, May 30, and 'MILF cease-fire starts today, military to continue attack,' MT, Jun 2. From the BP headlines, important role is given to Thai police and their actions: 'Police, bandits die in gunfight,' BP, Aug 29; 'Police link bomb to JI network,' BP, Aug 7; and '1,000 more police deployed, rapid response units formed,' BP, Jul 8.

2.1.1 Investigation Frame: frame that focuses on ongoing investigations into terrorist activities – "investigation" frame – takes a central stage in some newspapers. Journalists describe the investigation processes undergone by police or the military forces in regard to various terrorist actions. Through simple description to description with the opinion statements, journalists present the latest news on investigative efforts. Much place is devoted to the statements of police officers, which are responsible for such investigations - the lead officers of the Bali terror investigation team, set immediately after the "deadly attack" in Bali, officers from the Indonesian National Police, Thai and Philippine high-ranking police officers, unnamed sources from the police, etc. Other sources are military officers, who also take their part in investigations, especially in the Philippines; spokesmen of the government; foreign experts in forensics and other fields, etc. It is in "investigation" frame, where one can see statements from lawyers, who represented the suspects during investigations and

the statements of suspects and their relatives (see, for example, ‘Two arrested Thais deny terrorist link,’ BP, Jun 1; ‘Hambali under interrogation,’ BP, Aug 16; and ‘Police to examine Bali suspect’s laptop,’ JP, Jan 3).

For the JP, the central event that is investigated is the Bali bombing in October 2002. It is described in many articles of JP as “the worst in Indonesia's history and the second worst in the world after Sept. 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States” (Bali Police submit Amrozi's dossier to prosecutors, getting closer to trial, Jan 7). The headlines from this newspaper indicate that efforts of the police and the Megawati’s government are directed toward solving this case. In addition, the Indonesian police is seen as the main force for investigating on terrorist activities: ‘Police to examine Bali suspect's laptop’ (Jan 3); ‘Police fail to connect al-Qaeda with Bali bombers’ (Jan 9); ‘Police arrest two more suspects in Bali blasts’ (Jan 15); ‘Bali prosecutors return Samudra's dossier to police’ (Feb 28); ‘Prime Bali terror suspect nearly ready for trial’ (Mar 26), and others. Investigation into another, Macassar bombing of the McDonald outlet in December 2002 also received coverage in the newspaper, although not as extensive as for the Bali bombing: ‘Another Makassar bombing suspect arrested’ (Feb 18), and ‘Makassar bomb case files submitted’ (Mar 19).

Other newspapers also devoted some coverage to the investigations, although not as extensively as the JP did: ‘Hambali under interrogation’ (BP, Aug 16), ‘Suspects admit plot to bomb embassies’ (BP, Jun 12), ‘Al-Ghozi released to lead cops to other terrorist cells-source’ (MT, Jul 21), ‘Manila bombing foiled’: Dec. 30 brains planned encore, say investigators’ (MT, May 27), and ‘Jemaah behind RP bomb attacks’ (MT, May 10).

2.1.2 Trial Frame: this frame is characterized by emphasis put on describing trials of alleged terrorists. The article structure employed for this frame is description with the elements of narrative story telling. Usually journalists describe the proceedings of the courts, in which “terrorists” are tried for their crimes, the actions taken by the defense lawyers and prosecutors, and what they said in response to that or another decision. However, one can see that journalists from time to time shift from the simple description into drama, or narrative, when describing a suspect. Sun Juan, a reporter from the MT, starts his article with the detailed description of the suspect Moclis crying during the preliminary hearing: “Yes, even confessed terrorists cry. For a moment, the bombing suspect... could not control his emotion...Moclis shook al-Ghozi’s hands before breaking down for no apparent reason as media photographers scrummed to take their pictures” (Moclis reveals soul, secrets with al-Ghozi, MT, Jun 19). Indeed, he devoted first 18 lines (about 3 paragraphs) of the article describing the emotions of the suspect and only after that stated what was being done during the hearing by judge, defense lawyers and prosecutors. Interesting enough that one article from the JP, devoted to another trial, also started with the description of the “terrorist” crying: “A confessed terrorist broke down into tears as he testified...When he asked why he was crying he said it was because Ba’asyir was like father to him” (Singaporean witnesses implicate Ba’asyir in bombing, JP, Jun 27). Many other examples can be found in trial descriptions, where journalists would detail the behavior of the accused, what they were wearing to the trial, and what gestures they used from time to time. It is not rare when the journalists would put their own explanations on why “terrorists” showed their emotions (see, for example, ‘Death penalty demanded for Amrozi,’ JP, Jul 1).

The accounts of victims or eyewitnesses of the terrorist crimes are also cited in full detail with the swing of drama. During the witnesses' statements at the Bali bombing suspects' trial, the picture of the dead bodies, blood spreading around, smoke from explosions, shock, denial and other emotions emerged from the witnesses' accounts. They were quoted phrase by phrase to describe the brutality of this terrorist attack. In fact, the journalist from JP did not elaborate much about the trial as he focused on what was being said by the witnesses putting every detail into the article (Australian survivors recall the Bali bombing, JP, Jun 17).

2.1.3 “Drill”/ Preparation Frame: this is another frame that focuses on activities, specifically on what various organizations like hospitals, embassies, and police squads are doing to be ready for the terrorist attack if it happens. The emphasis here is on particular organizational activities, through which employees are trained to respond properly to the possible attack.

Descriptive article structure is employed to report on drills and preparation. Usually it is a simple description with statements from sources that indicate what is being done as a preparation for the attacks: “Apparently aware of the potential threat terrorists pose, the Department of Health said it is already preparing a surveillance system for major regional hospitals to detect a surge in food-borne diseases that could be caused by "unusual eventualities" (WHO: Terrorists could target food supplies, MT, Feb 8). Sources used for this frame to comment on the actions of various departments in preparation were police officers that took part in drills, government officials commenting on security issues and warning about possibility of attacks, embassies' spokesmen, healthcare officials and others, who were directly involved in drills or participated in trainings.

In this frame, terrorism is seen as a disaster, not a crime. And if it is a disaster, it could be prevented or one can be trained to respond to it in a timely and effective manner: “Tanit Vajrabukka, director of the Thai Red Cross, said his organization had approached the US Embassy for the training because “it is best to be prepared for every type of disaster. You never know when it will happen here” (How to handle victims of WMD, BP, Jul 8). In the article ‘DOH ready for casualties in case of terror attack,’ appeared in MT (Dec 5), the journalist stated from the first paragraph that “disaster management experts” warned the relaxed and getting ready for holidays public to be cautious, since terrorists “could take advantage of the relaxed atmosphere to conduct a surprise attack that could turn out adverse results.” Answering the question why it is necessary to be prepared for attacks, since it is not known when and if terrorists would strike, the journalist quoted Health Secretary as saying: “in any disaster, we cannot afford to commit a mistake. We should be prepared on a nationwide basis.”

With the simple description, journalists may put some elements of narrative story telling to make the picture more vivid. In the description of the US Embassy drill in Manila, correspondent Mugas from the MT starts his article as a narrative:

Motorists and pedestrians were startled Friday by a loud explosion that came from the US Embassy compound... The blast caused policemen and Special Action Force troops to scurry from their posts and form a security perimeter – their guns trained outward – around the compound’s walls, alarming several bystanders. It was, however, only a drill (US Embassy drill causes panic, heavy traffic, MT, Jun 21).

2.1.4 Protests/ Rally Frame: from time to time journalists would report on rallies organized by different organizations or just “crowds,” which opposed some actions taken by the governments. It is used as a sub-frame most of the time with little space devoted to the description of the main actors organizing the rally and the government response to it.

JP journalists frequently use “protest/ rally” frame as a part of some other frames to indicate that there is another response to the government’ statements and actions. The construction of articles highlights the importance of the Indonesian President Megawati statements, for example, placing her words in front; toward the end the reporter would consecrate some space to the simple description of protests. Devoting four to five lines at most, the reporters would state the reasons for staging the rally and who was involved in the protest. No analysis of the protesters’ statements or actions is given. The actors staging the rally are different institutions like MUI – Indonesian Ulema Consil, a Muslim organization and People’s Opposition Party (POPOR). Numerous students’ associations are playing an active role in protests and rallies as well: Indonesia’s Muslim Students Association (HMI), Muhammadiyah Students’ Group (IMM), and groups of students from different Universities in Greater Jakarta are frequently seen in relation to rallies. JP reporters would also provide a brief description for reason of staging the rally: visit of the President of the USA Bush, the Indonesian President Megawati and her supporters’ politics, arrests of activists from Muslim community, whose activities would be linked by the government to the terrorism, the war in Iraq, and other reasons (see, for example, from JP ‘Bush makes stopover in Bali, lends support to Megawati,’ Oct 23; ‘Police

meet Muslim leaders over arrests of activists,' Sep 20; 'Fight against terrorism goes on', Sep 24; and 'Nation told to fight terror,' Aug 16).

Some articles place the rallies/ protests as the major event. In this case, the headline would indicate that the protest is, indeed, an important activity, which receives some resonance in the society. Such construction is seen throughout three newspapers – JP, MT, and BP. Some headlines highlight the reason for protest like 'Activist arrest protested,' JP, Sep 17; 'Angry crowd siege police after death of terror suspect,' JP, Nov 17; and 'Protests loom over arrest of JI suspects,' BP, Jun 17. In such articles, the reporters would describe the reason in much detail providing some space to the government officials' explanation for the arrests. As for the protest, the considerable space is devoted to the statements of the organizers as well as the description of the actors: in both cases, it is Muslim groups, which are opposing the government action - arrest.

Other headlines emphasize the action itself: 'Southern Muslims to protest Wednesday,' BP, Mar 23; 'Muslims stage huge rally in South,' BP, Mar 27; and 'RI antiwar protests getting rowdier,' JP, Mar 24, with the description of the actors and their demands in full detail. MT articles place ahead the government warnings against organizing protests or about being watchful against possible terrorist attacks on protesters: 'Anti-US militants curbed: Govt won't tolerate violent protests on Bush visit – Palace,' MT, Sep 14, and 'Protesters told to be on guard against terrorist infiltrators,' MT, Nov 5. One could not find many details about protests held in the Philippines or the protesters from the MT pages. In fact, those two articles are the only ones that the researcher found in MT that give some description of protests or mention about protests being organized in the Philippines.

2.2 Threat Frames

The focus of the threat frames is on threat that terrorist activities pose to the country and its citizen. This frame is somewhat similar to the “war on terrorism: impact” frame in the sense that journalists use “threat” frames to highlight the impact it has on countries in various fields: business sector, tourism, economy in general, and on country image as well. However, the “threat” frames specify that it is the terrorist activities and not the war on terror that would damage or improve the situation in the country. The researcher identified several categories in the “threat” frames: negative impact that threat may have or already has on countries; positive impact resulted from terrorist activities’ threat, and travel advisories frame. It should be noted here that the “threat” frame rarely stands alone but can be found in combination with other frames. For example, it can be linked together with the causal frame in one article to form “cause-and-effect” pattern. It is only travel advisories frame that is used throughout the whole article and steps ahead as the only “standing-alone” frame.

2.2.1 Threat: Negative Impact Frame: the focus of this frame is on describing and analyzing the negative impact that terrorist activities brought to the countries. Negative impact is spread onto several areas: a) national safety and security: “Lax immigration scrutiny compromised national safety and posed a grave risk as terrorists could slip in easily” (Lax officers get the boot as 'terrorists' cross border, BP, Aug 20); b) tourism industry: “Just as the hysteria surrounding Sars is beginning to subside, Thailand’s tourism industry is facing another crisis - the very real threat of terrorism” (Terrorism threat to stall recovery, BP, Jun 13); and c) country image: “This (the terrorist threat – auth.) would badly hurt the country’s image and would have a large impact on the industry...,” he [deputy governor of TAT – GB] said” (Terrorism threat

to stall recovery, BP, Jun 13). Describing the negative impact of threat, journalists provide their readers with the facts supporting their own and the sources' statements: effect on tourism industry, for example, is supported with statistical figures showing how much the country lost on visitors because of the terrorist activities (see 'Terrorism threat to stall recovery,' BP, Jun 13).

Interesting fact that throughout negative impact frame journalists often use comparison between terrorist activities and SARS stating which threat has more impact on the country. Usually both threats are seen as having serious consequences for industries. The BP journalist, describing Accor's, a French company, performance stated: "Besides Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome, the threat of terrorism is proving a major concern of the group. Mr Issenberg [managing director in Asia-Pacific region – GB] said that while the impact of Sars was likely to be short-term, terrorism would have longer side-effects on the industry" (Sars shaves 60% off Accor revenue, BP, Jun 18). Another journalist from the BP compares Sars and terrorism threats using his own observations and the opinion statements of tour operators: "Foreign tourists on Khao San road do not seem scared by terrorism, while local entrepreneurs say Sars has hit Thailand harder"(Khao San tourists unruffled, BP, Jun 13).

2.2.2 Threat: Positive Impact Frame: surprisingly enough, the threat from terrorist activities can have positive consequences as shown from the pages of the BP. And again, discussion on tourism industry' impact is predominant. Terrorist activities in other countries are seen as having positive impact since many Thais do not want to go to far and instead use their own country or other SEA countries as destinations for their vocational travel:

Thais are shunning intercontinental travel in favour of Asian destinations, mainly because of concern about threats of terrorism spreading in western countries...Travel by Thais to East Asian destinations showed sharper growth in the period, partly because they saw the region as a safer destination...David Brett, the president of Amadeus Asia Ltd, the Asia-Pacific arm of Amadeus, said that Thais were not alone in preferring to travel within Asia. "Around the world, it is only in Asia that we are seeing significant growth in international travel, and it is primarily driven by Asians traveling in Asia," he said in an interview (Thais opt for Asian trips to avoid terrorism risks, BP, Jan 7).

Another remark concerning Thai tourism industry' growth comes immediately after the hotel bombing in Jakarta, Indonesia in July 2003. The article stated that bombings in Indonesia actually benefited Thailand in the past: "While the Bali bombing last October created a windfall for Thailand, particularly Phuket, the recent incident in Jakarta was unlikely to generate any benefit to Thailand as Jakarta is not a tourist destination" (Tourism takes another hit, BP, Aug 7). It is not clear from the text, however, if this is the paraphrase of the source's words, who was cited in the preceding paragraph, or it is a solely opinion of the journalist. No facts were given to support this statement either.

2.2.3 Travel Advisories' Frame: the focus of this frame is on travel advisories that some countries issue from time to time to warn their citizens about areas, where they could be attacked by terrorists or otherwise affected by terrorist activities. New Zealand, Australia, Britain, and the USA are among countries, which caution their citizens not to travel to the Philippines, Thailand or other SEA countries.

Journalists throughout three newspapers use similar structure to frame the travel advisories' issue. They would describe what was said or written in a travel advisory (which country in particular the warning was issued for), by whom (it can be a specific person, like spokesman of the embassy, or a department), where the travel advisory first appeared (a web cite, usually the embassy's of the respective country, who issued the warning; or a written document obtained by the newspaper), and the reasons for issuing the warning as stated in the document. Sometimes the journalists would cite the portions of the document first and then state any comments or opinions that came from the local sources. Almost always the sources would be high-ranking government officials and the country's leaders. Descriptive article structure with the single source' opinions toward the warning or the spectrum of response from different sources is predominant. Often journalists would cite pro and anti travel advisories' opinions in one article. Pro travel advisories' statements usually come from the sources, who are affiliated with the country, which issued the warning: "Although the reports do not, and cannot, pinpoint specific targets or times, the threat against Western interests in the region is regarded as real," he [New Zealand Foreign Minister Phill Goff – GB] said" (2 more countries caution: Skip RP, MT, May 17). Anti travel advisories' statements mostly come from the local sources.

As indicated by journalists, travel advisories produce different impact on the local countries' leaders and the government officials. Negative response from the sources dominates the articles. The display of different emotions from anger to annoyance can be seen from the headlines or the journalists' statements. Travel advisories can be angrily denied: "Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra has poured scorn on tourist warnings issued by Australia and New Zealand and denied the

country was a potential target for attack” (Thaksin shrugs off threat, issues tit-for-tat travel alert, BP, May 17); “sparked a furor of opposition” (No basis, PNP and AFP on US travel advisory, MT, Jan 14); become upsetting for the government (Australian advisory upsets govt, BP, May 31); or just slightly annoying (New US travel advisory miffs RP officials, MT, Jan 12). It is taken by journalists for granted that the governments would react deniably to such warnings, since it is related to country’s image and the flow of tourists. In fact, the MT journalist “raised eyebrows” when the Philippine government reacted with understanding in regard to why such warning was issued: Governments in the region immediately raised a howl of protest [to the travel advisories issued by the USA, NZ and Australia – GB] with Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad, saying the Americans were “afraid of their own shadow.” Thai Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra also questioned the travel advisories, given its potential effect on the tourism industry of Thailand.

Surprisingly, the Philippine government voiced scant opposition to the warnings against the wave of terrorist attacks. Presidential Management Staff chief Silvestre G. Afable said it is the right of the US, Australia and New Zealand to issue travel warnings for the protection of their citizens abroad (2 more countries caution: Skip RP, MT, May 17).

Throughout the frame reporters would cite the causes of why those travel advisories were issued, taken mostly from the travel advisories themselves. But later in the article they would use reasoning, or providing contra-argument against issuing such warnings stating their own opinion or using sources: “The governments of Australia, Canada, New Zealand and Britain have not lifted their travel advisories about the Philippines despite the successful visit of US President George W. Bush on

October 18;” “The Canadian government also warned its citizens to exercise extreme caution although Philippine law enforcers have tightened security measures in Manila and other areas considered risky, including airports and seaports” (Travel advisories continue despite uneventful Bush visit, MT, Oct 21); “Deputy Prime Minister Chavalit Yongchaiyudh said he wondered why Australia kept warning its citizens to exercise extreme caution while visiting Thailand though all its previous travel advisories had proved to be false” (Australian advisory upsets govt, BP, May 31); “Arguing that the country’s security situation was under control, the Indonesian government had launched protests over such travel warning. The authorities gained international credit for the arrests of most of the alleged Bali terrorists” (U.S. and UK warns of more attacks, JP, Apr 30).

3. Causal Frame

The causal frame indicates what causes “breed terrorists” and terrorist activities in the SEA countries. This frame is characterized by using descriptive article structure with the opinion statements of journalists and sources as well as by using news analysis of possible causes. It should be noted here, that the pure causal frame, which is devoted to the analysis or statement of possible causes only, is seen rarely in the articles. Mostly, it is used together with other frames or as a sub-frame in a larger frame. For example, it can be used as part of the “strategic: education” frame, where together with addressing the cause, the journalists state how this cause could be eliminated – here it is through education.

Some articles indicate from the headline that the main focus is on causes. Some examples can be found in the BP like ‘Lax officers get the boot as 'terrorists' cross border’ (Aug 20), where cause for terrorists’ movements is the incompetence of

customs officers; and from the MT – ‘US tags RP as major drug hub’ (Mar 4), where cause of terrorist activities is seen as inability of the Philippines to deal with the drug dealers/ “traffickers.” Indeed, from the first paragraph of the article, journalists focus on the causes that they indicate in the headline: “National police chief Pol.Gen. Sant Suratanont has been ordered to come down hard on immigration officials whose corruption may have let terrorists enter Thailand” (BP); “Washington has labeled the Philippines as a major source and transshipment point of illegal drugs... Also, the report [annual report of US Department of State – GB] noted links between big-time drug traffickers and local-based terrorists such as the Abu Sayyaf Group and the Communist Party of the Philippines and its armed wing the New People’s Army” (MT).

Among the causes discussed or described in the articles, the main attention is given to poverty. Poverty together with illiteracy/ lack of education is often seen as the major cause for increase in terrorist activities and/ or extremism. The spread of militant extremist beliefs in Cambodia, for example, originates from “the root cause” - “poverty and ignorance,” according to Jon Bugge, the reporter from the PPP (US funds courses for Chams, PPP, issue 12/25, Dec 5-18). He did not, however, give any further explanations nor could they be found in other articles in regard to the meaning of “ignorance” and explanation how poverty “breeds” extremist beliefs.

Other articles together with the stating the cause explain, through the opinion statements, the ways to tackle terrorism. Villaviray and Torres, the reporters from the MT, stated: “the Philippines and the United States believe that crushing poverty is the reason why some Filipinos are drawn to terrorist organizations” (Education latest tool in antiterror war, MT, Oct 19). They further cited the words of the US President G.W.

Bush, who believed that “education is best when you fight poverty.” In another article, correspondent J.F. Corpuz described a point view of the administrator for human rights and democratization of the European Commission van Amersfoort: “Governments can fight the global threat [terrorism – GB] at the grass roots level by alleviating poverty and stopping the discrimination of ethnic minorities, Van Amersfoort elaborated” (EC official hits US campaign vs. terrorism, MT, Nov 11).

Another cause is corruption and/ or government officials’ incompetence to deal with terrorists and their activities. Across all newspapers analyzed, journalists as well as their cited sources indicate that corrupt and incompetent officials often prevent the governments’ efforts from eliminating or decreasing the terrorist threat: “Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra blamed the attacks on foreign-backed terrorists and took the military to task for lax security and poor coordination between intelligence officials and authorities at the operational level” (Four marines killed in raids on outposts, BP, Apr 29); “Local officials in Mindanao maintained that if the country had effective intelligence gathering, terrorist activities in Mindanao could have been minimized if not totally eradicated” (Koronadal blast reeks of MILF, MT, May 12); “Indonesia had been accused of lacking the capability and seriousness to deal with the most feared threat in the world in the past years” (Jakarta to set up antiterrorism group, JP, Jan 9); “The reason terrorists are on Cambodian soil is because of the lawlessness perpetuated by the CPP [McConnell, US senator, said – GB]” (Powell pushes war crimes exemption, PPP, issue 12/13, Jun 20- Jul 3).

Other causes also appear in the articles from time to time, such as religious beliefs, migration, injustice and money laundering, which have economic, legal, religious or other explanations (see, for example, Human freight, stranded in

Cambodia, PPP, issue 12/14, Jul 4-17 on migration and human smuggling). However, one particular cause, which is politicized, stands out. This cause is seen in relationship between local countries and the USA. According to journalists, it is believed that the local countries having tight relations with the USA are especially susceptible to the terrorist threat: “The terrorism concerns arose [emphasis by GB] after Thailand expelled three Iraqi diplomats and a report from a western news agency that the country was a silent supporter of the US military action” (New security for energy plants, BP, Mar 22; see also Secretive decrees are public concern, BP, Aug 13 for similar opinion); “Philippines is a staunch ally of the United States in its war on terrorism and there have been fears that the JI—the Southeast Asian arm of the terrorist network al-Qaeda—could carry out deadly bombings here” (Philippine government condemns synagogue bombings in Turkey, MT, Nov 17).

In general, the causes of terrorist activities and spread of terrorism in SEA countries are not addressed much in all newspapers. Two sentences at large can be found on this topic in the whole article, either as a statement from the journalist or the opinion of the source.

4. Personal Profile Frames

Personal profile frames are characterized by the emphasis placed on terrorist descriptions. Journalists would answer the question “who are the terrorists?” by providing specific names of people as well as organizations/ groups and portraying them. There are several frames in “personal profile” category: Muslims frames, Terrorists are Foreigners frame, Mastermind frame, and Enemy frame.

4.1 Muslims Frames

This frame is one of the frequently employed by the journalists to analyze and report on terrorists. It is a “standalone” frame, to which the whole article can be devoted, with opinions of journalists combined together with the opinion statements of the sources. Throughout this frame, one can see the portrayal of Muslims in general, the discussions on Islamic extremism and how it is different from Islam as a whole. There are three distinctive frames used to describe Muslim involvement in terrorist activities – marginalizing, or negative toward Muslims, differentiating and neutral, or balancing different opinions on Muslim involvement.

4.1.1 Marginalizing/ Negative Frame: this frame is present in the news when Muslims are described as “others,” or as a group standing on the other side of the divide, inciting trouble in the societies. Throughout this frame, Muslims are being criticized by journalists for who they are and what they do.

However, the researcher did not find many indications that SEA journalists use this frame. A one striking evidence of the presence of marginalizing frame is seen in the BP articles connected to the arrest of three men from Narathiwat province with charges of terrorist links. The word “Muslim” would appear every time in the description of arrested suspects, especially in later articles. Even more, the stress is placed on this word since it appears in the first paragraph of the articles. Sometimes journalists would not even state the names or other information on suspects implying that readers know already who the suspects are: “one of the three Muslims arrested on suspicion of being connected to the terrorist group” (JI suspect ‘training in Libya,’ Jun 20); “arrest of the three Muslim JI suspects” (Sant in Narathiwat to explain arrests, Jun 20; see also ‘PM denies US behind trio’s arrest,’ Jun 19 and ‘Arms ‘bound for

terrorists,' Jul 5). It is not the case, however, when two Thais, also Muslims, were arrested in Cambodia for alleged terrorist links. Journalists would emphasize that those men were Thai, de-emphasizing their "Muslim" origins: "help two Thais," "Thai Muslims arrested" (Rights panel asked to help pair arrested in Cambodia, Jun 13). In some other instances, where other Thais were being charged with similar accusations of terrorist links, journalists would use more neutral expressions such as "Thai man" (US hails arrest in 'dirty bomb' case, Jun 15). However, this is the only indication of use of marginalizing frame through journalists' construction.

Another indication of the marginalizing frame is seen through the sources' opinions. As one of the actors in the MT put it out, "we are at war with Islam, and the Muslims are the aggressors. Nobody wants to recognize that, but that's what's happening," Mendoza [Philippine National Police chief – GB] said" (Muslims identify with 'terrorist' ideals, MT, Nov 19). However, those highly negative expressions are seen rarely throughout newspapers. Moreover, the journalists themselves would be very careful to balance such opinions with more neutral information or would state something that justifies their sources. For example, in the mentioned above case, the MT journalist highlighted in the depiction that Mendoza is also a terrorist expert, who worked on the problem more than a decade.

In general, marginalizing frame is not being used widely in the newspapers chosen for the research. Muslims are viewed as a part of society in the SE Asia and journalists do not treat them as "outsiders" or unimportant group.

4.1.2 Differentiating Frame: this frame provides the readers with a bigger and fuller picture of what Islam is in reality and how it differs from other movements that often labeled as "Muslim" or "Islamic." Throughout the frame, one can often see the

discussion on Islam and Islamic views characterized by differentiating “extremist” religion from other movements that Muslims follow (see, for example, ‘The enforcement of sharia: Impossible, unviable,’ JP, Jan 4, and ‘Bashir: Jakarta risks angering God,’ BP, Aug 12). Although less negative than marginalizing frame in respect to not viewing all Muslims as terrorists, it still focuses on negative aspects of Muslim beliefs, and negative views expressed by the society toward Muslims in general. One of the narratives, written by the senior reporter of the MT, Villaviray J., starts from the direct comparison between what she called a “normal” life and life as a Muslim. Describing one of the prominent figures in Manila’s society, a former economic professor at the prestigious university, she wrote: “Joey Ledesma lived a good live...Still, Ledesma chose to complicate his life two years ago by becoming a Muslim” (‘Islam attracts the disillusioned,’ MT, Nov 18).

Again, the MT reporters are more articulate in expressing the views and opinions of the various sources on this “problem.” Examining the potential harm that secessionist groups in Mindanao and radical Muslim groups in general could do to the Philippines, Villaviray quoted the Police Intelligence chief, Sr. Supt. Arthur Lomibao as saying “that Balik Islam is a “potential security threat, but not in the short term.” Rodolfo Mendoza, another source, believes that “the spread of Islam is not necessarily the problem; it’s the spread of the radical interpretation of Islam.” However, the MT reporters are not accusing anybody for their different views. Instead, they are being quite careful to present evidence throughout the articles that explains why many Filipinos distrust Muslims and Islam in particular: “Islam could be the most misunderstood and, since the September 11 attacks..., the most feared of religions. Muslims insist that theirs is a religion of peace, but strangers to the faith find it hard to

believe, given the raising number of bomb attacks attributed to radical Muslim groups” (Muslims identify with ‘terrorist’ ideals, MT, Nov 19). The MT journalists carefully select their sources to quote in the article. Mendoza, who is the National Police chief, is also an expert on terrorism as one can see in the depiction: “who has studied terrorist groups since the mid-1990s.” Not every police officer is qualified to become a source but only those, who have sufficient “know-how” of the problem and information to support their statements like intelligence officers. Moreover, the Philippine reporters would cite sources, which belong to Muslim community and even those, whom one would call ‘terrorists’ in “marginalizing” frame. Villaviray in her three-part news analysis quoted not only the officials, but reverts – people who reverted to Islam, and even ‘terrorists’ like Jamil Almares, iscag’s operations chief, who is believed to be “a terrorist supporter or financier.”

The PPP journalists also use differentiation frame in their articles. They state that Muslim sects in Cambodia are “moderate” and not attracted by extremist beliefs. Special attention is given to Chams, Cambodian Muslim community, which believed to be a “traditionally moderate sect.” However, the government keeps an open eye on Chams, as do the Cambodian media, as seen from the frequent news devoted to this sect. As Bugge J., a PPP reporter, stated there was a link “between Khmer Islamic schools and the notorious Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) and other Islamic extremists,” which “has put the government on the offensive toward possible inroads of extremism among the country’s Chams” (Chams keep Wahabism at arm’s length, PPP, issue 12/22, Oct 24-Nov 6). PPP journalists cite different sources throughout this frame to show different opinions. For instance, a Norwegian anthropologist Bjorn Blengsli, “who has studied religious change among the Chams,” is widely recognized in

Cambodia as the most authoritative source, an expert whose opinions on Islam and Cham Muslims are regarded as highly reliable; government officials, who are Chams; and NGO officials like representative from the Cambodian Islamic Development Committee (CIDC) Sep Zakara, who “had worked with Cham communities since the 1980s,” a Cham himself. As seen from the above examples, PPP journalists provide credibility to the sources through use of depictions – informal descriptions indicating something about the source in addition to his position and affiliation. It is through depictions that journalists evaluate the source and state his credibility for readers.

Interesting variation of differentiating frame is seen in JP. Indonesian population consists of diverse groups, many of which are Muslims. Putting Indonesia on the side of Muslim countries, it is emphasized heavily in JP, often leading to criticism of other countries. In a discussion on a new US profiling policy, JP journalist cited evidence that the policy targets Muslims: “He [the Minister of Foreign Affairs Wirayuda – GB] added that only North Korea, of the 22 countries whose citizens had to register with U.S. immigration offices, was a non-Muslim country, indicating that the policy discriminated against Muslims.” He further stated a general common opinion that “Washington has been accused of targeting Islam in its fight against terrorism, following the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks against New York and the Pentagon in 2001” supporting it with statements on the US-led war in Afghanistan and Iraq and highlighting that both countries are Muslim (Hassan criticizes U.S. immigration profiling policy, JP, Jan 18; see also Police say Bali bombing a path to Islamic state, May 8). In other cases involving news and discussions on Indonesia’s internal affairs, JP journalists are being careful to point out that the terrorists are bred by militant,

extremist or radical groups, which are different from other, moderate Islamic sects found in Indonesia.

Indications of using differentiating frame are also found in BP. Whenever a Muslim community is involved in some type of actions, like protests, in discussions of the legislative system, or giving comments on arrests, journalists would stress that not all Muslims are terrorists: “by opposing to decrees, it should not be misconstrued that Muslims pandered to terrorism...” (Muslims fear decrees will serve as instruments of intimidation, Aug 16); terrorism and Islam “could not be seen as one and the same” (US Muslim council urges true teaching, Aug 12). In another article, the journalists draw a clear line differentiating Islam and extremism and stating that JI is an extremist organization (see ‘Caught! The man who wasn’t here,’ Aug 16).

In general, differentiating frame is used more often than other frames in ‘Muslims’ category. Journalists are trying to be right and fair to the whole community of Muslims separating moderate beliefs from extremist, which may lead to terrorism. All newspapers devote their space to discuss and educate their readers on various aspects of Islam, often through the expert sources’ opinions like scholars.

4.1.3 Balancing Frame: this frame is different from marginalizing and differentiating frame in several aspects: first, journalists use variety of sources throughout the article to present balancing view on the issue being discussed; second, journalists do not emphasize negativism toward Muslims but are being neutral in respect to diverse opinions and beliefs being expressed.

Balancing frame is used rarely in all newspapers examined. JP journalists employ balancing frame more often than other newspapers. When JP journalists do not focus on the Muslim/ Islam – the USA division, they treat Muslims and other

communities as equal, not emphasizing any of the sides. Moreover, they do not treat terrorists that are being Muslims any different, as if they were not. In a news analysis 'Abu Bakar Ba'asyir at the center of controversy' (Mar 8), Blontank Poer, a JP contributor, presented a full picture of the background on the alleged terrorist Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, who was charged with the planning of Bali bombings. He stated the facts showing that the man was involved in different activities in the Muslim community, not necessarily related to terrorist activities. The journalist cited different sources in his search to understand who really Ba'asyir is – from the police officers, working on series of bombings that hit Indonesia in the past, to lawyers, working on the case of Ba'asyir's involvement in the Bali bombings, convicted terrorists like Muhammad Achwan, "once a student of Ba'asyir," who was sentenced to life imprisonment for the bomb attack in 1985, and anonymous source, an ex-member of the Jihad Command.

Another newspaper that uses balancing frame is BP. It is present in the reporting on debates over the Gen. Thammarak' words, who was quoted as saying that about 10% of Thai Muslim students receiving education abroad are being recruited by terrorist organizations. Although journalists are not being accurate in presenting a quote throughout the articles, they are careful to cite different sources, including Gen. Thammarak, a Thai Defense Minister, himself, other government officials and sources from the Muslim community. During the debates, journalists would stay neutral to both of the sides, not including their own opinion on the issue. Moreover, they would clue readers on the changes that Gen. Thammarak proposed to enrich the Muslim curriculum and reasons for such changes, not focusing too much on

the negative side of the quote (see, for example, ‘Muslim curriculum changes flagged to end terrorism appeal,’ Jul 24, and ‘Protest letter on way after terror remarks,’ Jul 26).

4.2 Enemy Frame

Throughout enemy frame journalists describe two opposing sides, for which there are no other options but fight because they are enemies. This frame looks at the terrorists/ rebels/ Muslims as being on the one side and the governments’ forces/ Americans/ American government on another. No compromise can be allowed between the sides because they view each other from “us vs. them” perspective. “Us” is always the good side; “them” is the bad; that is why all actions from “us” are justified. But the “Bad Guys” are not always being terrorists. The separation of the sides would depend on who is describing other side as the enemy. For example, Ba’asyir, the terrorist who is standing behind the Bali bombings calls the US “the enemy of Islam.” So, from the Ba’asyir’s point view the “Bad Guys” here are the US and Americans; they are on the other, “them” side and any attack is justified because Americans are enemies. It should be noted here that “Muslims: marginalizing” frame can also be a part of the “Enemy” frame. However, the latter is the larger frame, which is not necessarily focused on Muslims but on other groups as well: the terrorist groups in general can be seen as enemy.

To construct the enemy frame, journalists employ two perspectives: first, they look at the enemy from the government point of view; second, they show the ‘terrorist’ point of view.

4.2.1 Enemy - Government Point of View: This sub-frame is closely linked with the “war on terrorism” frame since it is during the war/ battle/ fight one would

have enemies. Sometimes journalists would state from the beginning of the article that the focus is on the government/ state enemies. As indicated by headline 'JI now public enemy No.1' (MT, Oct 25), Jamaah Islamiyah (JI) is on the "them" side while the public/ the government is on another, "us" side. Since there is an enemy # 1, there should be other, placed lower than JI enemies for the Philippine government. And the journalists of the MT Ager and Kaufman listed them all, quoting the President Arroyo: "We used to have the MILF, the NPA and the Abu Sayyaf up here, but we have decided to update our priorities," she said." It is only JI that is called terrorist group in the article, while the other "enemies" are described by journalists as "homegrown insurgents," "secessionist group," and "the bandit group" (JI now public enemy No.1).

In other articles from the MT, the word "enemy" coming from the journalists' statements as well as the sources' would describe those, who are fighting with the Philippine military (see, for example, '3 more arrested in Davao blasts,' Apr 10 and '19 killed in MILF attack,' May 30). It is, indeed, a war, which is an armed conflict, where there are battles, attacks, and casualties. One can find other indications of the war: governments would form alliances with each other to share intelligence, military, arms (9/11 fortifies RP-US security alliance, MT, Jan 3); insurgents/ rebels also establish alliances on their side to resist government forces better (MILF, NPA rebels fortify tactical alliance in Mt. Banahaw – intel men, MT, May 26). In addition, there is a front, or a line of battle, in which governments secure their positions by forming alliances ('United front,' key to fighting terrorism, MT, Jun 23; Asean police chiefs vow united front against terrorist threats, MT, Sept 12).

In other newspapers the picture of war is not as vivid and clear as it comes from the news of the Manila Times. Even the word “enemy” is not used as frequently as in the Philippine newspaper. Yet, other governments – Indonesian, Thai and Cambodian – also take their part in making “friends,” or forming alliances to ensure that terrorism threat would be tackled efficiently when the time comes. “The common enemy” for other governments is international groups like JI or al-Qaeda. The other “homegrown” terrorists are not the enemies; there are criminals that need to be dealt with accordingly using other means like laws. However, the phrase “common enemy,” which was once stated by the Indonesian President Megawati, would be repeated again and again, sometimes without even naming the source and stating the names or the facts behind the word “terrorism” or “terrorists.” And since the terrorists are “still faceless, nameless,” as one of the Manila Times sources admitted (JI terrorists still faceless, nameless, AFP says, MT, Oct 28), or they are just “bandits” and criminals, it is not always clear with whom the governments are in war or against whom they are establishing alliances and stressing cooperation.

As indicated earlier in this research paper, one of the most powerful and dangerous “enemies” is the Jamaah Islamiyah (JI), which is a terrorist group that “strives to create a Muslim country in Southeast Asia” (Doubts remain about ASEAN’s resolve to fight terrorism, JP, Jan 21). It is one of the groups on the US terrorist list and is believed to have links with al-Qaeda, another terrorist group that is blamed for the September 11 attacks in the USA. JI is believed to be responsible for the Bali bombing in October 2002 in Indonesia, “the worst in Indonesia’s history and the second worst in the world after September 11, 2001.” Many articles across all newspapers can be found, which describe or analyze JI organizational structure, its

members, operations, goals, mission, and intentions. Some journalists would provide a long list of crimes that JI is believed to be responsible for stating dates, providing figures on casualties, and pointing out on specific masterminds, who planned and carried out the attacks. The headlines such as ‘Witnesses say Ba’asyir as leader of Jamaah Islamiyah’ (JP, Jul 4), ‘Tracking the roots of Jamaah Islamiyah’ (JP, Mar 8), ‘JI suspects arraigned for plotting attacks’ (BP, Sept 3), ‘JI suicide bombers set to attack South’ (MT, May 25) – to name only a few – indicate that journalists’ attention is on describing JI, either from the statements of witnesses in trials or experts as it is in the JP, or from government official sources as in the BP or the MT. Although the PPP journalists do not highlight their attention to JI in the headlines, they would also discuss or describe aspects related to JI somewhere in the articles (see, for example, ‘More ‘terrorist’ arrests to come,’ PPP, issue 12/12, Jun 6-19).

Other “enemies” the governments are fighting with are MILF, Moro Islamic Liberation Front operating in the Philippines, which is also believed to have links with JI, NPA, Abu Sayyaf group and others. For the Indonesia, it is the GAM – Free Aceh Movement – that the government is “at war” with (see ‘Banda Aceh tightens security after blasts,’ JP, Jul 2). However, neither the JP journalists, nor their cited sources would call GAM “terrorists” – they are rebels, “GAM members,” separatists, who carry terrorist attacks on civilians.

Usually terrorists are described as “ill-intentioned,” with “sinister” and “deadly” plans that “intended to threaten the country and sow fear in the region.” And it is understandable provided that the readers have been informed how destructive terrorist activities are. However, some reporters would not show a picture of the “Bad Guy” – terrorist. One interesting aspect of describing terrorists was found by the

researcher in the JP articles. Reporters would not deny that terrorists are “bad” by providing figures and stating facts on different activities, staged by terrorist groups, usually JI, in Indonesia in the past. However, whenever the reporter linked the activities to one person, he later would say something to lessen the impact of his statement [emphasis in italic by GB]: “He [Ba’asyir – GB] is also accused of approving the bombing of churches that killed 19 people in several cities on Christmas Eve 2000 and of ordering a plot, which was never carried out, to assassinate Megawati Soekarnoputri before she became president. Ba'asyir is not accused in the Bali or Marriott hotel blasts, which he blames on a U.S. Central Intelligence Agency plot to discredit Muslims (emphasis added – GB)” (Ba’asyir emotionally denies involvement in terrorist acts, JP, Aug 22).

4.2.2 Enemy – ‘Terrorist’ Point of View: there is another point of view explaining who the enemies are, that journalists would also state. Headlines such as ‘Students defend jihad against ‘enemies’ (JP, Dec.1) or ‘Bomb suspect regrets killing non-Americans’ (JP, May 17) navigate the readers to another view of “the common enemy” that comes from those, with whom governments are in war: “jihad vs. its enemies,” and “non-Americans are not enemy.” The journalist from the BP, in his news analysis of the terrorist movements in Thailand and in the region, quoted the Filipino officer, who said in the interview with the Philippine Daily Inquirer that “ the Abu Sayyaf and Iraq have a common enemy, America, and that is why they are working together” (Asean alert, terror warning, BP, Mar 10).

One can find more articles devoted to describing the terrorist point of view in the JP. Describing the start of the trial for a key suspect in Bali bombing Ali Imron, the reporter from the JP began his narrative with Imron’s feeling regretful for non-

Americans killed in Bali blast: “the bombing initially targeted Americans, whose country is the enemy of Islam,” Imron told reporters” (Bomb suspect regrets killing non-Americans, May 17). After this statement, the reporter continued with the description of trial’ proceedings. Similar article’ structure is seen in the description of another trial, for Ba’asyir, where the reporter stated in the first paragraph that “the terrorist state of America” is the main enemy of Islam, and only after that continued with the trial description (Ba’asyir emotionally denies involvement in terrorist acts, JP, Aug 22). It is interesting that the article would conclude with statements of Ba’asyir’s lawyers accusing the US and some other countries of orchestrating the trial. Of course, the journalists are being very careful not to show their own feelings and free themselves from any comments on the terrorists’ words.

4.3 Terrorists are Foreigners Frame

“Terrorists are foreigners” frame is used to support the government officials’ point of view on who the possible terrorists could be. It is one of the sub-frames that can be found in larger frames such as Muslims frame. Whenever the governments of local countries wanted to reassure their own citizens that their “war on terror” is directed only toward the “real terrorists,” they would state that terrorists are foreigners. The statement would further be elaborated or carried along throughout the article by the journalists.

Cambodian authorities, as it is seen from the pages of PPP, would immediately react on terrorist arrests, especially if the Muslims are involved. Bainbridge and Sokheng quoted the PM Hun Sen’s words mixing them together with their own statements: “Prime Minister Hun Sen moved to reassure the country’s 700,000 strong Cham Muslim community that they would not be targeted by the crackdown, and

accused “only the foreigners who come to hide in our country” of being involved with JI” (More ‘terrorist’ arrests to come, PPP, Jun 6-19). The journalists also provided some facts listing the countries, from which people affected by the “crackdown” came as if to support the Hun Sen’s words: Nigeria, Pakistan, the Sudan, Thailand, Yemen and Egypt. At the end, the article described other terrorists that came into the country in other years, also foreigners.

The JP journalist also supports the government saying that foreign terrorists are in Indonesia. Together with quoting police officers, who believe that trainers and some terrorists came from the Philippines and Afghanistan, Jupriadi, the JP correspondent, elaborates that police statement just adds to “suspicion of foreign involvement in the series of bomb attacks against the nation.” He did not state about that suspicion any further, neither providing the facts nor citing any other sources, who may have such suspicions. Moreover, some inconsistencies can be found further in the article. The police officer is quoted as actually saying that some members of local terrorist groups “received military training and have joined battles in Moro... [words omitted by journalist – GB] and Afghanistan.” It is not clear if the journalist just interpreted the words by saying that trainers and terrorists came from those countries, or it was from the statement of the officer. However, by looking at the quote alone, it is not the case (S. Sulawesi Police uncover terrorist training camps, JP, Jan 7).

Not all journalists would state only the government’s point of view on terrorists as foreigners. Another article from PPP, written by Evan Weinberger, although stating the same PM’s words, is written in another manner, giving space for Arab nationals, who live and work in Cambodia. The journalist described them as

being “unsure of what the future will bring,” quoting their opinions regarding the PM Hun Sen’s words (MoI denies police are targeting Arab nationals, PPP, issue 12/13, Jun 20-Jul 3). Other examples of balancing the opinions and providing a bigger picture for the readers can be found in the MT and the BP. Journalists would usually cite military and intelligence sources as proof, that there are foreign terrorists operating in their countries in groups or alone, at the beginning of the article: “this [the belief of the Philippine government that the recent blasts in Saudi Arabia and the Philippines are somehow linked – GB] was disclosed on Wednesday by the Armed Forces chief of staff, Gen. Narciso Abaya, who confirmed the presence of an undetermined number of foreign terrorists secretly mapping out future attacks in Mindanao” (‘RP, Saudi blasts linked’: Al-Qaida hand seen – AFP; 3rd Pinoy dies, MT, May 15). However, these news articles are framed as to present the opposite evidence as well. For example, in the MT case, the journalists would also cite an opinion of independent analysts, who believed that the Philippine government is just looking for more support from the US by accusing local rebels for establishing alliance with foreign groups. The BP journalist, describing the attack of “gunmen” on government posts in the South of Thailand, stated Thai PM’s words, who “blamed the attacks on foreign-backed terrorists...” crossing the border. Later in the article, the author would cite another opinion of the Fourth Army commander, who believed that they were not terrorists, not even foreign, but just robbers. The journalist himself is cautious to call “terrorists” “gunmen” throughout the article (Four marines killed in raids on outposts, BP, Apr 29).

4.4 Mastermind Frame

Using “mastermind” frame, journalists focus on description of the people, usually a single person, who are standing behind planning and directing the attacks carried around the SEA region at different times. All four newspapers devoted their space in order to educate and inform their readers on who “the masterminds” are. With the headlines such as ‘Hambali under interrogation’ (BP, Aug 16), ‘Apec was Hambali’s target: PM’ (BP, Aug 17), ‘Abu planning terror attacks’ (MT, Sept 30), ‘Ba’asyir blessed Bali bombing: Da’l’ (JP, Jan 29), ‘Witnesses say Ba’asyir as leader of Jamaah Islamiyah’ (JP, Jul 4), and ‘Hambali was here’ (PPP, issue 12/18, Aug 29-Sept 11), journalists indicate that the focus of the article would be on some degree of describing “masterminds,” those who are hold responsible for the attacks.

“Mastermind” frame is characterized by descriptive article structure with elements of narrative story telling. The focus of describing masterminds is usually on their positions and affiliations with the group: “top al-Qaeda official” and “No. 2 al Qaeda leader” Ayman al-Zawahri; “chief JI bomber and terrorist planner” Fathur Roman al-Ghozi; “alleged commander of the Bali bomb plot” Mukhlas; “Muslim extremist leader, who is believed to have links with al-Qaeda” and is an alleged leader of JI, JI imam or spiritual leader Abu Bakar Bashir (or Ba’asyir), and others.¹

Together with stating their positions, the journalists would provide a long list of crimes, for which these leaders/ masterminds are wanted by the governments of different countries: “Hambali, who is accused of plotting last year’s Bali bombings as well as a string of other attacks, was captured on Monday in Ayutthaya” (Apec was

¹ It should be noted here that journalists use different spelling but mean the same person, which takes some time to figure that out, if one is reading different newspapers: Bashir used in the BP and MT, Ba’asyir in JP; al-Qaeda in BP and JP, al-Qaida in MT; Farthur Roman in BP, Fathur Rohman in MT.

Hambali's target: PM, BP, Aug 17); "They have charged him [Ba'asyir – GB] with involvement in a series of church bombings on Christmas Eve in 2000, and a plot to assassinate then vice president Megawati Soekarnoputri" (Abu Bakar Ba'asyir at the center of controversy, JP, Mar 8). However, from time to time journalists would give a detailed description of "masterminds," describing their appearance, their behavior, or giving some psychological details on their attitudes and beliefs. Abu Bakar Bashir/Ba'asyir, for example, is frequently described as "white-bearded," and a "fiery orator," (BP), "elderly man," "aged man" (JP). Describing Hambali's arrest in Thailand, BP journalists devoted some space to point out on Hambali's appearance and comparison between Hambali "in the past" and at the time when he was just arrested by the Thai officers: "when Hambali was arrested he had a new look with a short hair cut. He had removed his beard" (Hambali under interrogation, BP, Aug 16).

In general, all newspapers devoted their space to present a picture of who the terrorists are. They educate readers on the diverse Muslim communities and their activities in their respective countries, Muslim beliefs and differences between moderate and extremist sects. Journalists describe whom and why the governments are fighting with, presenting different viewpoints on reported issues. It is from the newspapers, that the readers learn about who stands behind the terrorist attacks, their roles, attitudes and behavior.

Part II: Differences

Second question was intended to analyze the differences in reporting on terrorism across four newspapers. The RQ was "How do frames used in news reporting on terrorism vary across different Southeast Asian newspapers?"

There are similarities as well as differences in using the frames in BP, JP, MT, and PPP. Moreover, the researcher found much more differences in how journalists build frames, particularly in the structure, focus, and use of actors. Therefore, after looking at the frames' usage, the researcher would analyze the differences found in frames' construction as well.

1. Frame Usage

By looking at the frame usage, the researcher intends to examine which frames, described in Part I, are used more often in respect to each newspaper. Since the researcher already described the similarities found in frame usage at the first part of the chapter, here we will only focus on frames that are used differently.

War on Terrorism Frame: biggest space, as indicated at the beginning of this chapter, is taken by the “war on terrorism” frame, which all newspapers employ for describing terrorism and actions of the governments. There are no differences found in usage of most of the frames in “war on terrorism” category. All newspapers devote their space in reporting on meetings, where terrorism was the important topic for discussion; on strategies employed by the governments to carry on the war on terror; and impact that the global and local war on terrorism has on the local countries, their politics, and economy in general and various economic sectors in particular. There are more frames seen in three newspapers – BP, JP, and MT, than in PPP. PPP does not use “political game” frame, and some strategic frames like “military assistance/exercises” and “legislation” frame.

Action Frames: the use of frames in this category shows more differences across the newspapers. JP articles place more emphasis on describing arrests, police investigations, trials, protests and events staged by terrorists. By looking at the

headlines in the JP alone, one can see that action frames are used widely. MT gives more space to military reaction on terrorist activities, describing fights. BP uses events frame for reporting on arrests, protests, and fights of military or police forces with “terrorists.” In “action” frames, one can easily see who or what forces play an important role in combating terrorism: for JP and BP it is the police, for MT it is the military (see Part I – “events” and “investigation” frames, for examples). By looking at the sources, cited by journalists across all frames, the same differences are seen: viewpoints and opinion statements from police sources are frequently quoted in JP and BP, military officers – in MT.

Only BP journalists use “threat” frames, both positive and negative, to emphasize impact of terrorist activities on tourism industry and the country image.

Personal Profile Frames: there are no significant differences found in use of Personal Profile Frames. All newspapers devote some space to introduce “terrorists” to the readers. Again, PPP uses personal profile frames less frequently than other newspapers. In fact, only 2 articles had described JI and some of its members, who at different times were caught or had been seen in Cambodia². Larger space in PPP, however, is devoted to the analysis of Muslims, their beliefs, changes in attitudes and whether the Cambodian Muslims are supporters of Islamic extremism.

All newspapers devoted their space to analyzing problems of Muslim population and reporting on their actions and their reactions on local government actions.

² One should not forget, however, that the total number of articles for PPP, which were chosen for the analysis, is 19.

2. Construction of Frames

There are much more differences found in the construction of frames than in their usage across four newspapers. All frames can be placed into one of the three types: “one-sided” frame, which is characterized by presenting a single opinion or single point of view on the reported issue; usually it can be seen from the articles that the author takes this position as the only acceptable; “pure description,” where no positions of author and actors are present (author describes the situation or the issue with no opinion given); and “balancing view” frame, in which journalists do not shift their attention to any sides but try to present a spectrum of response, or analyze the situation presenting different opinions.

“Pure description,” or who, where, when, and how of the event or the issue is rarely present in all newspapers. BP uses “pure description” frame more often, than JP, MT and PPP, with MT to follow. BP journalists use this frame to report on the government actions that are seen as the preventive measures against terrorism spread in the country emphasizing security issues or reporting on arrests of alleged terrorists (see, for example, ‘Security at port boosted,’ Mar 26; ‘Security tightened at high-risk targets,’ Mar 19; ‘Security beefed up at Apec SME meeting,’ Aug 7; and ‘JI terrorist suspects seized here,’ Jun 11). They do not provide readers with the opinion statements from sources or question such actions either themselves or through sources’ use, not stating why these measures are seen as necessary. MT journalists use “pure description” frame to report on pacts and agreements signed by the Philippine government with other countries’ governments with the emphasis on anti-terrorism efforts and cooperation among countries to fight terrorism globally (see, for example, ‘RP, Brunei decided to work together to fight terrorism,’ Jan 28; and ‘Asean police

chiefs vow united front against terrorist threats,' Sep 12); and to report on arrests ('Tarlac policemen arrest suspected terrorist in Saint Nicolas barangay,' Mar 12). JP articles with "pure description" focus on arrests of bombings' suspects, and police' paper work to compile files on suspects and submit them to prosecutors (see, for example, 'Police name two more suspects in Bali bombings,' Jan 21; 'Ali, Mubarak transferred to Bali,' Jan 17; 'Another Makassar bombing suspect arrested,' Feb 18).

Perhaps, the most widely used frame is "one-sided" frame, where only one actor is present or only one point of view is stated (several actors can be used as well but their point of view and statements presented in the article would repeat and support each other). JP articles are characterized by using "one-sided" frame the most with the BP to follow.

"Balancing" frame, in which two sides of the problem/ issue or different opinions/ viewpoints are presented, is widely used by MT journalists. They do not stick to the "common" point of view that is taken by some government officials. Instead, they would describe and analyze the problem using different opinions as to show the readers a bigger picture. It can be two government officials' points of view or government vs. the opposition leaders/ spokesmen like Kabalu, or government vs. expert source. In addition, MT journalists employ larger spectrum of response and viewpoints to evaluate or present the events/ issues. From Muslim community members to the spokesmen of rebel groups as well as their leaders; from alleged terrorists to the top high-ranking officials; from the local sources to the international community experts – numerous voices are heard. Moreover, it is the MT, where one can see more news analyses in regard to causes breeding terrorism, to political situation in the Philippines with discussion on strategies and tactics employed by the

government and insurgents, to the controversy over the “war on terrorism” led by the USA, and to rebel groups’ goals, statements, members, structure. It is the MT journalists, who provide a comprehensive analysis of history of different rebel groups operating in the Philippines, terrorist groups like JI and its earlier days.

Other newspapers also provide their readers with news analyses, although not as widely as MT. JP analyzed the roots of JI, focusing on the history of this group, and presented a comprehensive analysis of Muslim beliefs and the law of Sharia. BP often presents analysis of current political process in the country, especially when the legislation is concerned. However, the focus of Thai news analysis would be more on the discourse, or the ideas and language rather than on analysis of terrorism per se.

Journalists from four newspapers use similar frames to report on issues. However, some differences are found in regard to emphasis placed inside the frames. The striking differences are seen in building “political game” frame, where journalists from different newspapers would focus on different issues. MT journalists do not hesitate to remind their readers that the Philippine government may have its own, politically motivated, goals in pursuing rebel groups or tagging them as “terrorists.” Through presenting their own opinions as well as supporting them with sources’ statements and facts, MT journalists draw a bigger and more detailed picture of what one can see behind the “war on terrorism.”

From the pages of other newspapers, the criticism mostly goes toward the USA, which plays political games with the Thai and Indonesian governments, trying hard to “drug” them “into their war.” Mostly, this point of view comes from sources, which journalists would quote or paraphrase. If MT journalists are criticizing their own government for relying too much on the US support and listening to the

“superpower,” JP and BP journalists are not being so straightforward. Yes, the local government is also being criticized, through the sources’ opinions, but the main “pins” would go toward the USA. It is them, who are blamed for some attacks in the region, for “orchestrating” arrests of terrorists, and interfering with the domestic affairs. Especially harsh criticism toward the US is seen from the JP.

The only one newspaper, PPP, is not harsh on anybody: either the USA or its own government. Government sources are widely cited in support for the US-led war on terrorism reassuring that the Cambodian government is on the “us” side.

JP and MT both use “events: trial” frames. However, there are differences seen in how journalists from both newspapers construct frames. MT reporters use description, usually “pure description” frame to report on proceedings, judges’ comments and decisions, and lawyers’ actions. JP journalists would use narrative structure with detailed focus on the words and actions of witnesses and suspects. In general, JP uses narrative structure articles more often than it can be seen in other newspapers. It is found in description of masterminds, where details of appearance, clothing and behavior would contribute to the fuller picture of a person; or in reporting on how the deadly Bali bomb attacks affected the life of locals and foreigners.

To conclude, journalists from four newspapers use diverse frames to report on terrorism. From the news, readers learn about the latest actions of the local and foreign governments in their “war on terrorism,” understand who stands behind the terrorist actions, planning and carrying them out, see the reasons behind the “war on terrorism” and how governments prepare for the possible terrorist strikes, and read about police investigative efforts to punish those responsible for the lost lives of

innocent people. It is from the local newspapers readers could hear numerous voices raising their concerns about terrorism issue – not only the government officials' viewpoints but other people like experts, scholars, lawyers, terrorists, rebels, independent analysts, and locals.

In general, all four newspapers would emphasize different aspects of terrorism: PPP focusing on Muslim community involvement and government positive response to the US call for war; JP emphasizing police paper work, investigations and trials as well as the country's stance against the war; BP stressing legislative measures and police work to fight terror successfully in the country as well as in the region, and addressing concerns of local Thai Muslim community; MT focusing on government fight against rebel groups operating in the Philippines and preventive measures.

What the reader would not find in those newspapers is the detailed analysis of causes that breed terrorists. Yes, journalists from all newspapers would mention possible causes with different degrees of reporting. However, the full comprehensive analysis, from which it would be clear where the governments should start first, is missing. It seems like the main available answer to terrorists - or rebels, are the military actions and legislative system. Poverty and corruption, which are mentioned in the articles as possible causes, are never discussed or reported on in detail. The attempt of MT to address "legal terrorism," or corruption inside judiciary system in the Philippines, did not have any follow-up articles on what actions government is taking to stop injustice and corrupt judges. Nor it was further reported in BP, after the PM Thaksin Shinawatra blamed immigration officers at the Southern border for laxity and corruption.

Readers would not find reports on other forms of terrorism like bioterrorism, cyber terrorism, state terrorism, or the new form of terrorism with the use of so-called “non-lethal” weapons, although careful reading of the news brings insight that those forms exist in the region. For example, BP reported on Thai and Japanese officials signing Memorandum of Understanding to put efforts to stop cyber-terrorism (Thailand, Japan ink technology accord, BP, Jan 22). However, no specific details were given further, at least to explain what cyber-terrorism means and how it can be stopped.

This chapter reports on findings from the analysis of 590 articles devoted to terrorism coverage found in four SEA newspapers. Through careful reading of all articles, the researcher found 33 frames including sub-frames that journalists use in their reporting. Some differences can be seen in frames’ usage as well as in the frames’ construction. Journalists from different newspapers focus on different aspects of terrorism coverage. Moreover, there are still some pieces of information that journalists are not reporting on or do not provide comprehensive coverage.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

This research paper uses qualitative analysis to study how terrorism issue is framed in the news. It employs 590 news articles appeared during the year 2003 in four SEA newspapers: the Bangkok Post, the Jakarta Post, the Manila Times, and the Phnom Penh Post. It does not look at the framing of a single story or a single aspect, as one can find in many previous scholarly works on terrorism and framing of news (see, for example, Phelan, 2002 on media framing of Islam; First & Avraham, 2003; Schaefer, 2003; Nacos & Torres-Reina, 2003). Instead, this paper provides a comprehensive analysis of all news articles (590 news items), which cover a wide range of issues concerning terrorism, in order to look at the fuller picture of terrorism presented in the local press. Some of the frames were drawn from the previous research of media coverage on terrorism or protest groups like “war on terrorism” frame or three sub-frames in “Muslims and terrorism” category: marginalizing, differentiating, and balancing. However, this research extends the previous work in several ways. First of all, it utilizes news articles, which were written by local reporters and compares them across four newspapers. Secondly, it uses Southeast Asian newspapers, which used rarely (or not used at all) for analysis of coverage on terrorism. Previous research mostly used European and North American media to provide their conclusions on coverage. However, without basis for comparison with media in other countries, the researchers or general public would have a distorted picture of the issue. The following paragraphs explain and discuss the findings of this research paper.

According to the Media Framing Theory, news content communicates certain aspects that “create a coherent whole” and gives a meaning to events through selection of facts and sources as well as through the structure of an article, emphasizing certain facts and de-emphasizing others (Ross, 2003; Werder & Golan, 2002; Coleman, 1999; Entman, 1993; Parenti, 1993; Gamson & Modigliani, 1987; Gitlin, 1980; Goffman, 1974). Although news reports facts and, by definition, should be free of opinion and bias (Kohler, u.n.), reporters are constantly engaged in framing reality according to their perceptions, local events, political situation and government regulations (Norris et al, 2003; Scheufele, 1999). Indeed, as Donsbach and Klett (1993) argued, local journalists tend to adopt and/ or construct frames that reflect national values rather than “universal truth.”

Findings of this study indicate that the framing of the same issue can be quite distinct compared from one newspaper to another. It is clearly shown in constructing different pictures of terrorism and the war against it. All of them are used at some degree across four newspapers. Still, newspapers differ in presenting and emphasizing one picture over the other. The first picture, the largest one among all that journalists present is the terrorism and the war as an issue. It is like other issues that trouble all societies from time to time like poverty, unemployment, SARS, which can be – and should be - dealt with at the high levels. As governments address other issues, they address terrorism also. Otherwise, how else can we explain the fact that terrorism is sometimes treated in the same manner as SARS, for example, or unemployment? And they are still to decide which issue is the more important for the country, which can be seen from both, “high priority” and “low priority” frames. The construction of these frames also indicates that the local journalists support the stance taken by their

governments: an extensive coverage of what is being said and done in regard to terrorism, justifications for the government's shift from one issue to another, and de-emphasizing other issues in favor to terrorism coverage.

Two newspapers especially can be characterized as having more issue-oriented frames – BP and PPP. Journalists treat terrorism and the war as a hot topic for debates and arguments that the government, the opposition, the scholars and the experts are engaged in. More articles are seen in these newspapers with focus on meetings at the top official level, where the terrorism is discussed; on debates over the laws and regulations that define terrorism; and on the political discourse in general. Overall, the coverage of terrorism in these two newspapers focuses more on debates and discussions over the terrorism, rather than on analysis of causes or descriptions of the events. Moreover, ideas and language, in which the positions of different parties are expressed, dominate the coverage of BP.

In the articles that look at the terrorism as an issue and directly or indirectly compare terrorism to other issues, the word “fight” is frequently seen. It is not only terrorism that the governments fight or combat, but other issues as well: “fighting the spread of SARS” in the Philippines (MT, Japan extends P400-M loans to RP to help combat SARS and terrorism, MT, Jun 16) or poverty (RP, Australia sign pact to train cops in forensics, antiterrorism, MT, Jul 15, and Education latest tool in antiterror war, MT, Oct 19); “fight extremism and radicalism among Muslims” in Indonesia (Muslims urged to stand up to radicalism, JP, Jul 23) and transnational crimes (ASEAN must compromise to fight terrorism, JP, Jan 24, and RP, Australia sign pact to train cops in forensics, antiterrorism, MT, Jul 15); “fight against drug traffickers,” fight money laundering and barriers to food trade in Thailand and elsewhere (Putting

pressure on the terrorists, BP, Apr 1; India pushes 'security diplomacy', BP, Feb 7; US group helps fight barriers to food trade, BP, Jan 23, and Asean summit opens amid new terrorist attack, MT, Aug 7). The researcher noticed that this word is used in articles whenever journalists want to emphasize the importance of the issue, with which the governments are dealing, linking this issue with terrorism. They frequently appear in one sentence like "fight terrorism, drug trafficking and money laundering" (India pushes 'security diplomacy, BP, Feb 7) or "fight poverty and terrorism" (RP, Australia sign pact to train cops in forensics, antiterrorism, MT, Jul 15). Even such issue as food trade is linked to terrorism due to the new American bio-terrorism act (US group help fight barriers to food trade, BP, Jan 23). Often we can see these particular issues – except food trade - as the most frequently cited causes for the spread of terrorism in SEA countries. Researcher also noticed that whenever the issue comes in parallel with the national security, it becomes the reason for "fight." What is interesting, though, that it is journalists who use this word more often in their own statements or paraphrases. We do not see this word appear in the quotes of the officials' statements as much. Instead, officials use more neutral words such as "eliminate the problem," "deal with" or similar. Thus, it seems like journalists frame terrorism and other issues similarly, when they want to stress the importance of an issue, especially when the interests of country and the governments are concerned. The possible explanation for this finding can be the fact that journalists sometimes use conventional frames, or frames that have already been constructed, to report on other issues or events. To evaluate and interpret events, journalists adopt a similar and "persistent pattern of selection, emphasis, and exclusion" in the news (Norris et al, 2003), which is influenced largely by how similar events (or issues in this case) have

been covered in the past. In some cases using conventional frames is important since they shape predictable stories. However, comparing other issues and placing them in one line with terrorism using conventional frame brings several questions to the mind of a reader. First is the necessity of a war against terrorism: if it is similar to other issues, why don't the governments have a war against drug trafficking, for example, which is much clearer in terms of definition and evidence than terrorism? In addition, conventional frames are usually "one-sided," which means that the main sources, which mostly are government officials at the top of the societal and political hierarchy, are repeatedly used from news to news to comment on or explain an event, and they usually go unchallenged because there is a consistent lack of other sources' opinions. Is this because of the "high national security issue," that is not allowed to be challenged, as once the Thai PM Thaksin Shinawatra warned the Thai media? Or is that because the media are so dependent on the government that they do not see, or do not want to look at the other side of the divide with more open eyes? Whatever answer is, it is apparent that the media rarely challenge the widely adopted "war on terrorism" frame in their news coverage.

A second picture of the war on terrorism that dominates the coverage of some of the newspapers is conflict. It is a conflict, in which the conflicting sides are clearly defined: "us vs. them," "enemy vs. friends," "Muslims vs. non-Muslims", "military vs. rebels," etc. It can be an armed conflict, which is extensively covered in MT. The Philippine government is at war with the local 'terrorist' groups like MILF, NPA, or Abu Sayyaf's, whom it considers as an enemy troubling national safety, security and peace. Thus, it is not surprising that the biggest part of the terrorism coverage in MT is devoted to the description of military actions against local 'terrorists'. The quotes

and paraphrases of official sources, mostly high-ranking military officers, government officials and police dominate the coverage. However, MT reporters do not always go along with the line carried by the government. MT reporters present other voices to show bigger picture besides government actions. The voice of MILF spokesman Kabalu is frequently seen in response to the actions. They do not hesitate to quote terrorists or their supporters in describing terrorist organizations and their operations. Moreover, it is not journalists who call rebels ‘terrorists’ but the government officials. This finding comes in parallel with the study of Picard and Adams (1987), which analyzed the usage of the word “terrorist” by media and government officials in three US elite daily newspapers. They concluded that media tend to use more neutral, less judgmental, words than government sources do. That is what one can call a responsible reporting (Hopkins, 2002), when the journalists do not label every party ‘terrorists’ but instead focus on describing actions, background and identities. Thus, they allow the readers to come to their own judgments about individuals and groups. In general, MT’ coverage of armed conflicts is characterized by precise descriptions of what happened, the sides involved, their intentions, the casualties and remarks mostly presented from the both sides. Moreover, the reports lack sensationalism, sometimes associated with such kind of coverage: no witnesses’ accounts extensively elaborating on drama, and excessive details not related directly to actions per se.

The finding of picture of terrorism as an armed conflict in MT is supported by other research. Dimitrova and Stromback (2005) analyzed the frames found throughout the New York Times coverage of US-led war in Iraq. They concluded that the “military conflict” frame is common for the coverage of war.

Another picture of terrorism and the war emerging from the articles is destruction or disaster. It is an emotional picture with the touch of drama, in which journalists report on the violence and innocent lives taken by the terrorist actions, counting the casualties from each side, and drawing on responses, often emotionally motivated, from the individuals as well as government officials. The destructive picture of terrorism is most widely used in JP. From the pages of this newspaper we can read the statements of witnesses to numerous bombings, staged in Indonesia in the past. JP journalists especially succeeded in reporting on Bali bombings in October 2002. The phrases like “the deadliest attack in Indonesian history,” “the worst in Indonesia’s history” with the number of casualties are carried from one article to another almost unchanged. The drama of this event is evident from the trials’ description, where the reporters would devote the whole article to the witnesses of Bali bombing’ accounts or give excessive details on appearance, behavior of accused and their words, mixing them with their own judgments and remarks and leaving little space for the description of procedures. The following quote from the article is just one from the numerous examples that we can find in JP news about the Bali bombings:

Grief and sadness marked the trial on Wednesday for the Bali bombings, as one of the heroes who led the disaster’ rescue efforts cried during his testimony, apparently agonized by the horror he saw and the lives he was unable to save [original spelling – GB]... “Those who were still alive with severe burns were crying for help ‘please help me, it’s very hot, take me to the hospital’,” an emotional Bambang told the judges... (‘Bali bombing witness recalls the night of horror,’ JP, May 29; for similar framing with focus on details see also

‘Witnesses give new insight into JI network in Indonesia,’ May 29; ‘Alleged Bali bombing mastermind Samudra on trial for his life,’ Jun 3; ‘Six McDonald’s bombing suspects go on trial in Makassar,’ Jun 10; ‘Australian survivors recall the Bali bombing,’ Jun 17, and others).

This finding indicates that JP journalists use sensationalism to report on certain aspects related to terrorism such as when describing the trials. It can be partly explained by the words of the JP journalist, who remarked on one of the similar trials, an eight-hour long court session: “The trial itself has turned out to be something of an anticlimax, if not actually boring...” (Death penalty demanded for Amrozi, Jul 1). To catch the readers’ attention, reporting on court’ procedures alone is never enough because it is “boring” and “exhausting.” But just putting the emotional touch and feelings, and the readers would be glued to the articles, as numerous and exhaustive as the trials themselves.

Concerning JP, one should not forget that the Bali bombings stayed very fresh in the minds of Indonesians in 2003 (they were carried out on October 12, 2002). With more than 200 people dead and more than 350 injured, the feelings and emotions couldn’t be suppressed easily. This implication is also supported by the articles, covering other trials like those for the suspects of December 2000 McDonald’s outlet bombing. The descriptions of trials related to the past events are very brief compared to ones of the Bali attack. Moreover, they are not as numerous as well and are less preoccupied with details. Nevertheless, the sensationalism is present in JP articles.

It is not only JP journalists, who use sensationalistic narratives to describe certain events. The same pattern we found in MT construction of “trial” and “drill”

frames. In respect to MT reporters, the sensationalistic touch is not common for the news appearing in this newspaper. Probably, with the 106 years of MT history, the journalists from “the most trusted nation’s newspaper” already know how to capture their reader’s attention without putting emotions first. This finding of MT not using sensationalism as much as other newspapers do comes against the research findings of Quintos de Jesus (2002). She content analyzed the Philippine media coverage of the terrorism and Abu Sayyaf terrorist group operating in the Philippines during the years 2000-01. Among the weaknesses of the Philippine journalism, she also mentioned sensationalism, which she found as the characteristic of the coverage on terrorism. Unfortunately, the author did not mention what exactly press media were chosen for that analysis, referring to the press in the Philippines in general. We hopefully think that the Manila Times might not be included in Quintos de Jesus’ research, since not much of sensationalistic news is seen in their coverage.

BP journalists also do not hesitate to attract the attention of their readers by putting sensationalism ahead in some news. Those are the articles on Hambali’s capture in Audhaya, for example. Other examples include the media coverage of the Gen. Thammaraack’s remarks. As one of the journalists put it at the beginning of the coverage, General “estimated” (direct author’s quote from the article) that about 10% of Thai Muslims studying abroad are recruited to the terrorist organizations. Spotting sensationalism from such news, BP reporters carried the words of the General at the first two days of the coverage, not as a quote, though, but as a paraphrase, which was slightly different from one article to another. As the trouble started with some countries’ ambassadors objecting such harsh and tactless remarks, the media hurried

up to find the exact quote of General's words. After that, the reports did not repeat the saying but instead were focusing on the resolution to the problem.

Framing with less degree of sensationalism and attention to details is seen in PPP. PPP trial news articles, for example, are relatively shorter than the ones from other newspapers and constructed as well-done summaries of the procedures and decisions (see, for example, 'Appeals Court upholds Chhouk Rin's conviction, life sentence,' issue 12/23, Nov 7-20).

The findings of different framing of terrorism throughout the newspapers find support in the Media Framing theory and its applications. Previous research on news' and editorial framing constantly highlights the fact that journalists frame their stories differently by stressing certain aspects and placing them higher than others (First & Avraham, 2003; Norris et al., 2003; Ross, 2003; Scheufele, 1999; Wolfsfeld, 1997; Shoemaker & Reese, 1991; Steuter, 1990). Different factors are believed to impact on such framing. One factor is the influence of local events and "basic facts surrounding the terrorist event itself" (Norris et al., 2003). By framing the news story differently, journalists might simply respond to the events in their countries. Not many terrorist activities are seen in Thailand and Cambodia as compared to the Philippines and Indonesia. However, given the concern with which the local governments address the issue and the controversy over it, Cambodian and Thai journalists supply news with a 'local angle' (Shaeffer, 2003), reporting on political discourse that troubles these two societies over the issue of terrorism. MT responds to the conflict that has troubled the Philippines for decades by presenting "military conflict" frame indicating that there is, indeed, a war between the government and the terrorist groups. JP emphasized "disaster-oriented" frame over others because of the recent bombings in 2002 and

other bombings throughout the year 2003, showing destruction and desperate need to bring those responsible to justice.

Despite differences found in framing of terrorism, there are similarities exist as well. The findings of this study also argued that the adoption and/ or construction of frames from the local perspective is not always the case for the four Southeast Asian newspapers. The finding of the “war on terrorism” frame, which Norris et al. (2003) called “conventional,” shows that world-wide view is adopted and carried along by Asian journalistic practice as well. It is a frame that stands as the most widely used by the journalists across all analyzed newspapers. Perhaps, only JP did not emphasize the war on terrorism as much as other newspapers did, but only at the beginning of the year 2003. One has to remember that at the end of 2002 the Indonesia experienced the “deadliest attack in Indonesian history” in Bali, “which stunned the nation.” Thus, the attention of the media was diverted toward the investigations and the trials later on. Still, the war on terrorism picked its significance for JP journalists after the first wave of trials went away, approximately after the May 2003. More and more JP news articles after that period focused on the political and strategic interests of the government stating that the Indonesian government finally woke up to the global threat of terrorism.

Although the researcher separated this frame into distinctive category, the indications of the war on terrorism can be found throughout other categories as well: “terrorist activities” would use “war on terrorism” frame as a background for discussions; “personal profile” frame would use “war on terrorism” to state that there is an “enemy” that needs to be eliminated. There is no surprise, that this particular frame is seen more often than others, either as standing alone or in combinations with

other frames. Norris, Kern and Just (2003) in their book 'Framing Terrorism: the news media, the government, and the public' indicate that the "war on terrorism" frame was first adopted after the September 11, 2001 attacks on the USA by the White House "as the primary standard used to reinterpret and understand 'friends' and 'enemies' around the globe," replacing the old, Cold War frame, which the governments used in the past for similar reason. It is, therefore, was carried along by the journalists and politicians to make sense of all stories about the national security, civil wars, and conflicts that happened in the different parts of the world. It is, in a sense, a consensual frame since nobody questions the use of "war on terrorism" being as a justification for many activities and actions.

In her book 'Tales of Terror', Bethami Dobkin (1992) also looks at the link between journalists, their coverage of terrorism, and the governments. In her study of television news coverage of terrorism from 1981 through 1986, Dobkin found striking similarities in construction of events used by government officials and media. She concluded that media most of the time supports the government depictions and military (or police) responses, which, in turn, "closes debate about non-military responses to terrorism and obscures a deeper distress over international disorder" (p.10; cited in Picard, 1994).

As one can see in the book of Norris et al. (2003) and from the findings of this research, not much was changed since 1980s. Indeed, from the pages of all analyzed newspapers journalists and their sources justify the actions of the government, military, and police because there is a war on terror. Journalists would quote official sources, who are eager to offer the USA any support they can to fight terrorists and assure that the country is on the "us" side of the "us vs. them" divide. For example,

looking at the “priority” frame alone, one can find news on meetings of high-ranking government officials, where discussion on terrorism would dominate other issues or at least be included in the agenda. Journalists use similar style of reporting on such meetings: economy, poverty, tourism, SARS - whatever issues were on the agenda besides terrorism, they would be placed lower in the articles, after the discussion on terrorism (or counter-terrorism). And the fact that the government official sources outnumber the other sources used for this frame indicates that media mostly adopted the government viewpoint. All of this indicates that the media carry the war on terrorism along with the stance of local governments. Otherwise, they would present other opinions, which could question the placement of war on terrorism at such a high level.

The tight relationship between the government and the media has been highlighted many times in the previous literature. In the countries, where governments control and censor media, a little space is left for journalists to look for alternate opinions. As for SEA countries, supportiveness in times of crisis, conflict, and other difficult times has always been the special value of SEA journalism (Massey & Chang, 2002). In addition, the link between government and the media becomes especially important because it helps the development efforts: the government “doings” are directed toward stabilizing the country’s economy, and therefore, toward enhancing the life of their citizens. How else would the voice of the government be heard, if not with the help of the media?

In fairness to local journalists, it is mostly the sources they quote, who would elaborate on the war on terrorism. In other frames besides “high/ low priority,” “strategic,” and “impact” frames, journalists try to present other perspectives on the

“controversial” war. This is supported by findings of critical frames toward cooperation and toward military exercises as well as “political game” frame, in which journalists are not silent carriers of the words of high-ranking politicians. One can see that journalists from three newspapers – BP, JP, and MT - would provide different views and opinions on the war, even if it means to accuse their own government of “wrongdoings.” However, the researcher found some differences among four newspapers in framing the political games (or actions) of the governments. MT journalists, as indicated in the Chapter 4, are especially straightforward and do not support every move that the Arroyo government is doing in its fight against terrorism. They are not afraid of telling the readers that there are some political implications besides Macapagal’ fighting against local rebels and its insistence to label them terrorists at the international level. And it is somehow surprising since the Manila Times is considered to be a “pro-government” newspaper by the WorldPress.org (2005). Some explanations can be drawn from the fact that the press in the Philippines is considered to be free of political and legal influences, and economic pressures. Press freedom is guaranteed by the law and generally is respected by the government. The Philippine Bill of Rights, for example, states: “No law should be passed abridging the freedom of speech, of expression, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the Government for redress of grievances” (see Freedom of the Press Country Reports, 2003). Probably, this consideration is so powerful that even journalists from “pro-government” newspaper feel free to express their opinions. Moreover, the role of media as a watchdog of society gives MT the power to criticize the government, when it sees the “wrong thing.” One should not forget that the editor of MT, Dante A. Ang, a President Arroyo’s former senior

adviser for public relations, is regarded as highly critical of the government's "wrongdoings," and would not hesitate to point them out publicly.

BP journalists address the political games of the Thai government as well. However, they do it in a different from MT reporters' manner. Researcher noticed that the BP journalists are being quite cautious not to state their own opinion. Instead, the criticism comes from the sources' statements. One should not forget that being "independent" (WorldPress.org, 2005), the Bangkok Post operates in a different from the Philippine's environment. Thai press freedom was strangled during the years 2002-2003 due to the increased government pressure on local and foreign media and was considered as "partly free" (Freedom of the Press Country Reports, 2003). The Printing Act of 1941, which allows the government to restrict press freedom to maintain public order and preserve national security, is still in force. Moreover, the perfect picture of news is that they should be free of personal opinions of journalists, stating facts. If consider these implications, we probably could say that the BP journalists are closer to the definition of news than MT journalists, at least in the construction of the "political game" frame.

JP is less critical of its own government than BP and MT. Again, the explanation lies in the environment, in which journalists are operating in Indonesia. Although considered as 'partly free,' Indonesian media score very high on political and legal influences' scale, which indicates that the government restricts media freedom and controls the coverage. At the end of the year 2003, the special national commission was created to monitor the news content with the rights to shut down any media outlet that contravenes with the law (Freedom of the Press Country Reports, 2003). However, from time to time even the politically restricted JP coverage would

put the pins into their own government, especially when the US-Indonesian relations are concerned. A special attention given to these particular relations comes with the line of controversy found inside the Indonesian government itself. Being a Muslim country, “the largest Muslim country in the world,” as it is often stressed in JP articles, the Indonesian government and the country’s population took a very firm stance against the US-led war on Iraq. At the same time, US’ help to fight terrorism and to increase economic growth becomes a very attractive offering that the government cannot resist. Thus, the pros and cons in the government itself repeat the coverage of the US-RI relations in JP news.

PPP is the least critical among four newspapers. However, due to the small amount of coverage given to terrorism it is difficult to say if this factor affects the findings or it is because of the high political and legal pressures from the government. Although characterized as “independent” (WorldPress.org, 2005), PPP operates in an environment that is considered as “not free” (Freedom of the Press Country Reports, 2003). The Cambodian Ministry of Information has a right to close newspapers and closely monitors their content in the sake of “national security and political stability.” Moreover, the Cambodian government publicly denied any terrorism activities in the “Cambodian soil,” which may also have an effect on the coverage.

Other findings highlight the fact that from time to time journalists would show striking consensus in framing one particular aspect. It is shown in a small frame in the “events’ category – “travel advisories” frame. The interesting implication drawn from the analysis of this frame is seen in the similar treatment of travel advisories across all newspapers. The news stories would extensively elaborate on the details of the warnings issued by other governments for their citizens to exercise caution, while

traveling to some countries in Southeast Asia. Among those countries are Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand. However, while in the “war on terrorism” frame the media mostly echoed the government sources, in “travel advisories” frame journalists did not hesitate to state their own, mostly negative opinion toward such warnings, which were not necessarily in tune with the government sources’ opinions (see Chapter 4 for examples). The warnings were literally taken by some journalists as the attack on the societies, to which they also belong. Probably, the perceptions of media viewing themselves as the watchdogs of the society played a role in constructing a negative frame. As the real dog, a good dog, barks at the thieves, media are as watchful against those, who attack the country from outside, since it really harms the countries’ economies.

This explanation about media playing a role of watchdog comes in line with another finding – three newspapers’ (BP, JP, and MT) critical assessment of the US-their country relationships. Through sources’ opinions and authors’ own remarks, harsh criticism is heard toward the US interference in domestic affairs. Warnings to the country’ leaders to be aware of the real intensions besides the US help to fight terrorism put media at the front line of guarding country’s interests against any “intruder.”

Media Framing theories propose that journalists construct their stories through emphasizing one issue or one aspect of an issue while de-emphasizing others (Huckin, 1997; Ross, 2003). This theoretical implication supports the framing of several aspects related to terrorism issue found in this study. A small frame in the “events” category – “protest” – shows that the issue can be de-emphasized if not ignored completely, if it does not comply with the government regulations. In MT, the little

coverage was devoted to protests. From its coverage, we learn that some protests were being held in the country from time to time. However, almost no coverage is seen in MT regarding these events, since the Philippine government is against such expressions of opinions. In fact, the President Arroyo once warned the protesters that she would not tolerate their actions. This finding shows that as free as it is, MT is compliant with some of the government's restrictions and probably practices self-censorship with some of the news. Another example comes from the "war on terrorism" frame, where the importance of fight against terrorism is emphasized heavily, placing it into the first paragraphs in the article or taking it out to the headlines. More examples of de-emphasis can be found in causal frames, where causes that breed terrorists are not addressed as they should be.

Thus, framing of terrorism differs from one newspaper to another in respect to the different pictures emerged from their coverage. Terrorism as an issue is seen more throughout the Bangkok Post and the Phnom Penh Post coverage, where journalists try to explore it in depth and present all the relevant information necessary for readers to understand all the complexity and the impact of terrorism on their lives and the country in general. However, with the focus on debates and the words, with which different parties try to convince each other that their position is right and the others are wrong, some topics become de-emphasized such as the causes. BP also published several news analyses on terrorism. However, with the focus on political discourse mainly, those analyses have little to say about the essence of terrorism issue in Thailand.

The Manila Times coverage focused on conflict, clearly defining the sides and reporting on actions. Through presenting two or more points of view in the articles,

journalists provide readers with a clear and detailed picture of what is going on in their country relative to terrorism and why the government attends the issue with such force.

A third picture, a picture of destruction or a man-made disaster, emerged from the coverage of the Jakarta Post. Journalists report on the human tragedy and the impact that the terrorist activities have on the citizens, not surprisingly shifting from simple reportage to sensationalistic news, and what the responsible parties like police are doing in response. In general, those findings come in parallel with previous studies on terrorism and media coverage. The local angle, from which terrorism is mostly reported, is also prevailing in other countries' print and broadcast media. The events in journalists' home countries influence the coverage. Moreover, journalists sometimes rely upon old, familiar frames to tell their own story. What is dangerous, however, in using conventional frames is that the sources go unchallenged for their opinion statements and not many journalists are brave enough (or curious enough?) to show the same story from different perspective, adding other voices to their reports.

Conclusion

To conclude, several implications can be drawn from this research. First, in framing of news, reporters from four analyzed newspapers closely monitor and respond to situation regarding terrorism and terrorist activities in their respective countries. Discussions and debates dominate the coverage if there are not much of terrorist activities going on but the governments are concerned about the problem. So does the society in large and media as a part of the society. Conflict is the center of the coverage when the governments are literally at war with terrorists and with the groups, which use terrorist methods to fight for their rights and beliefs. Media in times

of conflict have often been at the first line to report on most recent developments, not only describing the battles and attacks but providing comprehensive analyses and background.

And when the terrorists strike, the picture of destruction and human tragedy comes ahead of other issues, bringing sensationalism. As one of the researchers (Seo, February 2002) put it, when it strikes somewhere else, it is easy to blame journalists for bias and sensationalism. But what if it strikes in your country, affects your people and maybe you, directly or indirectly?

Second, reporters follow the stance of local governments toward terrorism. It is shown in the choice of sources commenting on the events, which are mostly the top government officials or high-ranking officers from police or military forces. It is shown in the framing of news, when journalists heavily emphasize events that the governments favor or “approve,” and de-emphasize others, which the governments do not like to bring into open. The political environment, in which newspapers operate, with the legal considerations do affect what is covered and what is not in local newspapers. Moreover, journalists do not offer alternate opinions on some of the issues, as seen from the “war on terrorism” frame, assuming that the world-wide view is the only one that is acceptable, which in times harms the coverage and does not provide readers with the local perspective.

In fairness to local journalists, critical coverage is also present. Framing of some aspects of terrorism from the opposite to the governments’ position perspective indicate that media perceive themselves as the watchdogs of society, which means to correct their governments’ “wrongdoings.” It is seen in the “political game” frame, and frames that are critical toward some actions and issues that the governments

brought to the public attention. Sometimes journalists do it indirectly, barking at the backyard; sometimes they bite. And with the latter, the readers probably realize that there is much more on the political side of terrorism, which the governments simply do not disclose. In addition, journalists do not only point out at the wrongdoings of their governments. As good watchdogs, they look around to see if any other countries or individuals intend to bring any harm to the society as seen in the “travel advisories” frame or “terrorists are foreigners” frame. It is shown especially clearly when the countries’ interests are at stake.

The last implication is that there are still some flaws in the analyzed newspapers’ reports on terrorism. Sensationalism is the one of such limitations. We should not forget that the media are the business, which operations depend on cash flow, margins, profits and other money considerations. To sell a newspaper, one has to put news that is of interest to the reader, catches its attention and, therefore, makes profit to the owners. What is more attractive, a trial’ procedure or the detailed description of the suspect’s behavior and his words? A brief, dry summary of the police drills as the part of its anti-terrorism efforts or a detailed description of how this drill startled and scared the pedestrians? The latter is selling more because of the fact that human aspect has always been more attractive to the humans.

Recommendations for Future Research

There are several recommendations can be made for the future researchers who might be interested in analyzing frames and the coverage from the local perspectives.

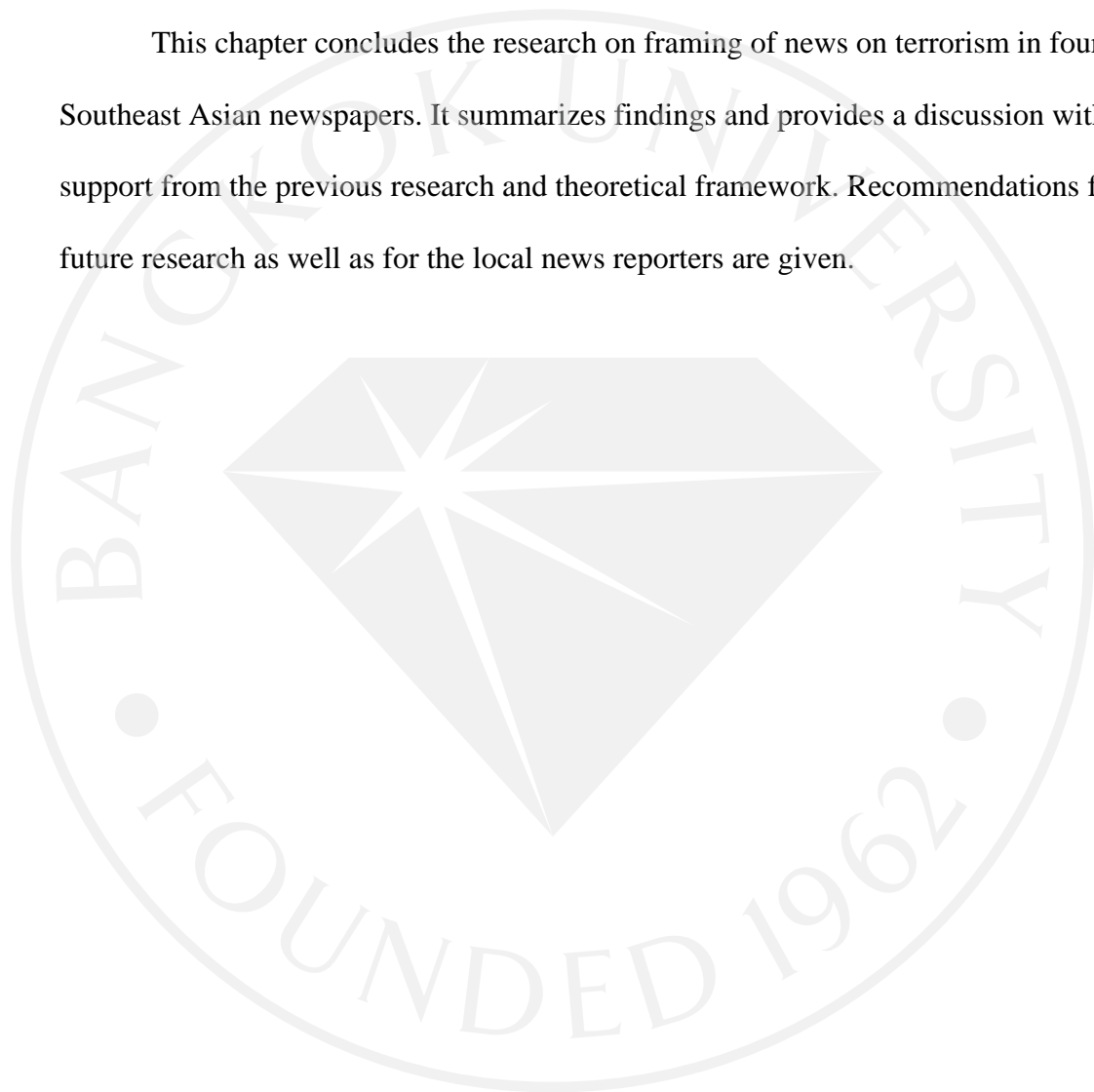
First of all, the focus of this study was on the English language newspapers. Merrill (1991) argued that newspapers publishing in English tend to be the most influential publications in multilingual nations. However, English language newspapers are only able to reach the audience that can read and understand English. Future research should also address coverage of newspapers, which are published in native languages. Some findings from the previous research suggest that press utilizing native language tends to be more up-to-date with the societal changes in attitudes and world-views (see, for example, First & Avraham, 2003; Quintos de Jesus, 2002). It would be interesting to examine if native-language newspapers frame their stories differently.

Some findings of this study remain without explanations like the similar framing of the Bali bombings and September 11 attacks in the USA. Unfortunately, this study's focus was to analyze framing in general, not one particular frame. Future research, however, could investigate which factors contribute to such framing in more detail.

The framing of news is an interesting subject for the research especially when several newspapers are examined. Different newspapers frame the terrorism differently and it is only from several newspapers when the big picture of terrorism emerges. However, not every one has a chance or a stimulus to look at three or more newspapers in a search for the differences and the reality in more detail. Yes, local journalists provide a comprehensive coverage of terrorism from the local perspective. And the international news agencies provide international news, which means far abroad. What is missing from the local newspapers is that they give only a small picture of what is going on in the neighboring countries in relation to terrorism. And if

they do, only sensationalistic news reaches the pages. The international agencies do not focus on that either. A recommendation to the local newspapers is to give more perspectives for the reader on a picture of terrorism, reporting what is going on in the neighbors' backyard but preferably without bias and editor's opinions.

This chapter concludes the research on framing of news on terrorism in four Southeast Asian newspapers. It summarizes findings and provides a discussion with support from the previous research and theoretical framework. Recommendations for future research as well as for the local news reporters are given.



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APPENDIX

Coding Instrument

Variable 1 – Emphasis

11- Political Strategic Interest (general articles about fight against terrorism, anti-terror campaigns, cooperation b/w countries, etc.)

111 – importance of fight against terrorism (general)

112 – anti-terrorism campaigns, coalitions

113 – cooperation b/w regional countries (Asian region)

114 – US-other country relations

115 – other

12 – Legislation (stress on passing bills, laws, decrees)

121 – country's government

122 – other (US, EU) governments

123 – other

13 – Court Decision and Judicial Activities

14 – Crime and Law Enforcement

141 – acts of violence

142 – prosecutions of terrorists/ trials

143 – investigations

144 – arrests

145 – other events

15 – Personal Profiles

151 – terrorists

152 – others (specify)

16 – Cause

161 – economic/ poverty

162 – lack of education

163 – religious beliefs

164 – mixed

165 – other

17 – Mixed emphasis (specify)

18 – other context (specify)

Variable 2 – Article Structure (if the tone of the article is sarcastic, mocking or other, note it at the remarks box).

21 – Narrative Story Telling (begin with setting the scene, describing the stakes and actors; has a sense of rising action leading to some event, ends with resolution and setting the scene for the next episode).

22 – Description (a snapshot of events at one moment in time)

221 – description of events but no positions by actors about these events are presented.

222 – single actor or point of view is presented.

223 – two opposing points of view presented (eg., MILF spokesman and prosecutor).

224 – spectrum of response

23 – Analysis and Overview.

231 – Current Political Process – analysis of strategy and tactics of one or more actors

232 – Political Discourse (focus on the ideas and language in which positions are expressed rather than an analysis of terrorism per se).

233 – Cause Analysis

234 – other analysis or overview

Variable 3 – Speaker (include DEPICTION if present)

31 – Authors (journalists or UNK-unknown)

32 – Government actors

321 – presidents

322 – government officials (with the position)

323 – judges

324 – spokesmen

325 – other

326 – military

327 – police

33 – Experts

331 – academics (specify)

332 – scientists

333 – others

34 – Other Actors

341 – terrorists themselves

342 – spokesmen (other than the government)

343 – victims of terrorists

345 – others (specify)

35 – Organizations (if the single person is not known)

36 – Written documents used as sources (eg., travel advisory, files)

Variable 4 – Statements (only statements that belong to the authors were coded)

