UNIVERSITI PUTRA MALAYSIA

A FRAME ANALYSIS OF THE COVERAGE OF ISLAM/MUSLIMS AND TERRORISM IN TIME AND THE ECONOMIST

SOFIA HAYATI YUSOFF

FBMK 2014 25

A FRAME ANALYSIS OF THE COVERAGE OF ISLAM/MUSLIMS AND TERRORISM IN *TIME* AND *THE ECONOMIST*

By

SOFIA HAYATI YUSOFF

Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, Universiti Putra Malaysia, in Fulfillment of the Requirements for Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

August 2014

DEDICATION

to

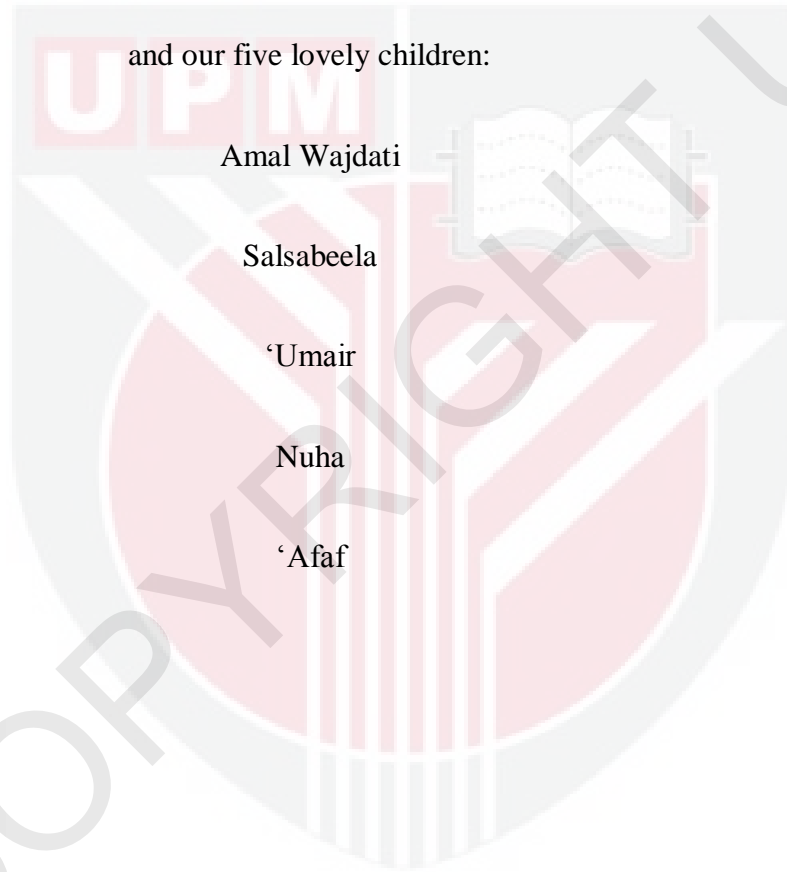my dearest husband Dr. Kasim Ramli

and our five lovely children:

Amal Wajdati

Salsabeela

'Umair

Nuha

'Afaf

Abstract of thesis presented to the Senate of Universiti Putra Malaysia in fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

A FRAME ANALYSIS OF THE COVERAGE OF ISLAM/MUSLIMS AND TERRORISM IN *TIME* AND *THE ECONOMIST*

By

SOFIA HAYATI YUSOFF

August 2014

Chairperson: **Professor Md Salleh Hassan, PhD**

Faculty: **Modern Languages and Communication**

In portraying Islam especially after the September 11 attacks, a number of studies found that terrorism has been repeatedly associated with Islam/Muslims by most of international media. There is a perception that international media play a vital role in creating a relationship between Islam/Muslims and terrorism in their coverage that leads to the formation of frames on Islam/Muslims and terrorism. Based on this view, the researcher has conducted a content analysis of two international news magazines, *Time* and *The Economist,* aimed at examining the coverage of the selected articles in terms of sources of news, themes, and comparison among four different periods of sampling; a one year period right before September 11, a one year period right after September 11, a one year period after five years of September 11 and a one year period after ten years of September 11. The researcher also looked at the analysis of the news stories by qualitatively extracting the frames that were formed pertaining to Islam/Muslims and terrorism in all articles selected. This study has applied content analysis as the research methodology in collecting, coding and analyzing the data. In this study, the researcher used three main key variables in understanding the analysis of the frames. The three variables were the themes, the overall framing of Islam/Muslims with terrorism and the use of frames by these news magazines. All paragraphs pertaining to the issue during the study periods were analyzed. A total of 4,443 paragraphs were analyzed to determine the significant themes, overall framing and frames formation. For themes, the researcher has found that among most significant themes used by these *Time* and *The Economist* in covering stories related to Islam/Muslims are "conflict", "politics" and "violence/terrorism" while the analysis on overall framing showed that Islam/Muslims have been highly associated with terrorism in two out of four periods of sampling selected; a one year period right after September 11 and a one year period after five years

of September 11. The researcher has finally discovered ten frames that have been consistently used by the *Time* and *The Economist* on Islam/Muslims in relation to terrorism issues throughout the four periods being studied; there are one year right before September 11, one year right after September 11, one year after five years of September 11, and finally one year after ten years of September 11.

Abstrak tesis yang dikemukakan kepada Senat Universiti Putra Malaysia sebagai memenuhi keperluan untuk ijazah Doktor Falsafah

ANALISA PEMBINGKAIAN MENGENAI LIPUTAN ISLAM/MUSLIM DAN KEGANASAN DI DALAM MAJALAH *TIME* DAN THE *ECONOMIST*

By

SOFIA HAYATI YUSOFF

Ogos 2014

Pengerusi: **Professor Md Salleh Hassan, PhD**

Fakulti: **Bahasa Moden dan Komunikasi**

Gambaran mengenai Islam terutamanya selepas serangan 11 September, beberapa penyelidikan mendapati kebanyakan media antarabangsa seringkali mengaitkan keganasan dengan Islam/Muslim. Oleh yang demikian, media antarabangsa memainkan peranan penting dalam pembentukan pembingkaian mengenai Islam/Muslim dan keganasan. Berdasarkan pandangan ini, penyelidik telah menjalankan analisa kandungan dua majalah berita antarabangsa, *Time* dan *The Economist*, meliputi artikel-artikel terpilih untuk menghalusi sumber berita, tema, dan perbandingan antara empat tempoh kajian yang berbeza; iaitu setahun sejurus sebelum dan juga selepas 11 September, dan selepas lima serta sepuluh tahun kemudiannya. Penyelidik seterusnya menganalisa liputan berita dengan mengekstrak secara kualitatif pembingkaian yang terbentuk berkaitan Islam/Muslim dan keganasan dalam semua artikel pilihan melalui kaedah analisa teks. Kajian ini telah menggunakan analisa kandungan sebagai metodologi penyelidikan dalam mengumpul, mengekod dan menganalisa data. Dalam kajian ini, penyelidik menggunakan tiga pembolehubah utama dalam membuat analisa iaitu tema, pembingkaian keseluruhan dan pembentukan pembingkaian yang melibatkan sebanyak 4,443 perenggan atau unit analisa. Penyelidik telah mendapati bahawa antara tema paling penting yang digunakan oleh *Time* dan *The Economist* dalam liputan berita berkaitan Islam/ Muslim adalah "konflik", "politik" dan "huru-hara atau keganasan". Manakala analisa pada pembingkaian keseluruhan menunjukkan kaitan Islam/Muslim dengan keganasan di dalam dua daripada empat tempoh sampel pilihan iaitu tempoh setahun sejurus selepas 11 September dan juga selepas lima tahun malapetaka tersebut. Teknik kualitatif yang dilakukan pula mendapati sepuluh pembingkaian mengaitkan Islam/Muslim dengan keganasan telah digunakan oleh kedua-dua majalah ini secara konsisten sepanjang empat tempoh persampelan pilihan, iaitu tempoh setahun sejurus

sebelum 11 September, tempoh setahun sejurus selepas 11 September, tempoh setahun lima tahun selepas 11 September dan akhir sekali tempoh setahun sepuluh tahun selepas 11 September.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Mohmad. Their understandings are indeed a great booster for me to endure this hard-hitting journey. They are the reason for me to keep going and remain strong until the end.

All of them mentioned have made me able to go through this wonderful journey which has been my ambition since I was small.

Alhamdulillah…

I certify that a Thesis Examination Committee has met on (date of viva voce) to conduct the final examination of Sofia Hayati Yusoff on her thesis entitled "A Framing Analysis of *Time* and *The Economist* on Coverage of Islam/Muslims and Terrorism" in accordance with the Universities and University Colleges Act 1971 and the Constitution of the Universiti Putra Malaysia [P.U.(A) 106] 15 March 1998. The Committee recommends that the student be awarded the Doctor of Philosophy of Science).

Member of the Thesis Examination Committee were as follows:

Shameem Begum Mohd Rafik Khan, PhD
Associate Professor
Faculty of Modern Languages and Communication
Universiti Putra Malaysia
(Chairman)

Abdul Mua'ti @ Zamri Ahmad, PhD
Associate Professor
Faculty of Modern Languages and Communication
Universiti Putra Malaysia
(Internal Examiner)

Siti Zobidah Omar, PhD
Associate Professor
Faculty of Modern Languages and Communication
Universiti Putra Malaysia
(Internal Examiner)

Lars Wilnat, PhD
Professor
School of Journalism
Indiana University Bloomington
United States of America
(External Examiner)

_____
Prof. Bujang B.K Huat, PhD
Dean
School of Graduate Studies
Universiti Putra Malaysia

Date:

This thesis submitted to the Senate of Universiti Putra Malaysia and has been accepted as fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor Philosophy. The members of the Supervisory Committee are as follows:

Md Salleh Hassan, PhD
Professor
Faculty of Modern Languages and Communication
Universiti Putra Malaysia
(Chairman)

Ezhar Tamam, PhD
Professor
Faculty of Modern Languages and Communication
Universiti Putra Malaysia
(Member)

Mohd Nizam Osman, PhD
Senior Lecturer
Faculty of Modern Languages and Communication
Universiti Putra Malaysia
(Member)

Mohd Sham Shahkat Ali, PhD
Associate Professor
College of Arts and Sciences
Abu Dhabi University
Abu Dhabi, UAE
(External Member)

                                          BUJANG KIM HUAT, PhD
                                          Professor and Dean
                                          School of Graduate Studies
                                          Universiti Putra Malaysia

Date:

Declaration by graduate student

I hereby confirm that:
- this thesis is my original work;
- quotations, illustrations and citation have been duly referenced;
- this thesis has not been submitted previously or concurrently for any other degree at any other institutions;
- intellectual property from the thesis and copyright of thesis are fully-owned by Universiti Putra Malaysia, as according to the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Research) Rules 2012;
- written permission must be obtained from supervisor and the office of Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Research and Innovation) before thesis is published (in the form of written, printed or in electronic form) including books, journals, modules, proceedings, popular writings, seminar papers, manuscripts, posters, reports, lecture notes, learning modules or any other materials as stated in the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Research) Rules 2012;
- there is no plagiarism or data falsification/fabrication in the thesis, and scholarly integrity is upheld as according to the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Graduate Studies) Rules 2003 (Revision 2012-2013) and the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Research) Rules 2012. The thesis has undergone plagiarism detection software.

Signature: _____   Date:_____

Name and Matric No.: SOFIA HAYATI BINTI YUSOFF (GS 26893)

Declaration by Members of Supervisory Committee

This is to confirm that:
- the research conducted and the writing of this thesis was under our supervision;
- supervision responsibilities as stated in the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Graduate Studies) Rules 2003 (Revision 2012-2013) are adhered to:

Signature: _____
Name of
Chairman of
Supervisory
Committee:_____

Signature: _____
Name of
Member of
Supervisory
Committee: _____

Signature: _____
Name of
Member of
Supervisory
Committee: _____

Signature: _____
Name of
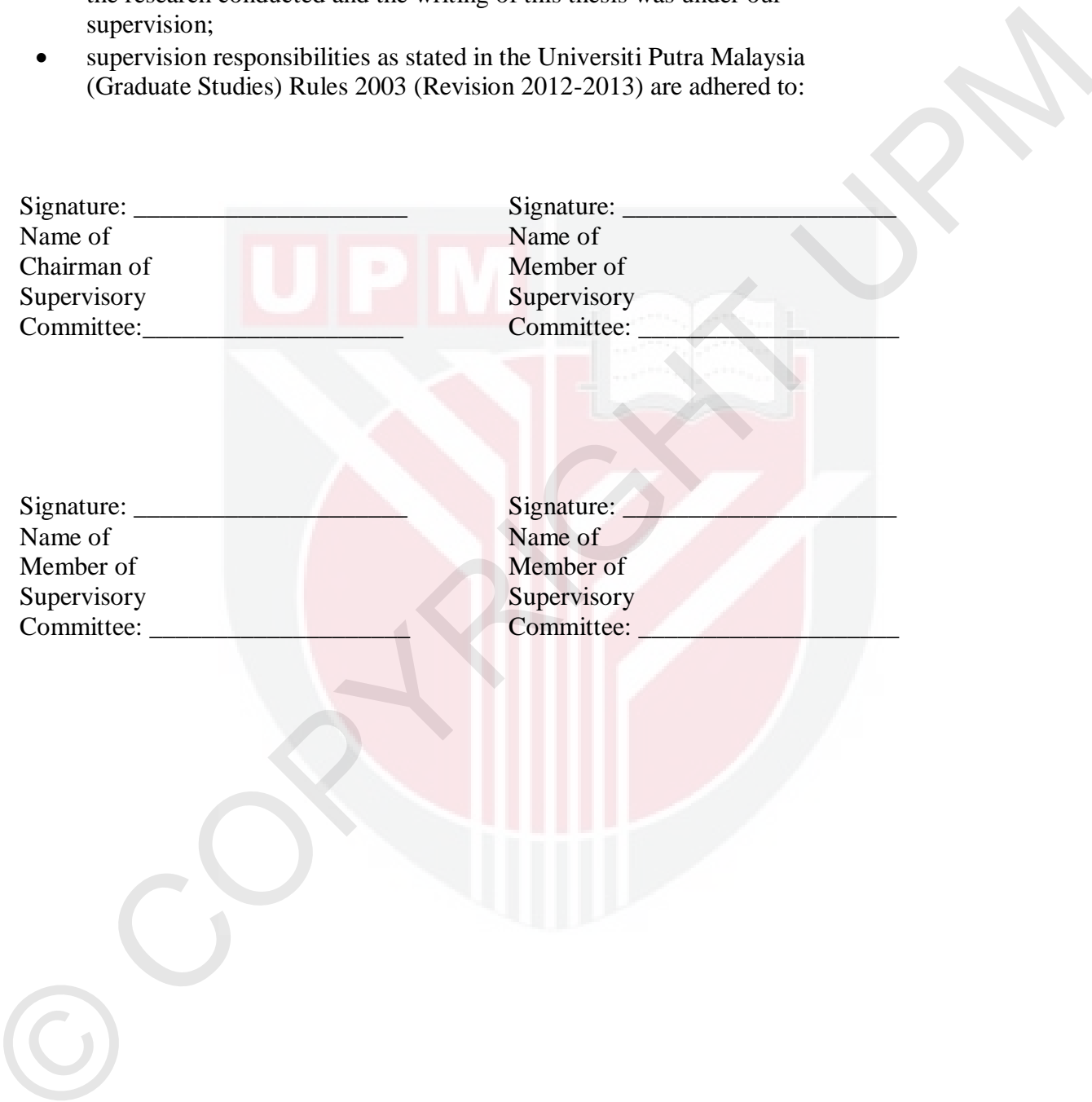Member of
Supervisory
Committee: _____

x

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

US – United States

UK – United Kingdom

LTTE – Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam

PLO – Palestine Liberation Organization

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter serves to introduce and outline the problem of the present study on examining international media frames from the frame-building process of news articles on Islam/Muslims and terrorism. It also sets forth the context, scope and objectives which are to be attained by the researcher.

Background of the problem

From the beginning of the mass media existence, scholars in the field of communication have been dealing with empirical works of media effects (Reese, 2006; Poole, 2002; Entman, 1993; McCombs, 1972). Previously, there were two different views on the roles of media that have been regarded as the starting point of mass communication theory development. The first view was the optimistic view which claimed the mass media as a tool in elevating the quality of human life. The pessimistic view regarded media as a machine that jeopardized human social order. Later, The Mass Society Theory appeared where it offers its philosophy of media powerful effects to the mass society and culture. This theory explained the persuasive power of media effects, in dictating the behaviours of the so-called passive audience, as an essential and effective tool both for good and bad consequences.

Since that, many social sciences scholars have been studying the powerful impact of mass media. Paul Lazarsfeld (in Baran & Davis, 2003) generated the scientific view of mass communication by conducting an entirely comprehensive designed research to accomplish the media effects with the measurement of its magnitude, which finally played an essential part in the development of the mass communication theory. The research done since then has mostly followed this scientific approach. Consequently, the limited effects paradigm was the result of this domain following the discovery of an active audience in media consumption. Furthermore in 1970s, another theory, Agenda Setting Theory, was founded by McCombs & Shaw (1972); which explained media pervasiveness rather than media persuasiveness.

Following the 1968 United States presidential election, the Chapel Hill study that led to the formation of Agenda Setting Theory resulted in many empirical works conducted within the limited media effects paradigm. In the 1990s, the communication schools witnessed the development of the Framing Theory, which is also known as the second-level Agenda Setting Theory. The growth of framing studies has since increased more than two folds compared to a decade ago. Bryant & Miron (2004) believe that this theory is currently becoming the most universally applied research approach in the field of communication. Besides, it has obtained outstanding popularity both in the scholarly literature and public imagination (Reese, 2006).

Reese (2001) defines framing as the way media, media professionals and audiences organized events or issues and make sense out of those events or issues. Van Gorp

(2007) states that the framing concept is originated from the field of cognitive psychology and anthropology. Later, it started to be taken up and adopted by other sciences. Erving Goffman (1974) introduced the framing approach as related to its applicability to our daily life, in economic and social studies for decision-making (in Scheff, 2005; Endres, 2004; Baran & Davis, 2003; Simon & Xenos, 2000). Goffman (1974) displays in his classical work on framing how new information could be processed by people in applying human interpretive schemata to work on information and interpret it successfully and how people use expectations to make sense of everyday life.

Framing theory is seen to have been dealing a lot with so called media content. According to Goffman (1974), media content is constructed to highlight only the most meaningful actions. It is considered to be able to reinforce social cues and this leads the audience to learn more than what has been displayed (in Ytreberg, 2002). Therefore, frames are the cognitive shortcuts that people employed to understand the complex world. Journalists are assisted by frames in describing and elaborating the happenings of an event and the audience interprets them in order to understand their world. Frames help us to organize the multifaceted occurrences into simple, consistent, and understandable categories. Thus, according to Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007), Framing Theory is considered to have potentially strong media effects.

The studies on framing in the field of communication have been regarded as lacking the clarity of terminology and therefore requiring the comprehensive nature of the manifestation. This is similar to what was suggested by D'Angelo (2002) and Scheufele (2000). This, as mentioned by Weaver (2007) could be the rationale of the popularity of framing over agenda setting and priming during the past decade. McCombs, as cited in Scheufele (2000), has made an attempt to apply this theory to expand and develop the existing Agenda Setting Theory. McCombs claims that there is a need for both framing as well as priming to be absorbed into the agenda-setting paradigm and be considered as the second level agenda setting.

Even though a number of communication scholars make efforts to adopt framing and priming under a large concept of agenda setting, Scheufele (2000) believes that such integration is inappropriate as the combination may lead to the ignorance of the significant differences among the theoretical premises of these models namely agenda setting, framing and priming. Despite all the similarities they possess, framing is obviously in contrast with the agenda-setting model. According to Scheufele (2000), framing regards the change in media content, for example the wording might affect the interpretation made by the audience, while both agenda setting and priming see the media content as the concept of behaviour accessibility.

Scheufele & Tewksbury (2007) assert that the existence of agenda-setting, framing and priming models indicates a paradigm shift in political-communication research. Agenda setting looks at the change of news salience by media, while the other two models are based on the notion that the media have potentially strong effects on audience's attitude.

However, these effects depend solely on the audience's schemata or human frames. Thus, it can be concluded that framing is regarded to be macro and micro-level constructs. According to Scheufele (2000), macro construct refers to the presentation approaches of news reports, in which the media usually advocate a frame in such a manner as to make clear of the audiences' existing underlying schemata. The micro-construct on the other hand, deals with the psychological factor in the understanding of information within human interpretive schemata.

De Vreese (2005) has illustrated the process of framing that involves the so called frame building and frame setting. Frame building deals with the creation and process of news messages, while frame setting examines the media effects being produced. This integrated process of framing inspires the researcher to conduct the present study to examine the framing of international print media with the issues pertaining to Islam/Muslims and terrorism. The frames in the news articles on Islam or Muslims are the focus of this study. This is paralleled with some other media studies that examined news frames from the journalistic perspectives to determine how media frames are interpreted from issue-specific perspectives (Norris, 1995; Entman, 1991).

A large number of framing studies on issues pertaining to Islam and terrorism were conducted on newspapers (Dina, 2010; Hashim, 2009; Kumar, 2008; d'Haenens & Bink, 2007), yet there is a dearth of research in measuring the frames on news magazines and in analyzing the framing among four different periods of sampling within ten years of time frame. This has attracted the interest of the researcher to explore the prominent frames by making comparison between two Western news magazines. This can be seen from the contemporary issue on Islam and terrorism of which the researcher attempts to establish the dominant frames as portrayed by the selected news magazines.

The role of media is to shape opinions and to present a particular version as reality. They work to disseminate information and create public opinion. Media are also believed and expected to portray a fair picture on any issues occur both at national and international level (Chaudhary, 2004). However, in portraying Islam especially after the September 11 attacks, a number of studies found that international media tend to depict Islam negatively by associating it with terrorism (Hashim, 2009; Cole, 2009; Khair, 2009; Winegar, 2008; Gerges, 2003). Issues concerning the way international media, specifically in the US and UK, equate Islam/Muslims with terrorism have been widely debated (Tahir, 2011; Cesari, 2011; Fauziah, 2011; Halil, 2002; Poole, 2002; Hashem, 1997; Salame, 1993). Research showed that after the September 11 attacks, terrorism has been repeatedly associated with Islam/Muslims by most international media (Fauziah, 2011; Noor Mayudia, 2010; Hashim, 2009; Khair, 2009; Dina, 2005).

The attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and Pentagon on September, 11th 2001 have greatly influenced the whole world. The impact on the United States was much bigger in various aspects, including economics and military as well as the US credibility as the most powerful nation in the world. This has led the US to take revengeful actions against those who were targeted to be responsible for the attack, thus

making this an opportunity for the US to attack any parties they believe to be their enemies. Although there were disagreements shown by international society, the attack continued (The Star, Jan 19th, 2002:15). The US has made an initiative in hunting and targeting any parties involved in a so called terrorism. The first step taken besides arresting a few targeted individuals was to attack Afghanistan where the Taliban government was claimed to have an affiliation with the terrorists who were responsible for the September 11 attacks.

In relation to this, the issue of fighting against terrorism has been the most important agenda prioritized by international media. The mass media in the US and its counterpart, in the UK such as Cable News Network (CNN), The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), some mainstream news magazines namely *Newsweek* and *Time* as well as other media have played a significant role in influencing the whole world to morally support the US in fighting against terrorism (Khair, 2009). Western countries are prone to identify terrorism with certain groups that are labeled as extremists, militants or Muslim extremists (Khair, Z. and March, 2009). Winegar (2008) says that such effort today is seen to focus on Muslim groups that coincidentally have been accused to be responsible for the September 11 attacks, and this badly affects the whole Muslim society worldwide due to an accusation made by the US government on some Muslim terrorists through most of the Western media for the tragedy of the World Trade Center.

Dr. Natasha Hamilton-Hart, a lecturer in Singapore National University said that the terrorism as defined by the US and some other countries at the moment is too narrow because it only depicts Islam and Muslims in an irrelevant manner (*Berita Harian*, June 5th 2008:10). Mahathir Mohamad (2003) insists that the universal definition of terrorism ought to be reformulated and warmly accepted by all. He argues that terrorism should not be associated with any religion, race or creed as it has been always portrayed especially by the western media. Linking Islam to terrorism is definitely unfair because it is not exclusively related to any particular religion. He is afraid that religious classification may result to a complete charge against Islam which will negatively affect the innocent Muslims and will lead to unwarranted prejudice and hatred.

Consequently, many organizations and Muslim nations have been listed by the US as terrorists (Hashim, 2009; Dina, 2003; Simonson & Spindlove, 2000). Although some of these organizations such as Hamas and Al-Fatah are formed to fight for their country's independence and retaliate against foreign interference, particularly the US, they are still labelled as militants or terrorists. For example, Simonson and Spindlove (2000) in their book 'Terrorism Today' listed out the following organizations as terrorist associations:
   1) Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) – Palestine
   2) Abu Nidal – Palestine
   3) Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine – Palestine
   4) Hamas – Palestine
   5) Palestine Liberation Front – Palestine
   6) Al-Fatah (Al-Asif) – Palestine
   7) Palestinian Islamic Jihad – Palestine

8) Hizbullah – Lebanon
9) Islamic Jihad – Lebanon
10) Ikhwan al-Muslimun – Egypt

This study argues that international media play a vital role in creating a relationship between Islam and terrorism in their coverage that leads to the formation of labels on Islam and terrorism. Some scholars said that the dominant views of international media on Islam and terrorism represent the visions of the elitist establishment of its society (Latheef, 2006; Dina, 2005; Mahathir, 2003). Gerges (2003) claims that it is hard to segregate between the views of the mainstream media from the views of the US policy makers. These media are said to be supportive of Western policy towards Islam and terrorism, while members of the policy elite may get their input from the mainstream media. Thus, this research will scrutinize the source of news available in the studied articles irrespective of whether it is an official or unofficial source. The source of news will determine whether there is a symbolic relationship between media organization, and policy maker besides looking specifically at how these media frame Islam or Muslims and terrorism by making comparison at four different periods; a duration of one year before Sep 11, another duration of one year duration after Sep 11, a duration of one year in 2006 (5 years after Sep 11) and finally a one year duration in 2011 (10 years after Sep 11).

Statement of the research problem

The idea to study this issue started when the researcher felt that the issue of Islam and Muslims has caught the attention of the public around the world and it is very much related to the Muslims' sensitivity. The observation made by the researcher has found that the western media tend to be bias against Muslims in their coverage (Shahandeh, 2010). Only issues that show Muslims as negative images are likely to be focused on, and yet a very small number of stories on positive images of Muslims are portrayed in the western media (Gottschalk & Greenberg, 2011).

An overwhelming influx of news on terrorism that mostly connected to Islam and Muslims have created a lot of arguments and misunderstandings, which have created a gap between religions. Besides, there is an extension of negative stereotype, discrimination and hatred towards Muslims, especially by the Western media (Mahathir, 2003; Jafri, 1998). A number of case studies conducted on Western media coverage of the Middle East and Islam have examined socio psychological concepts such as "stereotypes" or "images" (Hashem, 1995; Hippler & Lueg, 1995). The example of the drive for such negative coverage made by Western media is to characterize Muslims as backward and violent fanatics (Hafez, 2000). Such media coverage has led to negative consequences especially for Muslims who live as minority in Western countries. Due to negative media coverage following a number of terror incidents, Muslims have received ill treatment by Western society. Apparently, their image has been tarnished causing difficulty in acceptance at most public premises such as schools, offices, and even

shopping malls. There were cases where Muslims were called as 'dogs' or 'devils' by people who have been fed with negative stories by the media (Sofia et al., 2013).

The negative coverage of Islam and Muslims has appeared in Western media before the September 11 attacks, yet the turning point of such discrimination occurred after September 11 (Hashim, 2009). Naming Muslims as terrorist and Islam as the religion of terrorism made by Western media, especially those in the US and the UK, have existed far before the September 11. Many studies have been conducted in proving this statement to be true (Mahathir, 2003; Ibrahim, 2011; Tahir, 2011). For instance, the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians has been regarded as related to the issue of terrorism. In this conflict, Western media have always put the blame on Palestinians and Islam has been portrayed as violent and attacking (Hashim, 2009; Cole, 2009). Moreover, the accusation and negative portrayal made by the media have increased dramatically following the September 11 attack. News reports, featured articles and photos of Islam or Muslims have received wide coverage and presented by Western media or international news agencies after the incident of September 11 (Sofia et al., 2013; Fauziah, 2011; Hashim, 2009; Dina, 2010).

The issue of Islam and terrorism is therefore a never ending story. The bad image received by the Muslims following the September 11 attack has continued with some major incidents especially within five to ten years after the September 11 attacks. The media coverage in the US and the UK has led to the association of Muslims with terrorism. Esposito and Ibrahim (2011) reported that people who have negative perceptions or prejudices against Muslims are in favour of using specific security measures with Muslims as a way to prevent terrorism. Such an association continued after 2006 following a series of attacks such as the London and Bali bombings, which occurred in 2005, as well as negative media coverage along the period. In 2010, another survey made by the Gallup Centre for Muslim Studies revealed that about 5 of 10 Americans (45 percent) admitted to having at least "a little" prejudice towards Muslims. While 10 percent had a feeling of "a great deal" of prejudice towards Muslims, and 20 percent admitted to have feeling of "some" prejudice" and such feelings were very much admitted by the respondents in this research as a consequence of negative media coverage on Muslims and their religion.

The negative media framing was believed to continue after 2010 causing intense increase of anti-Muslim sentiment. The efforts done by the Muslim American Community to build up new mosques has sparked Islamophobic comments mostly by the media, politicians and right-wing bloggers as well as political pundits. On June 22, 2010, a *New York Post* editorial attacked on the plans to construct new mosques in the state of New York by claiming that the plans for mosques constructions either at Sheepshead Bay, Staten Island or Ground Zero would bring no joy to all New Yorkers because when there are Muslims, there are always problems and evils (in Esposito & Ibrahim, 2011).

All the issues raised in the statement of the problem following the negative media coverage in the West have inspired the researcher to study media framing of the two

most prominent international newsmagazines at four different time periods between 2000 and 2011. This study is believed to significantly close the research gap found in previous studies, which are lacking in a few, aspects such as the timeframe, the selection of media, sampling and the research design. Hashim (2009) studied on the same issue only within six months of the aftermath September 11. He conducted a research on *Time* news magazine only. Dina (2010) conducted a study on the same issue just for a two wwk time period only. Both Hashim (2009) and Dina (2010) used a single methodology and did not combine multiple methodologies that should give more reliable findings (Babbie, 2004).

This research is believed to be very exhaustive since it involves four different periods of time and each period consisted of one year duration, which makes up to the total of four years. An analysis made by the researcher has found that a number of previous studies on the same issue involved very limited time frame and no comparison has been made between two or more periods of time. The choice of variables or data to be examined in previous studies was found by the researcher to be lacking as the selection of variables was not holistic. Some studies studied only the articles, while some others focused only on images (Hashim, 2009; Gottschalk & Greenberg, 2011; Adzrah, 2010). This current study paid close attention to both articles and images for the richness of the data and more comprehensive results.

Besides this, the researcher believes that no prior study focused on comparing the *Time* and *The Economist* (see Hashim, 2009). Previously, the researchers have focused on either one or compared other news magazines, yet comparative studies were found more on newspapers (see Malcolm et al., 2010; Fauziah, 2011; Adzrah, 2010). Some of the previous research done on the same issue applied just a single methodology; either quantitative or qualitative content analysis (as in Hashim, 2009; Dina, 2010; Fauziah, 2011; Noor Mayudia et al., 2010), yet the researcher has filled in the gap by combining both methodologies in which the researcher has selected one objective that required a qualitative method. These are among the factors that the researcher believes to have significantly contributed to fill in the research gap. The detailed elaboration of this will be presented in the following chapter.

Research questions

Based on the stated research problem, some questions pertaining to the framing analysis of *Time* and *The Economist* on Islam and terrorism are:

1. What are the main characteristics of the coverage of Islam or Muslims by *Time* and *The Economist*?
2. What are the dominant themes in the news coverage of Islam/Muslims in the selected media?
3. What is the overall framing in relation to Islam/Muslims with terrorism?
4. What are the trends of framing Islam/Muslims among the four different periods selected?

5. What are the frames formed by these media of Islam/Muslims that are associated with terrorism?

Objectives of the study

The general objective of this study is to analyse the framing of *Time* and *The Economist* in the coverage of Islam/Muslims and terrorism. For the specific objectives, they are:

1. To identify the sources of information in articles pertaining to Islam and Muslims in both *Time* and *The Economist*.
2. To identify the differences of other news items such as size of articles, portrayal of articles and photos of articles between *Time* and *The Economist*.
3. To identify the dominant themes related to Islam and Muslims in *Time* and *The Economist*.
4. To analyze the overall framing of articles in relation to Islam and Muslims with terrorism in *Time* and *The Economist*.
5. To identify the overall framing in relation to Islam and Muslims with terrorism that is available in photos or illustrations.
6. To compare the trends of overall framing Islam and Muslims among the four different periods selected.
7. To determine the frames formed by *Time* and *The Economist* of Islam and its association with terrorism.

Significance of the study

This empirical study could be one of the first of its kind in examining the framings that appear in prominent newsmagazines on Islam/Muslims and terrorism, within 10 years time frame. This research work would fill the gap in the study of framing analysis in the communicative world. By conducting this empirical study on framing analysis with the focus on dominant themes and the existence of frames, the role of media in framing process could be supported scientifically and hence contribute to the methodological aspect of framing study. Thus, this ontological comprehension of framing is also believed to bring significant contributions to the school of journalistic practices and the public opinion formations.

The researcher also believes that this study will be able to offer some insightful ideas for the media management both at local and international levels by providing proper guidelines for more fair news coverage by journalists. It is hoped that this study would open the eyes of policy makers to reform a group of journalists who are not biased and not aligned with any newsmakers per se. This study would also shed light on the hegemonic reason behind any policy making attempted by the International authorities such as US government towards Islam and terrorism.

Finally, the researcher hopes that this study will promote a better understanding of the theory of framing through an analysis of framing on selected media pertaining to Islam/Muslims and terrorism. There were indeed a few studies conducted on this issue, yet none has taken a look that involves a longer time frame and richer data (Dina, 2010; Malcolm et al., 2010; Hashim, 2009). Thus, the present study, which that takes data at four different periods within ten years of time frame is believed to have complemented the efforts to understand the framing of Islam/Muslims in the media.

Scope of the study

The issue pertaining to the image of global Islam and Muslims has been long debated by the Western media (Hafez, 2000; Poole, 2000; Hashem, 1995). Some researchers believe that the 1991 Gulf war triggered this issue (Poole, 2000), yet the September 11 attack seems to be the turning point of all the labelling made towards Islam and Muslims. Although many scholars (Hassan, 1997; Bishara, 1995; Halliday, 1997) refuted the claim that the characteristics of fundamentalist and extremist are attributed to all Muslims, a number of studies (Frederick, 2000; Hafez, 2000; Hashem, 1995) have confirmed the use of such labels to over hyphen generalize Muslims globally and this had happened before September 11 attacks.

The September 11 incident has created a more significant issue related to Islam and terrorism. It exacerbated and fed the growth of both Islamophobia in the West and anti-Americanism in the Muslim world. The tragedy has documented a rise in discrimination and racism against Muslims using labels such as terrorist, fundamentalist and zealot not only in the United States but also Europe (Muhammad Anwar, 2005).

The year 2005 has witnessed a number of terror attacks that was again intensified the negative labelling of Islam and Muslims. The London bombings that happened on July 7, 2005 and the Bali bombings that occurred on October 1, 2005 renewed feelings of Islamophobia. Western media have played a crucial role in ensuring the re-emergence of such labels after many years of global Muslim sufferings faced with terrifying accusations due to the September 11 incident.

The coverage of Islam and Muslims reappeared in the Western media during the Arab Springs that began on December 18, 2010. The year 2011 has witnessed a more intensifying coverage made by Western media of these events. Therefore, all the above statements will be the scope of study for the researcher who will examine the articles that appear these periods; again, this is hard to follow without actual dates.

There have been many newspapers studies related to the framing of Islam and Muslims (Poole, 2002; Cesari, 2011; Hafez, 2000; Dina, 2005), and also a number of studies were done on Western news magazines (Dina, 2005; Hashim, 2009). However, the comparison between *TIME* and *The Economist* at four different time periods of *Time* that witness a series of significant incidents related to Islam and Muslims has yet to be done.

Thus, the researcher has chosen to limit her study to *Time* and *The Economist* and scrutinize related articles that appear in these four periods of time.

Chapter summary

This chapter has identified the background of the researcher's study with the highlight of studies on framing, followed by the statement of the problem in which the researcher has displayed the issues pertaining to Islam and terrorism as portrayed in the western media. The researcher has produced a number of significant research questions as well as objectives as they will be the researcher's main scope in analysing the data. Finally, this chapter displays the significance of the researcher's study and the scope.

Based on a cursory glance at the previous studies, this research that is conducted to analyse *Time* and *The Economist* at four periods of time within the ten years of time frame has not yet been done before. This is the gap to be filled by this empirical study. Generally, this study aims to discover the frame-building process by selected media on Islam and terrorism. Specifically, the research findings will identify the dominant themes and frames used which have been portrayed by these two media.

REFERENCES:

Abdo, G. (2007). When the news media focus on Islam's internal struggles. *Nieman Reports*. *61*, 12 – 15.

Achugar, M. (2004). The events and actors of 11 September 2001 as seen from Uruguay: analysis of daily newspaper editorials. *Discourse and Society. 15, 291 – 320.*

Al-Sudais, A. R. (2005). *The holy Quran: with English translation*. Riyadh: Star of Islam.

Aly, A. (2007). Australian Muslim responses to the discourse on terrorism in the Australian popular media. *Australian Journal of Social Issues*. *42*, 27 – 42.

Anwar, M. (2005). Muslim in Britain: issues, policy and practice. In A. Tahir (Ed.) *Muslim Britain: community under pressure*. London: Zed Publication.

Asaf, H. (1988). *Political terrorism and the state in the Middle East.* London: Mansell.

Atkins, J. Keith. (2007). A broader conceptualization of Islam and terrorism. *JFQ: Joint Force Quarterly. 45. 66 – 90.*

Babbie, E. (2004). *The practice of social research* (10th ed.). California: Wadsworth.

Baker, P., Gabrielatos, C., & Khoravinik, M. (2008). A useful methodological synergy. Combining critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics to examine discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press. *Discourse Society*. *19*, 273-306.

Baltadano, B., Bishop, J., Hmielowski, J., Kang-Graham, J., Morozov, A., White, B. & Ross, S.D. (2007). Discourse of blame and responsibility: U.S./Canadian media representations of Palestinian-Israeli relations. *Conflict & Communication Online*, *6 (1)*, 1 – 13.

Bar, S. (2008) Deterring terrorist is a star!: regulating media coverage of publicity – seeking crimes. *Federal Communications Law Journal*, *60*, 481 – 536.

Baran, S.J., & Davis, D.K. (2003) *Mass communication theory: Foundations, ferment and future* (3rd ed.). Belmont: Wadsworth.

Bechtolt, W. E., Hilyard, J., & Bybee, C. R. (1977). Agenda control in the 1976 debates: A content analysis. *Journalism Quarterly, 54,* 674-681.

Behr, R. L., & Iyengar, S. (1985). Television news, real-world cues, and changes in the public agenda. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 49,* 38-57.

Beliaev, I. & Marks, J. (1991). *Common ground on terrorism; Soviet-American cooperation against the politics of terror.* New York: W.W. Norton.

Berita Harian, Jun 15th 2008, pg:10

Bhatia, A. (2009). The discourses of terrorism. *Journal of Pragmatics. 41*, 279 – 289.

Black, K. (2004). *Business statistics for contemporary decision making (4th ed.)* Wiley: New Delhi.

Brinkly, J. (1988, August 16). The stubborn strength of Yitzhak Shamir. *New York Times*. 27 – 29.

Brown, J. D. (2002). Mass media influences on sexuality. *The Journal of Sex Research, 39(1),* 42- 45.

Bryant, J., & Miron, D. (2004). Theory and research in mass communication. *Journal of Communication, 54(4),* 662-704.

Cassese, A. (1989). *Terrorism, politics and law.* London: Polity Press.

Cassidy, R.M. (2008). Terrorism and insurgency. *Parameters. 38*, 129-140.

Cesari, J. (2011). Islamophobia in the West: a comparison between Europe and the United States. In J.L, Esposito, & K, Ibrahim. (Eds.) *Islamophobia; the challenge of pluralism in the 21st century.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Chiapello, E. & Fairclough, N.L. (2002). Understanding the new management ideology: a transdisciplinary contribution from critical discourse analysis and new sociology of capitalism. *Discourse Society. 13*, 185-196.

Chouliaraki, L. (2000). Political discourse in the news: Democratizing responsibility or aesthenticizing politics. *Discourse Society. 11*, 293-299.

Clutterback, R. (1994). *Terrorism in an unstable world.* London: Routledge.

Combs, C.C. (2000). *Terrorism in the twenty-first century.* New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

D'Angelo, P. (2002). News framing as a multi-paradigmatic research program: A response to Entman. *Journal of Communication, 52(4),* 870-888.

D'Haenens, L. & Bink, S. (2007). Islam in the Dutch press with a special emphasis on the "Algemeen Dagblad". *Media, Culture & Society, 29 (1),* 135-149.

Danzig, R., Sagemen, M., Leighton, T., Hough, L., Yuki, H., Kotani, R. & Hosford, Z. M. (2011). Aum Shinrikyo; *Insights into how terrorists develop biological and chemical weapons.* New York : Centre for a New American Security.

Dearing, J. W., & Rogers, E. M. (1996). *Agenda-Setting.* Los Angeles: Sage.

Dina, I. (2010). The framing of Islam on network news following the September 11th attacks. *International Communication Gazette , 72 (1)*, 111-125.

Drucker, P. (1996). *Landmarks of Tomorrow: A Report on the New "Post-Modern World".* Los Angeles: Transaction Publishers.

Eckstein, P. (2008). Islam and the structure of global power. *The Humanist. 68*, 16 – 21.

Endres, K.L. (2004). "Help-wanted female". Editor & publisher frames a civil rights issue. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 81(1),* 7-20.

Entman, R.M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication, 43(4),* 51-58.

Erjavec, K. (2006). Mapping the notion of "terrorism" in Serbian and Croatian newspapers. *Journal of Communication Inquiry. 4, 298 – 318.*

Esposito, J.L & Ibrahim, K. (2011). *Islamophobia; the challenge of pluralism in the 21st century.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Ezhar, T., Jusang, B., & Salleh, H. (2004). Resisting the content of international news about conflict: A case of communication challenges in cross-cultural journalism reporting of war against terrorism. *The Malaysian Journal of Language and Communication, 1 (1),* 99-113.

Fauziah, H. (2011) Islamic news coverage by the international news agencies in The Star and Sunday Star 2010. A Master thesis from University of Technology, Mara, Malaysia.

Framing public issues (A special report). (2002). Washington, DC: Frameworks Institute.

Gandy, O. H. (1982). *Beyond agenda setting: Information subsidies and public policy.* New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Company.

Gaya, B. (2008). Accused Toronto 18-now Toronto 11-Undergo trial by media. *The Washington Report on Middle East Affair. 27*, 34 – 36.

Gerges, F. A. (2003). Islam and Muslims in the mind of America. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences. 588*, 73 – 75.

Gerges, F. A. (2008). Word on the street. *Democracy. 9,* 69 – 71.

Gitlin, T. (1980). *The whole world is watching: Mass media in the making and unmaking of the new left.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience.* New York: Harper & Row.

Gottschalk, P. & Greenberg, G. (2011). From Muhammad to Obama: Caricatures, cartoons, and stereotypes of Muslims. In J. L, Esposito, & K, Ibrahim. (Eds.). *Islamophobia: The challenge of pluralism in the 21st century.* (pp. 312-325). New York: Oxford University Press.

Haberman, C. (1992, August 29). Words, war and sensibility: Linguistic fog in the Mideast. *New York Times,* pp: A1.

Hafez, K. (2000). The Middle East and Islam in western mass media: Towards a comprehensive theory of foreign reporting. In K, Hafez. (Ed.) *Islam and the West in the mass media; fragmenting images in a globalizing world.* (pp. 250-260). New Jersey: Hampton Press.

Halil, I. Y. (2002). Muslims and the media after 9/11: A muslim discourse in the American media. *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences. 23(3),* 39 – 69.

Haney, W., Russell, M., Gulek, C., & Fierros, E. (1998). Drawing on education: Using student drawings to promote middle school improvement. *Schools in the Middle, 7(3).* 38-43.

Hashem, M. (1997). Coverage of Arabs in two leading US newsmagazines: Time and Newsweek. In Y. R, Kamalipour. (Ed.). *The US media and the Middle East, image and perception.* (pp. 278-305). Westport, CT: Praeger.

Hashim, F. Y. (2009). Islam dan terrorisme. *Pemikir. 55*, 49 – 66.

Hill, D. B. (1985). Viewer characteristics and agenda setting by television news. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 49,* 340-350.

Hippler, J. & Lueg, A. (1995). *The next threat. Western perceptions of Islam.* London: Pluto.

Holm, N. G. (2008). Islam and democracy. *Commonwealth. 135*, 10 – 12.

Holsti, O. R. (1969). *Content analysis for social sciences and humanities.* Massachusetts: Addison-Westley.

http://www. wikipedia.org/wiki/militant_Islam. Retrieved on January 28, 2009.

http://www.Times.com. Retrieved on February 3rd, 2011.

Huq, A. (2005). The role of the Abrahamic faiths in the making of peace through societal transformation. *Humanomics*. *21*, 29 – 49.

Hutington, S. P. (1997). *The clash of civilization and the remaking of world order.* New York: Touchstone Rockfeller Centre.

Iyengar, S., Peters, M. D., & Kinder, D. R. (1982). Experimental demonstrations of the "not-so-minimal" consequences of television news programs. *The American Political Science Review. 76*, 848 – 858.

Jafri, G. J (1998). *The Portrayal of Muslim Women in Canadian Mainstream Media: A Community Based Analysis.* Afghan Women's Organisation. Available at: http://www.educationmedias.ca/english/resources/research_documents/reports/diversity/ upload/Portrayal-of-Muslim-women-in-mainstream-media-Report-pdf. Retrieved on July 20, 2012.

Kegley, C. W. (2003). *The new global terrorism: Characteristics, causes, controls.* New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Khalil, R. (2007). De-legitimization of media mechanisms: Israeli press coverage of the Al-Aqsa Intifada. *International Communication Gazette. 69, 149 – 163.*

Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology.* Los Angeles: Sage Publication.

Kumar,D. (2008). *Framing Islam: Media constructions of the Middle East post-9/11 (TopPaper).*allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/2/3/2/3/7/p232376_inde x.html. retrived: January 20, 2011.

Kurzman, C. (2007). Islamic studies and the trajectory of political Islam. *Contemporary Sociology. 36*, 519 – 525.

Latheef, F. (2006). *War on terrorism: The untold truth.* Petaling Jaya: SIRD Publication.

Laqueur, W. (2002). *A history of terrorism.* New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.

Levine, T. R., Beatty, M. J., O'Keefe,D. (2002). Statistical and methodological issues in communication research. *Human Communication Research. 28 (4),* 70-82.

Littlejohn, S. W. (1999). *Theories of human communication* (6th ed.). Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing.

Littlejohn, S. W. (2002). *Theories of human communication* (7th ed.). Belmont: Wadsworth.

Lombard, M., Snyder-Duch, J. & Bracken, C. C. (2002). Content analysis in mass communication research: An assessment and reporting of intercoder reliability. *Human Communication Research, 28(4),* 587-604.

Loo, E. G & Anuar, M. K. (2010). *Journalism in good faith: Issues and practices in religion reporting.* Shah Alam: Marshall Cavendish.

Loveland, E. (2007). In search of understanding Islam and the West. *International Educator. 16*, 18 – 23.

Lowenthal, G. (1989). The role of the media in the struggles against terrorism. In B, Nentanyahu. (Ed.). *International terrorism: Challenge and response.* New York: Transactions Publishers.

Mahathir, M. (2003). *Terrorism and the real issues.* Kuala Lumpur: Pelanduk Publications.

Maher, M. T. (2001). Framing: An emerging paradigm or a phrase of agenda setting? In S. D, Reese., G, Oscar,. & E. G, August,. (Eds). *Framing public life: Perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world.* New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Malcolm, D., Bairner, A., & Curry, G. (2010). "Woolmergate": Cricket and the representation of Islam and Muslims in the British press. *Journal of Sports & Social Issues. 34 (2),* 216-235.

Mawdudi, A. A. (1985). *Towards understanding Islam.* London: The Islamic Foundation.

McCombs, M. E. (2004). *Setting the agenda: The mass media and public opinion.* Malden: Blackwell.

McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The agenda-setting function of the mass media. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 36,* 176-187.

McCombs, M., & Ghanem, S. (2001). The convergence of agenda setting and framing. In S. D, Reese., O. H, Gandy,. & A. E, Grant. (Eds.). *Framing public life: Perspective on media and our understanding of the social world* (pp. 67-82). London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

McCombs, M., Llamas, J. P., Lopez Escolar, E., & Rey, F. (1998). Candidate images in Spanish elections: Second-level agenda-setting effects. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 74,* 703-717.

McCombs, M., Lopez-Escolar, E., & Llamas, J. P. (2000). Setting the agenda of attributes in the 1996 Spanish general election. *Journal of Communication, 50(2),* 77-92.

McLeod, J., Becker, L., & Byrnes, J. (1974). Another look at the agenda-setting function of the press. *Communication Research, 1,* 131-166.

Mc Quail, D. (1995) *Media performance*: *Mass communication and the public interest.* London: Sage.

Miller, K. (2002). *Communication theory: Perspective, process, and context.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Mukaram, M. A. (ed.). (2005). *Encylopedia of Islam.V.2.* Shah Alam: Crescent News (KL) Sdn. Bhd.

Musa, A. H., & Ezhar, T. (1999). Unit analisis kajian kandungan. In I, Syed Arabi. (Ed.). *Analisis kandungan.* Bangi: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.
Nentanyahu, B. (1989). *International terrorism: challenge and response.* California: Transactions Publishers.

Noor Adzrah, R. (2010). Front page news coverage of US President Barrack Obama's visit to Cairo, Egypt: an analysis of US and Arab Newspapers. In B, Mazni., A. R, Nur Kareelawati., Y, Sofia Hayati., & A. R, Suria Hani. (Eds.). *Portrayal of Islam in the media.* Nilai: Universiti Sains Islam Malaysia.

Orbe, M. P. & Harris, T. M (2008). *Interracial communication: Theory and pracatice.* Los Angeles: Sage Publications.
Osman, B. (2008). *Tawhid and science: Islamic perspective on religion and science.* Shah Alam: Arah Publications.

Pan, L. X. (2002). Consensus behind disputes: A critical discourse analysis of the media coverage of the right – of – abode issue in Postcolonial Hong Kong. *Media, Culture, Society. 24, 49 – 71.*

Pan, Z. P., & Kosicki, G. M. (1993). Framing analysis: An approach to news discourse. *Political Communication, 10,* 55-75.

Picard, R. G & Paul, D. A (1991). *Characterizations of acts and perpetrators of political violence in three elite U.S daily newspapers*. London: Sage.
Pintak, L. (2006). *Reflections in a bloodshot lens: America, Islam and the war of ideas.* Michigan: Pluto Press.

Poole, E. (2000). Framing Islam: An analysis newspaper coverage of Islam in the British press. In K, Hafez. (Ed.) *Islam and the West in the mass media; fragmenting images in a globalizing world.* New Jersey: Hampton Press.

Poole, E. (2002). *Reporting Islam: media representations of British Muslims.* London: Tauris Publication.

Reese, S.D. (2001). Framing public life: A bridging model for media research. In S. D, Reese., O. H, Gandy., & A. E, Grant. (Eds.). *Framing public life: Perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world.* London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Reese, S.D. (2006). The Framing project: A Bridging Model for Media Research Revisited. *Journal of Communication.* doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00334.x. Retrieved: February, 12, 2011.

Reese, S.D. (2007). The framing project: A bridging model for media research revisited. *Journal of Communication of Communication, 57(1),* 148-154.

Rolston, B. (2010). Facing reality: The media, the past and conflict transformation in Northern Ireland. *Crime, Media, Culture. 3, 345 – 364.*

Rubin, R. B., Rubin, A. M., & Piele, L. J. (2005). *Communication research: Strategies and sources (*6th ed.). Belmont: Wadsworth.

Said, E. (1977). *Orientalism.* London: Penguin Publications.

Said, E. (1997). *Covering Islam: How the media and the experts determine how we see the rest of the world.* New York: Vintage Publication.

Salame, G. (1993). Islam and the West. *Foreign Policy. Spring*, 22 – 37.
Scheff, T. J. (2005). The structure of context: Deciphering frame analysis. *Sociological Theory, 23(4),* 368-385.

Scheufele, D. A (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of Communication. 49*, 103 – 122.

Scheufele, D. A. (2000). Agenda-setting, priming, and framing revisited. Another look at cognitive effectives of political communication. *Mass Communication & Society, 3(2&3),* 297-316.

Scheufele, D. A., & Tewsbury, D. (2007) Framing, agenda setting, and priming: The evolution of three media effects models. *Journal of communication 57(1),* 9-20.

Semetko, H. A., & Valkenbug, P. M. (2000). Framing European politics: A content analysis of press and television news. *Journal of Communication, 50(2),* 93-109.

Severin, W. J. & Tankard, J. W (2001). *Communication theories: Origin, methods, and uses in the mass media* (5th edition). New York: Longman.

Shahandeh, B. (2010). Portrayal of Islam and and Muslims in the West after 9/11. In B. Mazni, A. K. Nur Kareelawati, Y. Sofia Hayati, & A. R. Suria Hani. (eds.). *Portrayal of Islam in the media.* Nilai: FKP, USIM.

Sheafer, T., & Weimann, G. (2005). Agenda building, agenda setting, priming, individual voting intentions, and the aggregate results: An analysis of four Israeli elections. *Journal of Communication, 55(2),* 347-365.

Shoemaker, P. J., & Reese, S. D. (1996). *Mediating the message: Theories of influences on mass media content* (2nd ed.). New York: Longman.

Siddiqui, N. (2008). Extraordinary rendition and transatlantic intelligence cooperation. *SAIS Review. 28*, 47 – 50.

Silke, A. (2003). *Terrorists, victims and society: Psychological perspectives on terrorism and its consequences.* Sussex: Wiley.

Simon, A., & Xenos, M. (2000). Media framing and effective public deliberation. *Political Communication, 17,* 363-376.

Simonsen, C. E & Spindlove, J. R (2000). *Terrorism today: The past, the players, the future.* New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Sofia Hayati, Y. Salleh, M. H., & Mohd Nizam, O. (2013). The coverage on Islam and terrorism: A framing analysis of the international news magazines, *Time* and *The Economist*. *Al-Abqari Journal of Islamic Social Sciences and Humanities. 1, 3 – 16.*

Sofia Hayati, Y., Fauziah, H., Md Salleh, H., & Mohd Nizam, O. (2013). The framing of international media on Islam and terrorism. *European Scientific Journal. 9 (8),* 104-122.

Syed Othman, A. & Faisal, O. (1996). Principles of tolerance in Islam and the historical practices. In A. Othman, & N. H. Nik Mustapha. (eds.). *Islam and tolerance.* Kuala Lumpur: IKIM.

Tahir, A. (2011). Islamophobia in the United Kingdom: Historical and contemporary political and media discourse in the framing of a 21st century anti-muslim racism. In J. L, Esposito., & K, Ibrahim. (Eds.). *Islamophobia; the challenge of pluralism in the 21st century.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Tankard, J. (2000). The empirical approach to the study of media framing. In S. D. Reese, O. H. Gandy, & A. E. Grant (Eds.) *Framing public life: Perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world (pp. 95-106).* London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

The Red Menace is Gone, but Here's Islam (1995, March 29). *New York Times*, pp. 10.

The Star. (2002, January 19), pp. 15.

Thiranagama, S. (2011). Ethnic entanglements: The BBC Tamil and Sinhala services amidst the civil war in Sri Lanka. *Journalism. 12(2), 153 – 169.*

Tidmarch, C. M., Hyman, L. J., & Sorkin, J. E. (1984). Press issue agendas in the 1982 congressional and gubernatorial election campaigns. *The Journal of Politics, 46(4),* 1226-1242.

Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making news: A study in the construction of reality.* New York: The Free Press.

Van Gorp, B. (2007). The constructional approach to framing: Bringing culture. *Journal of Communication, 57(1),* 60-78.

Vreese, C. H. de (2005). News framing: Theory and typology. *Information Design Journal + Document Design, 13(1),* 51-62.

Wahabuddin, R. (2004). 'Asabiyyah, religion and regime types: re-reading Ibn Khaldun. *Intellectual Discourse. 2 (2), 159 – 180.*

Watson, J. & Hill, A. (2000). *Dictionary of media & communication. (5th ed).* London: Arnold Publishers.

Weaver, D. H. (2007). Thoughts on agenda setting, framing, and priming. *Journal of Communication, 57(1),* 142-147.

Whittaker, D. J (2003). *The Terrorism Reader (2nd edition).* London: Routledge.

Williams, W. Jr., Shapiro, M., & Cutbirth, C. (1983). The impact of campaign agenda on perceptions of issues in 1980 campaign. *Journalism Quarterly, 60,* 226-231.

Wimmer, R.D., & Dominick, J.R. (2011). *Mass media research: An introduction.* Sydney: Wadsworth.

Winegar, J. (2008). The humanity game: Art, Islam and the war on terror. *Anthropological Quarterly. 81,* 651 – 682.

Wright, R. & Beliaev, I. (1991). Religious extremism. Links to terrorism. In I, Beliaev., & J, Marks. (Eds.) *Common ground on terrorism; Soviet-American cooperation against the politics of terror.* New York: W.W. Norton.

Yagade, A., & Dozier, D. M. (1990). The media agenda-setting effect of concrete versus abstract issues. *Journalism Quarterly, 67(1),* 3-10.
Ytreberg, E. (2002). Erving Goffman as a theorist of the mass media. *Critical Studies in Media Communication, 19*, 481-498.

Zelizer, B. & Allan, S. (2010). *Keywords in news & journalism studies.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Zulkifli Khair (2009). Air mata di Gaza. *Millenia*, *79*, 16-20.