

Dwi Fitri, S.Sos, MA.  
Dr. Nora Maulina, M.Biomed.

# The Represented of Free Aceh Movement (GAM) on Media Reports Before and After the Peace Agreement in Helsinki 2005

*A Content Analysis of Jakarta Post and British Broadcast Company  
- UK news reports*

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**MALIKUSSALEH**

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Penulis:

**Dwi Fitri, S.Sos, MA.**

**Dr. Nora Maulina, M.Biomed.**

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## **Declaration**

Hereby I declare that this master thesis, submitted to Technology University of Ilmenau, Thuringen – Germany, for the award of Master of Arts degree in the program Media and Communication Science is the result of original work carried out by myself under the guidance of Prof. Martin Löfellholz, DR. Andreas Schwarz and Katrin\_Schleicher MA.

I further declare that the result on this work has not been submitted for any award of any degree or fellowship.

Ilmenau, July 2012.

Dwi Fitri

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## Abstract

This Thesis covers about media content analysis of a local terrorism group in Indonesia which is located in the west edge part of Indonesia, namely Free Aceh Movement or well known as *Gerakan Aceh Merdeka* (GAM). Since Dutch invasion in 1873-1907, GAM has shown sustained achievements in developing organization power. The report of its movement is interesting, although sometimes could be bias due to media framing. Therefore, such kind of condition challenges media's will to be balance on the reportage.

Based on the overview on this topic, my research questions were: 1) How did the media frame the GAM before and after MoU Helsinki? and 2) What were the differences and similarities between Indonesia and United Kingdom media?

This research is based on the framing theory by Entman. It has a main point about perceiving reality on news text based on some elements such as problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/ or treatment recommendation. According to the theory, this thesis argues that local terrorism in Aceh has attracted international public attention most through the BBC reports rather than national media. The reports of these both media tends to be negatively in the time before the MoU Helsinki was signed and then became positively soon after that. BBC and Jakarta Post shared the same interest into topics of politic, economic, peace and democracy with very different ranges on result. Nonetheless, only democracy is similar on these both reports. Another finding is that, military strategy on combating terrorism has influenced the media role, which was restricted and under controlled by Indonesian military before 2005, although the restricted regime has fell down in 1998.



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## List of Abbreviation

<b>ASNLF</b>	Aceh- Sumatra National Liberation Front; Aceh-Sumatra National Liberation Front; more commonly known as GAM
<b>ABRI</b>	Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia ( Army Forces of Indonesia)
<b>AMM</b>	Aceh Monitoring Mission
<b>BBC</b>	British Broadcast Company
<b>CMI</b>	Central Management Initiative
<b>CoHA</b>	Cessation of the Hostilities
<b>DOM</b>	Daerah Operasi Militer (Military Area Operation)
<b>HDC</b>	Hendry Dunant Centre; commonly known as mediator of peace
<b>GAM</b>	Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (Free Aceh Movement)
<b>MoU</b>	Memorandum of Understanding
<b>Kopassus</b>	Komando Pasukan Khusus (Special Forces Command)

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

This study examined how local terrorism was presented and propagated by state actors. Additionally, the study also investigated how media framed this group in both nationally Indonesia media as well as a widely consumed International media of United Kingdom, England. The study itself undertook a comparative media analysis of the coverage on countering local terrorism efforts by analyzing content in both online news reports; Jakarta Post and BBC-UK News.

The term terrorism increases rapidly and becomes more popular among scholars during some decades. The escalation of war is highly increased by terrorism attacks, which appears as a solution to achieve the political goal besides diplomacy strategy as another approach. Coming from French revolution in 1789-94, terrorism is a system which employed intimidation of methods (Hoffman, 2006). Explicitly, terrorism is much closed to terms of harmful, coercive approach, violence, conflict or other terms which are related to negative connotations. Thus, in case of conflict, the existence comes from various problems such as ethnic, religious, and/or linguistic. Some scholars have investigated that conflicts in Indonesia are caused by variety reasons and how their escalation worked on war and terror. (e.g. Ariyanto et al, 2008; Inez, 2004; Hale & Sukandar, 2008)

Free Aceh Movement or well known as GAM, is one of Indonesia local terrorist among other ethno-nationalism based on separatist movements. GAM that was previously named as Aceh-Sumatra National Liberation Front (ASNLF), was formed by conflict between Indonesian government and Acehnese social movement that is lead by Hasan Tiro in 1976. Differed to other movements in Indonesia, for instance the South Maluku Republic (RMS) which is caused by religion conflict between Christian- Muslim in 1950, the



conflict in Aceh actually started on the era of Dutch invasion in 1873. After Indonesia got independence, Acehnese asked a special province with strong regional law in term of Islamic ethnic identity. Therefore, the conflict is not about interpersonal interest of religion but much deeper than it, which is focus on self Islamic government.

Due to unfair profit shared of natural source, in 1976 GAM was established and struggled for an independence state. GAM is a national separatism issue that has attracted international attention. Over 30 years, GAM had fought against Indonesia government that killed thousands of people from both parties. To deal with this issue, some initiatives had been made and facilitated by some international organizations including Henry Dunant centre (HDC) and Aceh Monitoring Mission (AMM). After several meetings, both parties agreed to cease the fire. In 2000, Cessation of the Hostilities (COHA) was signed by both parties. Unfortunately, it failed due to lack of willingness to implement of its points.

Moreover, after long time struggling with many kinds political maneuvers, along with Tsunami that killed more than 240.000 people in 2004, Indonesian government and GAM signed a stronger agreement in Helsinki. This memorandum of understanding (MoU) accommodated GAM desire under Indonesia constitution.

Yet to date, the news reports of GAM activities were imbalance to the real facts. This happened due to media framing and media restriction that were controlled by of Suharto's regime. After 1998, when Suharto's regime fell down, the air of democracy was opened, people came to have more braves to speak out of case of conflict. Although many studies have been conducted related to Aceh conflict before, less research focused on comparative media studies, especially on how media influenced and gave their contribution and roles. Indeed, the media framing has great influences to public opinions which appears as a form of journalist emphasize to issue in mass media. To understand these phenomena, statistical test has applied to find if there were any significant values on this role.

## **1.1 The Aims and the Relevance of the study**

This research tried to explore the media representation of GAM in face of national and international public through online news report before and after the peace agreement of Helsinki in 2005.

Several studies always investigate the interaction and dependency between media and terrorism overtime. Therefore, it is highly relevance if nowadays the analysis of radical and counter radical messages and ideas from media report are still needed to define the way of local terrorist of in Aceh. Afterward, GAM report on maneuvers in influencing and attracting international audience both national and international are interesting to examine. Finally, this report enables to suggest a policy respond to face on possible similar event in the future.

## **1.2 Thesis Outline**

To support this research, chapter one comprises the background, aim and the relevance of study and introduce the structure of thesis. The next chapter 2 provides some overview concerning the term of terrorism, conflict theory and its divisions, framing together with some divisions, short overview in regard to Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and research question and hypothesis. Then, the methodology used is described on chapter 3. Thereafter, in chapter 4, the overall analysis and result are presented. Subsequently, further discussion about the research is available on chapter 5. The last part on chapter 6 provides conclusion and some recommendations respectively.



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# Chapter 2

## State of Research

The following sections provide some theoretical background to the present thesis. Section (2.1) is a definition and discussion of terrorism, (2.2) discussion of conflict and violence that are part of cause of terrorism, (2.3) discussion of framing; framing of war and the linkage of framing and politic.

### 2.1. Defining Terrorism

Many scholars define the term of terrorism differently based on differences on the perspective they have experienced before.

Coming from the Latin word *terrere* means scare, terrorism meaning refers to political violence by sending messages to media or acting in asymmetrical conflicts, which create fear psychically. The aim of fear is to build awareness of public attention from national or international in order to reach the maximum goals in short or long term purposes (Bockstette, 2008). The very fundamental characteristic of terrorism is planned, calculated and very systematic acts based on the ideology of spreading fear.

Concerning political intention during France revolution in 1789-94 where the origins of revolutionary of terrorism came, Hoffman (2006) pointed out that terrorism is a system of terror that is done by government through intimidation. The intimidation is taken place by party in power, as well as terrors in policy with the intention of people who against them.

Additionally, another opinion comes from Norris et all (2003). He argued that terrorism is “the systematic use of coercive intimidation against civilians for political goals” (p.7). Thus, concept is determined by target, goal and techniques. Recently, the acts of terrorism are recognized easily as threats like assassinations, kidnappings, hijackings, bomb scares and bombings, cyber attacks

(computer-based), the use of chemical, biological, nuclear and radiological weapons, as well as spreading fear by doing terrorism acts in the context national defense. It is also a harmful activity that enables actors to use the weapon of mass destruction.

Moreover, given to the fact, science and technology from different fields of study affect terrorist in various ways. Hence, the more technology is developed, the more variety of terror is defined. Terror is applicable in words form too, for instance threatened sentences or through labeling someone that refers to something bad or someone who is an actor of terrorism. Those who do terrorism are well known as terrorist.

In sum, I come to my statement that terrorism is a systematic method, a tool to be employed and associated abuse of any actions and ideas through criminal acts toward others, without any hesitation of gender, race, religion and nationality. In addition, terrorism is more applicable on actions rather than ideas. The last but not least, extremely, terrorism is an error ideology in regard to political interest.

## **2.2 Framing**

It is acceptable when people will interpret messages based on the previous knowledge or about the form of experiences individual has in their social lives. Framing comes to consider such psychological characteristic of people interpretation (Maher, 2001; Kalbfleisch, 2005). The term framing has been widely used in many literatures, such framing film and health framing. Indeed, the terms of framing are not synonymous and it depends on the purposes.

Framing is an expand theory of what people perceive or think about by studying how the audience talk about it through message/information packaged. From the perspective of communication sources, framing is "a process by which communication source such as news organization (or a political leader, public relation officer, political advertising consultant, or news consumer) defines and

constructs a political issue or public controversy” (T.E. Nelson, Clawson and Oakley 1997, 567; Cartee, 2005).

Despite having broad definition, a narrow conceptualization of framing in term of news orientation is an art of better news viewing which emphasizes on the ability of individual of journalist, media and organization. In other words, framing is the setting that mass media frames into certain issues, in order to enable public to give a meaning to the events (Schuefele, 1999; Mishra, 2011. p.24).

Descriptively, a deeper understanding of this term and an illustration of framing is a picture. A picture with frame will have different phenomena toward the content. The art of frame such as model and color also gives specific meaning to the picture. It is a comprehensive understanding of the complexity concept from constructivism, cognitive, and critical. In another vein, frame can be understood as to select and arrange and asserts certain facets of reality to be exclusive over other ( De Vreese et al, 2001; Mercy, 2012)

Another interesting concept is coming from Entman (1993). He conceptualizes frame as “to select some aspect of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/ or treatment recommendation” (p.52). Entman links an idea that people perceive realities and then doing so by selecting certain aspects of realities to focus on. Specifically, there are at least four certain aspects of framing on media (Entman, 1993; Kalbfleisch, 2005): (a) problem identification; (b) the assessment cause of an event and the responsibility assignment; (c) the consideration of an issue or problem in term of legal, ethical and moralistic principle; and (d) The identification and recommendation of solution to the problems. All in all, we can conclude that framing is the way journalist packs the information by creating and organizing, in order to attract public interest.

This study conducted an analysis based on Entman theory. To be able to seek how journalist perceives reality through the power of

media in order to influence the public, we needed to shape public statements through selecting and highlighting some facts of terrorism event and then did the selection process while interpreting and evaluating at the same time.

### **2.2.1 The Similarity of Framing and Agenda Setting**

Generally, both of agenda setting and framing are part of media effect theories, which also have connection to political communication literature. Agenda setting reflects “a correlation between emphasizes of mass media’s role that places on certain issues and the importance attributed to these issues by mass audience” (McCombs & Shaw, 1972; Tewskbury, 1997 p.11). Yet, according to McCombs(2002:2) most social researchers who ever work with the agenda setting of media, prefer to focus on public issues. Meanwhile, framing stresses out on how the issues are meant with its character, so that can be understood either influenced by media audience (Tewskbury, 1997).

Furthermore, some scholars like Price and Tewskbury (1997) and Nelson, Clawson and Oxley (1997) in Oliver & Bryant (2009) pointed out that the distinction is on the accessibility and capability of the messages. On one side, the agenda setting is the way of audience exposures media issue as if the issue is the most important and raise its accessibility whereas others are equal (McCombs & Shaw, 1972; Oliver & Bryant, 2009). On the other side, framing considers to specific information and logically think of how it can be applicable to various audiences.

Among media effect theories, framing is on the second level after agenda setting. Many scholars put high attention that framing resembles from agenda setting. If in the first level, it is about transmission, then in the second level, it is an attribution of salience and the salience object refers to the style or methods that is used to organize and to define the object (McCombs & Ghanem, 2001.p.68 ; Wouter et al, 2005). Therefore, the similarity between these two media effect theories can be seen from psychological approach

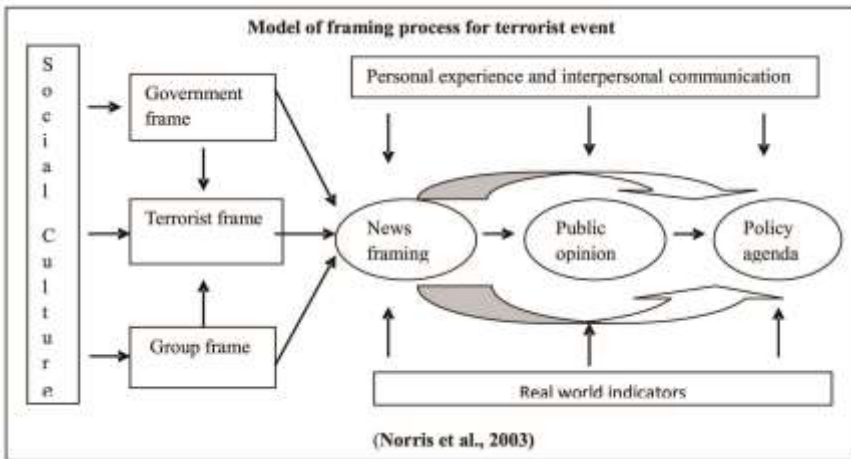
behind the process. Another media effect theories which often understood as an extension of agenda setting is priming.

### 2.2.2 Framing Media on War of Terrorism

The latest events of terrorism attacks in several countries over the world have attracted research to have a deeper understanding of framing. The interpretation structure of journalist by setting certain issues in a broader context which is known as framing news, has become interestingly knowledge and interacts many fields of study such as sociology, public policy and media studies.

Within a broader context, particularly in term of terrorism, the news frame in society will shape by at least three factors. First, the primary based on facts around the terrorist events. Second, the technique of the events been interpreted by authorized government, such as spokesperson of government department as well as the military, the intelligence services and others who contribute past experiences in this case. The last is all about the statement from press or the interview with spokespersons about agree or disagree of dissident group (Norris, Kern & Just, 2003). A framing model on terrorism is previewed below.

Figure 2.3.1 Model of framing process for terrorist event





The principle of freedom of speech somewhat looks hesitantly. This happens due to the reportage on war is demanded to have high journalistic standard of objectivity, balance and truth.

Moreover, taking into consideration, suffering victims are part of human sense, which is also part of journalist life. Normally, the victim in war is the main focus of object to be framed because a war left painful life with complex social problem together with the violence victims.

Given to the fact, besides having victims as an effect of war, the social problem will automatically follow on this. By trying to find solutions and identify causes of problem, a frame implies next actions to solve this problem (Best 1995; Berns, 2004), as Entman proposed in his theory on the last element as well. Indeed, empathy is a main way to understanding this circumstance.

### **2.2.3 Typologies of News Framing and The Measurements**

Basically, the typology of frame is vary, it depends on the basis and an example of generic frame (de Vreese, 2002). Yet, he pointed out there are two types of framing on news; issue specific frame, is a type of frame which focus only in one topic. Another one is generic frames, a frame which has a broad context and can be recognized only if it has connection with different kinds of topic.

In addition to the communicator, the text, receiver or communicant and the culture (Entmann, 1993; de Vreese, 2005), communication as a dynamic process integrate with a framing process has some stages; frame-building, frame-setting and individual and societal level consequences of framing. First, frame building refers to the causality that affects structural qualities of news frame. Second, frame setting refers to mutual communication between media frames and individual with certain knowledge. On this stage, the frame may influence the process of learning, interpretation and evaluations of cases. By meant, the last type refers the consequences that may affect individual and societal level (d'Angelo, 2002; Scheufele, 2000; de Vreese, 2005).

Others necessary in determining how journalist frames the issues is the structural quality on frame building. This structural is affected by the internal factors as well as external factors. Internal factor concerns on the news organization (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996) and external factor concentrates on the interactions between journalist, elites (Gans, 1979; Tuchman, 1978) and furthermore social movements (e.g., Cooper, 2002; Snow & Benford, 1992).

#### **2.2.4 Linkage Framing and Politic**

Framing and political intention are much closed term on media research. Technically, politic is the way to reach the power by using certain strategies, including media power used. Beyond effects of audience opinions, the need to understand framing in term of power is highly necessary for political actor.

In term of political communication, Reese (2001; Papacharissi, 2008) assured that frame enables public to record some sorts of a problem, such as remembering, acting and evaluating actors who pursue their political ideology, conflict interest and polity, usually are tested in term of media propaganda through content analysis scheme about terrorism (Schefeule, 1999; Kalyango, 2006). In correlation with terrorism, politic is a goal for an achievement that is reached through a systematic coercive approach against civilians (Norris et al, 2003).

In case of general election for instance, what makes framing is so important in political is that framing effect enables to convince the ambiguous individual or undecided voters rather than to win majority audiences (D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010). Framing is constructing political reality. By meaning, an individual drops himself into such frame through media news, because the way of individual or actor's choice is presented in political communication, is that the way the choice is framed, and this causes a possibility of certain option that would be selected.

Additionally, when an individual engages in public deliberation of certain political process, it means, he or she is already involved on the framing issue through media (Price & Tewbury, 1977; Cartee, 2005). All in all, framing issue can be the way of person who wants to be engaged and involved in political sector by created choices on public deliberation.

## **2.3 The Free Aceh Movement as a case study**

### **2.3.1 The aims and the ideology**

In 1976, GAM that is firstly recognized as Aceh-Sumatra National Liberation Front (ASNLF) is established by Hasan Tiro. The family name Tiro is came from his grandfather's name who was a national hero in independence struggle against Dutch invasion. In the beginning of its movement, GAM was led by small group members who generally came from well educated persons comprising academics, doctors, engineers and businessmen.

The ideology itself is to make Aceh province free from all controls of Jakarta, in other word, is independence. At least, there are two basic reasons of why Aceh has to be an independence state according to GAM. Firstly, they argued that Aceh was already an independence state in 1819 by treaty between United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, thus the sovereignty have been given back to the Aceh' Sultan rather than to the government of Republic Indonesia (Di Tiro 1980:11;Schulze, 2004). The Dutch invasion is a historical reason of conflict escalation in Aceh.

### **2.3.2 Long road to the peace agreement.**

Under the fascism regime of Suharto over 30 years, the peace got a long way to the agreement. During this governance of controlled media, military supremacy and others indicator of fascism regime (Free inquiry magazine, 2003), the rebels decided to run away to overseas country which accommodated the rebels such as Australia, Denmark, Sweden, and mostly are in Malaysia. Indonesian

government however has tried many times to do dialogue which was facilitated by European Union or non local government of Hendry Dunant Centre (HDC).

Soon after the Suharto regimes fell down in 1998, the GAM was freely to express the dislike to Java that is representative by Jakarta as capital city. The human right abuses in Suharto era which was known as DOM (military area operation), were forced to be solved as soon as possible, in order to avoid Aceh people for asking independence through referendum. Many dialogues have done. Afterwards, the first agreement came in era of Abdurrahman Wahid; the president after Suharto, this agreement was facilitated by HDC and signed on December 9 2002. Unfortunately, the agreement that so called Concession of Hostilities Agreement (CoHA) failed due to unfaithfully of both sides; Indonesian military and Aceh movement.

Due to lack of awareness of the importance to have win-win solution in order to protect Aceh people from being victims, the escalation of conflict raised again in 2003 under the president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY). Although this president was coming from military background, Aceh people believed on his governance. Sympathies have been showed by SBY through serious and continuous dialogues and put all the representatives of Acehnese such us religion leaders and other competent civilians in the same level without any hesitation of unfaithful or prejudice.

Later on, a big disaster crashed Aceh province on December 2004 when Tsunami hit capital city of Aceh and made over 24 thousand people died. This momentum however forced the GAM not to stay longer in their rebellion. By considering security reasons for international aids and humanitarian to affected areas, GAM and Indonesia government came again to the second peace agreement. The Memorandum of Understanding was signed in Helsinki, a capital city of Finland and facilitated by Maarti Ahtisaari as former president of the country. Therefore, the agreement is called MoU Helsinki. This MoU accommodated both sides purposes of being together to do

reconstruction and rehabilitation in Aceh into a new form province with full dignity as its people hopes.

## **2.4 Research Question and Hypothesis**

From the theoretical point of view from Entman, we tried to find how international speakers put their attentions through framing to local terrorism action in Indonesia and then compares it with media framing on national speakers by using four elements that reflect to some curious questions; what's the problem?, what's the cause?, who's responsible for?, what's the implication of that?, what's problem solving have been done, how's the treatment? Thus, together with the assessments over each question, we jump to the research questions:

1. How did media frame local terrorism of Free Aceh Movement (GAM) in Jakarta Post and British Broadcast Company (BBC) in the time before and after Memorandum of Understanding Helsinki 2005?
2. What make the differences and similarities of media framing on local terrorism of Free Aceh Movement between Jakarta Post and British Broadcast Company (BBC)?

By relying on some assessments that concern on the Entman framing elements, statistically, the hypotheses are:

From two research questions above, my hypotheses are:

1. Coverage terrorism on Indonesia media frames negatively during the time span 1999 – September 2011, whereas the coverage event in England (BBC-UK) media frames positively.
2. The Indonesia and UK news media frame differently on the topics toward terrorist causalities, whereas the similarity will be on the topic of democracy issue.



# Chapter 3

## Methodology

This thesis focuses on the GAM representation that constructed by the BBC News UK and the Jakarta post. The chosen year starts on the beginning 1999 until September 2011. The reason of choosing this year is, because during the year 1999 -2011 had happened two interesting events: tsunami in 2004 and the peace agreement (MoU Helsinki) in August 2005. More than that, 1999 was the beginning year of “open air” after Soeharto restricted regime fell down.

The peace agreement is facilitated by European Union and the frequency report of this movement is highly appearing in all media. It happens due to security issue and international aids during the time before and after MoU, when Tsunami hit Aceh province.

### 3.1 Definition of Term

Content analysis is an unobtrusive or non-reactive method used by social scientists that has been applied to nearly every form of communications, such as newspapers, television and radio broadcasts, speeches, literature, etc. (Gunter, 2000; Holsti, 1969; Krippendorff, 2004). Nevertheless, content analysis also commonly used to analyze recorded transcript of interview with participants, news, or any written publication. To do this, forming a systematic coding of a text or narrative is paramount to begin a content analysis (Kaid & Wadsworth, 1989; Neuendorf, 2002; Weber, 1990).

It is generally known that content analysis is much closed term to “qualitative analysis” instead “quantitative analysis”. By comprising word or text into some categories which are based on explicit rules of coding, content analysis is defined as systematic and replicable technique (Stemler, 2001). Despite explicit rules of coding, the theoretical point of view is also possible to develop categories. Afterwards, the statistical analysis software SPSS is used to assist the content analysis.

Furthermore, Bos and Tarnai (1999) stated that generally the main subject of content analysis is text. Therefore, the method of content analysis makes a researcher possible to summary large amount of textual informative data, thus identifies its part in very systematic ways. In addition, they also argue that the cultural form is expressed by the deepest sense of text.

In other word, the content analysis considers social reality and dependent correspondingly is resulted by the interpretation of its analysis.

### **3.2 Data collection**

The data sample collects randomly from the BBC News UK and Jakarta Post online database. It starts from the beginning year of 1999 until September 2011 when the topic analysis stops. The data is collected by using search engine in the webpage of Jakarta Post at <http://www.thejakartapost.com/> and British Broadcast Company (BBC) United Kingdom (UK) News at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/> with containing words; Free Aceh Movement ,GAM, Aceh conflict, Aceh rebels, and Aceh separatist. To be noted, the main keyword Free Aceh Movement or GAM is a must because it is the very basic term to find the data based on the title, not the topic.

Beside using the keyword of Free Aceh Movement or GAM, the keywords of Aceh rebel, Aceh separatist and Aceh conflict are also used to collect the data. The keyword of single word like "Aceh" or "conflict" for instance, is avoided due to a very broad meaning and huge amount of articles which are not always related to the topic of Free Aceh Movement or GAM. Therefore, the combination of the word "Aceh" and "conflict" are more appropriate used compare to a single word. More than that, the words of conflict, rebel and separatist are very basic term to understand Free Aceh Movement or GAM from historical point of view.

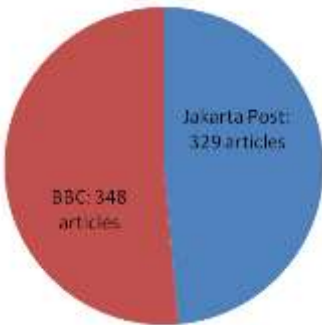
The time frame from 1999 to September 2011 is quite interesting. The year 1999 was the first year when the air of civil

society democracy opened after Suharto regime collapsed in 1998 (Lamay, 2009). Suharto was the second Indonesia president who had power for 32 years.

Reasonably, the Jakarta Post is chosen as the source for data collection because it is one of the oldest print media which established in 1983 by two men from liberal party Golongan Karya (Golkar). Thus, it ever became a top reader in the first five years with a huge amount of circulation. With the aim to counter unbalanced Western-dominated global traffic of news and views, Jakarta post appears as English-language newspaper (Tarrant, 2008). The same to this, BBC United Kingdom is chosen because it becomes one of main central source of news report, a global 24 hour's news player. BBC UK itself is a central office for all BBC branches in every country. Supported by liberal platform both in visual and audio visual media, BBC UK transmitted news over 100 countries and reached audience seven million per week in 2002 (McNair, 2009). By that very facts, these two medias are highly good references to be data sources.

*Coding Instrument.* Descriptive variables include media sources analyzed and time frame of coverage will divide into 2 parts: from 1999 - August 2005 is the time before MoU, and the time after MoU is from September 2005 – September 2011. The data from this time span more and less is around six hundreds seventy articles. Below is the preview of roughly data spread.

Figure 3.2 Total Data Distribution during 1999-2011





### **3.3 Research Step**

Content analysis is feasible. It is quantitative research with a goal to produce count of key categories and define a measurement of variables (Fink, 1999; Neudendorf, 2002).

Initially, empirical observation and library work are needed to conduct an overview before we develop research questions and hypothesis.

Moreover, this study uses manual holistic approach instead some approaches like linguistic approach, computer-based approach and deductive approach. Hence, an in-dept analysis of some articles is required before develop topic and actor to generate the frame elements. Then, the frame will define into codebook and codes it in quantitative content analysis (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). The frame element of this study will base on the four Entman elements theory.

Practically, first of all, we need to read through some articles in order to develop topic and actor conceptually based on theoretical approach. Thus, decide how many concepts to code for and each concept should have definition to distinguish among similar concepts. The next step is, to make it easier in coding process, every concept should give a code number and this code will represent an existence of the concept of articles rather than frequency. I propose to put and code "others" at every end of topic or actor to exclude the information which is not mentioned on the list but somehow is part of it.

At last, the irrelevant information on articles will be ignored and the coding process will do in manual ways before using SPSS table for input the data.

### **3.4 Data analysis**

Data analysis involved converting the data using the proper statistical techniques for result of studies. The calculation data will do by using statistical programmed Microsoft Excel and portable SPSS 19.0 to address the objectives of study.

Before the coding analysis begins, it is need to check the consistency of coder. Some articles were chosen to do the pretest. Since the coder is one, then coder subsequently reads and codes these articles separately and then repeats once again in the next week. Thus, by using pattern of Reliability Coefficient to verify the accuracy, initial examination of the article of intra coder reliability should be done with the range of consistency result; should be 1.0 or at least 0.8. This helped assures the results are not subjective interpretations of a single researcher (Neuendorf, 2002).

Figure 3.4 Reliability coefficients:

$$CR = \frac{2 * Con}{(C1 + C2)}$$

Con = number of consistent coding  
 C1 = total number of coding coder 1  
 C2 = total number of coding coder 2

Further, concerning quantitative analysis, descriptive and frequency distribution analysis were carried out to analyze the quantitative data collected from code book. Shao and Zhou (2007, p.311) stated that descriptive analysis is the use of statistic to summary sample data without drawing any conclusion or inferences about population of the sample. This kind of analysis will use to analyze the profile of each article in online news media according to category from data distribution in 1999 till 2011.

To be noted that some variables from data entries are type of *multiple-response data*. So that, the traditional person chi square is not possible to do on this kind of data. This happens because of data admitting more than one response from the list of items (Vlach &Plašil, 2006).

### 3.5 Developing Category System

Based on Entman theory (1993), the four elements will be distinguished as variables, and each variable will have several categories in content analysis. The four elements are: 1) Problem definition; is an element which consists of issues and relevant actors to discuss. The issues are about the cause of terrorism such as the issues around politic, economy, social and etc. 2) Causal attribution; the topic of issue is that an attribution to failure and success regarding specific outcome. 3) Moral evaluation; is around the evaluation steps as the way to literate the problem. 4) Treatment recommendation; Proposed the solution or certain action to solve the conflict.

By identification around more less 10 % of article attribution, then it's red many times in order to define the frame criteria regarding kind of sources, journalistic form, theme, actors and other necessary topic to be employed in the codebook. Thus, key plans or topics of coding are developed. The table below shows generally ideas of code book's form of content analysis.

Table 3.5: Category System of Content Analysis

<b>Formal Categories Article</b>	<p><b>Identification</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Coder</li> <li>• Serial number of data</li> <li>• Media</li> <li>• Released date</li> </ul> <p><b>Formal Criteria of Articles</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Type of articles</li> <li>• The name writer</li> <li>• Number of author</li> <li>• The form of journalistic representation</li> </ul>
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Coding Categories Articles	<p><b>The topic of articles</b></p> <p><b>The Report Occasion</b></p> <p><b>The Importance of Terrorism</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Theme of article</li> <li>• The importance of terrorism throughout the article</li> </ul> <p><b>Assessment of Terrorism</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tendency of the articles</li> </ul>
Coding Categories Actor	<p><b>Actor</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Three prominent actor items are coded as informative agents</li> <li>• Assuming actors and giving quantitative codes in most items</li> <li>• In fact, in most item the presence of actor is really meaningful</li> <li>• Actors are divided into national and international</li> <li>• In exception, the journalist will be coded only if they have and stand on their own personality when giving opinion.</li> </ul>
Coding Categories State of Problems	<p><b>Problem Definition</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The code will focus on how the actors perceive the terrorism as a problem</li> <li>• Noted : one actor is only coded for once</li> </ul> <p><b>Terrorism Indicators</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Indicators</li> <li>• The assessment of indicators</li> </ul> <p><b>Terrorism Consequences</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Consequences</li> <li>• The assessment of consequences</li> </ul> <p><b>Terrorism Impacts</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Impact factors</li> <li>• Linkage of indicator and impact</li> </ul> <p><b>Terrorism Cause</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The causes of terrorism</li> <li>• The assessment of terrorism</li> </ul> <p><b>Attribution of Blame</b></p> <p>Noted: here the actors can be coded up to three times</p>

<b>Coding Categories</b> <b>Problem Solving</b> <b>Problem Sol</b>	<b>Strategies and measures</b> <b>Evaluation of each strategies</b> <b>Responsibility for the action</b> Noted : One strategy can be coded by multiple actors
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## Chapter 4 Result and Discussion

This section discusses terrorism analysis in national media of Indonesia and international media as well. The international media is British Broadcasting Company and the national media is Jakarta Post. The Jakarta post is a daily newspaper, published six days in a week, while the British Broadcasting Company (BBC) is one of the biggest terrestrial broadcasting networks. Both of these media however also have online media report which report events related with various topics of social life including terrorism.

### 4.1 Formal Categories

A total of 677 articles on terrorism were analyzed from both media. The Jakarta Post reports 329 articles, while BBC has slightly difference with 348 articles. Both media divide into two time spans; before and after Memorandum of Understanding (MoU). Before MoU is the beginning year 1999 till 2005 and the “after MoU” is the year 2006- September 2011.

Table 4.1 Number of Articles on Terrorism in National and International Media

Sources	Articles			
	<i>Before MoU</i>		<i>After MoU</i>	
	N	%	N	%
Jakarta Post	124	30	205	80
BBC	295	70	53	20
<b>Total (N)</b>	419	100%	258	100%

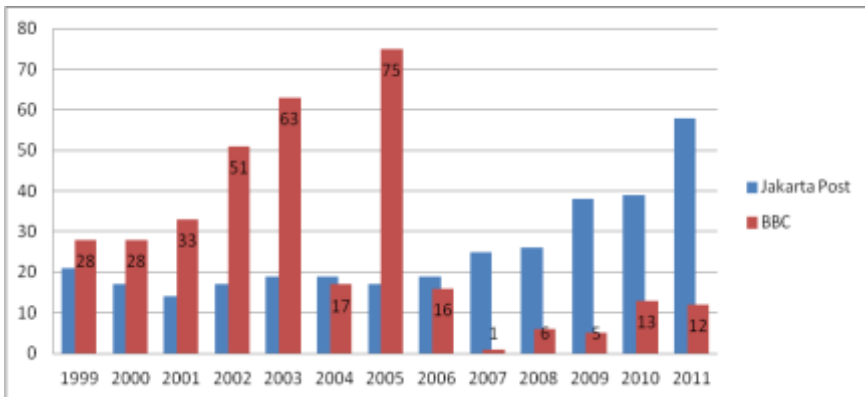
Note: %= n/N, n= number of article in respective media, N= total number of article

In general, the media will cover issue only if the issue is a hot topic or topic in progress (on going topic). Terrorism appears such an

interesting topic that covered by many global media and national media. The research shows, the terrorism topic attracts quite large world attention in the time “before MoU” is signed in August 2005. One certain terrorist attack in one country such as terrorism attack 9 September 2001 in United State of America, however, will impact other across country. This probably causes the issue rose significantly higher than “after MoU” with 248 articles. Time by time, the issue then could be categorized as global issue or worldwide issue.

As can be seen in figure 4.1, the fluctuation in number of terrorism articles, which is distributed by Jakarta post and British Broadcast Company (BBC) for 12 years, started in 1999 till 2011.

Figure 4.1 Distributed Number of Article on Both Media



Source :Own calculation,2012 Note: BBC = British Broadcasting Company

Explicitly, the graphic shows that the article distribution in the time span is very attractive. The national media Jakarta Post frequently reports terrorism issues from the beginning of the research’s time in 1999 and rose up in 2011, whilst the BBC has high concern on the issues in 2005. The highest number of Jakarta Post is 57 articles. This relates to the occurrence of second general election, which is dominated by the members of Aceh party who are part of transitional committee of Aceh (KPA); a transformation organization of demilitarize Aceh rebels.

*“The political environment has grown increasingly tense, partly due to altercations between incumbent Governor Irwandi Yusuf and his former political vehicle, the Aceh party, which has representative in the provincial legislative body along with 15 other parties” (Jakarta Post, July 18, 2011).*

On the other hand, BBC comes to be the top news distribution in same year of 2005, the time when Helsinki agreement is signed.

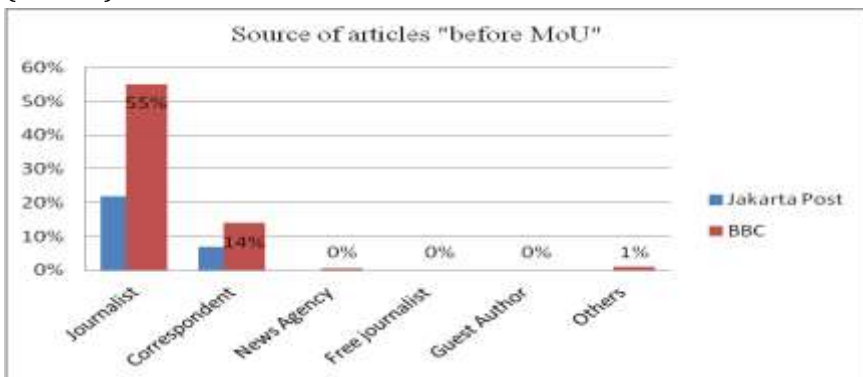
#### 4.2. The author/ source of articles

The source of articles divides into five categories, namely; journalist, correspondent, new agency, free journalist, guest author and others. Usually, each category is recognized on the beginning of articles on the left top page. Otherwise, it could be in the end of article too.

##### 4.2.1 Frequency of author/ source of articles before MoU

Figure 4.2.1 depicts that most articles from Jakarta Post and BBC are likely reported by journalist/ editor, rather than other kinds of sources of articles.

Figure 4.2.1 Frequency of the author /source of articles “before MoU” (n= 419)



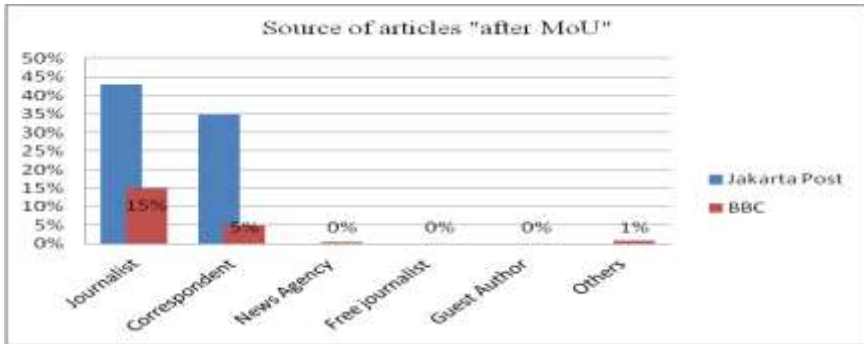
Source: Own calculation, 2012 Note : JP = Jakarta Post. BBC= British Broadcasting Company



#### 4.2.2 Frequency of author/ source of articles after MoU

After the political situation was conducive, Jakarta Post journalist dominates the news distribution with 43% over others, while BBC has almost half percentage from it with 15%. Later on, correspondent is the second articles that is preferred by national media (35%) and so does with global ones.

Figure 4.2.2 Frequency of the author /source of articles “after MoU” (n= 258)



Source: Own calculation, 2012 Note : JP = Jakarta Post. BBC= British Broadcasting Company

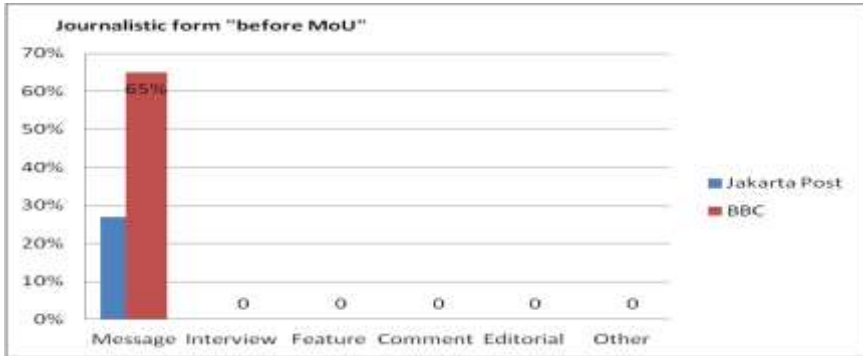
#### 4.3 Journalistic Form

The journalistic form is the visible though of text form whether as editorial on the newspaper or not. Different kind of journalistic forms are; “message”, “interview”, “feature”, “comment”, “editor” and the last is “other” as an optional.

##### 4.3.1 Frequency of journalistic form of news before MoU

Figure 4.3.1 displays the most form of text that journalist loves to do with. During the time 1999 - 2005, they would rather present their news into form of news “message” than other form of journalistic. BBC is highly interested in the report form of journalistic news “message” (65%) from total 419 articles. Nevertheless, other form is still existing but the numbers of articles are under ten, therefore the percentage is under 1% , which means nothing.

Figure 4.3.1 Frequency of journalistic form of news “before MoU” (n=419)

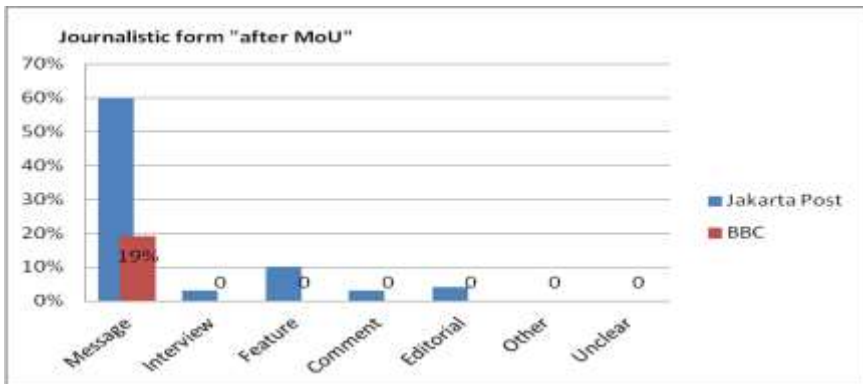


Source: Own calculation, 2012 Note: BBC= British Broadcasting Company

### 4.3.2 Frequency of journalistic form of news after MoU

After the peace agreement, the result is similar to “before agreement” where the news presents in the form of “message”, but here, rather than global media (19%), Jakarta Post declares “ a factual report without subjective comments” with 60% of data distribution from total number on both media. Besides that, category “feature” reaches 10 % as the second choice that journalist chooses to.

Figure 4.3.2 Frequency of journalistic form of news “after MoU” (n=258)



Source: Own calculation, 2012 Note: BBC= British Broadcasting Company

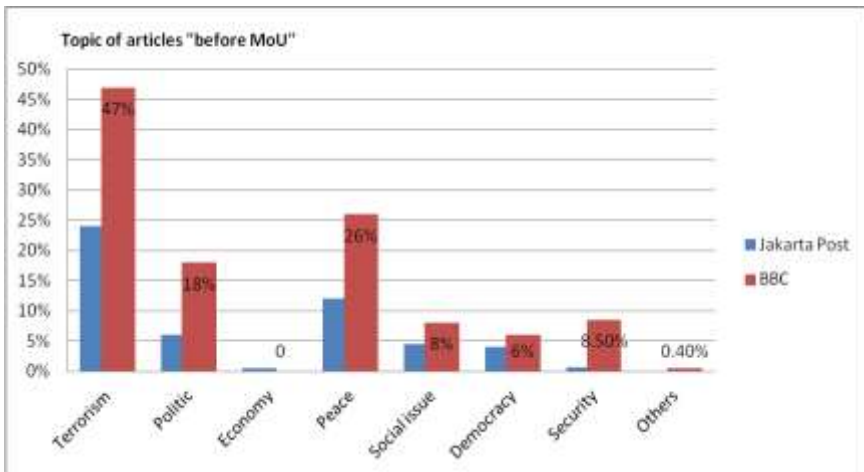
#### 4.4 Topic of articles

There are at least seven topics appear as main subject in the textual news, excluding “others”. One textual-report may have more than one category. It depends on the length of text and the circumstances when the event happened.

##### 4.4.1 Frequency of topic of articles before MoU

From total number of articles (419), BBC appears as global media that get much frame on category “terrorism” compares to other category. Even though there are similarities between both media on interesting issues, the media has different percentages. BBC has 47% on “terrorism news” distribution, while Jakarta Post is half with around 25%. Other similarity is, both mass media choose “peace” as their second interesting topic. Another point from the figure is about national integrity of Indonesia that is threatening in the time “before peace agreement”, but then, now it becomes less important issue with only 8,5% on “security” topic.

Figure 4.4.1 Frequency of topic of articles “before MoU” (n=419)



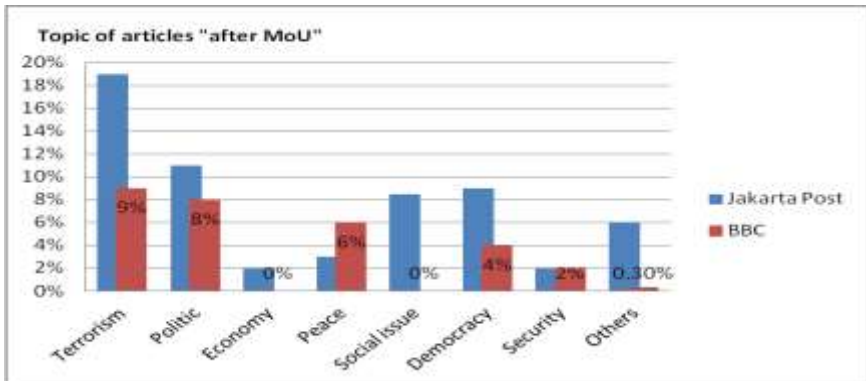
Source: Own calculation, 2012      Note: BBC= British Broadcasting Company

#### 4.4.2 Frequency of topic of articles after MoU

Further, the same scene is shown by figure 4.4.2 on the topic of articles “after the agreement”. Here, national and international media have the same intentions on certain issues. The first topic interacts them most is terrorism and the second one is politic. Impressively, after agreement, the war escalation is cooling down at the moment, which is signed by “terrorism” topic on international media that is dramatically decreased from 47% to 9%.

On contrary, Jakarta Post only shows slightly difference between “before” and “after agreement”, from 23% to 19% by chance on the same category (See the figure 4.4.2). After that, among other category, “democracy” is interesting (9%) for national media, which means the demand of political participation on local political party is higher than “before peace”.

Figure 4.4.2 Frequency of topic of articles “after MoU (n=258)



Source: Own calculation, 2012

Note: BBC= British Broadcasting Company

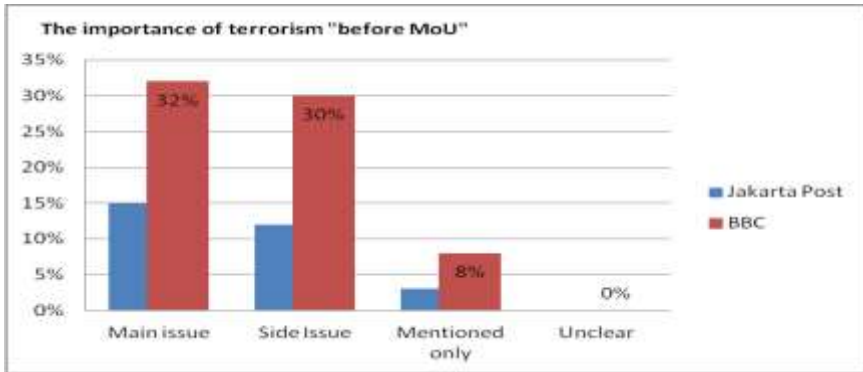
#### 4.5 The Importance of Terrorism

The following figure presents about the importance issues of terrorism throughout articles. The scales are based on the important degrees whether it is as main issue, side issue or mentioned issue only, together with “unclear “statement at the end of scales.

### 4.5.1 Frequency of the importance of terrorism before MoU

As can be seen below, figure 4.5.1 tells us that there is a linear relationship between the BBC reports on “topics of articles” (figure 4.5.1 & 4.5.2) and “the importance of terrorism”, where the top number on article’s category “terrorism” is also the top number on the importance of the topic itself. In meaning, terrorism framing has become the top issue throughout newspaper during 1999 to 2005, in line with the increasing of violence actions on the battle field.

Figure 4.5.1 Frequency of the importance of terrorism “before MoU” (n=419).

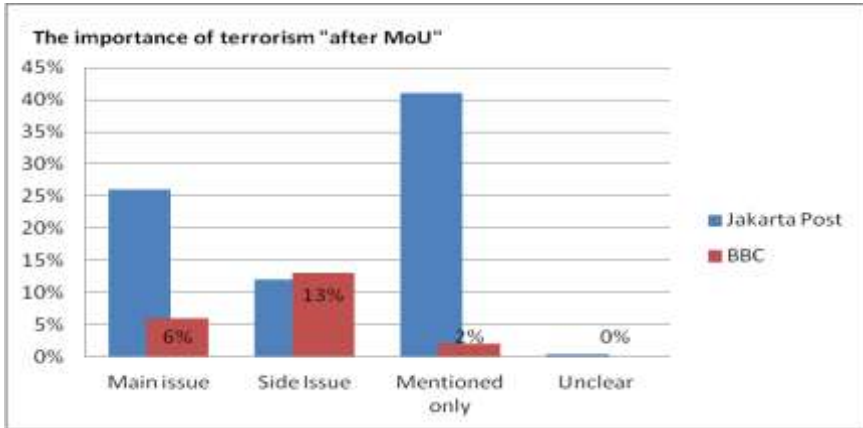


Source: Own calculation, 2012      Note: BBC= British Broadcasting Company

### 4.5.2 Frequency of the Importance of Terrorism after MoU

In contrast to the figure above, in figure 4.5.2 “the importance of terrorism after MoU”, BBC or international media has no more interest on the topic discussion, which is shown by “main issue” with 6% compares to “side issue” (13 %). Meanwhile, national media states that terrorism is still an interesting topic to be framed as “main issue” (26%). Overall, the importance of terrorism in national media frames less importance, which is indicated by “mentioned only” (41%) from data sample during 2006 until September 2011.

Figure 4.5.2 Frequency of the importance of terrorism “after MoU” (n=258)



Source: Own calculation, 2012 Note: BBC= British Broadcasting Company

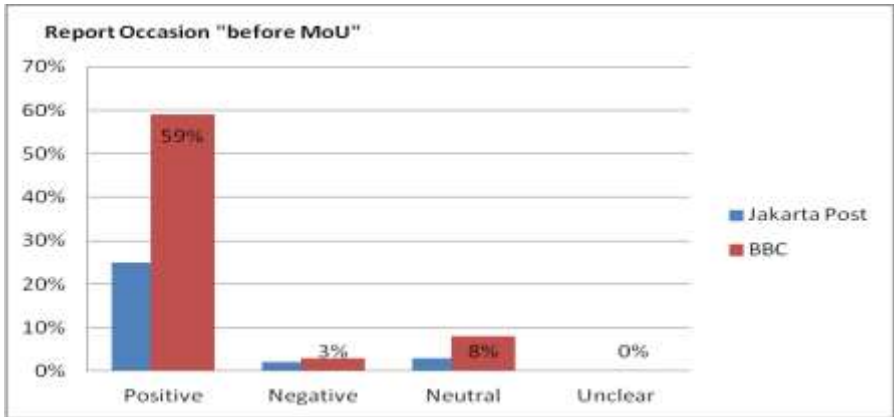
## 4.6 Report Occasion

The tendency of journalist on writing news will analyze into four forms; positive, negative, neutral and unclear. Each category has different meaning, where positive means the news is based on the fact and far from subjective justification. Thus, negative means the report in on a bad side plus justification and far from independency, while neutral is referred to balance report, no justification, no subjective opinion, only a counterbalance indeed.

### 4.6.1 Frequency of Report Occasion before MoU

Generally, the reportages on both media tend to be positive, which mean the reportages are based on the real fact without any justification. The highest number belongs to BBC with 59%, more than half from total data distribution. Further, compare to be balance reports without self intensions (neutral 8%), both national and international media reach very less presented on “negative reports” or almost nothing.

Figure 4.6.1 Frequency of Report Occasion “before MoU (n=419)

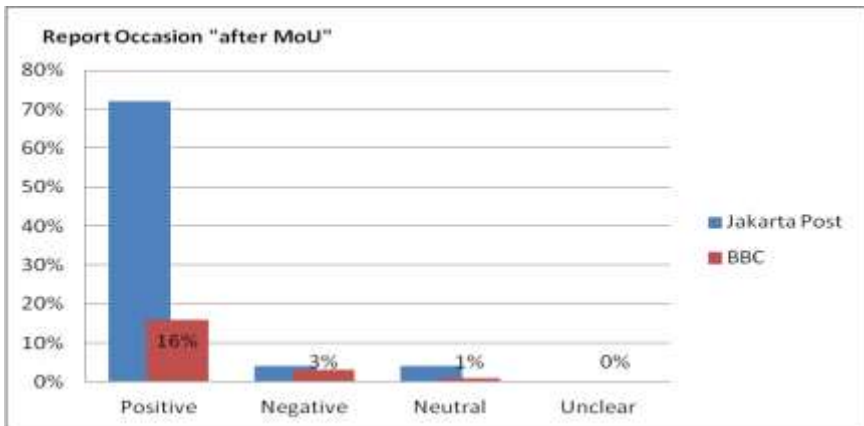


Source: Own calculation, 2012 Note: BBC= British Broadcasting Company

#### 4.6.2 Frequency of Report Occasion after MoU

The same occasion occurs in the time when situation was getting a bit normal, positive report contributes to the same topics on both media, while negative and neutral have slightly difference on news distributions. For unknown reason, BBC’s trend on positive report decreases dramatically from 59% before agreement was signed, to 16 % in the time ‘after’.

Figure 4.6.2 Frequency of report occasion “after MoU” (n=258)



Source: Own calculation, 2012 Note: BBC= British Broadcasting Company

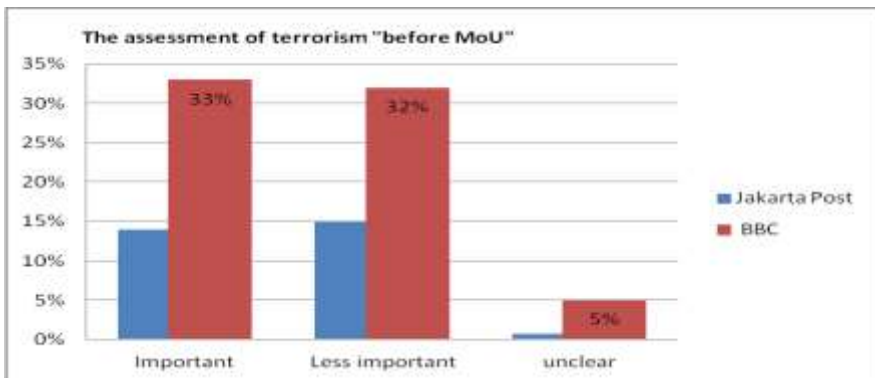
## 4.7 The Assessment of Terrorism

The assessment is needed in order to scale if the articles are important or less important. The “important” from the whole text means, terrorism needs to be considered seriously in term of alarming signal from negative causes. Whilst, “less important” means text contains a reassuring way in handling terrorism problems such as lobbying, negotiating and so forth.

### 4.7.1 Frequency of the Assessment of Terrorism before MoU

International speaker frames terrorism issue almost on the equal level on two categories, with slightly difference percentage (only 1%) between “important” (33%) and “less important” (32%). Similar to this, national media tends to be “less important” on the issue of terrorism and the difference with category “important” is very small (1%) too.

Figure 4.7.1 Frequency of the Assessment of Terrorism “before MoU” (n=419)



Source: Own calculation, 2012 Note: BBC= British Broadcasting Company

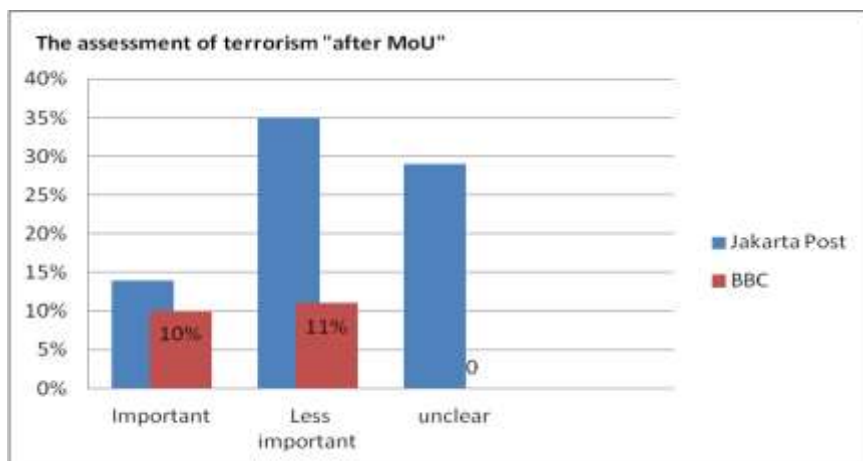
### 4.7.2 Frequency of the Assessment of Terrorism after MoU

Next, figure 4.7.2 depicts reassuring way in handling terrorism like lobbying and negotiating are still remain in positive manners on national speaker; Jakarta Post, and it's proved by 35 % from entirely data “after peace”. Besides that, the data also has “not enough”



information with its “unclear” statement around 28% that makes the coder have no choice to decide the level of assessment.

Figure 4.7.2 Frequency of the Assessment of Terrorism “after MoU” (n=258)



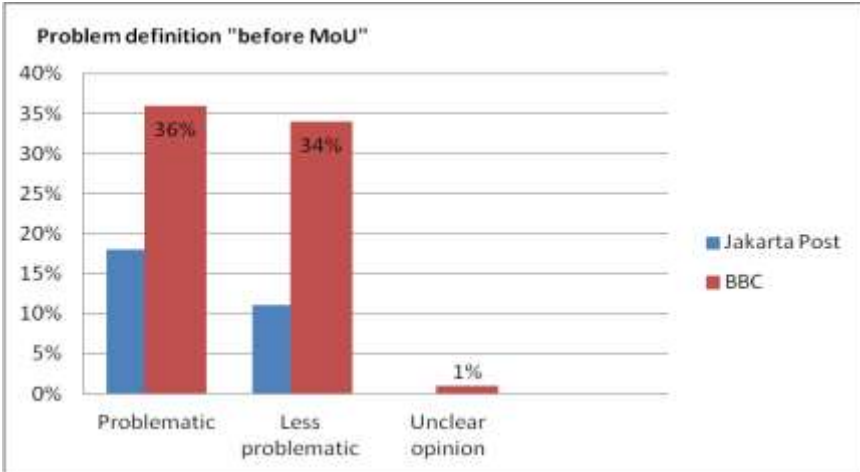
Source: Own calculation, 2012      Note: BBC= British Broadcasting Company

#### 4.8 Problem definition

Explicitly, terrorism refers to be harmful. Nevertheless, the tendency on how problematic the issues need to be analyzed. Three prominent categories to define framing on the topic problem definition are; first, “problematic”, which refers to cause mostly violence on other. The second is “less problematic”, which also causes violence but not as harmful as the first one. The last is “no clear opinion”, which contents a doubt in between problematic and less problematic.

##### 4.8.1 Frequency of Problem definition before MoU.

Figure 4.8.1 Frequency of Problem definition “before MoU” (n=419)

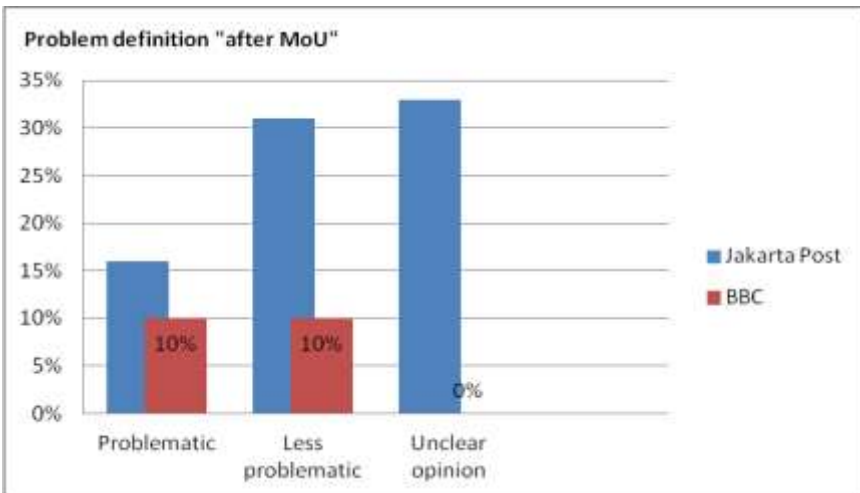


Source: Own calculation, 2012 Note: BBC= British Broadcasting Company

Regarding figure 4.8.1, it depicts that during the year 1999 to 2005, both national and international speakers through their report perceive terrorism is really “problematic” issue and increasing issue on certain violence action contributes to this result.

#### 4.8.2 Frequency of Problem definition after MoU.

Figure 4.8.2 Frequency of Problem Definition “after MoU” (n=258)



Source: Own calculation, 2012 Note: BBC= British Broadcasting Company

Furthermore, in correlation to the importance of terrorism, figure 4.8.2 tells us that foreign media frames hard to define whether it is problematic or less problematic, due to the same percentage (10%) each. Even though on domestic media the problems are less problematic (31%), however, after Memorandum of Understanding Helsinki the figure shows the perceiving process of “unclear opinion” is much closed to less problematic with 33 %. On the other hand, foreign media considers “unclear” with nothing (0%).

#### **4.9 The Indicator of Terrorism**

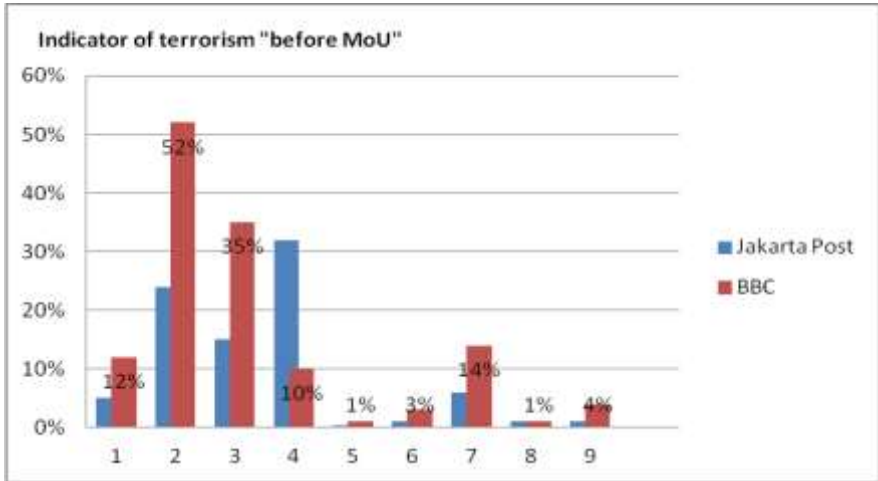
One article may contain more than one indicator. In the time before the agreement signed, the tendency of violence is quite higher among other indicators of terrorism acts. Both media have very distinction report on it. There are eight indicators are presented on the figure below, excluding “others”.

##### **4.9.1 Frequency of the Indicator of Terrorism before MoU**

The figure explains us about the speaker on BBC who frames violence actions be the top level (52%) among other indicators. In contrast, rather than “violence actions”, the “unfair profit shared of natural resources” (32%) on Jakarta Post speaker becomes the main issue that causes terrorism in the west edge province of Indonesia.

Later on, concerning the indicator of “self determinant province”, BBC perceives it as the second indicator (35%) that occupies terrorist action. Yet again, national media perceives that the topic “self determinant province” is not need to be considered enough rather than the indicator of killing, shooting, raping, which is gathered in “violence” with 24% of words distributed

Figure 4.9.1 Frequency of the Indicator of Terrorism “before MoU” (n=419)

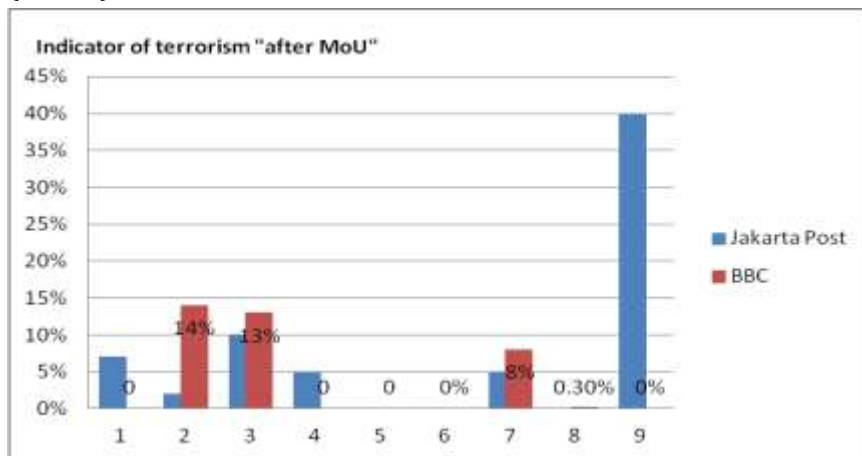


Source: Own calculation, 2012 - Note: BBC= British Broadcasting Company, 1= sale, handling, storing hazardous components. 2 = violence incidents, 3=the demand of self independence state, 4= Unfair profit share of natural sources,5= Very less job opportunities, 6= The demand concerning democracy issues; participant on local party, referendum etc, 7=Boycott general election , 8= Significantly well structure organization as if a state, 9= other indicators.

#### 4.9.2 Frequency of the Indicator of Terrorism after MoU

Moreover, if the escalation of war looks so harmful before agreement, then the result shows differently in the time after agreement. Descriptively, 40% of national media in figure 4.9.2 (the indicator of terrorism after MoU) mentions “others” indicator in the news, which is not belonging to any available codes. However, this indicator directly relates to terrorism act, although it is not directly to the GAM. Otherwise, it refers to terrorism acts in other parts of Indonesia or in ASEAN region, for instance a conflict in Moro Island in Philippine and conflict in East Timor. Hence, the importance of this “others” variation is not as main issue of news, but it’s only passing by (mentioned only) (see Figure 4.5.2)

**Figure 4.9.2 Frequency of the Indicator of Terrorism “after MoU” (n=258)**



Source: Own calculation, 2012 Note: BBC= British Broadcasting Company, 1= sale, handling, storing hazardous components. 2 = violence incidents, 3=the demand of self independence state, 4= Unfair profit share of natural sources,5= Very less job opportunities,6= The demand concerning democracy issues; participant on local party, referendum etc, 7=Boycott general election , 8= Significantly well structure organization as if a state, , 9=other indicators.

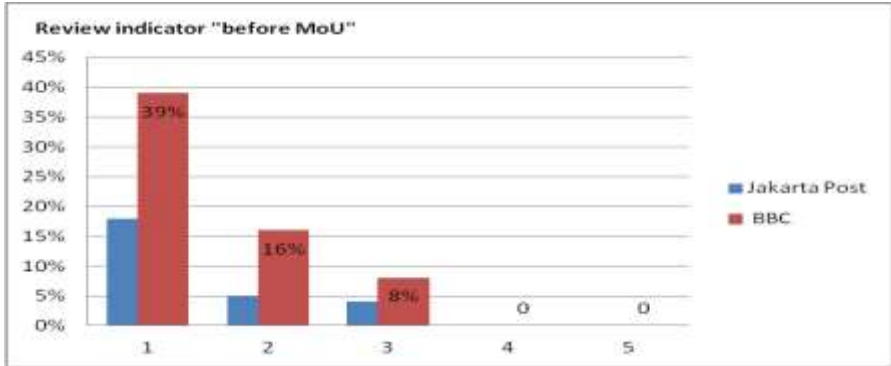
#### **4.10 Review indicator of terrorism**

From the indicator items above, there are strong statements among actors, who are part of indicators and occupy terrorism on figure below. “Certainly”, “probably”, “ambivalent”, “probably not” and “certainly not” are list of indicators.

##### **4.10.1 Frequency of Review Indicator before MoU**

On the figure 4.10.1, the graph proves that 39% of speaker on global media depicts violence actions such as killing, kidnapping, shooting and etc are undoubtedly and certainly indicators of terrorism (39%). Whilst, the perceiving on the national speaker stands on 17%. Only 8% from 419 of total data distribution who states such indicator is “ambivalent”, which refers to the frame “could be yes or could be not”.

Figure 4.10.1 Frequency of Review Indicator “before MoU” (n=419)

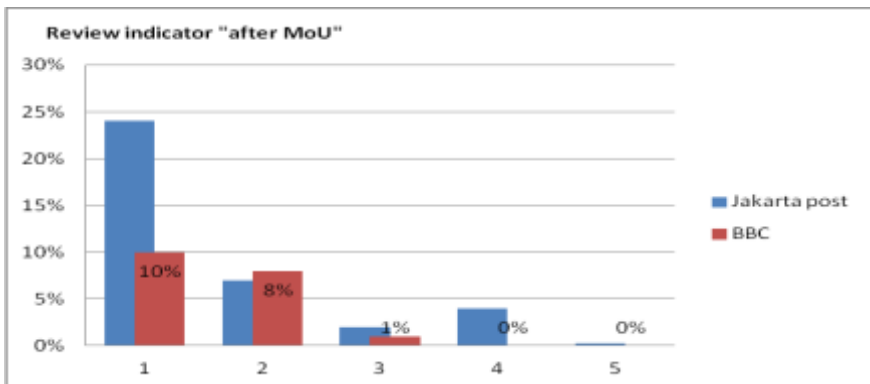


Source: Own calculation, 2012 Note: BBC= British Broadcasting Company, 1= certainly an indicator of terrorism, 2= probably an indicator of terrorism, 3= ambivalent assessment, 4= probably not an indicator of terrorism, 5= certainly not an indicator of terrorism.

#### 4.10.2 Frequency of Review Indicator after MoU

Unlike the figure above, the escalation of war is going down after peace agreement between both parties. This is shown by the decreased percentage of global media “before” (39%) to “after” (10%), which has 30 % differences. If on the graph before (figure 4.9.2) terrorism indicators on national media is 40% on “others”, then in time “after MoU, the assessment of these indicators indicate 24% of news are certainly part of harmful acts.

Figure 4.10.2 Frequency of Review Indicator “after MoU” (n=258)



Source: Own calculation, 2012 Note: BBC= British Broadcasting Company, 1= certainly an indicator of terrorism, 2= probably an indicator of terrorism, 3= ambivalent assessment, 4= probably not an indicator of terrorism, 5= certainly not an indicator of terrorism.

#### **4.11. The Consequences of Terrorism**

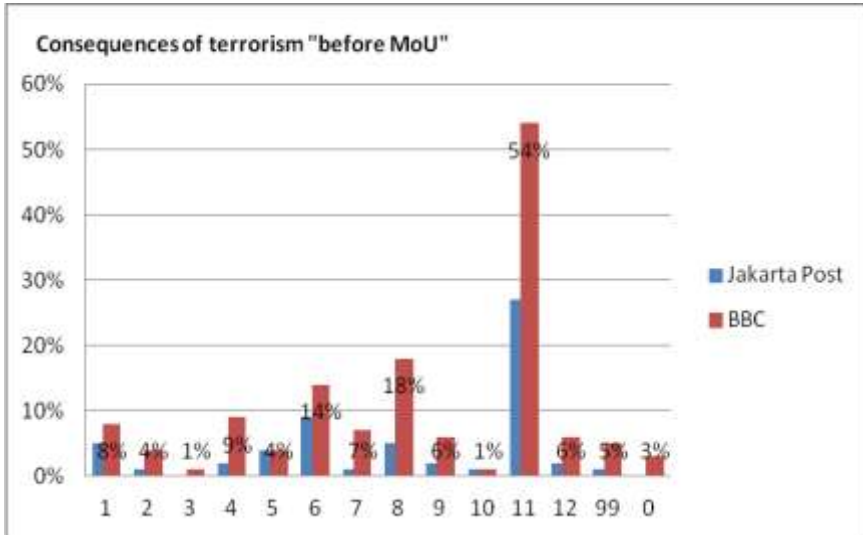
There are exactly twelve consequences that are used to analyze the data, excluding “others” and “unknown effect”. One sample data may include some consequences; it depends on the length of article, the scope of topic. The broader topic is presented, the more codes are detected.

##### **4.11.1 Frequency of Consequences of Terrorism before MoU**

Losing human resources or being victims of violence as part of impact on social level, such as many people die, is the greatest effect on terrorism acts. During 1999 till 2005, when conflict escalation was still ongoing on alarming level, both media report on similar value of the consequence where international speaker mentions 226 times or 54% from entirely news distribution, which contains word “died”. Meanwhile, national speaker mentions 114 times or equal with 27% from total amount of data in the time “before MoU”.

Other terrorism consequences such as “destruction places” (18%) like losing infrastructure and “foreign involvement” (14%) through participation of humanitarian organization, also have high numbers on reportages. Nonetheless, high numbers on some consequences don’t make the consequence “lack of job opportunity” and “pressure from national public” rise up. Thereby, both consequences are being the lowest rank among all with 1% statements respectively.

Figure 4.11.1 Frequency of Consequences of Terrorism” before MoU” (n=419)



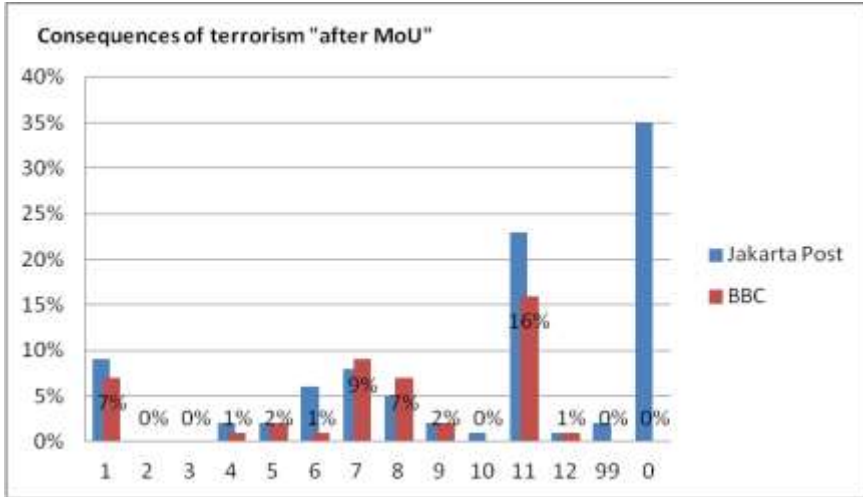
Source: Own calculation, 2012. Note: BBC = British Broadcast Company. 1= impact on self personal, 2= impact on economic, 3=lack of job opportunity, 4=threatening territorial integrity, 5= travel warning,6= destruction of places,7= impact on politic, 8= foreign involvement, 9= pressure from international public, 10= pressure from national public, 11=impact on social, 12= lack of trust to the government, 99= others, 00= unknown effect.

#### 4.11.2 Frequency of Consequences of Terrorism after MoU

Furthermore, on the figure 4.11.2 in the time “after”, most consequences disappeared. Among other impacts, “unknown effect” consequence has the highest percentage (35%) on news distribution of national media. In meaning, there is no more important discussion in the article regarding the impact on terrorism soon after the peace agreement is signed.

Figure 4.11.2 Frequency of Consequences of Terrorism” after MoU” (n=258)





Source: Own calculation, 2012. Note : BBC = British Broadcast Company. 1= impact on self personal, 2= impact on economic, 3=lack of job opportunity, 4=threatening territorial integrity, 5= travel warning,6= destruction of places,7= impact on politic, 8= foreign involvement, 9= pressure from international public, 10= pressure from national public, 11=impact on social, 12= lack of trust to the government, 99= others, 00= unknown effect.

Meanwhile, if the report on “social impact” is dominated by BBC in the year “before MoU”, then in the year “after MoU” the position is replaced by Jakarta Post with 23% statements from entirely 258 articles. Beside impact on social, the changing policies through a new regulation, regarding local election and legalization of local political party have made “political impact” (9%) as second interesting issue after peace happened.

Apart from “social impact” that indicates through the word “died” many times, the victim of war in fact has a scar psychically and psychologically. The personal impact like traumatic syndrome, mental illness or mental disorder because of violence on war, need to be considered. By that, “personal impact” gains equal report on both media; domestic and foreign media with 7%- 9% of words mentioned during 1999 to 2005. At last, the rest categories are meaningless with the average percentage are around 0%-2% from entirely data.

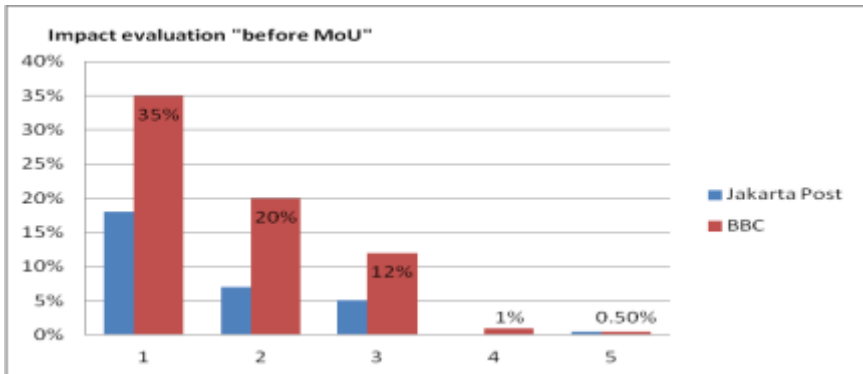
#### 4.12 Impact evaluation

The impact evaluation mainly discusses the degree of involving actor that occurs terrorism acts. In general, speaker in global media assumes that a terrorism occurrence happens certainly.

##### 4.12.1 Frequency of Impact Evaluation before MoU

The actor states his sentences confidently with 35% over others. Meanwhile, on the national media, the actor's value statement is lower than global media with 17%. In addition, both media has a linier comparison on result which is definitely shown on graph 4.12.1.

Figure 4.12.1 Frequency of Impact Evaluation "before MoU" (n=419)



Source : Own calculation, 2012. Note : 1=occurs with certainly, 2=probably occurs, 3=ambivalent assessment , 4=probably doesn't occur, 5= no clear statement.

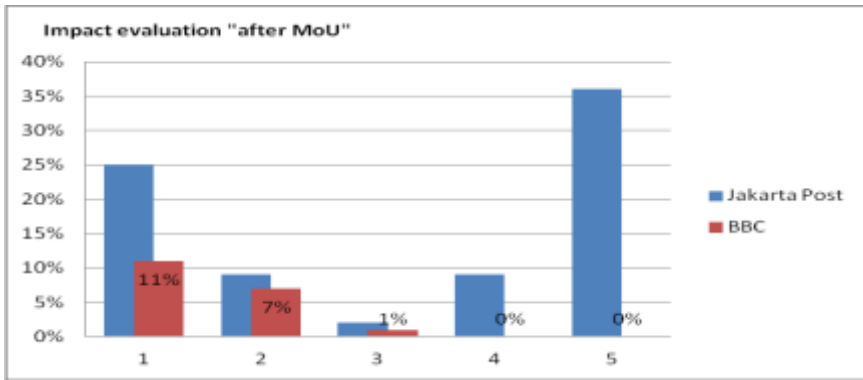
##### 4.12.2 Frequency of Impact Evaluation after MoU

In the time after peace agreement, in any category, it shows that domestic media is more active on reportage. Although 25% of domestic media speakers may agree with their statement that impacts are "occurs with certainly", most speakers (36%) give uncertainty value by "unclear statements" to the impact of terrorism acts. On the other hand, global media that reports impressively in the

time before agreement decreases to 11% at the sequence value “occurs with certainly”.

Next, none of articles of global media states the impact “probably doesn’t occur “ because of terrorist attacks, as well as just keep silent through their 0% “unclear statement”.

Figure 4.12.2 Frequency of Impact Evaluation “after MoU” (n=258)



Source : Own calculation, 2012. Note : 1=occurs with certainly, 2=probably occurs, 3=ambivalent assessment , 4=probably doesn’t occur, 5= no clear statement.

### 4.13 Indicator and Impact linkage

There are three categories to define the linkage between indicator and impact of terrorism actions, namely; explicit which is indicated by the conjunctions of “because”, “will”, and “if” that are linked each other. Implicit is indicated by mentioned indicator on the consequence statement, while “no link at all” means there is no relationship between indicator and consequence of terrorism.

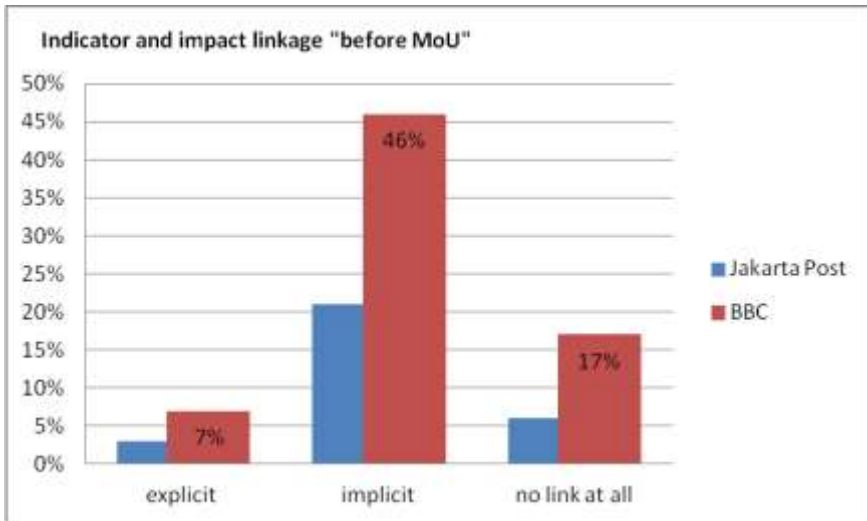
#### 4.13.1 Frequency of Indicator and Impact Linkage before MoU

For six years, there is 46% of BBC articles have been identified as implicit linkage.

That means, almost half from entirely news distribution in time when war on terrorism is still ongoing, shows the existence of indicator and the causality very clear. Compare to domestic media

(20%), the existence of global media mentions in every statement of actors who are part of actions. Further, less relationship between consequences and causality that means “explicit”, is shown by figure 4.13.1 with 7 % on BBC and 3% on Jakarta Post respectively

Figure 4.13.1 Frequency of Indicator and Impact Linkage “before MoU” (n=419)

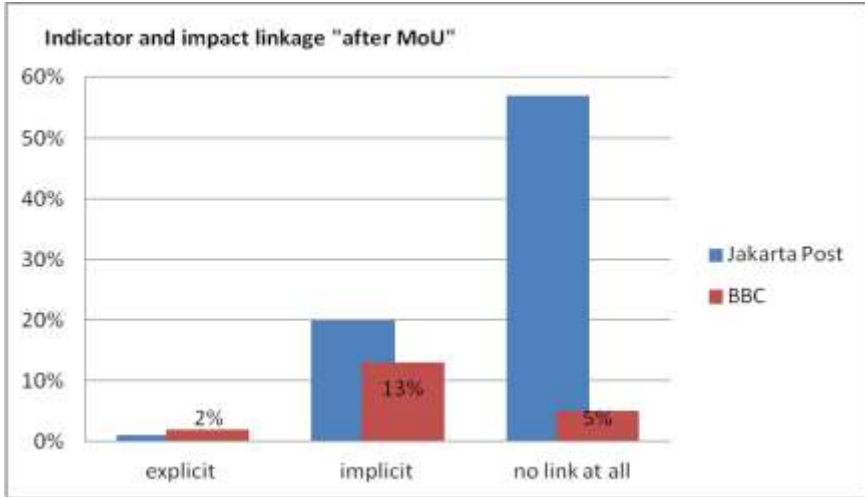


Source : Own calculation, 2012.

#### 4.13.2 Frequency of Indicator and Impact Linkage after MoU

The category “no link at all” appears so clear in time “after peace” by domestic media with 56%. No link means there is absolutely no relationship between indicator and consequences or impact on terrorism acts.

Figure 4.13.2 Frequency of Indicator and Impact Linkage “after MoU” (n=258)



Source : Own calculation, 2012.

Later on, even though the escalation of war decreases in the time “after peace” (2005 to 2011), domestic reportage still remains 20% “implicit link”, whereas global media reportage stands at 13% from all data distribution

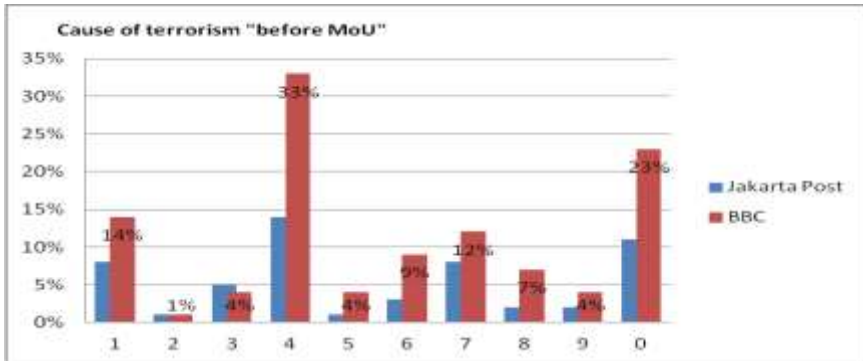
#### **4.14. Cause of terrorism**

An article can be analysed into more than three causes. At least there are eight categories can be classified into cause of terrorism actions, excluding “others” and “unknown cause” .

##### **4.14.1 Frequency of Cause of terrorism before MoU**

The figure 4.14.1 finds out that both domestic and global media have high numbers in the same cause category “self determination province”, where BBC reaches 33 % and Jakarta Post 14% from entire data distribution during six years of time analysis. Another interesting result is, “religious issue for independent islamic state” becomes the second cause of terrorism on domestic reports (8%). Probably, it happens because of the majority Acehnese are muslim and BBC reaches a finding in the same category with 12% from 419 data sample.

Figure 4.14.1 Frequency of Cause of terrorism “before MoU” (n=419)

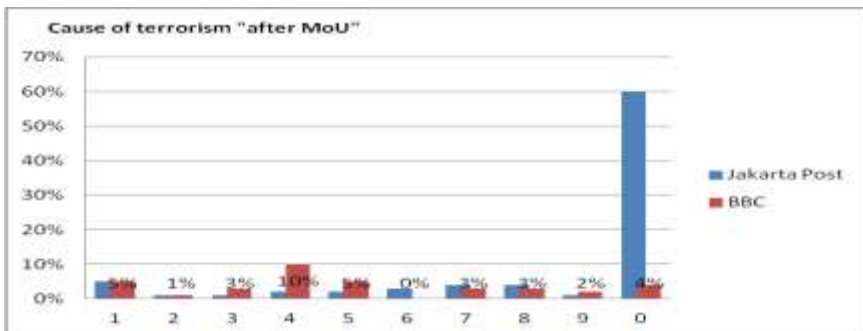


Source : Own calculation, 2012 note : 1= unbalanced profit/economic shared, 2= relocated Javanese workforce, 3=Dutch historical reason, 4= self determinant province, 5= unfair political management policy,6= mis and distrust over both sides at any cases,6= repressive/brutal approach of maintaining and resolving problem, 7= religious issues for independent Islamic state ,9= others, 00= unknown causes.

#### 4.14.2 Frequency of Cause of Terrorism after MoU

The category “unknown cause” is considered as the most causer of terrorism as mentions by 155 times (60%) in domestic Indonesia media. The “unknown” category relate to none of previous categories, such as out of control population growth where none of words are detected. Unless category “self determinant province” which still remains in more normal situation, most categories nearly lost their existence in global and domestic media report.

Figure 4.14.2 Frequency of Cause of Terrorism “after MoU”(n=258)



Source : Own calculation, 2012 note : 1= unbalanced profit/economic shared, 2= relocated Javanese workforce, 3=Dutch historical reason, 4= self determinant

province, 5= unfair political management policy,6= mis and distrust over both sides at any cases,6= repressive/brutal approach of maintaining and resolving problem, 7= religious issues for independent Islamic state ,9= others, 00= unknown causes.

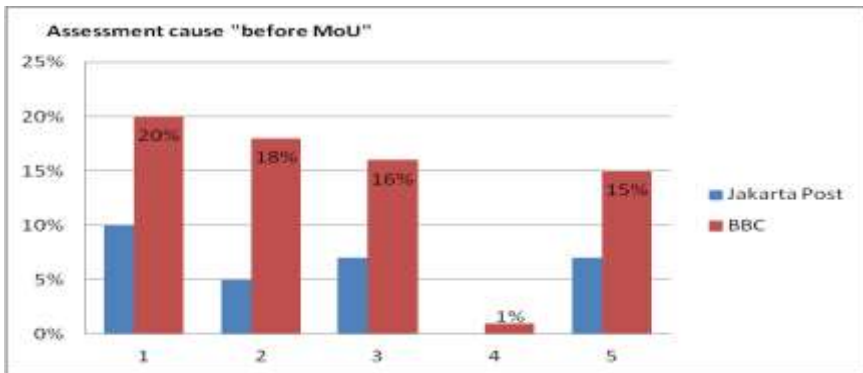
#### 4.15 Assessment of the Cause

In the assessment process, the statement that responsible for the action will be analyzed. Thus, the statement can be approved into five categories which are actually based on two groups of value; support and objection.

##### 4.15.1 Frequency of Cause Assessment on Terrorism before MoU

The assessment “certainly cause of terrorism” is considered as the most stated assessment as is approved by 20% statements in international media, followed by “probably cause of terrorism” with 18%. Still in international media, the hesitancy to assess for responsible action is showed by 16 % speakers from 419 articles view and the objection in the range “probably cause of terrorism” has 1% slightly difference from “ambivalent assessment”. The similar result between national and international media is in the category “probably not a cause” without any value of assessment at all.

Figure 4.15.1 Frequency of Cause Assessment on Terrorism “before MoU” (n=419)

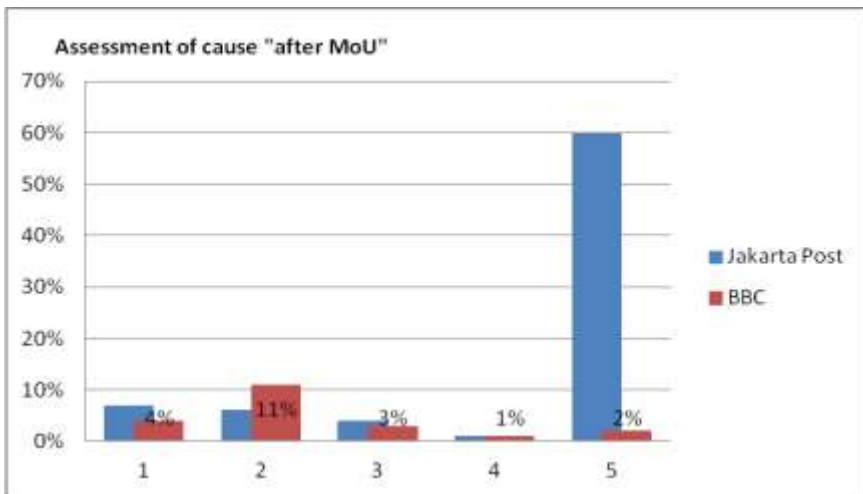


Source : Own calculation, 2012. Note: 1=certainly a cause of terrorism, 2= probably a cause of terrorism, 3=ambivalent assessment- could be a cause of terrorism, 4= probably not a cause of terrorism, 5= certainly not a cause of terrorism

#### 4.15.2 Frequency of Cause Assessment on Terrorism after MoU

The category “others” is declared as the highest assessment (60%) among other values on national media. In contrast to national media, the highest number in international media only states in “probably cause” with 11% and the similarity between national and international media can be found in “ probably not a cause of terrorism” with the lowest number 1%.

Figure 4.15.2 Frequency of Cause Assessment on Terrorism “after MoU” (n=258)



Source : Own calculation, 2012. Note: 1=certainly a cause of terrorism, 2= probably a cause of terrorism, 3=ambivalent assessment- could be a cause of terrorism, 4= probably not a cause of terrorism, 5= certainly not a cause of terrorism.

#### 4.16 Attribution of Blame

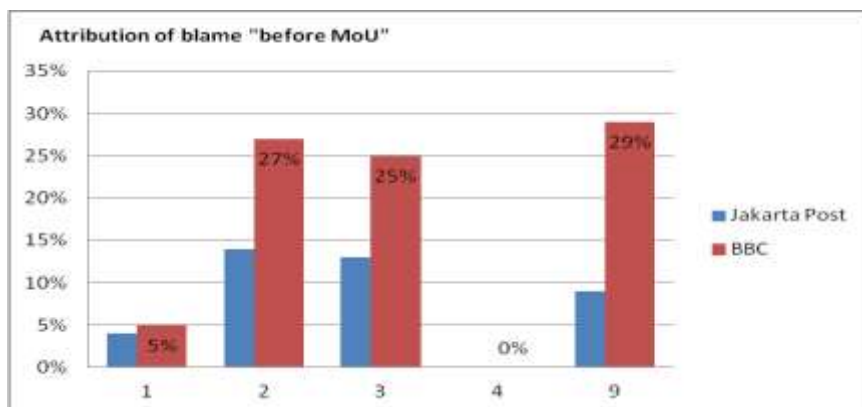
The attribution of blame refers to certain actors who responsible on certain problems of terrorism. This responsibility divides into five categories: “government”, “military forces”, “rebels”, “non government organization” and “others”. Each article enables to code more than one actor. So that, there are totally 525 times mentioned of 419 articles that speakers in both media speak about blaming.



### 4.16.1 Frequency of Attribution of Blame before MoU

In the time before peace agreement of Helsinki where the war is still exist, Jakarta Post speaker assumes those who should be blamed first for the cause of terrorism is “military forces” (14%). Meanwhile, the BBC argue “military forces” is the second actor (27%) who may be blamed for the causality, where actors in “others” is the first with 29% mentioned, followed by “rebels/GAM” (25%) as the third one. Both media agree that “government” cannot be blamed fully on the causality since the speakers argue it with only 4%-5% from total amount 419 news reports.

Figure 4.16.1 Frequency of Attribution of Blame “before MoU” (n=419)



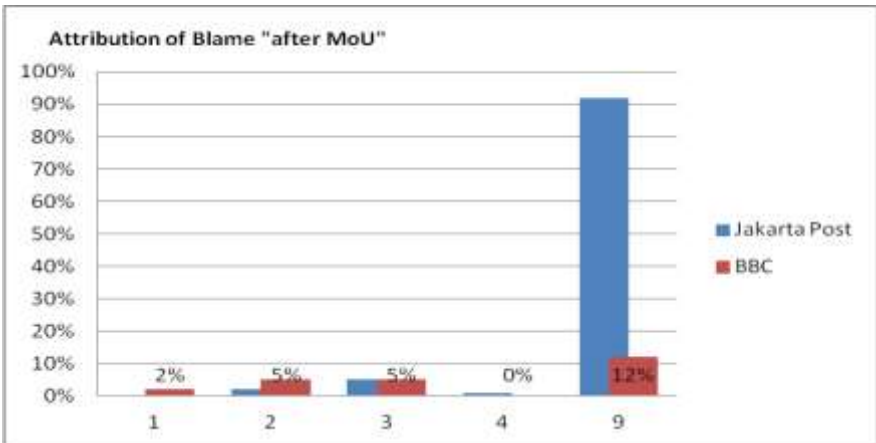
Source : Own calculation, 2012. Note: 1=the government, 2= military forces, 3= the rebels/GAM, 4=the NGO  
9= others.

### 4.16.2 Frequency of Attribution of Blame after MoU

The category “other” is considered as the most stressed among other analysis and assesment above with 92% mentioned respectively in domestic media. The blaming attribution after some problems are solved after peace is not necessary anymore, the figure below shows how each category on both media reach very less statements compare to in the time before MoU. Nevertheless,

international media still has 10% assumptions in blaming “others” as responsible man. Thus, only “rebels/GAM” has same blame on both media with 5% mentioned

Figure 4.16.2 Frequency of Attribution of Blame “after MoU” (n=258)



Source : Own calculation, 2012. Note: 1=the government, 2= military forces, 3= the rebels/GAM, 4=the NGO  
9= others.

#### 4.17 Strategies and Measures

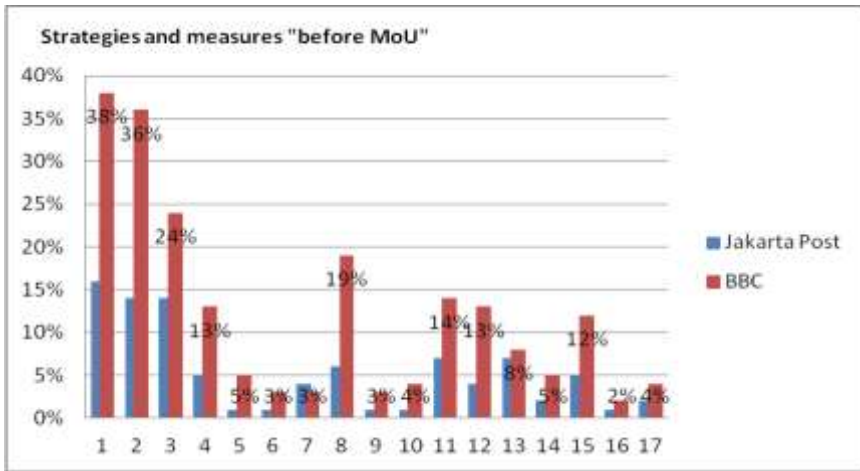
As part of problem solving topic, strategies and measures offer sixteen solutions to handle Aceh terrorism problems. An article may contain some strategies; therefore high number is available on the result possibly.

##### 4.17.1 Frequency of Strategies and Measures before MoU

Among all strategies, “dialogue” is the most popular strategy in global media reports, followed by “peace agreement” with 36% and “military offensive” with 24% from 1244 times mentioned. The efforts of “third party mediation/participation” through Hendry Dunant Centre (HDC), Central Management Imitative (CMI) and other supported organizations, have an equal amount (12%) with

“demilitarized” actions as the fifth best strategy in problem solving of terrorism in Aceh.

Figure 4.17.1 Frequency of Strategies and Measures “before MoU” (n=419)



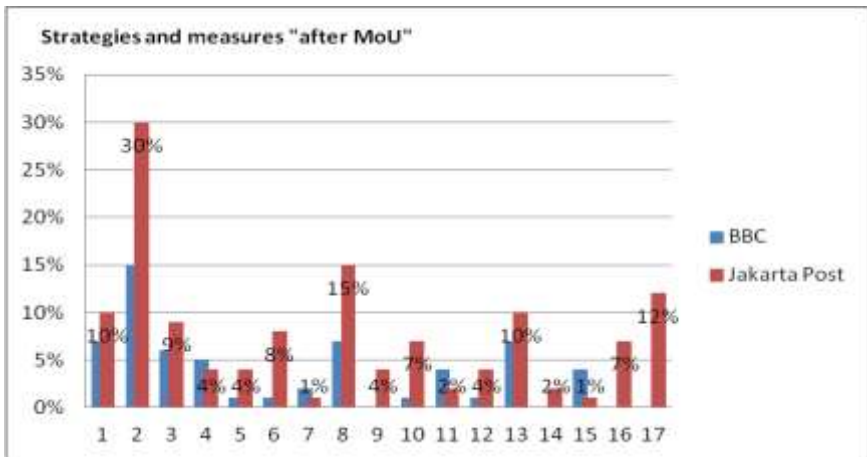
Source : Own calculation, 2012. Note: 1=dialogue, 2= peace agreement, 3=the military offensive, 4=third party participation/mediation, 5=reintegration(amnesty), 6= compestation of war’s victim, 7=profit shared of natural sources, 8=Offering speacial autonomy, 9=extradition of GAM leader in exile, 10= domestic intelligence (monitoring/investigating), 11=international cooperation, 12=justice for the past crime , 13= campaign, 14=local community cooperation, 15=demilitedes ( hand over the weapon), 16= others, 17=no strategies at all.

Similar to global media, domestic media; Jakarta Post suggests that “dialogue” is the best way to solve the problem (16%), followed by “peace agreement” and “military offensive”. The next popular strategy is “international cooperation” (7%) that refers to joint security and international monitoring with all ASEAN and EU countries, which has similar trend with the socialization act of certain peace programs through “campaign” (7%). The lowest popular strategies belong to “reintegration (amnesty)”, “compestation”, “extradition of GAM leader in exile”, “domestic intelligence” and “others” with 1% each.

#### 4.17.2 Frequency of Strategies and Measures after MoU

Further, Jakarta Post often stresses that “peace agreement” (30%) is still the best solution to solve the problem after the peace was signed in 2005, and BBC also argues the same with 15% statements on this. The category “offering special autonomy” (15%) defines as the second best solution through the implementation of their (Acehnese) own rules by using certain points in Helsinki MoU.

Figure 4.17.2 Frequency of strategies and measures “after MoU” (n=258)



Source : Own calculation, 2012. Note: 1=dialogue, 2= peace agreement, 3=the military offensive, 4=third party participation/mediation, 5=reintegration(amnesty), 6= compensation of war’s victim, 7=profit shared of natural sources, 8=Offering special autonomy, 9=extradition of GAM leader in exile, 10= domestic intelligence (monitoring/investigating), 11=international cooperation, 12=justice for the past crime , 13= campaign, 14=local community cooperation, 15=demilitised ( hand over the weapon), 16= others, 17=no strategies at all.

Unlike Jakarta Post, BBC widely mentions that “peace agreement” (15%) approach may be considered as a good solution in Aceh war of terrorisms, and the other four solutions such as “dialogue”, offering special autonomy”, “military offensive” and “campaign” are intentionally as the second good strategies with equal number 7% from total 258 data distribution. Unless “third party participation” with

4%, the rest approaches need to be skipped due to very low percentage on news distribution.

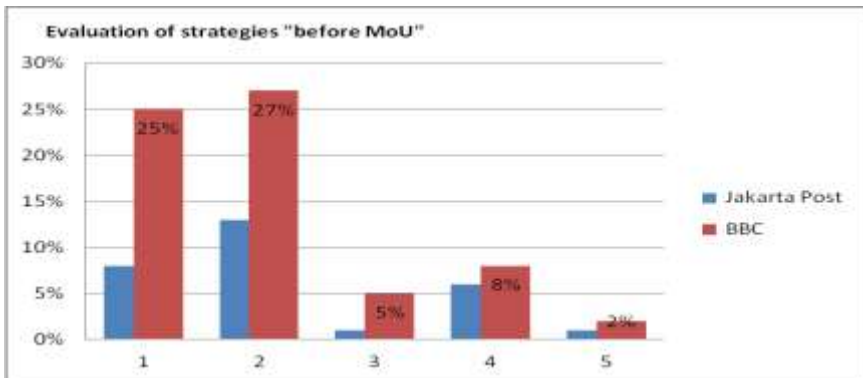
#### 4.18 Evaluation of strategies

To find out whether the strategies are working out or not, the evaluation needs to be done. The evaluation of strategies divides into five categories which is basically part of two values; positive and negative.

##### 4.18.1 Frequency of Evaluation of Strategies before MoU

Global media states that most evaluations are “positive/ more demanding”(27%), which means, it needs to improve more, while domestic media; Jakarta Post does the same, agree with its 13%. It is realistic that the battle field was still ongoing and need many improvements on the strategies. However it is “clear demanding” for global media (25%), though Jakarta Post disagree and frames it with only 8%. On contrary, disagreement on some strategies are shown on “significantly negative” where global media frames it 8% and domestic do it with 6% before the deal signed in 2005.

Figure 4.18.1 Frequency of Evaluation of Strategies “before MoU” (n=419)

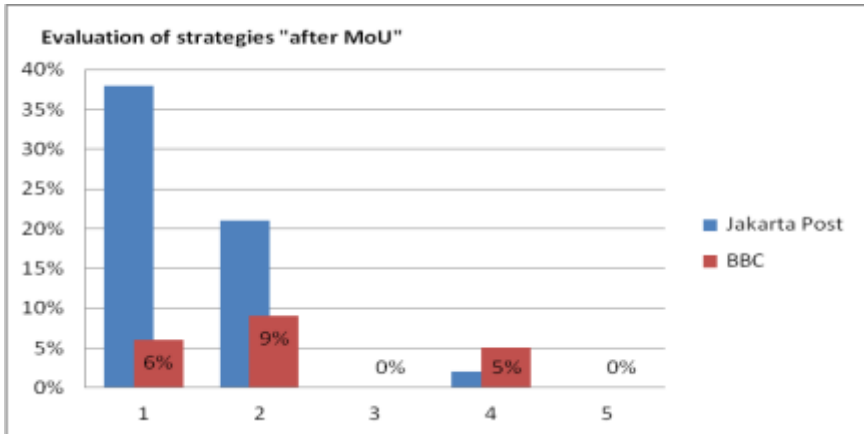


Source : Own calculation, 2012. Note: 1=clearly demanding/positive, 2=more demanding/ positive, 3= ambivalent -no clear statement, positive and negative aspects called, 4=rather negative 5=significantly negative.

#### 4.18.2 Frequency of Evaluation of Strategies after MoU

Soon after MoU is signed in 2005, the report from national media assumes that evaluations are “clearly demanding / positive” (38%), while global media argues the evaluation of strategies is still positive but it needs to improve more with 9% on category “more demanding/positive”. It is a relief that both media have positive thinking in their report regarding the strategies of terrorism problem solving in Aceh, which means, their evaluation are far from “significantly negative” (0%) as well as doubt statements on “ambivalent/no clear statements” (0%).

Figure 4.18.2 Frequency of Evaluation of Strategies “after MoU” (n=258)



Source : Own calculation, 2012. Note: 1=clearly demanding/positive, 2=more demanding/ positive, 3= ambivalent –no clear statement, positive and negative aspects called, 4=rather negative 5=significantly negative

#### 4.19 Attribution Responsibility for Actions

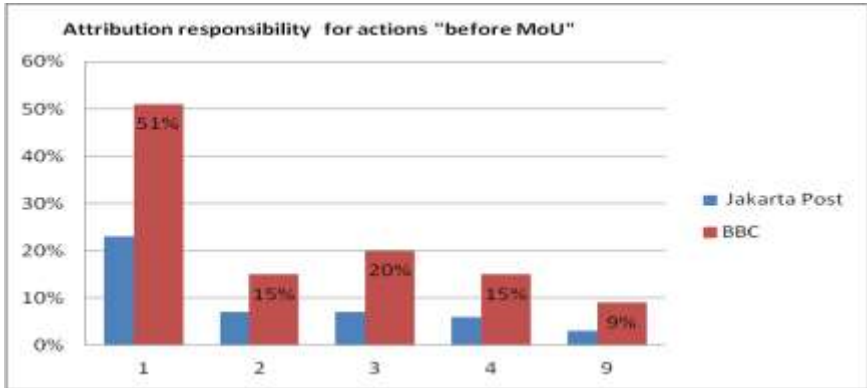
Attribution responsibility for action is defined as person or actor in charge of strategy on problem solving. At least, there are four actors who recognized as responsible man in this topic, namely: “government”, “military forces”, the rebels/GAM” and “Non Government Organization”, excluding “others”.

### 4.19.1 Frequency of Attribution of Responsibility for Action before MoU

From the analysis of existing statements in global media and national media, actor who responsible most for the strategies that have been done, is government, in which BBC confirms it with (50%) and Jakarta Post with 23% from entirely data during this time. Global media assumes both “military forces” and “NGO” are the third responsible man with 15% of words mentioned, after “the rebels/GAM” (20%) at the second position.

On the other hand, national media often stresses that “military forces” and “the rebels/GAM” are the second actors who are responsible for strategic actions with the same percentage (7%) in the same time. Afterward, “NGO” is on the third place as well.

Figure 4.19.1 Frequency of Attribution of Responsibility for Action “before MoU” (n=419)



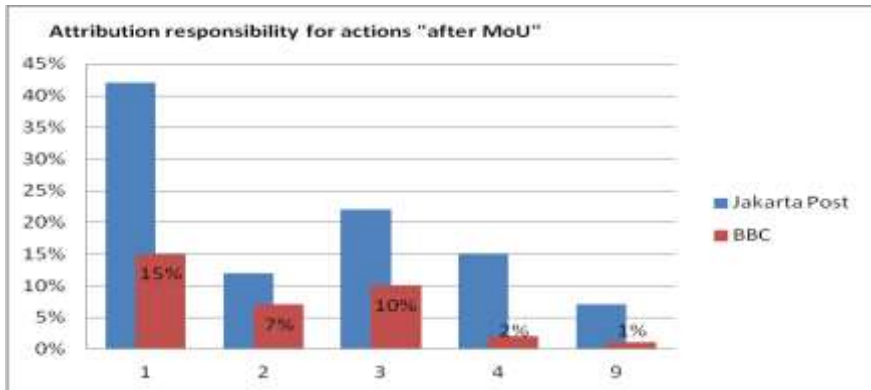
Source : Own calculation, 2012. Note: 1=the government, 2= military forces, 3= the rebels/GAM, 4=the NGO  
5= others.

### 4.19.2 Frequency of Attribution Responsibility after MoU

The analysis shows that both media; global and national media in the time “after peace” have similar result in the same category.

As can be seen in the figure below, national media states 42% from all articles mention “government” as the main actor who responsible for the strategic actions, while global media is 15% respectively. Henceforth, the second responsible man who is reported in both media is “the rebels/GAM”. The different result appears in the third place of responsible actor, where national media assumes “NGO” more responsible with 15 % than global media with its “military forces” (7%).

Figure 4.19.2 Frequency of Attribution Responsibility “after MoU” (n=258)



Source : Own calculation, 2012. Note: 1=the government, 2= military forces, 3= the rebels/GAM, 4=the NGO  
9=others.

## 4.20 Event coverage

Each occasion in an article of national and global media can be classified into sixteen categories. These categories are based on three main ideas, namely; “media attention directly”, “directed public occasion” and “mass media yet initiated to the public”.

### 4.20.1 Frequency of the Coverage of Events before MoU

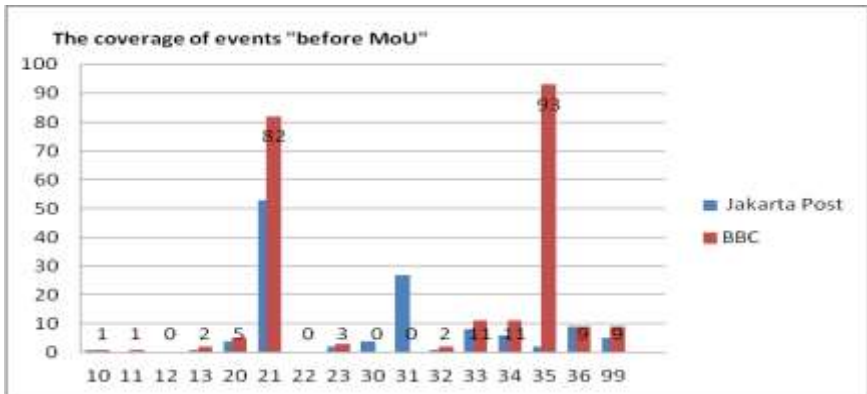
The articles on terrorism issues that write in British Broadcast Company are largely considered as “event in security/defense” (93%).



Following by “event in political administrative matters” (82%) that has direct public occasion. Thus, the coverage of this event occasion is about the implementation or creation an agreement, together with any related topics.

In contrast to BBC, Jakarta Post has more reports on terrorism issues from category “event in political administrative matters” (53%), while the second interesting issues are part of coverage “political/administrative areas” (27%). Here, the coverage is not direct to the public occasion like in BBC, but it rises from the political and administrative areas. The last but not least, is that both media confirm terrorism issues are not in the coverage of science, namely; “event direction in science field” that is noted as press by an expert, and the coverage “direct public occasion of field of science”, which is noted as paper published in scientific journal. Both coverage reach zero percentage (0%) in the time before peace.

Figure 4.20.1 Frequency of the Coverage of Events “before MoU”



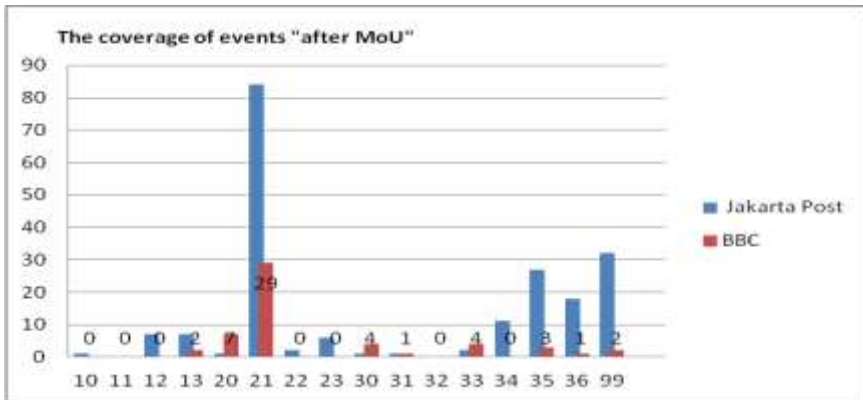
Source: Own calculation, 2012.

Note: 10= mass media attention directly, 11=the event is out of political matters, 12=event direction in science field, 20=not primarily to mass media but to wider public, 21= direct public occasion of political, 22= direct science public occasion, 23=NGO public occasion, 30=either media and public initiation, 31= rise from political/administrative areas, 32= event in the field of science, 33= event in the field of NGO, 34= event in the field natural matters, 35= event in the field of security/defense, 36= event in the filed of democracy, 99 =others

#### 4.20.2 Frequency of the Coverage of Events after MoU

Moreover, on the other way round, after the peace agreement is signed, Jakarta Post widely mentions terrorism issues in the coverage “direct public occasion of field of science” (84%), while BBC itself states in the same coverage with lower percentage (29%). Next, most articles in national media; Jakarta Post, are more attractive compare to global media and vice versa, most categories from BBC are disappeared.

Figure 4.20.2 Frequency of the Coverage of Events “after MoU” (n=258)



Source: Own calculation, 2012.

Note: 10= mass media attention directly, 11=the event is out of political matters, 12=event direction in science filed, 20= not primarily to mass media but to wider roundpublic, 21= direct public occasion of political, 22= directed public occasion of field of science, 23= NGO public occasion, 30=either media and public initiation, 31= political/administrative areas, 32= event in the field of science, 33= event in the field of NGO, 34= event in the field natural matters, 35= event in the field of security/defense, 36= event in the filed of democracy, 99 =others.

#### 4.21 National Actors

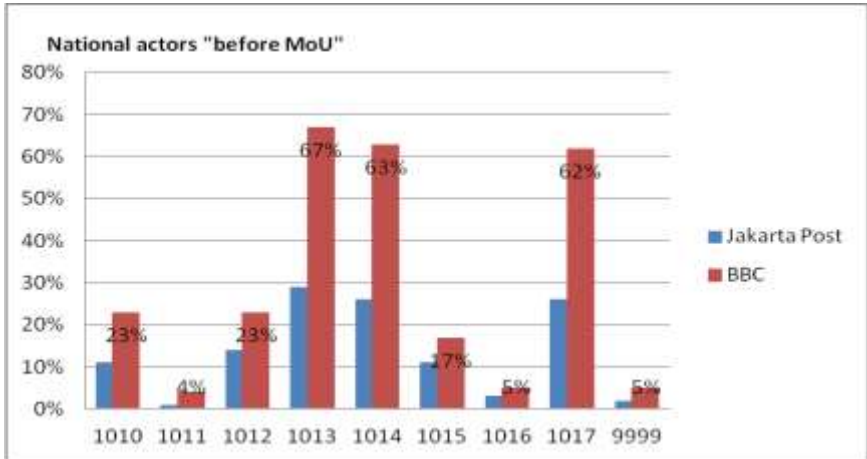
Concerning national actors who involve in all topics previewed, nine categories divide into; “the president”, “parliamentary member”, “executive member”, “military persons”, “the Free Aceh Movement ”,

“non government”, “academic students/researcher”, “civilians” and “others”.

**4.21.1 Frequency of National Actors before MoU**

The research concludes that more than fifty percent of “military” (66%) actor is very often mentioned in global news report. Despite “military” category, other actors who appear frequently are “the Free Aceh Movement members” and the “civilians”. These both categories have the same portion in percentage with 62% each, or around 260 articles from entirely data list. Besides that, the differences between both media are almost half one to another, in which national media states that “military” and “the Free Aceh Movement” together with “civilians” are the first and second position among other category.

Figure 4.21.1 Frequency of National Actors “before MoU” (n=419)



Source: Own calculation, 2012.

Note: 1010= the president, 1011= parliamentary members, 1012= executive members, 1013= military, 1014= the free aceh movement members, 1015= NGO, 1016=academic students/researcher, 1017= civilians, 9999=others.

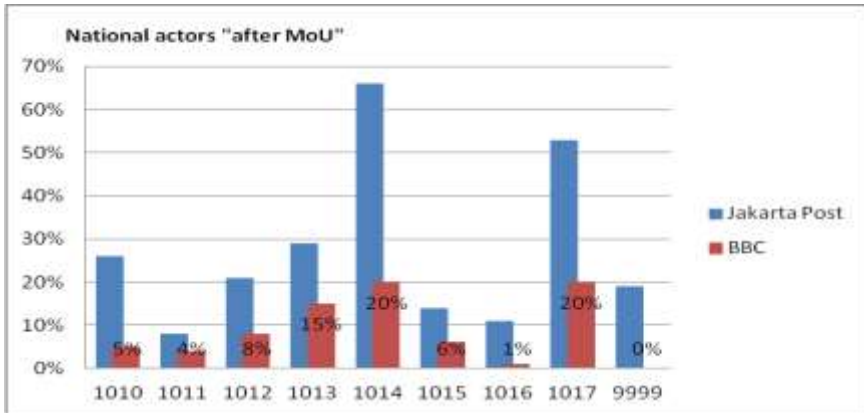
Later on, the very less popular category when the agreement wasn’t yet signed are “parliamentary members”, “academic students” and “others” which have number more less 1%-3%.

#### 4.21.2 Frequency of National Actors after MoU

After peace, during 2005 to September 2011, national media do framing to the “free Aceh movement” (66%) very often with 171 times from total 222 words .On the second rank, “civilians“ contributes with 53%, while “military” actor remains the same as previous before of being the third popular person in the time “before MoU” with 29% from entirely data.

Meanwhile, the most popular actors who foreign media speaker frames about, are; “the free Aceh movement” and “civilians”, in which these two categories stand equally with 20% each. Thereafter, followed by “military” (15%) and at very end is “parliamentary members” as the last actor to be known in this terrorism issue.

Figure 4.21.2 Frequency of National Actors “after MoU” (n=258)



Source: Own calculation, 2012.

Note: 1010= the president, 1011= parliamentary members, 1012= executive members, 1013= military, 1014= the free aceh movement members, 1015= NGO, 1016=academic students/researcher, 1017= civilians , 9999=others.

#### 4.22 International actors

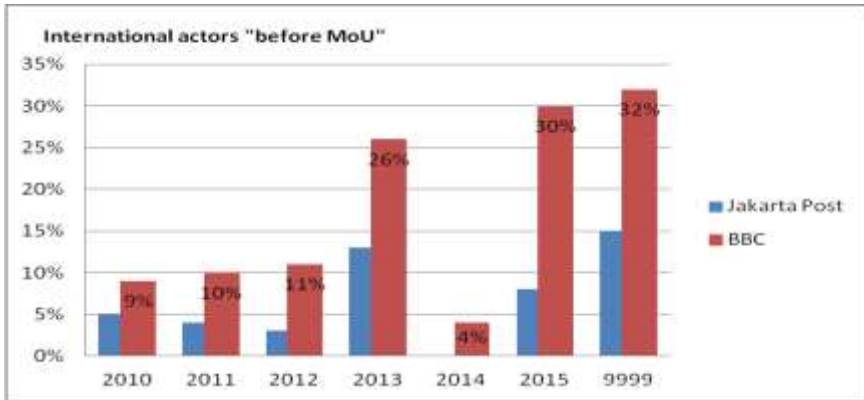
Due to international interest of foreign company in Aceh, terrorism issue has attracted international media in its own way. Therefore, international actor in this issue has widely mentioned as well as national actor. Because of free Aceh movement members are

in exile in some European countries, thereby, the category “free Aceh movement” is still exist in the topic of international actor.

#### 4.22.1 Frequency of International Actors before MoU

Both domestic and foreign media have the same attentions on category “others”. It detects as the biggest number after peace agreement is signed in 2005. Later on, if in the previous figure before (see figure 4.21.1) “free aceh movement” is quite famous in domestic reports than in foreign media, then in the time “after”, “free Aceh movement”(11%) is not as popular as “non government organisation” (26%), which is showed by international attentions through mediation from united nation and other institutions.

Figure 4.22.1 Frequency of International Actors “before MoU” (n=419)



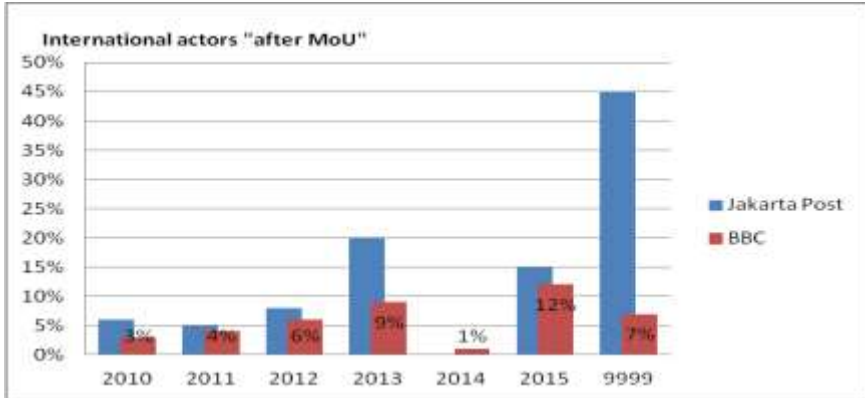
Source: Own calculation, 2012. Note: 2010= executive/president/parliament members in Asia region, 2011= executive/president/parliament members in Europe, Australia,US region, 2012= the free aceh movement members, 2013=institution /non government organisation, 2014= academic students/researchers, 2015=civilians, 9999 =others.

Beside “others” that is similar to foreign media and widely mentioned on topic of actors, others category that also frame frequently are “non government organisation” (13%) and “civilians”, which is in the previous figure (4.21.1) stands as the second widely mentioned.

#### 4.22.2 Frequency of International Actors after MoU

Unlike in the time “before peace” where actor of foreign media (BBC) emerges actively in the time “after peace”, then the figure above shows domestic media Jakarta Post often does framing actor “others”(45%) better than other interesting actor.

Figure 4.22.2 Frequency of International Actors “after MoU” (n=258)



Source: Own calculation, 2012. - Note: 2010= executive/president/parliament members in Asia region, 2011= executive/president/parliament members in Europe, Australia,US region, 2012= the free aceh movement members, 2013=institution, government/non government organisation, 2014= academic students/researchers, 2015=civilians, 9999 =undefined.

Thus, compare to “civilians” (15%), the actors like Hendry Dunant Centre (HDC), International Mission Monitoring (IMM) and so on, which belong to “non government organisation”, still being existing actors who have been looking for most, until September 2011. Only actor “academic students/researchers” who is totally lost in reportage.

#### 4.23 Bivariate Analysis of Topic of Articles

In order to be able to prove the second hypothesis about the similarities and differences between two variables; concerning topic /issue and causality, the cross tabulation test needs to be done. Due to *multiple-response data*, Pearson Chi-square test for independence is

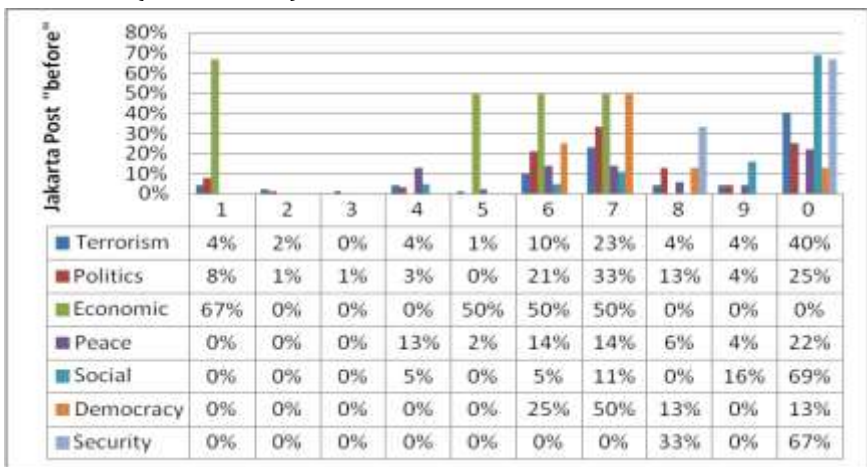
not possible to do in SPSS (Vlach & Plašil, 2006). Therefore, the test will be presented only in percentages among categories. In addition, *multiple-response data* is a data with more than one answer for each question or category.

**Jakarta Post**

**4.23.1 Cross tabulation between Topic of articles and Cause of terrorism before MoU**

Before the agreement, the media is quite strong frames toward some issues, which associate with causalities and attract public most. Economic issue that refers to financial issues in correlation with the impact of imbalance profit shared of natural resources, field of job, and investment, has strong correlation with causality. That correlation appears in six causes of terrorism from ten with 50% each. Thereby, the economic issue becomes the main framing issue in national reportage that escalates or provokes terrorism acts, compare to other issues such as peace and democracy. Afterward, only one category; “others” is disappeared in the time span “before”, which in SPSS command has no relation at all toward any causalities.

Figure 4.23.1 Correlation between Topic of articles and Cause of terrorism (before MoU)



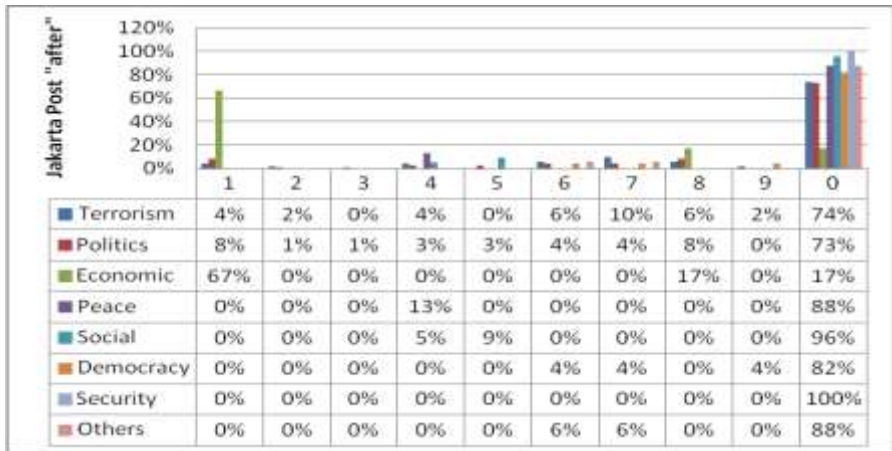
Source : Own calculation, 2012

note : 1= unbalanced profit/economic shared, 2= relocated Java transmigrant, 3=Dutch historical reason, 4= self determinant province, 5= unfair political management policy,6= mis and distrust over both sides at any cases,7= repressive/brutal approach of maintaining and resolving problem, 8= religious issues for independent Islamic state ,9= others, 00= unknown causes.

#### 4.23.2 Cross tabulation between Topic of articles and Cause of terrorism after MoU

Unlike in the time before the agreement, after the Helsinki agreement, many frame similarities appear almost in every topic toward every causality with no correlation at all (0%), whereas the differences are spread in “security”, ”social” and “peace” topics. Yet, the media frames those categories toward “unknown causes” highly. By meaning, “unknown cause” is undetected cause or in other word is no cause at all. To sum, although the topics are existing, it don’t have any relationship with any causalities in terrorism acts.

#### 4.23.2 Correlation between Topic of articles and Cause of terrorism (after MoU)



Source : Own calculation, 2012

note : 1= unbalanced profit/economic shared, 2= relocated Java transmigrant, 3=Dutch historical reason, 4= self determinant province, 5= unfair political management policy,6= mis and distrust over both sides at any cases,7=



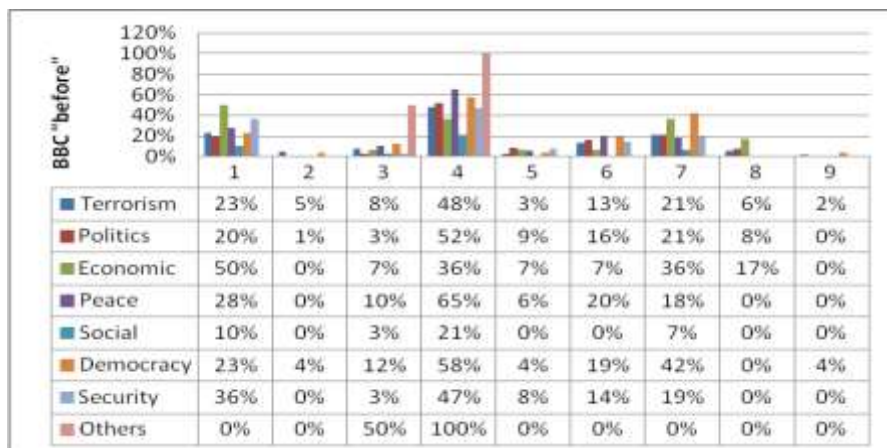
repressive/brutal approach of maintaining and resolving problem, 8= religious issues for independent Islamic state ,9= others, 00= unknown cause.

#### 4.24. British Broadcast Company (BBC)

##### 4.24.1 Cross tabulation between Topic of articles and Cause of terrorism before MoU

The figure below depicts us that framing tendency on international media are much purposed on the issues; “terrorism” (48%), “peace”(65%), “politic”(52%) and “democracy”(58%) that reflects cause category “self determinant province”. The “democracy”(42%) is also framed by BBC toward the cause “religious issues for independent Islamic state while the issue “terrorism” and “politics” are similar one to another in the same cause.

Figure 4.24.1 Correlation between Topic of articles and Cause of terrorism (before MoU)



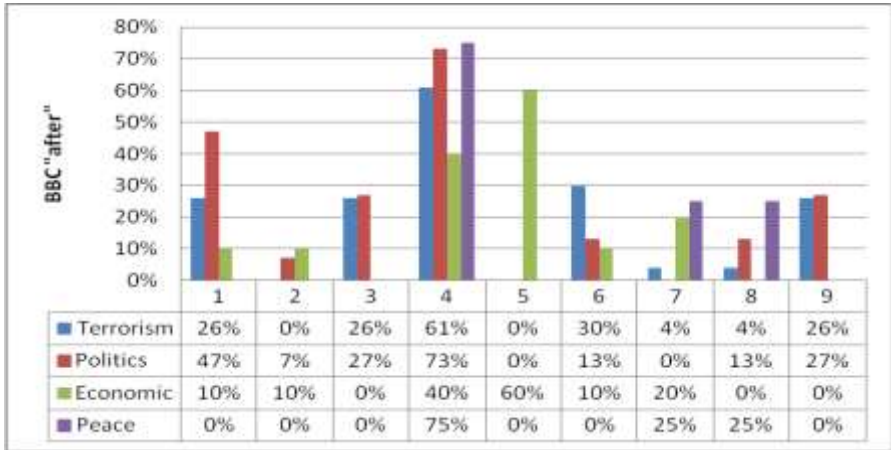
Source : Own calculation, 2012

note : 1= unbalanced profit/economic shared, 2= relocated Java transmigrant, 3=Dutch historical reason, 4= self determinant province, 5= unfair political management policy,6= mis and distrust over both sides at any cases, 7= repressive/brutal approach of maintaining and resolving problem, 8= religious issues for independent Islamic state ,9= others, 00= unknown cause.

### 4.24.2 Cross tabulation between Topic of articles and Cause of terrorism after MoU

Interestingly, international media does less framing activity in time after peace agreement. It is shown by decreased topic, from eight topics then become four topics appeared. The issue “peace” contains informations specifically on peace agreement that connects to political issues. Thus, “peace” issue still has inter- relation with causes of “repressive/brutal approach” and the “religious issues for independent” with the same framing value (25%). All in all, media framing on this occasion is still dominant on the cause “self determinant province”, which is framed by the issue “terrorism” (61%), “politic” (73%) and “peace” (75%).

Figure 4.24.2 Correlation between Topic of articles and Cause of terrorism after MoU



Source : Own calculation, 2012

note : 1= unbalanced profit/economic shared, 2= relocated Java transmigrant, 3=Dutch historical reason, 4= self determinant province, 5= unfair political management policy, 6= mis and distrust over both sides at any cases, 7= repressive/brutal approach of maintaining and resolving problem, 8= religious issues for independent Islamic state ,9= others, 0= unknown cause.



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## Chapter 5 Discussion

The purpose of this research was to seek empirically and examine how the media represents framing towards local terrorism issue in Indonesia. The media content analysis tries to find out the way that media perceives reality and influences public through their message on both media; national media is represented by Jakarta Post and international media is British Broadcast Company, during the time span before and after peace agreement of Helsinki in 2005. Thus, the correlation between topic of issue and the causality will also discuss respectively.

Table.5 Summary of assessment and evaluation of terrorism on both media.

Frame elements	Assessment / Evaluation	Media								the level of measurement
		Jakarta Post				BBC				
		before		after		before		after		
		(+)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(+)	(-)	
Problem definition	Report occasion	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	Positive(+), Negative (-)
	Importance of terrorism	(-)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	Main issue(-), side issue(+), mentioned only (+)
	assessment Of terrorism	(-)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)	important (+), less important (-)
	Problem definition	(-)			(-)					problematic (-), less problematic (+)
Causal interpretation	review indicator	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	certainly indicator (-), probably indicator (+)
	evaluate impact	(-)	abstain		(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	certainly occurs (-), probably occurs (+), no clear (abstain)
	linkage indicator & impact	(-)	abstain		(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	explicit (+), implicit (-), no link (abstain)
	assessment of cause	(-)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(+)	Certainly/probably a cause (-), certainly not a cause (+)
Moral evaluation/ Treatment recommendation	evaluation strategy	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	clearly/more demanding (+), negative (-)

Source : own source, 2012.

Note : (+) means terrorism frames in reassuring ways, less harmful, and less threatening.

(-) means terrorism likely shown as a threat, mostly appears with negative sequence.

## **5.1 Media Framing of Free Aceh Movement**

This section tries to answer the hypotheses of research questions, regarding the media framing of Free Aceh Movement in both media, before and after the Helsinki peace agreement in 2005. Thus, another important findings are presented too.

First of all, besides the number of articles of global media is bigger than national ones, both media are different on framing such certain topics in different time too. Especially on the coverage of issues, events, strategies and measures, either coverage of actors; both national and global media. This implies us to understand more, how media plays on their role in stating an issues that parts of international public concern, as was summarised from Fursich on approaches of communication regarding framing (2010,115; Mercy, 2012).

Further, relying only on some topics of issue coverage are not enough to summary final result of media framing on GAM, instead some assessments and evaluations of each topic may give a better view on this. Table.5 above clearly summarised that during official period of war in Aceh, national media frames negatively in the time before agreement was dealed and positively after that. Vice versa, global media frames in the same wieghting between positive and negative in both time of analysis.

Thus, on different time of analysis, the correlation test also proves that there is a very strong correlation between economic toward some causes. The economic issues has significant correlation on the cause of unbalanced profit shared on Jakarta Post in time "before"(see figure 4.23.1) and the same significant to cause "unfair management policy" on BBC in the time "after" (see figure 4.24.2). Meanwhile, BBC posits that topics of peace, politic (see figure 4.24.2) in regards to new policy of new transformation government of Aceh, are need to be considered seriously. Although it has different percentage on result, the topic democracy on both media has similarity toward the cause of repressive military approuce. In sum, regarding second hyphothesis, it is confirmed that each topic frames differently

on both media during the time analysis and at least has one similarity on democracy topic before agreement was signed.

Second of all, despite playing the role of influencing public opinion, journalist as the gate keeper who are part of news business, are roled much framed into political actors through the issues and events. As Gamson and Modigliani (1989, p.3; D'Angelo, 2010. p.265) pointed out that journalist frames their own perception into the news, while they depict their ideas and languages from variatey of sources at the same time. The research proves this with the appreance of journalist, in this term is editor (see figure 4.2.1), is highly emergence in both media reports over other kind of sources. On the other hand, political actor as the object of journalist frame, is also pops out frequently in both media through the topic of "responsible actor of strategy" and "national/international actors". By these finding, we enable to predict the next strategy and actor by anticipated the journalist frame through their own ideas.

In sum, this reflects to what Entman (2004) suggest in his cascading activation model about the perceiving public opinions that works and enables feed back to access elites and journalist in the future time (D'Angelo, 2010. p.191).

The demand to be profesional on reportage is high in term of war of terrorism, the controversy of balance, objectivity and truth of journalist are high of political interest. Mass media should be covered on both side parties, free intervention from government, military, terrorism group and public interest group. It is plausible to researcher to measure the role of media to blooming social and political issue ( Song, 2007; Yang & Ishak, 2012)

In another vein of my research, concerning media role, I found that, government (figure 4.19.1 &2) is the most responsible actor in certain strategy. Supporting by military actor (TNI) (see figure 4.21.1) as part of government's hand, was the man who influence media role most, especially in time when media just now out of Soeharto regime in 1998. " Since government seek cooperation, understanding and loyalty from the press in effort to curb terrorism" (Peal, 2002;

Kalyango, 2006), then TNI did the strategy in more demanding way (see figure 4.18.1) and implemented their offensive military (see figure 4.17.1) to address the problem. As an implication of this, the strategy on media in Aceh was controlled by military commands, as said by Major General Endang Suwarya, that all news media in regard to GAM, should be published to uphold the spirit of nationalism, while prohibited journalist to receive any information without any factual evidences. In addition, although the strategy got protest, TNI was considerable enjoy their task to muzzle media (David, 2003.p.137).

## **5.2 Limitation on the Thesis**

This research restricted only on online news database, which were taken from two media. Respectively, they were British Broadcast Company, United Kingdom (BBC-UK) with the formal web <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/> and The Jakarta Post with <http://www.thejakartapost.com/>. Although in fact the conflict was over 30 years, the research restricted only twelve years of media coverage, which was started from the beginning of 1999 to September 2011. It is suggested to take longer periods for the next future research, then the framing may have changed.



# Chapter 6

## Conclusion and Recommendation

### 6.1 Conclusion

This research found that most reports from both media tends to reports negatively before the agreement is signed and then positively after that. BBC as the worldwide news company is very concerned to the issue of terrorism only in ongoing of war. Meanwhile Jakarta Post is on the other way round. Nevertheless, both media shared the sama interest on the topic of economic, peace, politic and democracy in correlation with causalities. Later on, the escalation of war in Aceh together with the fell down of long term regime of Soeharto, however, limited the media access to the battle field. Therefore, instead the similarity and differences on both media, this research also found that media role was absolutely restricted by military and tend to be bias on the reportage.

### 6.2 Recommendation

Based on comment, discussion and question, these are some suggestion in regards to the research:

First of all, three recommendations to the new transformation government in Aceh are: first, consistently develop harmonic dialogue to maintain peace, among internal and external public within organization, cross organization and cross countries as well. Second, considering immediately to implementation of Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) in regard to prisoner of GAM, law enforcement for the past crime, re-integration into State of Republic Indonesia, and assured the civil right among ex-combatant and the civilian. Third, immediately measuring to the foreign news reports in regards to political frame situation in Aceh, especially with respect to new potential terrorism that probably starts from horizontal conflict among ex-combatant, by countering strategic issue to prevent crisis



communication within organization and by learning the latest strategy actions that are successfully done through academic research improvement.

Second of all, two recommendations for Indonesian Government are: first, without any hesitation, government is suggested to keep the agreement by ensuring a new policy in regards to democratic country reputation in face on international public. Thereafter, consistently respect to the human right and civil deliberation through rehabilitation and reconstruction toward the war's victims. Second, ensure the territorial integrity and the pluralism through survey on fundamentalist or extremist organization by involving potential academic researcher, in order to get a new aspiration from the bottom up society in respect to democratic country.



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## **Riwayat Penulis**



This Thesis covers about media content analysis of a local terrorism group in Indonesia which is located in the west edge part of Indonesia, namely Free Aceh Movement or well known as Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM). Since Dutch invasion in 1873-1907, GAM has shown sustained achievements in developing organization power. The report of its movement is interesting, although sometimes could be bias due to media framing. Therefore, such kind of condition challenges media's will to be balance on the reportage.

**Based on the overview on this topic, my research questions were: 1) How did the media frame the GAM before and after MoU Helsinki? and 2) What were the differences and similarities between Indonesia and United Kingdom media?**

This research is based on the framing theory by Entman. It has a main point about perceiving reality on news text based on some elements such as problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/ or treatment recommendation. According to the theory, this thesis argues that local terrorism in Aceh has attracted international public attention most through the BBC reports rather than national media. The reports of these both media tends to be negatively in the time before the MoU Helsinki was signed and then became positively soon after that. BBC and Jakarta Post shared the same interest into topics of politic, economic, peace and democracy with very different ranges on result. Nonetheless, only democracy is similar on these both reports. Another finding is that, military strategy on combating terrorism has influenced the media role, which was restricted and under controlled by Indonesian military before 2005, although the restricted regime has fell down in 1998.

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