DISCOURSE COVERAGE OF EDITORIAL PERSPECTIVE: FRAMING TERRORISM FROM THE CASE OF AL-SHABAB'S 2013 KENYA MALL SIEGE

Lupita Wijaya
Dosen Ilmu Komunikasi
Universitas Multimedia Nusantara
Email: : lupita@umn.ac.id

Abstract

Indonesia as the biggest and most populated democratic Muslim country in the world is expected to engender distinct outlook pertaining media and religion. With the myriad of Western-dominated global traffic complicating Muslim-phobia in terrorism, Indonesia as democratic country supposes to evince the power of media as peace maker rather than warmonger. This study scrutinizes the editorial discourse of The Jakarta Post, the largest English language newspaper in Indonesia, concerning the terrorism issue of al-Shabab insurgent group in 2013 Westgate Kenya Mall attack. Opinion discourse, such as editorials, op-ed articles, and guest columns, demystifies an important communicative function by offering newsreaders a distinctive and authoritative voice that will speak to them directly, in the face of troubling or problematic circumstances. Where hard news purports to be more balanced and fair, opinion discourse problematizes the world by taking up the normative dimension of issues and events such as the justification and rationale for taking sides. By applying qualitative framing analysis of Pan and Kosicki model, the study delves into conclusion that The Jakarta Post relentlessly portrays al-Shabab as Muslim's jihad and randomly hooks Westgate siege with other church bombings by eliciting good guy vs. bad guys dichotomy and heroes vs. villains as the heart of current circulation of publicized news. The result indicates that the context of Indonesia as largest Muslim society in the world is distinctly at odds.

Keywords: *editorial, discourse, media, terrorism, The Jakarta Post*

Introduction

One of the distinctive characteristics of the times we live in is the overwhelming presence of violence in our societies. Whether it is a bomb going off in a market place, or the hijacking of an aircraft where innocent people are held at ransom to achieve political ends, we live in an age, where the manipulation and loss of innocent lives has become commonplace. Such is all-pervasive nature of indiscriminate violence, that "terrorism" is considered as one of the prime threats to peace and security in our society (Trivedi 2009, p.8)

On these days, global terrorism has brought a news definition of concept regarding reality construction of audiences. Islamist hard line, for instance, is the most highlighted general and well-known perspective of what is called as terrorists. When several news media report the same hard news, same event, but with very different sensitive term selections, we cannot deny that media conduct framing with their news (Chossudovsky, 2012).

The period since 11 September 2001 has seen both continuity and change in the way Western media have combined to produce realities for their audience and citizenry. The labeling of 'war on terror' or terrorism is a recurrent theme in government speeches or other sources that are quoted in the media (Miller 2006, p.6).

Since 9/11, the Arab world has received intense scrutiny from the United States and other western countries (Dugan, 2011). The dominance of these descriptions was confirmed by Abdul Hadi Awang, the leader of Islamic Party of Malaysia (PAS) in September 2003, when he condemned Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) bombings in Indonesia. Yet he went on to declare that they support Hamas, on the grounds that they are being oppressed, and described Israel as being 'terrorist and criminal'. He also hailed Palestinian suicide bombers as Martyrs. Since 9/11the majority of mainstream media articles specifically de-link

Islam from terrorist act (Cole 2006, p.34).

During 1999-2003, *Tempo* magazine recorded among the terrorist operations attributed to the Jemaah Islamiyah in Indonesia [1]. There were 13 bombing attacks in total during those three years. The most deadly attack was The Bali bombings in 2002, leaving 202 death tolls mostly foreigners. One of the suspects, Ali Imron said Bali was chosen because it was frequented by Americans and their associates. He quoted the leader of Indonesian Jemaah Islamiyah Imam Samudra as saying it was part of a jihad, or holy war, to defend the people of Afghanistan from America (BBC News Asia, 2012).

The concept of 'terrorism' in Indonesia media reached its peak since Bali bombing in 12 October 2002 (De Nelson, 2005). Heryanto (2006, p.22) stated that Indonesians often prefer to say nothing, or rather to say it with a meaningful silence, in situations when English speakers may speak of terror. Strange as this may seem to outsiders, when Indonesians do speak of gruesome violence and terror they tend to do so matter-of-factly and with unwitting smiles. This tendency was partly responsible for the national outrage in Australia in mid-November 2002 when the media presented images of the Bali bombing suspect Amrozi smiling, laughing, and waving his hands to journalists (ibid).

In Indonesia, after the Bali bombing incident in 2002, the threat of terrorism is strongly linked to the actions of Islamist activists, rather than other groups of activists (e.g., separatists, socialists, communists, criminals, etc.). The issues of terrorism in Indonesia have been drawn as international and global issues. A number of studies have analyzed terrorism activities and investigated Islamic groups linked to violence, such as Jamaah Islamiyah (JI/Islamic Congregation) and Crisis Prevention Committee (KOMPAK/ Komite Penanggulangan Krisis) (Putra &

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1   Tempo, 2003. "Bali Bombing: One Year On", Special Commemorative Edition, 11–20 October, pp. 12–102.

Sukabdi 2013, p.83).

This first terrorism attack, however, continually labeled implicitly as theological basis, not purely as terrorist activities. The de-linking of Islam and terrorism is important as a key element in denying the militants theological legitimacy. To explicitly confirm that terrorist acts have a theological underpinning would confer some form of theological legitimacy, which could undermine one of the cornerstones of the government's counterterrorism policy (Cole 2006, p.35). It is this narrow definition of terrorism that implicates only individuals and groups, that has caused Muslims to be associated with acts of destruction and terror, and as a result, to become victims of hate violence and terror themselves. For too long, we have relied on popular images in the media and in Hollywood films, for answers to these pertinent stigmas (Dodds, 2008).

Therefore, from media, films and academic works, the "war on terrorism" purports to defend the American Homeland and protect the "civilized world". Demonization serves geopolitical and economic objectives. Likewise, the campaign against "Islam terrorism" (which is supported covertly by US intelligence) supports the conquest of oil wealth (Chossudovsky, 2007). Terrorism, in fact, spans the entire world, and manifests itself in various forms. Its perpetrators do not fit any stereotype. Those who hold human lives cheap, and have the power to expend human lives, appear at different levels in our society. The frustrated employee who kills his colleagues in cold-blood or the oppressed citizen of an occupied land who vents his anger by blowing up a school bus are terrorist who provoke our anger and revulsion (Trivedi 2009, p.4).

Indonesia is south-east Asia's most populous and geographically extensive state and also the world's largest Muslim country (Huxley 2013, p.7; Trivedi 2009, p.101). Considering this background, Indonesia however has its own perspective to see and interpret terrorism issues, different from those of any other Western media. Goenawan Mohamad, one of Indonesia's leading intellectuals, was in New York at the moment of the attack of 9/11 and he attempts to analyze the symbols used to interpret the target as a symbol of US power and arrogance, even as a symbol of Jewish financial influence, while others have interpreted the attack as a symbol of victimhood (van der Veer & Munshi 2004, p.8).

On 21 September 2013, gunmen, later known as Al-Shabab Islamist group, attacked the upmarket Westgate shopping mall in Nairobi, Kenya. The attack occurred until 24 September and caused at least hundreds of death tolls. Al-Shabab has carried out a string of attacks in Kenya since 2011, when Kenyan troops moved into southern Somalia to fight the militants there. The Westgate center is often frequented by wealthy Kenyans and expatriates [2]. The attack is the most deadly terrorist incident in Kenya since the 1998 Al Qaeda bombing of the U.S. embassy in Nairobi. A Somali Islamist insurgent group, Al-Shabab, which has ties to Al Qaeda, has claimed responsibility for the Westgate attack (Blanchard 2013, p.3). As mentioned before that Western media often connected terrorism with Islamic label and most of terrorism attacks implicitly derive from Middle East.

The attack at Westgate mall is al-Shabab's record as mass-casualty hostage-barricade attacks, in which perpetrators occupy a location and hold hostages on site rather than abducting them (Onuoha, 2013). It becomes important to scrutinize the concept of terrorism as Indonesian media are expected to engender different constructions from other Western media which lead to demonizing Islam (MacDonald, 2003). Consequently, the media as an instrument of public ideology

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2   Nairobi Westgate Shoot-out Kills 11 in Kenya. BBC News Africa. (2013, September). Retrieved from http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-24186780

demonizes Islam, portraying it as a threat to Western interests, thus reproducing, producing and sustaining the ideology necessary to subjugate Muslims both internationally and domestically (Pole 2002, p.17). Worse conditions are proved by current statistics that Muslims in Britain are severely disadvantaged in relation to other groups (ibid, 20).

The researcher chooses to *analysis The Jakarta Post* is Indonesia's leading English language daily and also has a generally high quality of reporting. Because of its limited circulation and specific readership of intellectuals, businessmen and non-Indonesian nationals, the paper is generally permitted greater leeway when commenting on sensitive issues toward Indonesian counterparts. It has a strong web presence which includes more updates breaking news than the hardcopy edition (Eklof 2013, p.14).

This study focuses on how *The Jakarta Post* frames this event. Over 90 percent of *The Jakarta Post*'s circulation of 85,000 consists of subscribers and many of them are expatriates and intellectuals—affluent and highly influential in their respective fields [3] (Abeam Consulting, 2014). This makes The Jakarta Post one of the few Indonesian media that reaches this important decision-making segment in the nation. *The Jakarta Post* is owned by a business conglomerate. The broadsheet is widely available in top-class hotels and tourist centers in the capital. The newspaper faces stiff commercial competition but it has a strong position with the expatriate and international communities (De Nelson 2005, p.54).

From above issues pertaining media and terrorism, considering the context of Indonesia as the largest and most populous Muslim country in the world, I therefore develop a research question how does *The Jakarta Post* report terrorism in Kenya mall attack?

[3]   Report released by Abeam Consulting in 14 April 2014

Construction of Reality and Discourse Analysis in Demonizing Islam

People construct place images and cognitive maps according to the kind of information they receive from various sources; accurate information results in more precise perceptions (Kariel and Rosenvall, 1978; Gold, 1980 cited by Avraham 2002, p.364). The role of the mass media in this process is crucial. Clearly, the mass media provide us with the mosaics from which we build our own personal reality. Thus, meaning and opinion have been socially constructed through a process often dominated by the mass media (Johnson-Cartee 2004, p.4).

Berger & Lukman (1966, p.47) conceived media as windows of the world and shape people's construction of reality. They further explained how they noticed newspaper vendor on the street corner as regularly as he saw his wife. But the vendor was less important to him and he was not on intimate terms with the vendors, who might remain relatively anonymous to him. The degree of interest and the degree of intimacy might combine to increase or decrease anonymity of experience.

News constructed reality concerned construction, and we were going to show that under certain specific types of situations, news did construct reality in the sense that the reality described in news and taken to be true by the public did not accord with underlying reality (Lau 2012, p.887).

Within the realm of political communication, for instance, framing had to be defined and operationalized on the basis of this social constructivism. Luhmann (2000, p.92) emphasized that the most important outcome of constructivist considerations was that mass media might generate reality, but a reality not subject to consensus.

Interactive model of construction of reality had important implications for conceptualizing framing as a theory of media

effects. An analysis of the roles that audiences and mass media played in this constructivist approach required research on various levels of analysis (Scheufele 1999, p.106).

Media discourse and public opinion are treated as two parallel system of constructing meaning. Gamson & Modigliani (1989) argued that the media discourse, is an essential context for understanding the formation of public opinion. The media serve a complex role. As an approach to news discourse, framing discourse analysis further is the core of a larger unit of public discourse, called a "package", that also contains various policy positions that may be derived from the frame as well as a set of "symbolic devices" (Gamson & Modigliani 1987, p.143). In another case, Mills (2004) argues that within linguistics, particularly within discourse analysis, discourse is used to describe a structure which extends beyond the boundaries of the sentence. Using the analogy of sentence structure and its internal constituents (such as subject, verb, object, or noun, verb, complement), there is an assumption that elements above the level of the sentence contain similar structures.

Goffman (1974) primarily stated, individuals consist of frameworks or schemata of interpretations that can be called primary to imply response and in effect employ. Each primary framework varies in degree of organization that allow individual to locate, perceive, identify, and label a seemingly infinite number of concrete occurrences denied in it terms. Event perceived in individual's schema can be reductively translated into a more "fundamental" framework, which later provides background understanding for events that incorporate the will, aim, and controlling effort of an intelligence, a live agency, the chief one being the human being. What it does can be described as "guided doings".

Entman (2007, p.164) further defined framing as the process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among

them to promote a particular interpretation. Fully developed frames typically perform four framing devices: *define problem*—determine what a causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits, usually measured in terms of common cultural values; *diagnose causes*—identify the forces creating the problem; *make moral judgments*—evaluate causal agents and their effects; and *suggest remedies*—offer and justify treatments for the problems and predict their likely effects. A single sentence may perform more than one of these four framing functions (Entman 1993, p.52).

Meanwhile, Gamson and Modigliani (1989) identified framing as media packages, a set of interpretive packages that give meaning to an issue. They distinguished framing five framing devices: *metaphors, exeplars* (historical examples from which lesson are drawn), *catchphrases, depiction,* and *visual images* (icons). The three reasoning devices were *roots* (causal analysis), *consequences* (particular type of effect), and *appeals to principles* (a set of moral claims).

In today's complex, diffused, and globalized media ecology consisting of global broadcasting networks, internet websites, and social media, terrorists have gained access to the media and to public discourse, mostly via the front door. Although media coverage of terrorists and terrorism still tends towards the negative side of the continuum, contemporary debate over the mere use of the term terrorism may suggest more diverse understandings than in the past for some uses of violence against civilians (Kampf 2014, p.6). There were many definitions of terrorism, however in this context as the writer would elaborate, terrorism concept in global perspective now was dominantly driven by global media.

In this more persuasive version, the terrorists' fanaticism was increasingly seen to come from a set of extreme, religious imperatives, derived from and in the pursuit of a radical form of Islam. Nonetheless, by providing such a clear and seemingly coherent

explanation for 'Islamic terrorism', the role of Islam in the narrative represses the question of political motivation more effectively than the old tautologies (which proclaimed dully that 'terrorists were motivated by their love of terrorism) (Freedman 2012, p.265).

As the Western media dominated globally, the international community was framed to fight international terrorism and to punish its perpetrators, despite the Saudi paper's negative evaluations of world opinion. It was notable that the Israeli Ha'azert and the Saudi Arab News both perceived negative evaluations of the United States as outweighing positive ones (Norris 2013, p.173).

Islam, as a world religion, has become peculiarly identified in the public consciousness with the Arab world, and especially with those parts of the Arab world thought to be hostile to western interests (MacDonald 2003, p.152). 'Islamic terrorism', on the other hand, resurrected nightmare visions of ancient modes of barbarity and ruthlessness that replaced carefully targeted precision and effectiveness with indiscriminate killing and destruction. The rise of what the media quickly called "Islamic fundamentalism' was rarely contextualized, but appeared to rise like a sudden excrescence, filled with intemperate bile and venom.

Shpiro (2002, p.76) argued that the events of 11 September 2001, and the subsequent 'war on terror', highlighted the role of the media in both the coverage and conduct of modern conflict. The article concentrated on the 'conflict media strategies' pursued by belligerents and examines the development and refinement of such strategies over time, from the Second World War through to the conflict in Afghanistan.

This good guys vs. bad guys dichotomy is at the heart of current circulation of publicized news and the hazardous terms of conception making the media headlines concern the so-called war on terrorism. The term 'terrorism' is being created that in the post-Cold War era, a radicalized Islam has replaced Communism as the preeminent transnational threat to Western interests, exemplified by shadowy networks such as al-Qaeda, with its alleged links to "rogue" states such as Iran (Kavoori 2006, p.6). Thus, these two poles dichotomy would carry out framing discussion about who was the perpetrator that media tried to describe. Media drew our construction of reality of what was terrorism, who was the perpetrator, and subsequently who was responsible behind the attack. As the Western media dominated globally, the international community was framed to fight international terrorism and to punish its perpetrators, despite the Saudi paper's negative evaluations of world opinion.

Method

Pan & Kosicki news discourse framing analysis model will be applied within this study. Framing analysis by Pan & Koscicki is an approach to news discourse. It is important to stress the reason why I choose this model. Pan & Kosicki's model allows for details analysis in micro level. We should emphasize that framing analysis does not assume a one-to-one correspondence between the structural and lexical features and meanings of a news story. Discourse has to be seen as a "holistic construct" and a central empirical referent in micro-discourse analysis. Therefore, an understanding of the texts as a whole is necessary to place the micro-analysis into context (avoid the selected passages being viewed in isolation, thus potentially affecting the meaning of the content) (Titscher et al, 2000). However, the micro units should be helpful for researchers to identify the elements of the script, thematic and rhetorical structures, and to examine the level of logical consistency between the analysis of news discourse at the level of macrosyntax and the models of comprehension at some lower levels (Pan & Kosicki, 1993).

Framing model purposed by Pan &

Kosicki sees that framing analysis is presented as a constructivist approach to examine news discourse with the primary focus on conceptualizing news texts into empirically operationalization dimensions—syntactical, script, thematic, and rhetorical structures—so that evidence of the news media's framing of issues in news texts may be gathered. This is considered an initial step toward analyzing the news discourse process as a whole.

Table 1.1 - *Pan and Kosicki Framing Devices*

Structure	Framing Device	Unit of Observation
Syntactic	1. News schema	Headline, lead, background information, quotation, statement, closing
Script	2. News completeness	5W+1H
Thematic	3. Detail 4. Coherence 5. Sentence form 6. Pronoun	Paragraph, proposition, sentence, inter-sentence connection
Rhetorical	7. Lexicon 8. Idiom 9. Metaphor 10. Metonyms	Term, idiom, picture/photo, graphic

Source: Pan and Kosicki (1993)

This research will focus on editorial page published by *The Jakarta Post* within the four-day siege in Westgate Mall of Kenya. "Opinion" discourse—editorials, op-ed articles, and guest columns—assumes an important communicative function by offering newsreaders a distinctive and authoritative voice that will speak to them directly, in the face of troubling or problematic circumstances (Greenberg, 2000).

Discourse Findings: Barbaric 'Jihad'

Syntax

Syntax of statements is dominantly reported rather than background information through this fifth news article from *The Jakarta Post*. This fifth article is different from the four previous news articles. All previous articles are hard news and placed in rubric of world. Meanwhile, this fifth article is presented as an editorial. The role of an editorial directly represents media company's policy and position. Editorial is written by chief/managing editors or senior reporters in the media organization. Article writing as editorial illustrates representation of what a media think about, where their position is, and how they see the problem.

Discovery from background information on the second paragraph, *The Jakarta Post* directly links the Westgate attack by exemplifying another church attack in Pakistan and series of shooting and bombings in Indonesia. Those strikes have caused many death tolls and left behind fear. On the fourth paragraph, *The Jakarta Post* officially considers Westgate siege as terrorism attack purposely target non-Muslims and al-Shabab is the perpetrator who identified as a local wing of al-Qaeda. Further *The Jakarta Post* repeatedly connects this case to religious issue by exemplifying suicide bombing to church in Pakistan and continuously link the perpetrator to al-Qaeda that target non-Muslim in Pakistan in purpose.

Statements from the first paragraph contain complication to distinguish between terrorism and regular crimes. However, *The Jakarta Post* personally identifies Westgate siege as terrorist attack (see 4th paragraph). On the sixth paragraph, *The Jakarta Post* wrote

statement repeatedly mentioned religious belief into the case by stating the attacks as "…, *under grand excuse of holy wars*".

It becomes clearer where the position of *The Jakarta Post* through the eighth paragraph. In this paragraph *The Jakarta Post* even bluntly identifies recent decade terrorism to the violent type of jihad, and further adds up that Indonesia against violent jihad. The last statement, all at once as closing statement and main point of news, is discovered on the ninth paragraph by showing that Westgate and all Saint church are barbarically attacked by Muslims.

Table 1.2 - *Syntax Analysis*

Para-graph	Sen-tence	Proposition	Syntax
		'Barbaric 'jihad'	Headline
1	1,2	It is not always easy for civilians, or policy makers and authorities, to distinguish between acts of terrorism or regular crimes, which similarly kill and maim people. Over the weekend reports said dozens of civilians were killed and injured in an attack at a mall in Nairobi, Kenya.	Statement
2	3,4	A further story said over 75 people had been killed in another attack after a Sunday service at a church in Peshawar, Pakistan. In Indonesia, doubts rise over the security forces ability to anticipate and overcome violence—as police themselves have recently been killed in shootings and bomb blasts.	Background information
3	5	Such chilling reports remind us how militias, robbers, and/or those with ties to security forces, easily gain the skills and resources to kill and terrorize people, often with excuses that they expect to gain support.	Statement
4	6,7	The weekend shooting at Nairobi's Westgate mall reportedly involved terrorists, as the gunmen urged "non-Muslims" to leave the mall just before their shooting spree. Reports linked the mall attack to the al-Shabab, identified as a local wing of al-Qaeda, which opposes Kenya's participation in a peacekeeping mission in neighboring Somalia.	Background information
5	8	Following the suicide bombings at the church in Pakistan, a group claiming to be a wing of al-Qaeda, said non-Muslims in Pakistan "will remain our target as long as America fails to stop drone strikes in our country."	Background information
6	9, 10	Since the 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States, civilians have been increasingly exposed to the notion that they are considered	Statement

		legal targets of violence, under grand excuses of holy wars. Such proclamations have lured in more and more recruits, which is why many Indonesians were not celebrating the killing of al-Qae-da leader Osama bin Laden in May 2011.	
7	11, 12	Porous borders, the Internet and low levels of security continue to provide support for violent parties. Overt monitoring of citizens, as the US is currently accused of, has not helped basic prevention mea-sures to keep us safe, though pol-icy makers would argue that in the absence of more intelligence oper-ations, we would see more innocent victims.	State-ment
8	13, 14	Over a decade of fighting terror-ism has shown how the counter arguments against the violent type of jihad has not been sufficient to drown out supporters of violence; and with some 200 million Muslims, Indonesians share the responsibility of speaking up against violent jihad. We continue to debate the va-lidity of US armed intervention in the world's hotbeds.	State-ment

9	15	Still, the attacks on the Westgate and the All Saints Church were bar-baric, which we do not accept as a de-fense of Muslims.	Closing statement (main point of news)

Script

What is the most salient element of script existed in the editorial. *The Jakarta Post* bluntly attempts to stress 'jihad' as 'our ene-my' and persists to against 'jihad' under grand excuses of holy wars. Six of nine paragraphs address what element in the attack of terror-ism and correlate Westgate mall siege to series of religious terrorism shooting and bombing blasts in Pakistan and Indonesia.

Meanwhile *who* element of script fre-quently appears in coherence with 'we' as *The Jakarta Post* appoints themselves and embrac-es readers to be embroiled with the same posi-tion with the media. *The Jakarta Post* also fills *who* element with al-Shabab. However, al-Shabab is depicted as hazardous troublemak-ers and has alienation to global terrorist orga-nization al-Qaeda. Depiction of troublemakers appears on the fourth and fifth paragraphs.

> *"The weekend shooting at Nairobi's West-gate mall reportedly involved terrorists, as the gunmen urged "non-Muslims" to leave the mall just before their shooting spree. Reports linked the mall attack to the al-Shabab, identified as a local wing of al-Qaeda, which opposes Kenya's partici-pation in a peacekeeping mission in neigh-boring Somalia. Following the suicide bombings at the church in Pakistan, a group claiming to be a wing of al-Qaeda, said non-Muslims in Pakistan "will remain our target as long as America fails to stop drone strikes in our country."*
>
> *—Paragraph 4 to 5*

Thematic

This article consists of three big themes. The second theme elicits dominant portion throughout this fifth article, rendering series of religious attacks as examples. *The Jakarta Post* hooks up other attacks outside the context as an effort to construe the complicity between terrorism and particular religion (Muslim) by linking Westgate mall siege to several bombings and assaults for the sake of martyrdom or jihad. Instead of asserting political or economic views, such as prior Kenyan invasion to Somalia in 2011 (as many times mentioned in previous news articles), or highlighting pivotal economics issue in Somalia's civil war deprivation, *The Jakarta Post* has transgressed the new issue of Muslim and jihadism.

Although *The Jakarta Post* has stated first theme in the lead paragraph, alluding that it is not easy to distinguish between terrorism and regular crime, most of the thematic structure encapsulate who becomes the perpetrator from the outset, considering such term as jihad and Muslim. Furthermore, as a closing paragraph, *The Jakarta Post* reiterates the Westgate mall siege as an attack and further builds upon a comparison to other prior examples of church attacks, by stating Westgate attack and the All Saint Church were barbaric. It is intriguing fact that *The Jakarta Post* indeed inscribes "All Saint Church" in capital letters, retrieving capital letters are commonly addressed to something veritable important or appertain sacred disposition.

The third theme, which stated the absence of intelligence operations, comes across in the paragraph seven. In this paragraph, *The Jakarta Post* has evinced a lack of monitoring of porous borders internet. Here, *The Jakarta Post* exemplifies that US, which is currently accused of overt monitoring toward its citizen, has not helped any basic prevention to keep anyone safe. The third theme has no further supporting paragraph, merely kicking off a novel thematic context without any subsequent supporting paragraphs.

Table 1.3 - *Thematic Analysis*

Para-graph	Sen-tence	Proposition	Syntax
		Barbaric 'jihad'	Headline
1	1, 2	It is not always easy for civilians, or policy makers and authorities, to distinguish between acts of terrorism or regular crimes, which similarly kill and maim people. Over the weekend reports said dozens of civilians were killed and injured in an attack at a mall in Nairobi, Kenya..	Theme 1: it is not easy to distinguish between terrorism and regular crimes
2	3, 4	A further story said over 75 people had been killed in another attack after a Sunday service at a church in Peshawar, Pakistan. In Indonesia, doubts rise over the security forces ability to anticipate and overcome violence—as police themselves have recently been killed in shootings and bomb blasts.	Theme 2: series of religious attacks
3	5	Such chilling reports remind us how militias, robbers, and/ or those with ties to security	Sup-porting theme 1

		forces, easily gain the skills and resources to kill and terrorize people, often with excuses that they expect to gain support.	
4	6, 7	The weekend shooting at Nairobi's Westgate mall reportedly involved terrorists, as the gunmen urged "non-Muslims" to leave the mall just before their shooting spree. Reports linked the mall attack to the al-Shabab, identified as a local wing of al-Qaeda, which opposes Kenya's participation in a peacekeeping mission in neighboring Somalia.	Supporting theme 2
5	8	Following the suicide bombings at the church in Pakistan, a group claiming to be a wing of al-Qaeda, said non-Muslims in Pakistan "will remain our target as long as America fails to stop drone strikes in our country."	Supporting theme 2
6	9, 10	Since the 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States, civilians have been increasingly exposed to the notion that they	Supporting theme 2
		are considered legal targets of violence, under grand excuses of holy wars. Such proclamations have lured in more and more recruits, which is why many Indonesians were not celebrating the killing of al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden in May 2011.	
7	11, 12	Porous borders, the Internet and low levels of security continue to provide support for violent parties. Overt monitoring of citizens, as the US is currently accused of, has not helped basic prevention measures to keep us safe, though policy makers would argue that in the absence of more intelligence operations, we	Theme 3: absence of intelligence operations
8	13, 14	Over a decade of fighting terrorism has shown how the counter arguments against the violent type of jihad has not been sufficient to drown out supporters of violence; and with some 200 million Muslims, Indonesians share the responsibility of speaking up against violent jihad.	Supporting theme 2

		We continue to debate the validity of US armed intervention in the world's hotbeds.	
9	15	Still, the attacks on the Westgate and the All Saints Church were barbaric, which we do not accept as a defense of Muslims.	Supporting theme 2

Rhetoric

The Jakarta Post bluntly shows its editorial's headline with big bold font of *Barbaric 'jihad'*. The lexicon of jihad has a strong correlation to Muslim and contains a negative connotation of linking Muslim to terrorism in media. As Merriam Webster [4] dictionary further describes *jihad* as a war fought by Muslims to defend or spread their beliefs, holy war waged on behalf of Islam as a religious duty, a personal struggle in devotion to Islam especially involving spiritual discipline or in another way Islam as the central doctrine calls on believers to combat the enemies of their religion. According to the Qur'an and the Hadith, jihad is a duty that may be fulfilled in four ways: by the heart, the tongue, the hand, or the sword.

Jihad has closely related as a holy war on behalf of the Muslim faith. The word jihad is a noun meaning "struggle." Jihad appears frequently in the Qur'an and common usage as the idiomatic expression "striving in the way of Allah (al-jihad fi sabil Allah)." A person engaged in jihad is called a mujahid, the plural is mujahideen. A minority among the Sunni scholars sometimes refer to this duty as the sixth pillar of Islam, though it occupies no such official status. The clear meaning of

jihad itself does not relatively to slay or actively massacre, but more to (inner) struggle to Allah by sword (preaching) as one's moral duty.

The Jakarta Post adds an adjective 'barbaric' to link with jihad in its headline. Barbaric literally means 'uncivilized', a person in a savage, primitive, people without culture, refinement, or education [5]. In this rhetoric coherence, jihad is simply discerned as an uncivilized or savage demeanor. It builds upon misperception of jihad inner struggle and solely refers implementation of jihad as something uncivilized and uneducated.

On the fourth paragraph another lexicon of *peacekeeping* is found. The whole sentence states that the perpetrator al-Shabab as well as local wing of al-Qaeda is deemed as hazardous troublemaker and the opposition of peacekeeping mission in neighboring Somali. The interesting part is how both sides define totally different views. Al-Shabab strongly declares Kenyan troops to invade sovereignty of Somalia. On the other hand, *The Jakarta Post*'s editorial depicts opposite views by defending Kenyan government and cornering al-Shabab, yielding dichotomy of good vs good guy or hero vs villain.

Another lexicon is shown on the sixth paragraph. *The Jakarta Post* alludes about *holy war* in the ninth sentence of the editorial. From this perspective, the media has clear position to describe terrorism under excuse of a holy war, which also has decisive association with religious scheme. Hence, terrorism is not merely a higher level of regular criminal, *The Jakarta Post* has put terrorism under religion scheme and attempted to associate perpetrators with *jihad* or Muslims. Jihadism, as previously mentioned by Merriam Webster, induces terror or violence connotations that when Muslims, or their faith or territory are under attack, Islam permits (some say directs) the believer to wage military war to protect them. However Islamic (shariah) law sets very strict

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4   http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/jihad

5   http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/barbarian

rules for the conduct of such a war. In recent years the most common meaning of Jihad has been Holy War. And there is a long tradition of Jihad being used to mean a military struggle to benefit Islam.

The Jakarta Post also expresses other lexicons on the eighth paragraph. The sentence has a strong affiliation with *terrorism* and *jihad*. The literal meaning of Jihad is struggle or effort, and it means much more than a holy war. Muslims use the word Jihad to describe three different kinds of struggle. First, it is complied as a believer's internal struggle to live out the Muslim faith as well as possible, the struggle to build a good Muslim society, and as struggle to defend Islam, with force if necessary. Jihad and holy war comprise definitive intercourse to martyrdom, willing to die for their beliefs even though assessing violence or massacre. Instead of perceiving regret or guilt, martyrs convince themselves to be sacred and righteous.

The lexicons address concern in fighting terrorism over decades and urge readers to against the violent type of jihad. Those descriptions can further be analyzed through this sentence on the eighth paragraph:

> "*Over a decade of fighting terrorism has shown how the counter arguments against the violent type of jihad.*"

Rather than to impose terrorism upon highest level criminality, *The Jakarta Post* has engendered terrorism intertwines with particular religious violence (jihad) or Muslim.

The last paragraph, which also comes as both closing and conclusion, remains to highlight connection of Muslim and barbaric actions. By defining this idea, *The Jakarta Post* still points out examples of church destructive attacks, even appoints lexicon of *All Saint Church* to stress the innocence of the churches. Meanwhile, the Westgate case itself has no further mentions. The whole sentence on the ninth paragraph has explicit meanings to put Muslim position into a corner:

> "*Still, the attacks on the Westgate and the All Saints Church were barbaric, which we do not accept as a defense of Muslims.*"

Conclusion

A cognition to postulate Indonesia's different perspective from those Western media, looking at the context Indonesia as the world's largest Muslim country (Huxley 2013, p.7; Trivedi 2009, p.101), has been entirely an error.

The **syntax** structure here was dominantly statements. The most salient aspect of statement syntax came from the sixth paragraph where *The Jakarta Post* construed the siege as religious-crime by stating

> "*..., under grand excuse of holy wars.*"

Element of what and who in the **script** structure were dominants. What element stressed 'jihad' as 'our enemy' and persisted to against 'jihad' under grand excuse of holy war. Meanwhile, *who* element frequently in line with 'we' point of view, where *The Jakarta Post* attempted to embrace readers to be embroiled with the same position with the media. **Thematic** structure pervaded three striking themes. First theme could be seen in the lead paragraph, rendering that it was not easy to distinguish between terrorism and regular crime. Second theme was a connexion of Westgate siege to the series of religious attacks. The third theme stated the absence of intelligence operations, such as lack of monitoring of porous borders internet in US case. Lastly, the lexicon of *Barbaric 'jihad'* in **rhetoric** structure was the most imperative shown in its headline. Other salient rhetoric lexicons were holy wars, terrorism, jihad, barbaric, and All Saint Church (literally in capital letters). *The Jakarta Post* pulled out the siege not as high-level crime, but as holy war. The story almost did not explain anything concerning the siege, but mostly deciphered a linkage to several church attacks.

The similarities among five articles are how *The Jakarta Post* builds upon dichotomy of characters and framing of demonizing Muslim in its reportage as previously elaborated in chapter two. Drawing upon framing discourse analysis, this study has evinced how *The Jakarta Post* has portrayed the Westgate mall siege as terrorism and further linked the attack to particular religious complicity (Islam) by dismantling good guys vs. bad guys and heroes vs. villains dichotomy. This dichotomy is elicited from the analysis of four framing structures (syntax, script, thematic, rhetoric).

The Jakarta Post engenders non-Muslim as helpless victims (chosen-target), Kenyan government as rescuers (heroes), and al-Shabab—or in another word al-Qaeda-linked terrorist—as perpetrator (villains) by further discerning Muslim affiliation with terrorism, Jihadism, and holy war. In this way *The Jakarta Post* emulates Islam as news to get massive doses of Islamic punishment, gratuitous violence, terrorism, and harem positioning non-Muslim.

Table 1.4 – *Dichotomy Characters*

Actor	Dichotomy	Role	Linkage
non-Muslim	good guy	victims	innocent "chosen-victim"
Kenyan government	heroes	rescuers	not only saving lives, but also successfully killed the gunmen (dehumanization trait)
al-Shabab	villain	attackers	terrorists, jihadists, Islamic extremists, Muslims, rebels
"All Saint Church"	good guy	victims	attacks after Sunday service/ church bombings
muslim hostages	ignored	ignored	no specific attention (free to leave the scene, they're safe)

Moreover, *The Jakarta Post* construes the siege as the theological basis rather than merely high-level crime. Delving into "All-Saint-Church" metaphor, *The Jakarta Post* has explicitly dismantled the siege as if a battle between two religions (Muslim and Christian), by randomly exemplifies to several church bombings.

The Jakarta Post has strong affiliation with Western media. Susanto Pudjomartono, *The Jakarta Post*'s second chief editor, was chosen to be Indonesia's ambassador to Australia. *The Jakarta Post* also signs a distribution agreement with the British news service Reuters and the American Dialog Information Services, allowing its stories to be more easily promoted overseas [6].

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