

**SOCIAL ACTOR REPRESENTATION ON ISLAMIC ISSUES  
IN *THE NEW YORK TIMES* AND *THE GUARDIAN* NEWSPAPERS**

**THESIS**

**Presented to**

**State Islamic University of Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang**

**in partial fulfillment of the requirement**

**for the degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S)**

**By**

**Khat Qanitat**

**11320079**

**Advisor**

**Dr. Meinarni Susilowati**



**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LETTERS**

**FACULTY OF HUMANITIES**

**STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY OF MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM**

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## STATEMENT OF THESIS AUTHORSHIP

I state that this thesis is to fulfill the requirement for the degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S). This thesis entitled “Social Actor Representation on Islamic Issues in The New York Times and The Guardian Newspapers” is truly my original work. I do not incorporate any materials which are previously written or published by other people, except those who are mentioned in the quotation and references. Due to this fact, I am the only one who is responsible for the thesis if there are any objections or claims from others.

Malang, June 24<sup>th</sup>, 2015

The Researcher,

Khat Qanitat

NIM 11320079

## APPROVAL SHEET

This is to certify that Khat Qanitat's thesis entitled "Social Actor Representation of Islamic Issues in *The New York Times* and *The Guardian* Newspapers" has been approved by the thesis advisor for further approval by the board of examiners as one of the requirements for the Bachelor Degree (S1) in Department of English Language and Literature.

Malang, August 28<sup>th</sup>, 2015

Approved by  
The Advisor,

Acknowledged by  
The Head of Department of  
English Language and Letters,

Dr. Meinarni Susilowati

Dr. Syamsudin M.Hum

NIP 19670503 199903 2 000

NIP 19691122 200604 1 001

The Dean of Faculty of Humanities,

State Islamic University of Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang,

Dr. Hj. Istiadah, M.A

NIP 19670313 199203 2 002

## LEGITIMATION SHEET

This is to certify that Khat Qanitat's thesis entitled "Social Actor Representation on Islamic Issues in *The New York Times* and *The Guardian* Newspapers" has been approved by the Board of Examiners as the requirement for the degree of Sarjana Sastra.

The Board of Examiners

Signature

Dr. Rohmani Nur Indah, M.Pd (Chair)

NIP 19760910 200312 2 002

Dr. Syafiyah, M.A (Examiner)

NIP 19660919 199103 2 002

Dr. Meinarni Susilowati (Advisor)

NIP 19670503 199903 2 000

Malang, July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2015

Approved by

The Dean of Faculty of Humanities

State Islamic University of Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang,

Dr. Hj. Istiadah, M.A

NIP 19670313 199203 2 002

## MOTTO

O you who have believed, be persistently standing firm for Allah, witnesses in justice, and do not let the hatred of a people prevent you from being just. Be just; that is nearer to righteousness. And fear Allah; indeed, Allah is Acquainted with what you do.

(Al-Maaida: 8)

Prepare and do the best! Let Allah do the rest.



## **DEDICATION**

I proudly dedicate this thesis to

My dearest parents, Drs. H. M. Umar and Dra. Siti Nurhaidah.

My cool brothers, Faqih Ashri, S.T and Nail Imtiaz, S.S.

My best friends, Taufikuddin Alfansuri, S.Pd,

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All praises be to Allah S.W.T., the holy, the greatest, the most merciful, who gives us His mercy, guidance, and blessing all the time. Then, *Shalawat* and *Salam* are always recited for the Prophet Muhammad S.A.W., the God's mercy for the universe.

I would never be able to complete my thesis without support and contribution from many people. Therefore, I want to thank them much. First, I want to express my sincere gratitude to lecturers in Department of English Language and Literature who have given so much contribution and lessons during my four years education in this university. My next gratitude extends to my extraordinary advisor, Dr. Meinarni Susilowati who has guided, supported, and opened my perspective during the time I work on my thesis, as well as Dr. Rohmani Nur Indah, M.Pd and Dr. Syafiyah, M.A as the board of examiners of my thesis.

Then, I also want to thank some friends of mine, all members of USA-44 2011, BSI 2011, KSR-PMI Unit UIN Malang, English Letters Student Association 2012-2013 as well as DEMA-F Humaniora 2014.

For the last, I believe that in writing and finishing this thesis there would be so much mistakes and errors, therefore, I am as the author openly accepts any critique, suggestion or opinion from the readers. In addition, hopefully this thesis is useful for many people either the students of Department of English Language and Literature or the other researchers.

Malang, 24<sup>th</sup> June, 2015

Khat Qanitat

## ABSTRACT

Qanitat, Khat. 2015. *“Social Actor Representation on Islamic Issues in The New York Times and The Guardian Newspapers”*. Thesis. Department of English language and Literature, Faculty of Humanities, State Islamic University of Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.

Advisor : Dr. Meinarni Susilowati

Keywords: Social Actor Representation, Newspapers, Islamic Issues

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Social Actor Representation (SAR) proposed by van Leeuwen (2008) is one of the ways to uncover the intended meaning or perspective behind a certain text, for example newspapers. In this research social actor framework is adopted in order to analyze two prominent western newspapers, The New York Times (nytimes.com) and The Guardian (guardian.com).

The focus of this research was on the representation of the doer of the certain actions, the Muslim society, western countries society, Islamic countries government, as well as western countries government in the articles about Islamic issues posted by those two western media. The reason why the researcher chose Islamic issues to be investigated was since many people speculated that western media launched large-scale propaganda campaign through newspapers. Therefore the researcher wanted to analyze whether the newspapers articles adopted particular SAR strategies in reporting their news related to that speculation through investigating the use of words, clauses and expressions written in the text.

This research adopted descriptive qualitative as well as Critical Discourse Analysis approach as the research design. The data were 8 articles downloaded from both newspapers online version published on January to March 2015. The data were analyzed on some stages. First was reading the whole articles in order to get slightly overview about data. Second was analyzing the data based on the theory proposed by van Leeuwen. The data were categorized into inclusion if the writers shown and performed the existence of certain actor in the text while the data were categorized into exclusion when the writers hid and protected a certain actor in the text. Then the last was making conclusion based on the result of the data analysis.

Based on the analysis on the data, the findings revealed that the authors of both newspapers adopted exclusion and inclusion strategies of SAR in reporting their news. The exclusion strategies consisted of suppression and backgrounding, while the inclusion strategies consisted of activation, genericization, specification, assimilation, differentiation, categorization, nomination, as well as overdetermination. Yet, other inclusion strategies, such as indifferenciation and impersonalization could not be found. As the result, the researcher concluded although the titles and the whole articles seemed to report certain news to their readers, in adopting such strategies they were not completely neutral.



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## ملخص البحث

خط القانتات. ١١٣٢٠٠٧٩. النيابة عن ممثلي الإجتماعة إزاء الأخبار المتعلقة بالأسلام الموجودة في جريدة رسالة, كلية الإنسانية, قسم اللغة الإنجليزية وأدبها, جامعة مولانا مالك ابراهيم الاسلامية الحكومية, بمالانج

المشرفة: الدكتورة مينارني سوسلاواتي

الكلمة المفتاحية هي: النيابة عن ممثلي الإجتماعة, الأجبار المتعلقة بالاسلام

النيابة عن ممثل الاجتماع (Social Actor Representation) هي نظرية قدمها (Theo van Leeuwen) سنة (٢٠٠٨) وهي احدي الطرق لتعبير معان عميقة أو حقائق علاقة علاقة معان وراء نصوص معينة من امثال نصوص الجرائد.

في هذا بحث مشروعة ممثلي الاجتماع يقصد به تحليل شيء من الأخبار المتعلقة بالإسلام المكتوبة في جريدتي الغربيتين الهامتين و هما واعتماد هذا البحث على النيابة عن اعمال في المجتمع الاسلام والمجتمع البلاد الغربية الحكومة البلاد الاسلامية ولاسيما حكومة البلاد الغربية المكتوبة في المقالات عن نشر الاخبار المتعلقة باحوال الاسلام المكتوبة في هاتين الجريدتين الغربيتين. احد الدوافع الذي دفع الباحث على اختبار موضوع اخبار تتعلق بالاسلام لان اكثر الناس يقولون ان وسائل الاعلانات الغربية قامت بدعاية القارئ في اوسع مجال عن طريق الجرائد. ولذلك يريد الباحث ان يشرح هل اتخذت هذه مقالات الجرائد النيابة عن ممثلي الاجتماع الهامة في اخبار اخبارها التي تتعلق بالمضاربة عن طريق البحث عن استعمال كلمات او شبه جملة او عبارة مكتوبة في نصوص.

اتخذ الباحث في هذا البحث طريقة الدرجة الشرحية (Critical Discourse Analysis). من حيث منهج بحث سياق الكلام كما في مشروعة البحث. ومواد البحث تتكون من ثمان مقالات لهاتين الجريدتين عن طريق استخراجها من وسيلة (online) وفي بحث هذه المواد يقدم الباحث اولا قراءة جميع المقالات لنيل لمحة عنها و ثانيا تحليلها (analyzing) على اساس نظرية اقترحها (van Leeuwen) واخيرا استنتج الباحث مواد البحث بالنظر الى نتائج المواد المحللة.

وبالمناسبة الى تحليل هذه المواد تنال النتائج ان كاتي هاتين الجردتين يستعملون العبارات امثال استراتيجيا الاخفاء (exclusion) والابداء (inclusion) من استعمال النيابة عن ممثلي الاجتماع لاعلان جريدتهم. واما الاستراتيجية الاخفائية تحيط بالحبس (suppression) والتباعد (backgrounding) واما الاستراتيجية الابدئية تحيط بالنشاط (activation) والتعميم (genericization) والتخصيص (specification) والملاصقة (assimilation) والتفريق (differentiation) والتنويع (categorization) و ترشيح (nomination) وشدة التعيين (overdetermination) ولكن الاستراتيجية الابدائية مثل عدم التفريق (indifferentiation) وعدم التشخص (impersonalization) لم توجد بعد. اذا هنا لخص الباحث مع ان الموضوع و جميع المقالات موجودة في هاتين الجردتين لاعلان الاخبار المعنية الى قرائها من حيث استخدام الاستراتيجية المذكورة لم تكن على كمال وجه الحياد.

## ABSTRAK

Qanitat, Khat. 2015. "Social Actor Representation on Islamic Issues in The New York Times and The Guardian Newspapers". Skripsi. Jurusan Bahasa dan Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Humaniora, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.

Pembimbing : Dr. Meinarni Susilowati

Kata Kunci : Representasi Aktor Sosial, Koran, Berita yang Melibatkan Islam

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Teori mengenai representasi aktor sosial yang dikemukakan oleh van Leeuwen (2008) adalah salah satu cara untuk mengungkapkan maksud tersembunyi atau pandangan di balik sebuah teks, misalnya saja pada koran. Pada penelitian ini, kerangka aktor sosial digunakan untuk menganalisis dua koran asing yang terkenal, yaitu The New York Times (*nytimes.com*) dan The Guardian (*guardian.com*).

Penelitian ini fokus pada representasi beberapa aktor sosial yaitu pelaku dari tindakan tertentu, masyarakat muslim, masyarakat Negara barat, pemerintah Negara Islam dan pemerintah Negara barat pada beberapa artikel yang memberitakan tentang berita yang melibatkan Islam yang dipublikasikan oleh kedua media asing tersebut. Alasan peneliti memilih berita yang melibatkan Islam sebagai subyek penelitian karena dalam kurun waktu beberapa dekade terakhir banyak orang berpikir bahwa media barat melancarkan kampanye propaganda dalam skala besar melalui koran. Sehingga dalam hal ini peneliti ingin meneliti dan mencari tahu apakah artikel-artikel yang terdapat pada kedua koran tersebut menggunakan strategi representasi aktor sosial tertentu dalam melaporkan berita mereka yang berhubungan dengan berita yang melibatkan Islam dengan cara melihat pada penggunaan kata, anak kalimat maupun ekspresi pada teks artikel tersebut.

Penelitian ini termasuk pada penelitian deskriptif kualitatif dan juga menggunakan pendekatan *Critical Discourse Analysis*. Data yang diteliti berupa 8 teks artikel yang diunduh melalui website kedua koran tersebut pada periode Januari hingga Maret 2015. Data yang ada dianalisis melalui beberapa tahapan. Pertama, dengan cara membaca keseluruhan artikel untuk mendapatkan sedikit pandangan tentang data. Kedua, menganalisis data yang ada berdasarkan teori yang dikemukakan oleh van Leeuwen. Data termasuk kategori *inclusion* jika penulis memunculkan aktor sosial sedangkan data termasuk kategori *exclusion* jika penulis menyembunyikan aktor sosialnya. Kemudian, mengambil kesimpulan berdasarkan hasil analisis.

Berdasarkan hasil analisis data, hasilnya memperlihatkan bahwa penulis dari kedua koran tersebut menggunakan strategi *exclusion* dan *inclusion* dalam melaporkan berita mereka. Strategi *exclusion* yang digunakan terdiri dari *suppression* dan *backgrounding* sedangkan strategi *inclusion* terdiri dari *activation*, *genericization*, *specification*, *assimilation*, *differentiation*, *categorization*, *nomination* dan *overdetermination*. Namun, tidak ditemukan beberapa strategi lainnya seperti *indifferentiation* dan *impersonalization*. Hasilnya, peneliti menyimpulkan walaupun judul dan keseluruhan artikel terlihat melaporkan berita tertentu kepada pembacanya namun dalam mengadopsi strategi-strategi tersebut para penulis tidak sepenuhnya bisa netral.

## ABSTRACT

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This research adopted descriptive qualitative as well as Critical Discourse Analysis approach as the research design. The data were 8 articles downloaded from both newspapers online version published on January to March 2015. The data were analyzed on some stages. First was reading the whole articles in order to get slightly overview about data. Second was analyzing the data based on the theory proposed by van Leeuwen. The data were categorized into inclusion if the writers shown and performed the existence of certain actor in the text while the data were categorized into exclusion when the writers hid and protected a certain actor in the text. Then the last was making conclusion based on the result of the data analysis.

Based on the analysis on the data, the findings revealed that the authors of both newspapers adopted exclusion and inclusion strategies of SAR in reporting their news. The exclusion strategies consisted of suppression and backgrounding, while the inclusion strategies consisted of activation, genericization, specification, assimilation, differentiation, categorization, nomination, as well as overdetermination. Yet, other inclusion strategies, such as indifferentiation and impersonalization could not be found. As the result, the researcher concluded although the titles and the whole articles seemed to report certain news to their readers, in adopting such strategies they were not completely neutral.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents background of the research, research problems, objectives of the research, significance of the research, scope and limitation, definition of the key terms, research method, data sources, research instrument, data collection, and data analysis.

#### 1.1 Background of the Research

In the field of Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA), linguists are acquainted with the term Social Actor Representation (afterwards SAR). This theory refers to how a person, a group of people or even a certain ideology is depicted through a text. According to van Leeuwen's (2008) theory, SAR is divided into exclusion and inclusion. The exclusion means the writers hide and protect a certain actor in the text while inclusion is the writers show and perform the existence of certain actor in the text. Exclusion is also divided into two sub-categories, they are suppression and backgrounding. In the case of suppression, there is no reference to the social actor(s) in question anywhere in the text. Then in the case of backgrounding the excluded social actors may not be mentioned in relation to a given action, but they are mentioned else-where in the text, and we can infer with reasonable (though never total) certainty who they are. They are not so much excluded as deemphasized, pushed into the background.

Moreover, inclusion is divided into activation and passivation as well as personalization and impersonalization in which some of them have some further distinctions which later will be explained in chapter 2. Activation occurs when social actors are represented as the active, dynamic forces in an activity while passivation occurs when they are represented as “undergoing” the activity, or as being “at the receiving end of it.” Furthermore, when social actors are personalized, it means they are represented as human beings, as realized by personal or possessive pronouns, proper names, or nouns and sometimes adjectives whose meaning includes the feature “human”. But social actors can also be impersonalized, it means they are represented by other means, for instance, by abstract nouns or by concrete nouns whose meanings do not include the semantic feature “human”. The representations include or exclude the social actor to suit their interest and purposes in relation to the readers for whom they are intended (van Leeuwen, 2008: 28).

Moreover, there are some other theories related to CDA that can be adopted in order to investigate discourse, like newspaper or speech text, such as theories proposed by van Dijk or Fairclough. According Fairclough (Fairclough, 1989: 136), text analysis explains the content of the text, the texture, form as well as organization of the text through the vocabulary used, transitivity, mood and modality, interactional control features, topicality, politeness, presuppositions and the ambiguity. However, regardless what the best theory is between both of them the researcher is going to adopt van Leeuwen’s theory since it aims to analyze the



purposes of the writers in writing the news which can be seen through the way social actors are represented by the authors.

In my personal opinion, studying SAR gives the readers slightly overview about types of strategies adopt by particular author in representing a certain person or a group of people through word or phrase that they used. Second, it gives background knowledge how the text can depict a person or a group of society. According to Fiske (1987) as cited in Megawati (2013) doing representation cannot be separated with the possibility of the ideological issues. Nowadays, newspapers have been considered as one of the strongest instruments for spreading out information, which also influences and forms public opinion. Those who work for such mass media may have a certain purpose or ideology behind what they actually convey through the text. That ideology can be something to persuade the society to support or even marginalize a certain persons or group in the society. Therefore, it is important to recognize the paradigm or ideological perspective which is represented by them. In this case, SAR has significant role because people can easily recognize what ideology or paradigm that the media tries to convey through the text. It can go through the strategy of exclusion and inclusion proposed by van Leeuwen (2008).

Related to the theory of SAR proposed above, the researcher examines mass media especially *The New York Times* and *The Guardian* newspapers focusing on its perspective in reporting news related to Islamic issues published in January to March 2015. Both prominent newspapers are chosen since they are considered as the representation of western newspapers which continuously report about Islamic



issues. The chosen subject can be linguistic phenomena since it concerns on how the writers shape a certain representation through language or discourse in this case through the news. The representation used by the writers of the articles regarding to this issue has purposes either to persuade the readers to support or marginalize a certain group of people.

The researcher chooses Islamic issues to be investigated since many people speculated that western media launched large-scale propaganda campaign through newspapers to prove that all problems in the modern world are rooted primarily in militant Islam. So, the researcher wants to prove whether the newspapers articles adopt particular SAR strategies in reporting their news related to that speculation through investigating the use of words, clauses and expressions written in the text. Moreover, the question underlying this research by using CDA approach is that how the representation is done by the authors of newspapers toward social actor involved in the text is. In the process of doing representation, the researcher needs to investigate who the social actor is. Those represented issue or news might cause the problem of generalizing ideology as what constituted by the newspapers is.

This research is conducted by using analytical component of CDA that is social actor representation using inclusion and exclusion strategies. In order to comprehensively understand about the topic the researcher starts this research by learning about the topic through previous study and research conduct in the field of CDA. Megawati (2013) examined about the social actor representation in human trafficking issues in Jakarta Globe. The findings revealed that the writers wanted to get the readers empathy especially the government to take immediate

action related to the issue. Besides, the writers represented injustice activity done by Malaysian toward Indonesian migrant workers and the government was also represented in a bad way. It is concluded that the writers tend to be in the victims' side by attracting the readers' sympathy through language they wrote. In addition, Kabgani (2013) investigated about the representation of Muslim Women in Non-Islamic Media that is *the Guardian* newspaper. The findings of this study indicated that Muslim women were depicted as active actors of Muslim community, remarkably determined in their beliefs, and as independent individuals who were in search of the resurrection of women's identity. Kabgani finally concluded that although western media by the means of strategic tools tried to depict minorities positively, in adopting such strategies they were not completely neutral.

To fill the gap between this research and the previous studies, the researcher focuses on the representation of social actor on different subject. Although the theoretical framework is the same, in this research the researcher uses western newspapers instead of Indonesian newspapers. The second one, although both topic and the subject of the research are the same, yet the issues reported are different, besides the researcher not only provides a single sample but two samples which represent western newspapers. Moreover, the researcher conducts a more comprehensive research since the researcher uses two objects and the theory based on van Leeuwen's (2008) theory. Therefore, considering the gap provided above the researcher believe that this research brings different and finding.

## **1.2 Research Problem**

Based on background of the research provided in 1.1, the researcher formulates the research problem into: “How are the strategies of social actor representation used in reporting about Islamic issues found in western newspapers?”

## **1.3 Objectives of the Research**

Based on the research problems stated above, the objectives of the research is to find out the empirical data on kinds of social actor representation strategies used in reporting about Islamic issues and the way social actors are represented in western newspapers.

## **1.4 Significance of the Research**

Since the research has specific characteristics, first, the use of CDA theory of social actor representation and second, the articles texts from *The New York Times* and *The Guardian* newspapers, the research believes that this research will give linguistic contributions to the readers especially for lecturer and students of English Department. First, for lecturer this research not only become a supporting for the previous research but also become evidence, that theory proposed by van Leeuwen can be applied to many subject one of them is newspaper with different issues and discussions. Second, for the students it can be one of the references to deepen their understanding about social actor representation as well as broaden their perspective about the application of the theory in the real life. The last, this research can become a medium for the next researchers who want to investigate the same topic.

## 1.5 Scope and Limitation

This research focused on examining the way both *The New York Times* and *The Guardian* newspaper represented their article about Islamic issues started from January to March 2015. However, this research did not try to compare between the use of SAR strategies in both newspapers. It focused on how the journalists or authors of both newspapers represented the exact doer of particular action on the issue, Muslim society, western countries society, Islamic countries government as well as western countries government. The data to be analyzed were in terms of words, clauses or expressions that showed inclusion and exclusion strategies in articles texts and how those strategies were done by the writers of the articles in that range of times. I considered those range of times since lately people around the world were provided the issues and news about Islam and Muslim.

Due to the limitation of time and energy, the researcher analyzed the online versions of the newspapers, which have been analyzed by using van Leeuwen's social actor representation theory, instead of the printed versions which were not published in the researcher's current country.

## 1.6 Definition of the Key Terms

- 1.6.1 Social Actor Representation: part of Critical discourse analysis which deals with representing a certain person, a group of people or ideas by using a discourse.

- 1.6.2 Exclusion : kind of strategy in which the social actor(s) is protected or hidden in the text. The strategy is divided into suppression and backgrounding.
- 1.6.3 Inclusion : kind of strategy in which the social actor(s) in the given text is shown or displayed. The strategy is divided into activation and passivation as well as personalization and Impersonalization.
- 1.6.4 Islamic Issues : all selected issues related to Islam during the selected period of time, in this case are about a) Israel-palestine conflict, b) *Boko Haram*, c) *Charlie Hebdo* attack, as well as d) Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS).
- 1.6.5 Western Newspapers : *The New York Times* (an American daily newspaper continuously published in New York City and can be easily accessed through [www.nytimes.com](http://www.nytimes.com)) and *The Guardian* (a British national daily newspaper which continuously published in England some other countries and can be directly accessed through [www.theguardian.co.uk](http://www.theguardian.co.uk)).

## **1.7 Research Design**

### **1.7.1 Research Method**

This research used qualitative research because it aimed to first, gave explorative information about social phenomena that was social actor representation in the newspapers, which the data were analyzed subjectively by employing the theory from van Leeuwen. Second, this research also conducted without doing any experimental research which was usually employed by quantitative research. Furthermore, this research included in descriptive study since first, it described linguistic phenomena in the form words, clauses or sentences which in this case was about social actor representation rather than number. The second one, the findings also were shown in the form of description. Furthermore, the research adopted CDA approach since it aimed to discover the hidden ideologies as well as biases in newspapers which were shown through discourse in this case was news or article text.

### **1.7.2 Data Sources**

The data were obtained from The New York Times and The Guardian newspapers online versions published on January to March 2015. The researcher considered that during the chosen times, there were many news and issues about Islam in worldwide societies which were interpreted in various ways. In this research the researcher specifically her focus on four to theme, they were about 1) Israel-Palestine conflicts, 2) the group of Boko Haram in Nigeria, 3) Charlie Hebdo attack in Paris, France, and 4) ISIS

(Islamic State of Iraq and Syria). The selected themes were chosen because they were considered as themes which highly adopted the SAR strategy proposed by van Leeuwen. In addition, the data were obtained primarily from the official sites of both newspapers they are *nytimes.com* and *theguardian.com*. Hence, the researcher believed that the degrees of their validity are high rather than the other sources which cite or copy the news articles.

### **1.7.3 Research Instrument**

Since this research used qualitative method in analyzing the data, the primary instrument of this study was the researcher who was investigating, gathering, analyzing the data through *The New York Times* and *The Guardian* Newspapers in order to find out representation whether the social actors were included or excluded and also reporting the finding of the study. Therefore, there was no other option to obtain the data except through the researcher herself.

### **1.7.4 Data Collection**

The data were collected through several steps. First, the researcher collected articles about Islamic issues in both newspapers online version published from January to March 2015. Second, the researcher narrowed down the data into a small amount by choosing certain topics which seemed to adopt van Leeuwen's strategy of SAR as well as have different interpretations in the society from both newspapers, for instance the news about Charlie Hebdo attack in Paris which was interpreted in various ways.

Some people tended to be in Charlie Hebdo's side by stating that it included in inhuman and terrorist attack while the others tended to have different interpretation by looking at the cause of that attack. Third, the researcher arranged the news based on their published time from January 1<sup>st</sup> to March 30<sup>th</sup> 2015.

### **1.7.5 Data Analysis**

The data were analyzed by the following steps. First, the researcher read the whole data for three times in order to get slightly overview about the discussion of the article. Second, the researcher categorized the data based on the theory proposed by van Leeuwen for knowing what and how the strategies of SAR were used in reporting the news by both newspapers. The data were categorized into inclusion (activation, passivation, personalization and impersonalization) if the writers shown and performed the existence of certain actor in the text while the data were categorized into exclusion (suppression and backgrounding) when the writers hid and protected a certain actor in the text. Third, the researcher placed the datum that adopted the same strategies with the previous datum in data tabulations (Appendix 1). Fourth, the researcher discussed the result of the analysis based on the research findings. The last, the researcher made conclusion based on the result of the data analysis to find out the answers of the research focus.



## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter consists of two subchapters, they are theoretical framework which becomes the base in analyzing and investigating the data in this research and previous studies which gives the readers slightly overview about the related topic which have been previously investigated.

#### **2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis and Media**

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is mostly known as a shared perspective which consists of several particular approaches instead of calling it a school of linguistics. It does not have a specific theoretical framework. As in the case of many fields, approaches and sub-disciplines in language and discourse studies, it is not easy to determine the special principles, practices, aims, theories, and method of CDA (van Dijk, 1995: 17). Based on its history, the origin of CDA is from the transformation of critical linguistics which was developed by several theorists in the end of 1970s and has been influenced by some other critical theories such as critical semiotics, etc. It followed the functional view of language proposed by Halliday in 1978. According to Halliday as cited in Todoli, et al (2006) language has three macro functions. The first is the ideational function. It means that language can represent the experience that speakers have about the world. The second one is the interpersonal function, this function shows how

language may reflect the experience of the speakers and from the relationship between speakers and hearers. The third is the textual function. It permits the speakers to produce a certain discourse or text which is understood by the hearers and connects that discourse with its co-text and context.

CDA itself always sees discourse as something that involves a certain power and ideologies beyond what is actually written or spoken. Therefore, according to Quaders de Filologia (2006) critical Linguists concern to reveal the ideology behind the language to help people to realize and recognize any possible form of power abuse. Moreover, talking about discourse under CDA point of view will always deal with contexts or the situation within it. The contexts in this case are in the form of past and present social context, because discourse can be interpreted in various ways by different people, since they have different background, knowledge, or even power and social status (de Filologia, 2006:10).

The objects of research in CDA can be vary, it is not only limited to spoken discourse (e.g. speech, dialogue, news reporting, etc) and written discourse (e.g. book, script, newspaper, etc) but also it pays attention to other semiotic dimensions of communicative events such as picture, film, sound, music, gesture, and so forth. Through those objects, CDA tries to uncover the power and ideologies which deliver from them because discourse has functions both as a media of transferring information as well as shaping a certain mental image for the hearers, readers, or observer. For instance, nowadays, power and ideologies conveyed by discourse has been closely related to one of linguistic products that is mass media.

## 2.2 van Leeuwen's Social Actor Representation

Representing social actors is associated with how actors (one or group) are represented in the news. In addition, this model is concerned with how a side is positioned in an inappropriate position and the other side in higher position. For that reason, there will be two strategies appeared in the framework of the theories point, namely exclusion and inclusion. Van Leeuwen (2008) states that representations include or exclude social actors to suit their interests and purposes in relation to the readers for whom they are intended. Exclusion means omitting actors of a social action by some linguistic mechanisms; inclusion means putting the actors in the center of attention and being presented in the text clearly.

The following diagram is the complete divisions of SAR network proposed by van Leeuwen (2008: 52) which will be explained in the following subchapter about exclusion and inclusion:

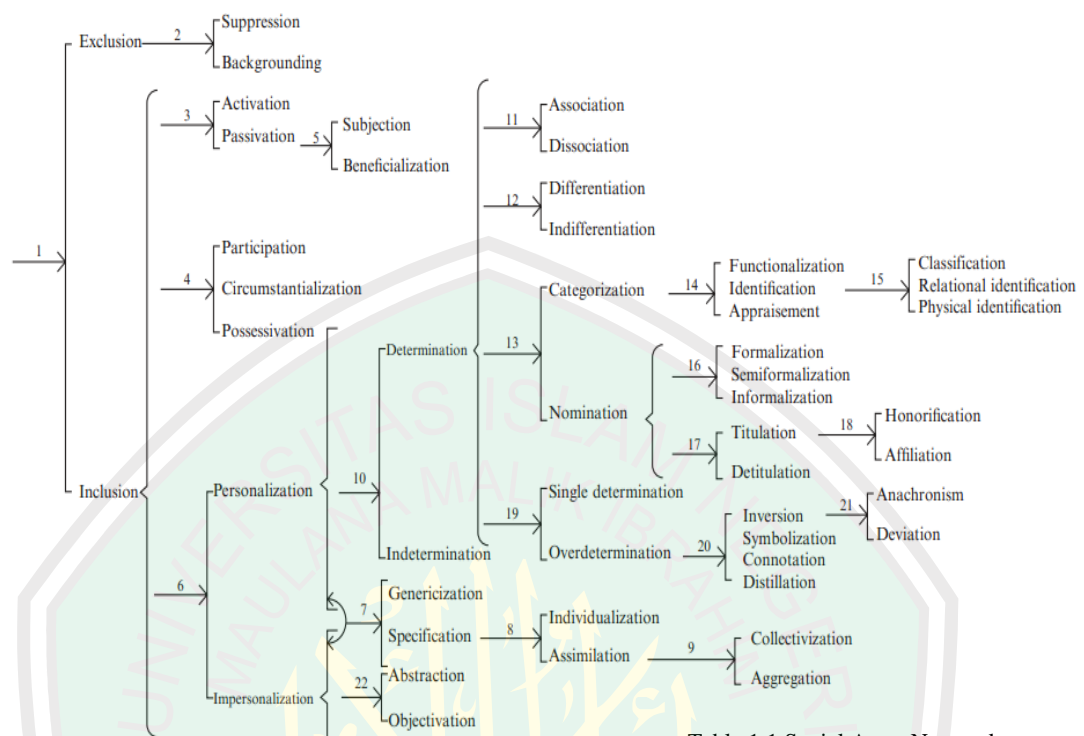


Table 1.1 Social Actor Net work

## 2.3 Exclusion

Exclusion is the process of omitting actors by some linguistic mechanisms. It has two main subdivisions: suppression and backgrounding. The main difference between suppression and backgrounding is the point that they leave trace or not within representation (van Leeuwen, 2008:29). The description about both subdivisions will be explained below.

### a. Suppression

Suppression is the exclusion that leaves no traces in the representation, excluding both the social actors and their activities. Van Leeuwen (2008) calls this kind of exclusion as radical exclusion. The linguistic realization of suppression can be realized in some ways as follows:

a) *Passive agent deletion*. Some CDA analysts call this linguistic realization as passivation. This realization is used to exclude social actor(s) from the representation/ news discourse. The function of this realization is to omit or delete the real actor (s). By omitting the actor (s), the sentence producer tries to drive the readers' attention into the other one (victim).

Below is the example: *'a church service was held at Cambustar church in Saint-Andre on Saturday in memory of the 239 people on board of the flight.'*

The focus in this sentence is the object *'a church service'* (The Guardian, 2015). The sentence producer uses passivation instead of active sentence, for example: *'They held a church service at Cambustar church in Saint-Andre on Saturday in memory of the 239 people on board of the flight.'* If we compare both examples above, by presenting the active sentence, the actor 'They' is clearly existed. Otherwise, by using passivation, the actor 'they' is deleted. The only function of this realization is to drive the reader's attention to be concerned with the object *'a church service'* and to pay no attention to the actor 'they'.

b) *Non-finite clauses* (e. g., infinitival clauses). According to van Leeuwen, suppression also can be realized through non -finite clauses that function as a grammatical participant. Below is the example: *'To maintain this policy is hard'* (van Leeuwen, 2008:29) By using the infinitival clause *'To maintain this policy'* it allows the social actor(s) who are responsible for maintaining the policy to be excluded from the text.

c) *Nominalizations and process nouns*. The use of nominalization and process noun also have the same function with passive agent deletion as well as the use of non-finite clause, that is to exclude the certain actor in a text. For instance in the sentence '*the level of support for stopping immigration altogether was at a post-war high*' (van Leeuwen, 2008:30) by using the word which is nominalized, the actors who '*support*' are clearly excluded.

#### **b. Backgrounding**

Backgrounding is the exclusion that leaves traces in the representation. Here, the excluded social actors in a specific activity pop up later in another part of the clause, sentence or text. According to van Leeuwen (2008: 30-31) the linguistic realization of backgrounding can be existed from simple ellipses in nonfinite clauses with -ing and -ed participles, in infinitival clauses with to, and in paratactic clauses. In all of these cases, the excluded social actor is included elsewhere in the same clause or clause complex. It can also be realized in the same way as suppression, but with respect to social actors who are included elsewhere in the text. The two realizations background social actors to different degrees and play a part in reducing the number of times specific social actors are explicitly referred to. The examples of backgrounding are as follows:

a) *Using infinite clause -ing*. By using infinite clause, the author tries to delay the appearance of the social actor in the text. The example is '*Speaking in the Commons earlier on Monday, the Prime Minister said he would use the telephone call*

*to put pressure on the newly re-elected Netanyahu to commit to talks on two-state solution.*’ (The Guardian, 2015)

b) *Using infinitival clause to -*. The use of infinitival clause to- has the same role as using infinitival clause –ing, in which the actor appears in the next clause. For example ‘*To maintain this policy is hard.*’ (van Leeuwen, 2008: 30)

c) *Using Paratactic clauses*. Using Paratactic clause allows the author to exclude the social actor, yet, it included elsewhere in another clause of the same sentence. For instance ‘*John invited them to the party, but the wilsons didn’t show up.*’ (Bustam, 2013: 39)

The first example uses infinite clause with –ing and the second uses infinitival clause with to. The social actors ‘Prime Minister’ and ‘KPK’ are backgrounded or found at the rest of the sentence. The third example uses paratactic clauses. Here, the reader will know the specific actor ‘the teacher’ in the second clause.

#### **2.4 Inclusion**

Inclusion is the opposite of exclusion strategy. Based on the previous explanation the exclusion tries to hide or delayed the actor appearance, while inclusion strategy is the process of showing or presenting the actor of a particular action within the discourse. Inclusion is divided into many subcategories based on van Leeuwen’s (2008) framework, they are:

### a. Activation and Passivation

Activation occurs when social actors are represented as the active, dynamic forces in an activity e.g. *Obama avoids calling the attack an example of Islamic extremism* (The Guardian, 2015) while passivation occurs when they are represented as “undergoing” the activity, or as being “at the receiving end of it”. e.g. *Other agreements approved by Abbas included several articles on the court's jurisdiction* (The New York Times, 2015). In that sentence, “several schoolgirls” are the actor in the relation to “being” while Boko Haram is activated related to “arrested”. Furthermore, the linguistic realization of activation can be realized in some ways, first, ‘participation’ (grammatical participant roles), the active role of the social actor in question is most clearly foregrounded. Second one, activation can also be realized by “premodification” and “postmodification” of nominalization or process noun.

While passivation needs a further distinction, the passivated social actor can be subjected or beneficialized. Subjected social actors are treated as objects in the representation, for instance, as objects of exchange, such as *immigrants “taken in” in return for the skill or money they bring* (van Leeuwen, 2008: 33). Beneficialized social actors form a third party which, positively or negatively, benefits from the action.

Like activation, subjection can be realized in various ways. First it is realized by “participation” when the passivated social actor is goal in a material process, phenomena in a mental process, or carrier in an effective attributive process (Halliday, 1985: 43) as cited in van Leeuwen (2008). Second, it can



also be realized by “circumstantialization” through a prepositional phrase, and And it can also be realized by “possessivation,” usually in the form of a prepositional phrase with *of* postmodifying a nominalization or process noun. While beneficialization, according to Halliday (1985), may be realized by participation, in which case the beneficialized participant is recipient or client in relation to a material process, or receiver in relation to a verbal process (van Leeuwen, 2008)

#### **b. Personalization and Impersonalization**

Personalization represents human beings as realized by personal or possessive pronouns, proper names or nouns. Personalization is divided into determination and indetermination as well as genericization and specification. Determination occurs when the identity of social actors is specified, for example *almost all governments and known figures strongly condemned this incident* (Jayanti, 2011: 47) while indetermination occurs when the social actors are represented as unspecified and anonymous individuals or groups for instance *someone had put flowers on the teacher’s desk.* (van Leeuwen, 2008: 39).

Determination needs further distinction into several sub categories, they are association and dissociation, differentiation and indifferentiation, categorization and nomination, as well as single determination and overdetermination. First, association refers to groups formed by social actors and/ or groups of social actors which are never labeled in the text the example

is they believed that the immigration program existed for the benefit of politicians, bureaucrats, and the ethnic minorities, not for Australians as a whole (van Leeuwen, 2008: 38). Dissociation is when the association is unformed, for example *we have announced that we stand ready for a serious and free debate with the American statesmen* (Jayanti, 2011: 64). Second, differentiation explicitly differentiates an individual social actor or a group of social actors from a similar actor or group of social actor, creating the difference between the 'self' and the 'other', for instance *and though many of the new migrants are educated high-achievers from places like Singapore and Hong Kong—“uptown” people in American terminology, others are “downtown” people from places like Vietnam, the Philippines, and Lebanon*. Third, categorization occurs when the social actors are represented either in terms of their unique identity, by being nominated, or in terms of the identity and functions they share with others. While nomination is typically realized by proper noun and is divided into formalization (sure name only, with or without honorifiers), semi-formalization (given name and sure name), as well as informalization (given name only), for example *Turkish Sultan, give me back my diamond button* (van Leeuwen, 2008: 41). Fourth, overdetermination occurs when social actors are represented as participating simultaneously in more than one social practice. Van Leeuwen determines four major categories for overdetermination as follows: first, inversion is a form of overdetermination in which social actors are connected to two practices which are, in a sense, each other's opposites. Second, symbolization occurs when a “fictional” social actor

or group of social actors stands for actors or groups in nonfictional social practices. Third, Connotation occurs when a unique determination (a nomination or physical identification) stands for a classification or functionalization. The last is Distillation realizes overdetermination through a combination of generalization and abstraction. The example of overdetermination is *A “historical grammar” of iconographic connotation ought thus to look for its material in painting, theatre, associations of ideas, stock metaphors, that is, precisely, in “culture.”* (Barthes, 1977: 22) as cited in van Leeuwen (2008).

Furthermore, the author’s choice between the use of genericization and specification is one of the important factors in SAR. Specification is when the social actor is represented as classes, or as specific, and identifiable individual for instance in the following sentence: *staff in both playgroups and nurseries expressed willingness to supply information if asked and regretted that their opinions were not valued more* (van Leeuwen, 2008: 36). Moreover, genericization can be realized by the plural without article, the example is *‘Non-European immigrants make up 6.5 percent of the population’* as well as with the singular with definite article, for instance *‘Allow the child to cling to something familiar during times of distress’* or indefinite article such as in *‘Maybe a child senses that from her mother’* (van Leeuwen, 2008: 36). The difference between both genericization and specification can be observed for instance, in the way that social actors are represented by different sectors of the press. In middle-class-oriented newspapers, government agents and experts

tend to be referred to specifically, and “ordinary people” generically: the point of identification, the world in which one’s specifics exist, is here not the world of the governed, but the world of the governors, the “generals.” In working-class-oriented newspapers, on the other hand, “ordinary people” are frequently referred to specifically. Specification then is divided into individualization and assimilation. Individualization is realized by singularity or in other words the social actor can be referred as individual while assimilation is realized by plurality or alternatively, assimilation may be realized by a mass noun or a noun denoting a group of people, for example *Australians tend to be sceptical about admitting “Muslims”* (van Leeuwen, 2008: 37).

While social actor are impersonalized when they are represented by other means, for instance by abstract nouns, or by concrete nouns whose meaning does not include the semantic feature of ‘human’. Impersonalization needs a further distinction that is abstraction and objectivation. Abstraction occurs when social actors are represented by means of a quality assigned to them by and in the representation. One example is the way in which “poor, black, unskilled, Muslim, or illegal” immigrants are referred to by means of the term “problems” in the following sentence: *Australia is in danger of saddling itself up with a lot of unwanted problems* (van Leeuwen, 2008: 46). Objectivation occurs when social actors are represented by means of reference to a place or thing closely associated either with their person or with the action in which they are represented as being engaged. In other words, objectivation is realized

by metonymical reference. e.g. *Australia was bringing in about 70,000 migrants a year* (van Leeuwen, 2008: 46).

## 2.5 Previous Studies

There were several studies that have been conducted in relation to the topic of this research, some of them will be discussed as follows

The first research is conducted by Jayanti (2011). She had examined the use of social actor representation strategies on Mahmoud Ahmadinejad speech at The United Nations. The result of the study found that the strategy was used by the speaker in order to strengthen Moslem's society as well as their ideology then it also had aim to downgrade the power and authority of Israel and some Western state in order to marginalize them. In her research, Jayanti had found many examples of the use of social actor representation strategies. However there is a mistake in labeling the type of strategy used by her. It should be labeled as suppression instead of passivation, because passivation belongs to inclusion instead of exclusion.

The second research is done by Poorebrahim and Zarei (2013). They research on the critical discourse analysis on how Islam is portrayed in four western newspapers they are the New York Times, The Independent, The Herald Tribune, and The Times by using Edward Said's notion of "Orientalism" and Van Dijk's notion of "ideological square". The result of their analysis shows that Islam is repetitively stereotyped and Muslims are negatively represented, both through various types of linguistic choices selected and via special construction of

the headlines. The lack of this research is that the researchers used headlines of the newspapers, which is in my personal view they are too narrow, because the explanation is possibly exist in the whole article.

The third research is conducted by Megawati (2013). She examined about the social actor representation in human trafficking issues as reported in Jakarta Globe, an Indonesian media. In her research paper she conveyed that after employed van Leeuwen's theory of CDA on her findings or data, she found that the author of the article in Jakarta Globe tend to be in the victims side as well as represented Malaysian activity in a bad way.

The fourth research is examined by Kabgani (2013). She did a research on the representation of Muslim women in non-Islamic media that is The Guardian. She reported that the newspaper shows and depicts Muslim women in positive way however the author of newspaper also said that Muslim women have lack of critical thinking. According to Kabgani, those words bring the newspaper not completely neutral in conveying news especially appraising Muslim women. The lack of this research is that Kabgani only used one sample of article from The Guardian (Can Islam Liberate Women, written by Madeleing Bunting, published on Saturday 8<sup>th</sup> December, 2001). If only she can use two or three samples it will give more strong evidence toward the issues.

## CHAPTER III

### FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter covers the research findings as a result of analyzing data based on van Leeuwen's theoretical framework of social actor representation. The findings then are discussed in the following subchapter. The whole data of this research are not presented entirely in this chapter, yet, they are provided on appendix 2. Furthermore, parts which are analyzed here only certain paragraphs which can create different perspectives among readers, while the rest are going to be displayed on Data Tabulations (see Appendix 1)

#### 3.1 Research Findings

There were more than 100 news articles with various themes about Islamic issues published from January 1<sup>st</sup> up to March 31<sup>st</sup> 2015 in both The New York Times and The Guardian newspapers. However, in this section, the elements taken from van Leeuwen's framework (2008) were adopted in analyzing only 8 articles with 4 different themes, chosen from both newspapers. Those four themes are 1) Israel-Palestine conflicts, 2) the group of Boko Haram in Nigeria, 3) Charlie Hebdo attack in Paris, France, and 4) ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria). Moreover, the 8 articles which were analyzed are as follows 1) Palestinians Join War Crime Court, Angering Israel, U.S, 2) Lasting Peace in Israel Requires Two-State Solution, Says Cameron, 3) Boko Haram Generates Uncertainty with Pledge of Allegiance to Islamic State, 4) Boko Haram Declares Allegiance to Islamic



State, 5) Terrorists Strike Charlie Hebdo Newspaper in Paris Leaving 12 Dead, 6) Publishing Muhammad Cartoons Would Have Been Too Risky, Says Amol Rajan, 7) Raising Questions within Islam after France Shooting, and 8) Obama Tells Muslims: Don't Let ISIS Hijack Your Religion and Identity. The data reduction was needed in collecting the data because most of the articles have the same theme. The 8 articles which previously mentioned were chosen because they were considered as the data which highly adopt social actor representation in reporting their news related to the representation of the exact doer of the action, Muslim society, western countries society, Islamic countries government as well as western countries government. Each of these actors was purposefully represented differently and by different forms and names. The data were arranged based on the sequence of publication.

### **Data 1**

The data presented below were taken from the article in international column of The New York Times online version entitled 'Palestinians Join War Crimes Court, Angering Israel, U.S.' on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2015 copied from Reuters. The news reported President Mahmoud Abbas who signed the international agreements including the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC) which angered Israeli's Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu as well as United States as the Israel allied.



### **Datum 1.1**

The datum presented below was taken from the second paragraph of the article. This news was actually as the follow up of various news reported the everlasting conflict between Palestine and Israel which emerged more than six decades ago. On Wednesday, 31 December 2014 Palestinian President signed on to 20 International agreements in order to require a help over Palestinian land. However, according to Israel and United States leaders it would allow the court to take jurisdiction over war crimes committed by anyone upon Palestinian territory.

“The move, which angered *Israel and the United States*, paves the way for the court to take jurisdiction over crimes **committed** in Palestinian lands and investigate the conduct of Israeli and Palestinian leaders over more than a decade of bloody conflict.” (1.1)

In **Datum (1.1)** presented above, the author was representing the existence of the social actor that is western countries government but hiding another social actor in the text. The researcher is going to analyze one by one, starting from the use of inclusion strategy which signed by the italic printed words. In the sentence above, the social actors which were informed within the text were not clearly mentioned, but the name of countries” Israel” and “The United States”. In fact not all of the societies in both countries were showing their anger. It might represent a particular person or group in government level, yet the author avoided using a specific term. The way the social actor is represented such way is called **assimilation strategy**. By using this strategy the author was able to report the news without hiding the social actors but still could avoid specifically showing them. The use of this strategy could influence the readers’ perspective because it could convey general opinion that actually all of the societies in both countries

support the action. The author should be able to specifically inform who exactly the social actors were, for instance the president and the prime minister.

Moreover, the use of another strategy was marked by the bold printed word in "crimes **committed** in Palestinian lands". The word which was bold printed shows a verb in a passive form in which the actor or the doer of the action "commit" was indirectly hidden. The use of passive agent deletion gave the author opportunity not to present the existence of the actor which in this case was adopted in order to protect Israeli government who had committed the crimes over Palestinians till now. This strategy could hide the responsibility of the doer, because the concern of the readers in the article would go to the victim as the object of the activity that is Palestinians, rather than "who was doing the action?" or "who did commit the crimes in Palestinian lands?". The way the author representing the author in this sentence is called **suppression strategy**. The strategy of exclusion could affect the readers mind and perspective. First, by omitting the social actor, the readers' focus was led to the condition of the object as the side which needs attention. Second, suppression strategy made the readers know nothing about the doer of the action so that they could not judge who should be responsible in relation with the action. The use of both strategies in datum (1.1) showed how the author tried to look after Israel and The United States, even though he or she did not completely marginalize Palestine as the rival of both countries.

Therefore, if the researcher tried to change that sentence to be more specific, the sentence will be: *The move, which angered Israeli Prime Minister and the*

President of The United States, *paves the way for the court to take jurisdiction over crimes which **they committed** in Palestinian lands and investigate the conduct of Israeli and Palestinian leaders over more than a decade of bloody conflict.* In the rearranged-sentence the social actors were specifically displayed and the doer of the action “commit” were shown rather than in the passive sentence which was still questioning who actually the actor of that action was. By using the active construction, the readers would focus on the subject rather than the object.

### **Datum 1.2**

The datum presented below was taken from the ninth paragraph of the same article, continuing the news about Palestinians which joins the war crimes court. The author of the articles tried to step back to the history of Israel and Palestine conflict which happened last year, between July and August 2014.

“Israel and Hamas fought a July-August war in which more than 2,000 Palestinians, 67 Israeli soldiers and six civilians in Israel **were killed.**” (1.2)

In **Datum (1.2)** presented above, the author tried to hide the existence of the social actor in the text, it could be seen through the use of passive agent deletion which could be observed through the bold printed words in the sentence. In that sentence, the author hid the actor of the action ‘kill’ by using a passive sentence because it does not need any subject. This strategy was adopted in order to protect the doer either it was Israeli soldiers or Hamas (a group in Palestine) who has killed the victims. The way the social actor is hidden in this case is called **suppression strategy**. This strategy could protect the responsibility of the doer, because the concern of the readers in the text was the victims as the object of the

activity, more than 2,000 Palestinians, and 73 Israeli, rather than “who was doing the action?” or “Who killed the victims more?”. When that sentence was transformed into active sentence it should be “*Israel and Hamas fought a July-August war in which Israeli killed more than 2,000 Palestinians, in other hand Hamas killed 67 Israeli soldiers and six civilians in Israel*”. In the active sentence the social actors were shown rather than in the passive sentence which was still questioning who actually the actor of that action was. By adopting such exclusion strategy, the doers are automatically marginalized related to this case. Moreover, by using the active form the reader would focus on the subject rather than the object. Although, the use of suppression strategy in that sentence seemed to support both sides, Israel and Palestine, however it actually gave benefit for Israel as the actor who killed the most because the readers would think about the victims in both countries instead of the actors.

## **Data 2**

The data presented below was taken from the article in international column of The New York Times online version entitled ‘Terrorists strike Charlie Hebdo Newspaper in Paris, Leaving 12 Dead’ on January 7<sup>th</sup>, 2015 written by Dan Bilefsky and Maia de la Baume. The printed version was published on January 8, 2015 on the page A1 of the New York edition with the headline ‘Terrorists strike Paris Newspaper, Leaving 12 Dead’. The news reported about a newspaper office in Paris, Charlie Hebdo which was bombed by several persons on Wednesday, January 7<sup>th</sup>, 2015. According to the news reporter, the suspects were probably homegrown Muslim extremists.

### **Datum 2.1**

The datum presented below was taken from the tenth paragraph of the article from The New York Times published on January 7<sup>th</sup>, 2015. It reported an interview between the author and an official in this case the Paris prosecutor, Francois Molins, who had right to talk about the issue.

*“The Paris prosecutor, Francois Molins, said that according to witnesses, **the attackers had screamed** “Allahu akbar!” or “God is great!” during the attack, which the police characterized as a “slaughter”.” (2.1)*

In **datum (2.1)**, the author was applying social actor representation strategies in reporting the news. It could be observed through the way the author represents the existence of both actors, they are The Paris Prosecutor and The attackers, in the form of italic and bold printed words. They were the exact doer of the action as well as The Paris Prosecutor as the supporting person of the existence of that doer. The use of the strategy in sentence above because the author wanted to make sure that the information was coming from a credible source that was Paris Prosecutor, so there would be no doubt among society. This strategy could make the readers believe in what being reported is. The use of this strategy is called **nomination strategy**. Besides, the author used another strategy because he tried to convey the real subject of the act. In this news, the author revealed the exact identity of the actor by providing certain words which indicated that the actor were Muslim because he screamed “Allahu Akbar!”. It was **activation strategy** because the authors show the subject as the active and dynamic forces in an activity. Therefore, the use of both nomination and activation strategies in that sentence had relation. That relation is that in order to make the reader believe in

the action done by the attackers, the author provides the credible source by adopting nomination strategy. Whereas, the author could easily simplify the sentence into “*the attackers had screamed “Allahu akbar!” or “God is great!” during the attack, which police characterized as a “slaughter”*”. However, he wanted to show that the statement was extended by a credible source. It could be said that through the sentence above, the author tried to indirectly depict a certain group, in this case was Muslim as a group which closely related to violence, attack, or terrorism and persuade the readers by providing evidence related to witnesses.

### **Data 3**

The data presented below was taken from the article in international column of The New York Times online version entitled ‘Raising Questions within Islam after France Shooting’ on January 8<sup>th</sup>, 2015 which was written by David D. Kirkpatrick, then followed by the printed version published on January 9<sup>th</sup>, 2015 on page A1 of the New York edition with a different title. In the printed version its headline is decreased into only ‘Raising Questions within Islam’. In this article, the author discussed about Islam which appeared cited in media or society so often as a cause for violence and bloodshed along with some statement and argument from several experts, for instance President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi of Egypt, Said Ferjani an official of Islamist party in Tunisia, Khalid Fahmy an Egyptian Historian, and so forth.

### **Datum 3.1**

The datum presented below was taken from the first paragraph of the article.

As the opening of the article, it described how, the author adopted the utterance  
Islamist extremists, committed several sins in several countries.

**Islamist extremists** *behead* Western Journalists in Syria, *massacre* thousands of Iraqis, *murder* 132 Pakistani schoolchildren, *kill* a Canadian soldier and *take hostage* café patrons in Australia.  
(3.1)

In **datum (3.1)** above, the author represented the existence of Muslim communities by using social actor representation strategy which could be observed through the bold and italic printed words. The term “Islamist extremist” here consisted of two words. The first one was “Islamist” as the adjective which means “related to Islam” while “extremist” was the noun to call people with extreme thinking. So, the term “Islamist extremist” was used to mention several actors that had beliefs which most people think were unreasonable and unacceptable and it was connected to Islam, because most of people all around the world had remarkably thought that the action of terrorism were always committed by Muslim. The use of such kind of strategy is called **categorization strategy**. In addition, the author was also using another strategy to emphasize the existence of the social actor in the text. By using this strategy, the author was willing to have the readers’ attention on several social practices, that is the action of behead, massacre, murder, kill as well as take hostage done by the social actors, in this case was Islamist extremist. This strategy named **overdetermination strategy** in which the social actor was represented as participating simultaneously in more than one social practice. The combination of both strategies in the



sentence aimed to convince the readers that actually Muslims were always related to almost any kind of violence all around the world and it made Muslims as a group of people were more negatively expose in international society. So, by reading that kind of report, the readers would perceive and conclude that Muslim society is a group which is extreme as well as dangerous for them.

### **Datum 3.2**

The datum presented below was taken from the fourteenth paragraph of the article continuing the discussion about raising question within Islam after France shooting. In this paragraph, the author continued to propose some evidence about what happened with Islam during certain period of time by interviewing an expert from The University of California, M. Steven Fish.

Over a 15-year period ending in 2008, *Islamist militants* **were responsible** for 60 percent of high-casualty terrorist bombings, his study found, but almost all were concentrated in just a handful of Muslim-majority countries in the context of larger conflicts that were occurring — places like Afghanistan after the American invasion or Algeria after the military takeover. (3.2)

In **datum (3.2)** above, the author represented the existence of the social actor, in this case related to what he called Islamist militant. The use of the strategies in representing the social actor could be observed through the italic and bold printed words in the sentence. Besides the use of term “Islamist extremist” as in the first paragraph, the author also used another term that is “Islamist militant” which is associated with the group of people who was active, determined and always willing to use force. Then, this group of people was also connected to Islam. As in previous the paragraph, types of strategy used in this sentence is called **categorization strategy**. Then, the use of another strategy could be observed through the bold printed words in which the subject “Islamist militant” was shown



as the doer of a particular action. In this case the actors were responsible, as reported by the author, in killing many people related to terrorist bombings. When reading that part of news, the readers would directly pay attention to the doer that was Islamist militant rather than the act that caused by them because the author activates the sentence. However, it will make different sense if that sentence is turned into passive sentence “*Over a 15-year period ending in 2008, 60 percent of high-casualty terrorist bombings were caused by the Islamist militants*”. In that sentence what we pay attention to is that *60 percent of high-casualty terrorist bombings which happened more than 15-years period of time not Islamist militants committed so much act in certain period of time*. By using such **activation strategy**, it is clear that the author through the sentence on that article wanted to depict Muslim society as the active and dynamic actors who are categorized as extremist, militant, and violent. As the consequence, Muslim community appears as a negative group among the readers.

### **Datum 3.3**

The datum presented below was taken from the nineteenth paragraph of the article, continuing the discussion about raising question within Islam after France shooting. In this paragraph, the discussion was continuing to the other supporting idea about what the author called Islamist militant/ Islamist extremism/ Islamist political movement. The author tried to depict how actually those terms were appraised in the society, particularly for those who were assumed to be the experts.

*Many pro-government intellectuals* consider the popularity of the Muslim Brotherhood an aspect of that backwardness and argue that all such Islamist political movements are inherently violent — **even if the groups publicly disavow violence. (3.3)**

In **datum (3.3)** above, the author was adopting two strategies of social actor representation. The use of the first strategy could be seen through the clause “many pro-government intellectuals” in the sentence. The clause which was italic printed above represents the social actors which were actually several persons were generalized into a greater subject. The author wanted to show that there were huge amount of intellectuals who considered and argued. The use of such strategy was called **genericization**, since genericization strategy could be realized by the plural without article or with the singular with definite article. Therefore it could be said that genericization strategy of inclusion could also affect the readers’ perspective because by generalizing the social actor, the reader would not question who the exact actor was. Furthermore, it also used another strategy that was in the utterance “even if the groups publicly disavow violence”. It functioned as distinctive feature of the action of the social actor before which said that all Islamist political movements were inherently violent. When the author tries to differentiate between one social actor to another, it is called **differentiation strategy**. The differentiation strategy in this case was adopted in order to create the differentiation between the social actor that firstly mentioned and the last mentioned in order to avoid the ambiguous perspectives among readers. The use of both strategies in the sentence shows how the author tried to convey that all Islamist political movements were actually violent because many intellectuals argued that way as well as avoided the anger or protest from Muslims all around the world by saying that actually in Islam violence is disavowed.

#### **Data 4**

The following data was taken from the article in the international column of the online version of the Guardian newspaper under the title ‘Publishing Muhammad cartoons would have been too risky, says Amol Rajan’ published on Thursday 8<sup>th</sup> January 2015 with John Plunkett as the author of the article. In that article the author interviewed Amol Rajan, an editor from the Independent newspaper based in United Kingdom. It was said that he had been trying very hard not to reprint Charlie Hebdo cartoons related to the Prophet Muhammad caricature.

#### **Datum 4.1**

The datum presented below was taken from the second paragraph of the article from the Guardian newspaper published on Thursday 8<sup>th</sup> January 2015 which discussed about the opinion of Amol Rajan, an editor from one of a British newspaper, toward the issues of posting the Prophet Muhammad caricature especially in France Satirical Magazine, Charlie Hebdo.

The newspaper, along with the rest of the **UK’s national press**, did not reprint any of the satirical magazine’s caricatures of Muhammad or the cartoons from Denmark’s Jyllands-Posten, with which Charlie Hebdo first provoked international outrage in 2006. **(4.1)**

In **datum (4.1)** there was a category of group or community in this case was “national press” that was the composite of several companies who work on mass media, like magazine, newspaper, television, and radio in a certain region or country. So, in that sentence context, “UK’s national press” was concerned on a group of press who are in the United Kingdom region. Therefore, it could be concluded that there was **assimilation strategy** in reporting the news in that sentence. Through this strategy, the interpretation of the readers would be focused

on all press companies in that country. In that sentence context, the term of social actors was labeled to *'The Independent newspaper and the rest of the UK's national press'*. By looking at the way the author tried to include the social actor, it could be concluded that he was trying to show up to the readers that actually the newspaper and the other newspaper or magazine in UK did not copying what had been published by Charlie Hebdo for particular period of time. By using that strategy the author of the guardian newspaper tried to depict all UK's national press positively in international society especially Muslims to avoid any anger that can lead to the same case as Charlie Hebdo.

#### **Data 5**

The data which is going to be presented below was taken from the article in international column of the online version of the Guardian newspaper under the title *'Obama Tells Muslims: Don't Let ISIS Hijack Your Religion and Identity'* published on Thursday 19<sup>th</sup> February 2015 written by its staff and agencies. The article reported about the notion related to the issue about Islamic States of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) extended by The United States president, Barack Obama, to Muslim society all around the world.

#### **Datum 5.1**

The datum presented below was taken from the second paragraph of the article, discussing about how Barack Obama refused any kind of violence which was under the name of religion and clearly stated that he was not in war with certain religion but its people who committed violence.

“We are not at war with Islam,” **Obama said**. “We are at war with people who have perverted Islam.” (5.1)

In **datum (5.1)** the author tried to represent the government of the United States by using his sure name “Obama” without any honorifier instead of using more formal words like “president Obama” or “President of the United States”. The use of such simply and direct noun showed how the author wanted to create no distance between the actor and the readers, so that it would be more convincing. The use of such proper noun was categorized into **nomination strategy**. In addition, the author also used another type of strategy in which the actor as well as his action were clearly shown in the text. The way the social actor is shown such way is categorized into **activation strategy**. The use of activation strategy in the sentence aimed to clearly show the social actor and emphasize it to the readers. The use of the two strategies of inclusion showed how the author really wanted to include the social actor in the text. By including the social actor specifically as well as the action actively, the author wanted to expose the government in a positive way especially among Muslims in the world that actually there is no war between western society to Muslim society.

### **Datum 5.2**

The datum presented below was taken from the seventeenth paragraph of the article from the Guardian discussing about how Barack Obama perceived any kind of act done by particular persons who were indicated to be Islamist extremist.

In the days after last month’s shootings at a *satirical French newspaper* that had caricatured the prophet Muhammad, **Obama avoided** calling the attack an example of “Islamic extremism” and instead opted for the more generic “violent extremism”. (5.2)

In **datum (5.2)** the author was representing a western media by using another term that could be observed through the italic printed words “a satirical French newspaper”. The newspaper as the social actor in the first clause was represented in term of its unique identity or in term of the identity and function it shares with others, in this case is by adopting a word “satirical”. It aimed to emphasize that Charlie Hebdo was a newspaper that criticizes people or ideas through humorous way not a serious one. So, it was supposed to indirectly tell Muslim society that actually the newspaper did not intend to insult the prophet Muhammad and Islam. Then, the use of the two other strategies as in the previous sentence, which aimed to show how the author wanted the actor, in this case Barack Obama to be clearly and positively shown in the given article that regarding to the attack happened he actually refused to call “Islamic extremism” instead of adopting another term “violent extremism” because he wanted to build a perspective among Muslims that he did not think all of Muslims act the same way. The use of both strategies are categorized into **nomination** and **activation strategies**.

#### **Data 6**

The data presented below was taken from the article in international column of The New York Times online version entitled ‘Boko Haram Generates Uncertainty with Pledge of Allegiance to Islamic State’ on March 7<sup>th</sup>, 2015 written by Rukmini Callimachi. The printed version of the newspaper also appears on March 8<sup>th</sup>, 2015 on page A8 of the New York edition with the headline ‘Boko Haram Generates Uncertainty with Pledge’. The news reported an organization based on Nigeria, named Boko Haram, which was considered as an extremist group and

some experts were still questioning whether or not they had relation with Islamic State which was known as ISIS affiliates in Libya, Algeria, Egypt, Afghanistan, and beyond.

### **Datum 6.1**

The datum presented below was taken from the second line of the first paragraph of the article of The New York Times published on March 7<sup>th</sup> 2015. It was as the opening paragraph which explained the main topic of the article, Boko Haram.

“With thousands of fighters and some parts of northeastern Nigeria under its control, **Boko Haram is believed** to be the largest jihadi group to pledge fidelity to the Islamic State.” (6.1)

In **Datum (6.1)** presented above the author tried to depict Boko haram as the actor by representing it to the readers. However, the word which was bold printed above show that there was no subject mentioned and it indirectly hide who the doer or actor of the action ‘believe’ was. This representation strategy could protect the responsibility of the actor, because the concern of the readers in the article text was the object of the activity. The readers’ attention would directly lead to topic of that sentence which said that Boko Haram was “the largest Jihadi group to pledge fidelity to the Islamic State”. The readers did not notice who said that statement, where the source was. The use of such strategy is called **suppression strategy** of eclusion. Moreover, it would be better if the sentence become “*With thousands of fighters and some parts of northeastern Nigeria under its control, (for instance “terrorism experts”) believe that Boko Haram is the largest jihadi group to pledge fidelity to the Islamic State.*” So that the readers could decide



whether the information was right or it was only the subjective idea of the author which brought the actor to be stereotyped.

### **Datum 6.2**

The datum presented below was taken from the fifth paragraph of the article from The New York Times published on March 7<sup>th</sup> 2015. It continued the previous datum discussed about Boko Haram.

“**Boko Haram is estimated** to have up to 6,000 fighters and at least some level of control over about 20,000 square kilometers, or about 8,000 square miles, of northeastern Nigeria, according to *Ryan Cummings, chief Africa analysts for Red24*, a crisis management group based in Britain, who has been following the group since 2011.” (6.2)

The **datum (6.2)** presented above depicts a certain social actor, in this case Boko Haram by adopting social actor representation strategy. The subject of the words which was bold printed was shown later in the following clause, or it also could be said that the subject was backgrounded by the author because it indirectly followed the verb which in this case appeared in the end of the sentence. The way the social actor is backgrounded is categorized into **backgrounding strategy**. The way the author used this strategy was having the same purpose with suppression strategy, however if by using the suppression strategy the author tried to completely hide or protect the actor by omitting the object, while by using the backgrounding strategy the author delayed the appearance of the actor, as the result the readers would pay more attention to the action rather than to the actor. In that example the author placed the actor ‘Ryan Cummings’ after providing some information about the estimated numbers of members of Boko Haram as well as the area of its authority, then followed by the subject. In this case the



subject of the sentence becomes not really important in the article because the readers focus on the information provided first. The sentence would become more neutral if the subject of the sentence is presented first *“According to Ryan Cummings, chief Africa analysts for Red24, a crisis management group based in Britain, who has been following Boko Haram since 2011, the group is estimated to have up to 6,000 fighters and at least some level of control over about 20,000 square kilometers, or about 8,000 square miles, of northeastern Nigeria”*.

Moreover, in the sentence above, the author also used the **specification strategy** of inclusion in which the author was represented as specific or identifiable individual. The author used this strategy in order to provide to the readers that the author report was under a credible source. Therefore, the readers did not question who the actor was.

### **Data 7**

The data which is going to be presented below was taken from the article in international column of the online version of the Guardian newspaper under the title ‘Boko Haram declares allegiance to Islamic State’ published on Sunday 8<sup>th</sup> March 2015 with Daniel Boffey and agencies as the author. However, there was no information whether it was published on printed version or not. The news reported about how a group in Nigeria declared the allegiance to Islamic State.

#### **Datum 7.1**

The datum presented below was taken from the first paragraph of the article. In the sentence below the author was giving new information related to Boko Haram

based on the video posted in the internet.

The video script identified the caliph as Ibrahim ibn Awad ibn Ibrahim al-Awad al-Qurashi, who is better known as Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, **the leader of Islamic State and self-proclaimed caliph of the Muslim world. (7.1)**

In **datum (7.1)** above the writer tried to clearly show the existence of the social actor related to a person that associated to Muslim. Therefore, it is clear enough that the author is adopting **specification strategy** of inclusion. Specification here meant giving more explanation to identify who the social actor was rather than generalization which only gave a general term that might be and even might not be understood by the readers. By adopting specification strategy the author wanted to specifically showed who the social actor was in order to make the readers noticed the person. Through the sentence above, the author of the Guardian newspaper tried to expose a certain person that was Ibrahim ibn Awad ibn Ibrahim al-Awad al-Qurashi which was actually the leader of Islamic State, a group which was suggested to be what they called as “Islamist extremism”, in order to give a negative perspective about this person to the readers.

#### **Data 8**

The data which is going to be presented below was taken from the article in an international column of the online version of the Guardian newspaper under the title ‘Lasting Peace in Israel Requires Two-State Solution, Says Cameron’ published on Monday 22 March 2015. However, there was no information whether it was published on printed version or not. The news reported the continuous conflict between Palestine and Israel. This news especially reported

the Prime Minister of United Kingdom, David Cameron's opinion about the peace in Israel.

### **Datum 8.1**

The datum presented below was taken from the third paragraph of the article, discussing about peace in Israel which needs two-state solution according to the UK Prime Minister. In the sentence, the author reported what had been done by the Prime Minister toward the new elected president in Israel.

**Speaking in the Commons earlier on Monday**, the Prime Minister said he would use the telephone call to put pressure on the newly re-elected Netanyahu to commit to talks on two-state solution. **(8.1)**

In **datum (8.1)** above, the author delayed the appearance of the social actor in the first clause by using infinite clause -ing to the second clause instead of directly showing it in the first clause. In this case the author adopts **backgrounding strategy** of exclusion. The use of this strategy aimed to emphasize the readers' attention on the first clause "Speaking in the Common earlier on Monday" which meant that the Prime minister had discussed about the problem before with the parliaments. It was indirectly exposed David Cameron in a positive way since he really concerned to the conflict between Israel and Palestine.

### **Datum 8.2**

The datum presented below was taken from the sixth paragraph of the article continuing discuss about the British Prime minister. However in this case, the author tried to compare between the actions taken by The British Prime Minister and The President of The United States.

**While Cameron simply tweeted his congratulations to the Israeli prime minister**, Barack Obama expressed concern about Netanyahu's divisive rhetoric. (8.2)

In **datum (8.2)** above, the author tried to depict social actors in the text in different ways. In that sentence, there was utterance "While Cameron simply tweeted his congratulation to the Israeli Prime Minister" which had function as a distinctive feature of the action of both social actors in the sentence. It shows the application of **differentiation strategy**. The clause which consisted of words like "even", "while" or so on could be placed either in the first or second clause. The differentiation showed how the actions of them (David Cameron and Barack Obama) were different from one to another. If the British Prime Minister act commonly as the government of a country gave his congratulate to another chosen president, while the President of the United States was depict as the one who had more concern. By stating like that, it meant that the author was trying to show to the readers that there was actually a close relation between the United States and Israel. By using this strategy the author of the Guardian tried to expose his government positively but then displayed the United States government not completely positive.

#### **4.2 Discussion**

After finding and analyzing the data from both western newspapers, The New York Times and The Guardian, a discussion of those findings is necessary in order to answer the research question which proposed in the first chapter: "How are the strategies of social actor representation used in reporting about Islamic issues found in western newspapers?" In the following discussion, the researcher presents discussion about the kinds of strategies of SAR used in reporting about

Islamic issues found in both western newspapers and then the way those social actors are represented in both western newspapers.

#### **4.2.1 Types of SAR strategies used in both newspapers**

Based on the data analysis that has been done in the previous subchapter, the researcher found there are two kinds of strategies used in representing the Social Actor as proposed by van Leeuwen, they are Exclusion and Inclusion in reporting the news in both The New York Times and The Guardian newspapers published from January to March 2015.

According to the results of the analysis, the use of those strategies has some purposes, such as to stereotype a certain issue, to marginalize a certain group, as well as to show the domination of the government of certain countries.

In this study, the researcher found that the authors of both Newspapers used the exclusion and inclusion strategies in representing the social actor. The use of exclusion strategy consists of both suppression and backgrounding strategy, for instance in the “crimes committed in Palestinian lands”, “more than 2,000 palestinians, 67 Israeli soldiers and six civilians in Israel were killed”, “Boko Haram is believed”, “Boko Haram is estimated to have”, “Speaking in the Commons earlier on Monday”. By using the suppression strategy, the actors could be hidden from the text, something that could not happen in active sentences. The actors are hidden from the sentences because what considered as the important information according to the author is that the objects. It is almost the same as the use of backgrounding strategy, although the social actors are not completely hidden but the display are

delayed. It makes the readers do not pay their attention to the actors anymore, instead of the object or action provided.

Beside the exclusion strategy, the authors of The New York Times and The guardian newspapers also used inclusion strategy which can be observed through the use of activation, genericization, specification, assimilation, differentiation, categorization, nomination, as well as overdetermination. By using those strategies, the social actors are openly shown and displayed to the readers because the readers are supposed to easily give their judges related to the given news. However, in those article provided, the researcher could not find some other inclusion strategies such as indifferentiation or impersonalization strategies because there is no indication of the sentence which adopts them.

#### **4.2.2 The way social actors are represented in both newspapers**

Based on the previous discussion about kind of strategies used in reporting about Islamic issues in both western newspapers, the researcher tries to discuss the way the social actors in this case are the exact doer of the action, Muslim community, western countries community, Islamic countries government as well as western countries government are represented on western newspapers.

a. *The exact doer of the action.* The authors of both newspapers tended to use activation strategy of inclusion in showing and displaying the action of the

exact doer in a particular Islamic issue, especially when it is done by what they supposed to be Muslim for example in **datum (3.2)**

“Over a 15-year period ending in 2008, **Islamist militants were responsible** for 60 percent of high-casualty terrorist bombings” and the author even adopting overdetermination strategy such as in **datum (3.1)**

“**Islamist extremists behead** Western Journalists in Syria, **massacre** thousands of Iraqis, **murder** 132 Pakistani schoolchildren, **kill** a Canadian soldier and **take hostage** café patrons in Australia”.

The use of activation and overdetermination strategies in this case had almost the same purpose, to clearly show the doer as well as the action done. Yet, the use of overdetermination was believed to have more impact in convincing the readers, because it showed that the doer was simultaneously participates in more than one social actions. By looking at the use of the strategies in the examples above, it was concluded that the authors tried to depict the doer in a clear and understandable way so the readers would directly perceive and accept the information.

- b. *Muslim community & western countries community.* The authors of the both newspapers tended to be in western countries community side and considered generally the Muslim community. For instance by adopting activation strategy in **datum (2.2)** “**The attackers had screamed** “Allahu Akbar! or “God is great! During the attack.”

It would be different strategy used if it was related to western community, the authors tended to exclude the social actor for instance by using



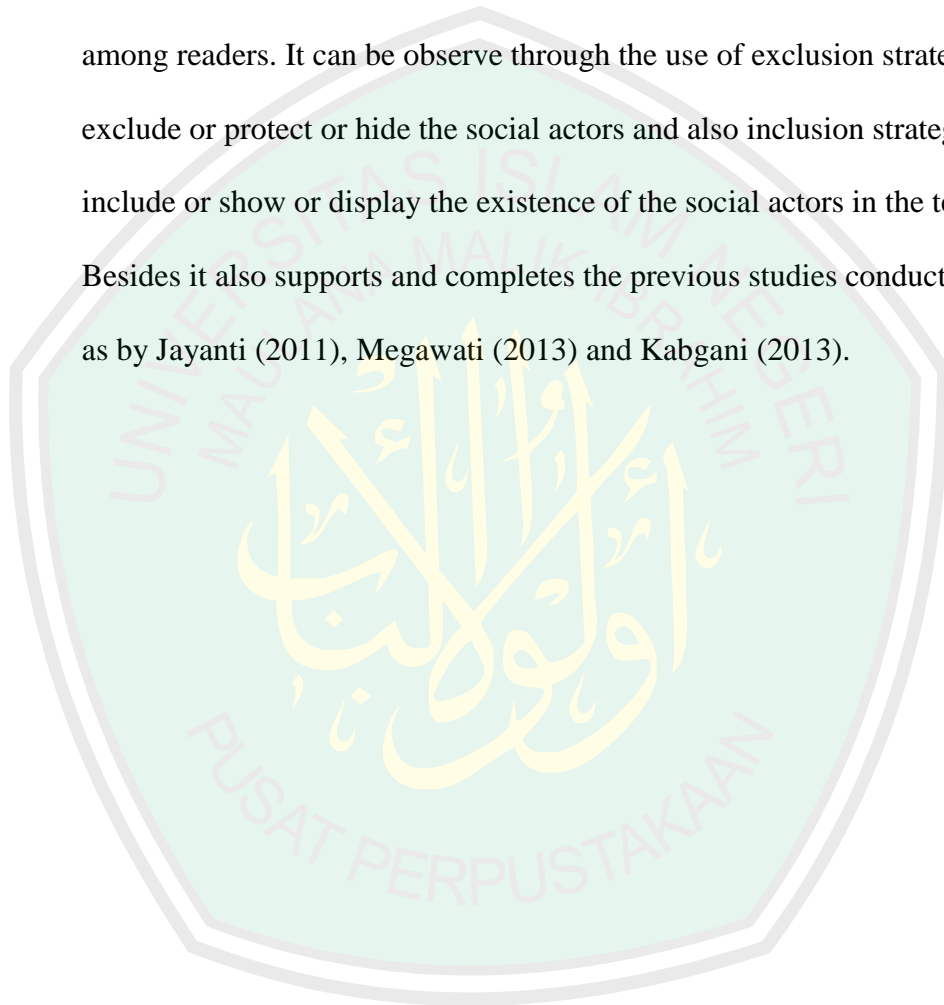
suppression strategy such as in **datum (6.1)** “**Boko Haram is believed** to be the largest jihadi group to pledge fidelity to the Islamic State.”

In both sentences above, it could be seen the different representation between Muslim society and western countries society. In the first sentence, the actors were clearly displayed by applying activation strategy of inclusion because the author wanted to show it to the readers. While in the second sentence, the actor was indirectly hidden by adopting suppression strategy so that the readers could not determined who actually did the action ‘believe’ was. By looking at the examples provided, it could be observed that the author discriminated between Muslim community and western countries community.

*c. Islamic countries government & western countries government.* The authors of both The New York Times and The Guardian tended to use inclusion strategy to show up the opinion of their own government which talked about positive action toward the Islamic issue. The example was **datum (5.2)** “**Obama avoided** calling the attack an example of ‘Islamic extremism’ and instead opted for the more generic ‘violent extremism’” and in contrary, they used exclusion strategy if it was a negative one about their government, for instance in **datum (1.1)** “The move, which angered Israel and the United States, paves the way for the court to take jurisdiction over crimes **committed** in Palestinian lands and investigate the conduct of Israeli and Palestinian leaders over more than a decade of bloody conflict.”



Based on the research findings and discussion, the researcher believes that the data obtained can strengthen the theory proposed by van Leeuwen (2008) since almost all of the data adopt Social Actor Representation strategies in reporting the news in order to form a particular perspective among readers. It can be observe through the use of exclusion strategy to exclude or protect or hide the social actors and also inclusion strategy to include or show or display the existence of the social actors in the text. Besides it also supports and completes the previous studies conducted such as by Jayanti (2011), Megawati (2013) and Kabgani (2013).



## **CHAPTER IV**

### **CONCLUSION**

This chapter provides the conclusion of findings and discussion as well as suggestions for the further research.

#### **4.1 Conclusion**

Based on the research findings and discussion, the researcher proposes some conclusions. First, in reporting their news, the authors of The New York Times and The Guardian newspapers adopted the inclusion strategies (to show and display the social actors), which consists of activation, genericization, specification, assimilation, differentiation, categorization, nomination, as well as overdetermination and exclusion strategies (to hide or protect the social actors), which consists of suppression and backgrounding, in influencing the readers' attention as well as their perspective about a certain issues. Furthermore, in using the strategies the authors include and exclude several social actors, they are: first, the exact doer of the action, Muslim community, western countries community, Islamic countries government as well as western countries government. Based on the research findings, although the whole articles seem to report particular news, the researcher believes that in adopting such strategies to their articles, the authors from both western newspapers are not completely neutral.

## 4.2 Suggestion

Based on the data and the findings of this research, the following are the suggestions for the next researchers, the students, the other newspapers company, and the readers.

- (1) For the next researchers or the students who want to conduct a research in Social Actor Representation are suggested to use the other object, in order to explore more the material about Social Actor Representation. Besides, the researcher suggests to use the collaboration between two different theories in analyzing a discourse, for instance van Leeuwen's theory (2008) and Fairclough (1989) in order to get comprehensive discussion, because it is not only discuss about the content of the text but also its texture, so it will give different results and enlarge the discussion about the topic as well.
- (2) Moreover, for the other newspapers company are suggested to write more neutral articles for the readers in order to create a neutral perspective not based on the authors' perspective or the importance of certain person or group of people.
- (3) The last, for the readers of the newspapers are suggested to be more careful in reading and believing to the newspapers articles because not all authors of the articles can completely neutral in writing their articles.

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**Appendix 1: Data Tabulations**

Data	Datum	Exclusion		Inclusion														
		Sup	Back	Act	Pas	Per											Imp	
						Gen	Spc		Det						Idt	Abs	Obj	
							Idv	Asm	Dif	Idf	Nom	Ctg	Asc	Dsc				Sdt
1	Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas signed on to 20 international agreements on Wednesday.			√														
	The move, which angered <b>Israel and the United States</b> , paves the way for the court to take jurisdiction over crimes committed in Palestinian lands and investigate the conduct of Israeli and Palestinian leaders over more than a decade of bloody conflict.	√						√										
	" <b>They attack</b> us and our land every day, to whom are we to complain? <b>The Security Council</b> let us down -- where are we to go?" <b>Abbas told</b> a gathering of Palestinian leaders in remarks broadcast on official television.			√					√				√			√		
	<b>The Palestinian U.N. observer mission</b> initially <b>announced</b> it would deliver on Wednesday to	√		√									√					

<p>the United Nations the signed documents to accede to the Rome Statute. It later said the delivery <b>had been delayed</b> and would likely take place on Friday.</p>																		
<p>In the months leading up to Tuesday's failed U.N. bid, <b>Sweden recognized</b> Palestinian statehood and <b>the parliaments of France, Britain and Ireland</b> passed non-binding motions urging their governments to do the same.</p>			√					√										
<p><b>Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said</b> Abbas's action would expose the Palestinians to prosecution over support for what he called the terrorist Hamas Islamist group, and vowed to take steps to rebuff any potential moves against Israel.</p>			√							√								
<p>Israel and Hamas fought a July-August war in which more than 2,000 Palestinians, 67 Israeli soldiers and six civilians in Israel <b>were killed.</b></p>	√																	
<p>"<b>We will</b> take steps in response and defend Israel's soldiers,"</p>			√											√				







	time when Islamic radicalism has become a central concern of security officials throughout Europe.	√																
	<b>The French authorities put</b> some schools on lockdown for the day; <b>added</b> security at houses of worship, news media offices and transportation centers; and <b>conducted</b> random searches on the Paris Métro.						√						√					
	<b>The Paris prosecutor, Francois Molins,</b> said that according to witnesses, <b>the attackers had screamed</b> “Allahu akbar!” or “God is great!” during the attack, which the police characterized as a “slaughter”.			√								√						
	<b>Treasured by many, hated by some</b> and indiscriminate in its offensiveness, <b>Charlie Hebdo has long reveled in provoking.</b>			√	√													
3	<b>Islamist extremists behead</b> Western Journalists in Syria, <b>massacre</b> thousands of Iraqis, <b>murder</b> 132 Pakistani schoolchildren, <b>kill</b> a Canadian soldier and <b>take hostage</b> café patrons in Australia.										√			√				

<p><b>The majority of scholars and the faithful say</b> Islam is no more inherently violent than other religions.</p>			√		√													
<p>Over a 15-year period ending in 2008, <b>Islamist militants were responsible</b> for 60 percent of high-casualty terrorist bombings, his study found, but almost all were concentrated in just a handful of Muslim-majority countries in the context of larger conflicts that were occurring — places like Afghanistan after the American invasion or Algeria after the military takeover.</p>			√								√							
<p><b>Many pro-government intellectuals</b> consider the popularity of the Muslim Brotherhood an aspect of that backwardness and argue that all such Islamist political movements are inherently violent — <b>even if the groups publicly disavow violence.</b></p>				√				√										
<p><b>A handful of non-Muslim researchers in the West — typically outside the academic mainstream</b> — seek to build a case that Islam is inherently more violent than Judaism or</p>				√				√										





	<b>launched</b> attacks on villages in Cameroon and Niger, as Nigeria's neighbours are forming a multinational force to confront the spreading Islamist uprising.			√														
8	<b>Speaking in the Commons earlier on Monday</b> , the Prime Minister said he would use the telephone call to put pressure on the newly re-elected Netanyahu to commit to talks on two-state solution		√															
	<b>While Cameron simply tweeted his congratulations to the Israeli prime minister</b> , Barack Obama expressed concern about Netanyahu's divisive rhetoric.							√										
	<b>He said</b> a formal move to recognize a Palestinian state would be in response to "extreme provocation from Netanyahu".			√														

**Sup : Suppression**

**Spc : Specification**

**Nom : Nominalization**

**Back : Backgrounding**

**Idv : Individualization**

**Cat : Categorization**

**Act : Activation**

**Asm : Assimilation**

**Ovd : Overdetermination**

**Pas : Passivation**

**Dif : Differentiation**

**Per : Personalization**

**Gen : Genericization**

**Idf : Indifferentiation**

**Imp : Impersonalization**



## Appendix 2: Articles on Islamic Issues

# PALESTINIANS JOIN WAR CRIMES COURT, ANGERING ISRAEL, U.S.

By REUTERS JAN. 1, 2015, 6:06 A.M. E.S.T.

RAMALLAH, West Bank — Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas signed on to 20 international agreements on Wednesday, including the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC), a day after a bid for independence by 2017 failed at the United Nations Security Council.

The move, which angered Israel and the United States, paves the way for the court to take jurisdiction over crimes committed in Palestinian lands and investigate the conduct of Israeli and Palestinian leaders over more than a decade of bloody conflict.

"They attack us and our land every day, to whom are we to complain? The Security Council let us down -- where are we to go?" Abbas told a gathering of Palestinian leaders in remarks broadcast on official television.

Under the ICC rules, Palestinian membership would allow the Hague-based court to exercise jurisdiction over war crimes committed by anyone on Palestinian territory, without a referral from the U.N. Security Council. Israel is not a party to the Rome statute but its citizens could be tried for actions taken on Palestinian land.

The Palestinian U.N. observer mission initially announced it would deliver on Wednesday to the United Nations the signed documents to accede to the Rome Statute. It later said the delivery had been delayed and would likely take place on Friday.

According to the Rome Statute, the Palestinians would become a party to the court on the first day of the month that follows a 60-day waiting period after depositing signed and ratified documents of accession with the United Nations in New York.

In the months leading up to Tuesday's failed U.N. bid, Sweden recognized Palestinian statehood and the parliaments of France, Britain and Ireland passed non-binding motions urging their governments to do the same.

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said Abbas's action would expose the Palestinians to prosecution over support for what he called the terrorist Hamas Islamist group, and vowed to take steps to rebuff any potential moves against Israel.

Israel and Hamas fought a July-August war in which more than 2,100 Palestinians, 67 Israeli soldiers and six civilians in Israel were killed.

"We will take steps in response and defend Israel's soldiers," Netanyahu said in a statement.



The United States said the move was of deep concern and unhelpful to peace efforts in the region.

"It is an escalatory step that will not achieve any of the outcomes most Palestinians have long hoped to see for their people," State Department spokesman Jeff Rathke said in a statement. "Actions like this are not the answer."

Palestinians seek a state in Gaza, the West Bank and East Jerusalem - lands Israel captured in the 1967 Middle East War.

Momentum to recognize a Palestine has built up since Abbas succeeded in a bid for de facto recognition of Palestinian statehood at the U.N. General Assembly in 2012, which made Palestinians eligible to join the ICC.

#### U.S. OBJECTIONS

Palestinian officials said on Tuesday American opposition made inevitable the defeat of a Security Council resolution calling for the establishment of a Palestinian state by late 2017 after no more than a year of peace negotiations.

The United States and Australia voted against the bid, while eight countries voted yes and five abstained. The Palestinians were unable to achieve a hoped-for nine votes which would have forced the U.S. to exercise its veto as one of the council's five permanent members.

Peace talks mediated by the United States collapsed in April in a dispute over Israeli settlement-building and a prisoner release deal, as well as Abbas's decision to sign on to over a dozen previous international texts Israel saw as a unilateral move the contravened the negotiations.

"We've been playing Mr. Nice Guy with negotiations since 1991, meanwhile the possibility of a two-state solution erodes," Hanan Ashrawi, a senior Palestinian diplomat, told Reuters.

She added that there were no immediate plans to lodge a formal complaint at the ICC, but that Abbas's move is "a clear signal to Israel and the international community that Israel must cease and desist its war crimes, especially settlements."

Other agreements approved by Abbas included several articles on the court's jurisdiction, commitments against banned weapons and cluster munitions along with less controversial pledges on the political rights of women, navigation and the environment.

*(Additional reporting by Dan Williams and Allyn Fisher-Ilan in Jerusalem and Louis Charbonneau in New York; Editing by Peter Graff)*

# **BOKO HARAM GENERATES UNCERTAINTY WITH PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE TO ISLAMIC STATE**

By RUKMINI CALLIMACHI MARCH 7, 2015

With thousands of fighters and some parts of northeastern Nigeria under its control, Boko Haram is believed to be the largest jihadi group to pledge fidelity to the Islamic State. But terrorism experts say that the practical significance of the move announced Saturday is as yet unclear.

Some experts say that the pledge, or “bayat,” made by the leader of Boko Haram is a spiritually binding oath, which indicates that the Nigerian Islamist group has agreed to accept the authority of the Islamic State.

But as with similar pledges to the Islamic State, also known as ISIS or ISIL, by other extremist groups, there are few details about how much direct control the Islamic State leaders have over their distant proxies.

If confirmed, the agreement with Boko Haram would mirror the steps taken by Islamic State affiliates in Libya, Algeria, Egypt, Afghanistan and beyond. In each case, a group’s leaders swore allegiance in a public message posted online. Weeks later, the oath was formally accepted by the Islamic State, in a statement issued by the group’s spokesman.

“It’s quite clear that since at least mid-January, the Islamic State has had some level of connection with Boko Haram,” said Aaron Y. Zelin, a fellow at the Washington Institute who tracks propaganda by Islamic extremists. “The key question is whether the Islamic State dispatched individuals from Syria or Iraq, or else from Libya, down to northern Nigeria to help out with operations on the ground, or else with methodology, or in terms of governance activities.”

Boko Haram is estimated to have up to 6,000 fighters and at least some level of control over about 20,000 square kilometers, or about 8,000 square miles, of northeastern Nigeria, according to Ryan Cummings, chief Africa analyst for Red24, a crisis management group based in Britain, who has been following the group since 2011. Mr. Cummings raised questions about the kind of command-and-control structure that could exist between the two groups.

“It seems at the moment that this is a statement that is akin to saying, ‘We are on the same page,’ ” he said. “But the biggest issue with Boko Haram is that it’s not a homogeneous group and it behaves as different factions. So it’s too early to tell for sure if Boko Haram will fall directly under ISIS command, and to what extent they will act as an ISIS proxy.”

Since its inception, Boko Haram’s targets, goals and language have been almost exclusively Nigerian, and the focus of its hate remains the Nigerian state and its agents.

Moreover, the group's brutality is unlikely to be altered by a new alliance. Paul Lubeck, a Nigeria expert at Johns Hopkins University, said Saturday that Boko Haram had been practicing the signature tactics of the Islamic State — beheadings and enslavement — even before the Islamic State.

Professor Lubeck said there was some significance to Boko Haram's pledge of allegiance, if true, because the group had until now maintained its autonomy from larger groups like Al Qaeda. But he was unable to say what practical consequences an affiliation with the Islamic State might have.

An American intelligence official also reacted cautiously, saying that while Boko Haram would not turn down money or material support from the Islamic State, it was unlikely that it would take orders from it. "It's probably more for propaganda purposes than anything else," said the official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss intelligence matters.

For roughly 18 months, there have been growing signs of at least links of solidarity between the organizations, as well as suggestions that the Islamic State has been grooming Boko Haram for entry into its network. Last year, Boko Haram's leader declared his support for the leader of the Islamic State, and began using the Islamic State battle hymn as the soundtrack for videos documenting his atrocities.

Analysts have also noted a growing professionalism in Boko Haram's videos, which had previously been shot with hand-held cameras and posted haphazardly on YouTube. The new videos were noticeably more polished and used images that mimicked the visual vocabulary of the Islamic State.

*Eric Schmitt and Adam Nossiter contributed reporting.*

*A version of this article appears in print on March 8, 2015, on page A8 of the New York edition with the headline: Boko Haram Generates Uncertainty with Pledge*

# TERRORISTS STRIKE CHARLIE HEBDO NEWSPAPER IN PARIS, LEAVING 12 DEAD

By DAN BILEFSKY and MAÏA de la BAUME JAN. 7, 2015

PARIS — The police organized an enormous manhunt across the Paris region on Wednesday for three suspects they said were involved in a brazen and methodical midday slaughter at a satirical newspaper that had lampooned Islam.

The terrorist attack by masked gunmen on the newspaper, Charlie Hebdo, left 12 people dead — including the top editor, prominent cartoonists and police officers — and was among the deadliest in postwar France. The killers escaped, traumatizing the city and sending shock waves through Europe and beyond.

Officials said late Wednesday that two of the suspects were brothers. They were identified as Said and Chérif Kouachi, 34 and 32. The third suspect is Hamyd Mourad, 18. News reports said the brothers, known to intelligence services, had been born in Paris, raising the prospect that homegrown Muslim extremists were responsible.

Early Thursday, a spokeswoman for the Paris prosecutor said that Mr. Mourad had walked into a police station in Charleville-Mézières, about 145 miles northeast of Paris, and surrendered.

“He introduced himself and was put in custody,” said the spokeswoman, Agnès Thibault-Lecuire.

The assault threatened to deepen the distrust of France’s large Muslim population, coming at a time when Islamic radicalism has become a central concern of security officials throughout Europe. In the space of a few minutes, the assault also crystallized the culture clash between religious extremism and the West’s devotion to free expression. Spontaneous rallies expressing support for Charlie Hebdo sprung up later in the day in Paris, throughout Europe and in Union Square in New York.

Officials and witnesses said at least two gunmen had carried out the attack with assault weapons and military-style precision. President François Hollande of France called it a display of extraordinary “barbarism” that was “without a doubt” an act of terrorism. He declared Thursday a national day of mourning.

He also raised the terror alert for the Île-de-France region, which includes Paris, to its highest level, saying several terrorist attacks had been thwarted in recent weeks as security officials here and elsewhere in Europe have grown increasingly wary of the return of young citizens from fighting in Syria and Iraq.

The French authorities put some schools on lockdown for the day; added security at houses of worship, news media offices and transportation centers; and conducted random searches on the Paris Métro.

The Paris prosecutor, François Molins, said that according to witnesses, the attackers had screamed “Allahu akbar!” or “God is great!” during the attack, which the police characterized as a “slaughter.”

Corinne Rey, a cartoonist known as Coco, who was at the newspaper office during the attack, told Le Monde that the attackers had spoken fluent French and said that they were part of Al Qaeda.

An amateur video of the assailants’ subsequent gunfight with the police showed the men shouting: “We have avenged the Prophet Muhammad. We have killed Charlie Hebdo!” The video, the source of which could not be verified, also showed the gunmen killing a police officer as he lay wounded on a nearby street.

The victims at Charlie Hebdo included some of the country’s most popular and iconoclastic cartoonists. One, the weekly’s editorial director, Stéphane Charbonnier, had already been receiving light police protection after earlier threats, the police and Mr. Molins said. An officer assigned to guard Mr. Charbonnier and the newspaper’s offices was among the victims.

As news of the assault spread, there was an outpouring of grief mixed with expressions of dismay and demonstrations of solidarity for free speech.

By the evening, not far from the site of the attack in east Paris, an estimated 35,000, young and old, gathered at Place de La République. Some chanted, “Charlie! Charlie!” or held signs reading, “I am Charlie” — the message posted on the newspaper’s website.

Vigils of hundreds and thousands formed in other cities around France and elsewhere.

Mr. Molins said that two men armed with AK-47 rifles and wearing black masks had forced their way into the weekly’s offices, at 10 Rue Nicolas-Appert in the 11th Arrondissement, at about 11:30 a.m. They opened fire at people in the lobby before making their way to the newsroom on the second floor, interrupting a staff meeting and firing at the assembled journalists.

The attackers then fled outside, where they clashed three times with the police. They then drove off in a black Citroën and headed north on the right bank of Paris. During their escape, prosecutors said, they crashed into another car and injured its female driver before robbing another motorist and driving off in that person’s vehicle. The police said that the black Citroën was found abandoned in the 19th Arrondissement.

The precision with which the assailants handled their weapons suggested that they had received military training, the police said. During the attack, which the police said lasted a matter of minutes, several journalists hid under their desks or on the roof, witnesses said.

One journalist, who was at a weekly office meeting during the attack and asked that her name not be used, texted a friend after the shooting: “I’m alive. There is death all around me. Yes, I am there. The jihadists spared me.”

Treasured by many, hated by some and indiscriminate in its offensiveness, Charlie Hebdo has long reveled in provoking.



In 2011, the office of the weekly was badly damaged by a firebomb after it published a spoof issue “guest edited” by the Prophet Muhammad to salute the victory of an Islamist party in Tunisian elections. It had announced plans to publish a special issue renamed “Charia Hebdo,” a play on the word in French for Shariah law.

Police said the dead included four celebrated cartoonists at the weekly, including Mr. Charbonnier, known as Charb, Jean Cabut, Georges Wolinski and Bernard Verlhac.

Mr. Charbonnier stoked controversy and drew the ire of many in the Muslim community in 2006 when he republished satirical cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad that had been published in a Danish newspaper, Jyllands-Posten. His last cartoon for Charlie Hebdo featured an armed man who appeared to be a Muslim fighter with a headline that read: “Still no attacks in France. Wait! We have until the end of January to offer our wishes.”

Michael J. Morell, a former deputy director of the C.I.A. and now a consultant to CBS News, said it was unclear whether the attackers had acted on their own or been directed by organized groups. He called the motive of the attackers “absolutely clear: trying to shut down a media organization that lampooned the Prophet Muhammad.”

“So, no doubt in my mind that this is terrorism,” he said.

Mr. Morell added, “What we have to figure out here is the perpetrators and whether they were self-radicalized or whether they were individuals who fought in Syria and Iraq and came back, or whether they were actually directed by ISIS or Al Qaeda.”

Dalil Boubakeur, the rector of the Grand Mosque in Paris, one of France’s largest, expressed horror at the assault. “We are shocked and surprised that something like this could happen in the center of Paris. But where are we?” he was quoted as saying by Europe1, a radio broadcaster.

“We strongly condemn these kinds of acts, and we expect the authorities to take the most appropriate measures,” he said, adding, “This is a deafening declaration of war.”

The attack comes as thousands of Europeans have joined jihadist groups in Iraq and Syria, further fueling concerns about Islamic radicalism and terrorism being imported. Those worries have been especially acute in France, where fears have grown that militants are bent on retaliation for the government’s support for the United States-led air campaign against jihadists with the Islamic State group in Syria and Iraq.

Last month, Prime Minister Manuel Valls ordered hundreds of additional military personnel onto the streets after a series of attacks across France raised alarms over Islamic terror.

In Dijon and Nantes, a total of 23 people were injured when men drove vehicles into crowds, with one of the drivers shouting an Islamic rallying cry. The authorities depicted both drivers as mentally unstable. The attacks came after violence attributed to “lone-wolf” attackers in London in 2013, in Canada in October and last month in Sydney, Australia.

In September, fighters in Algeria aligned with the Islamic State beheaded Hervé Gourdel, a 55-year-old mountaineering guide from Nice, and released a video documenting the

murder. Mr. Gourdel had been kidnapped after the Islamic State called on its supporters to wage war against Europeans.

President Obama issued a statement condemning the killings. “Time and again, the French people have stood up for the universal values that generations of our people have defended,” he said.

“France, and the great city of Paris where this outrageous attack took place, offer the world a timeless example that will endure well beyond the hateful vision of these killers. We are in touch with French officials, and I have directed my administration to provide any assistance needed to help bring these terrorists to justice.”

***Correction: January 7, 2015***

*An earlier version of this article misstated the location of the abandoned car believed to have been used by the gunmen, using information from the police. It was found in the 19th Arrondissement, not the 20th.*

***Correction: January 9, 2015***

*An article on Thursday about the assault on the French satirical newspaper Charlie Hebdo reversed, in some editions, the ages for Said and Chérif Kouachi, brothers whom the authorities named as suspects in the attack. Said Kouachi is 34, and Chérif is 32. And because of an editing error, the article misidentified the area covered by the terror alert that President François Hollande of France raised to its highest level. It is the Île-de-France region, which includes Paris, not all of France. (On Thursday, Mr. Hollande extended the top-level terror alert to a second region, Picardy, as the manhunt for the Kouachis continued.)*

*Aurelien Breeden and Laure Fourquet contributed reporting from Paris, and Michael S. Schmidt from Washington.*

*A version of this article appears in print on January 8, 2015, on page A1 of the New York edition with the headline: Terrorists Strike Paris Newspaper, Leaving 12 Dead*

# RAISING QUESTIONS WITHIN ISLAM AFTER FRANCE SHOOTING

By DAVID D. KIRKPATRICK JAN. 8, 2015

CAIRO — Islamist extremists behead Western journalists in Syria, massacre thousands of Iraqis, murder 132 Pakistani schoolchildren, kill a Canadian soldier and take hostage cafe patrons in Australia. Now, two gunmen have massacred a dozen people in the office of a Paris newspaper.

The rash of horrific attacks in the name of Islam is spurring an anguished debate among Muslims here in the heart of the Islamic world about why their religion appears cited so often as a cause for violence and bloodshed.

The majority of scholars and the faithful say Islam is no more inherently violent than other religions. But some Muslims — most notably the president of Egypt — argue that the contemporary understanding of their religion is infected with justifications for violence, requiring the government and its official clerics to correct the teaching of Islam.

“It is unbelievable that the thought we hold holy pushes the Muslim community to be a source of worry, fear, danger, murder and destruction to all the world,” President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi of Egypt lamented last week in a speech to the clerics of the official religious establishment. “You need to stand sternly,” he told them, calling for no less than “a religious revolution.”

Others, though, insist that the sources of the violence are alienation and resentment, not theology. They argue that the authoritarian rulers of Arab states — who have tried for decades to control Muslim teaching and the application of Islamic law — have set off a violent backlash expressed in religious ideas and language. Promoted by groups like the Islamic State or Al Qaeda, that discourse echoes through Muslim communities as far away as New York or Paris, whose influence and culture still loom over much of the Muslim world.

“Some people who feel crushed or ignored will go toward extremism, and they use religion because that is what they have at hand,” said Said Ferjani, an official of Tunisia’s mainstream Islamist party, Ennahda, speaking about the broader phenomenon of violence in the name of Islam. “If you are attacked and you have a fork in your hand, you will fight back with a fork.”

Khaled Fahmy, an Egyptian historian, was teaching at New York University on Sept. 11, 2001, after which American sales of the Quran spiked because readers sought religious explanations for the attack on New York.

“We try to explain that they are asking the wrong question,” he said. Religion, he argued, was “just a veneer” for anger at the dysfunctional Arab states left behind by colonial powers and the “Orientalist” condescension many Arabs still feel from the West.

“The Arab states have not delivered what they are supposed to deliver and it can only lead to a deep sense of resentment and frustration, or to revolution,” he said. “It is the nonviolence that needs to be explained, not the violence.”



Only a very small number of Muslims pin the blame directly on the religion itself.

“What has ISIS done that Muhammad did not do?” an outspoken atheist, Ahmed Harqan, recently asked on a popular television talk show here, using common shorthand for the Islamic State to argue that the problem of violence is inherent to Islam.

Considered almost blasphemous by most Egyptian Muslims, his challenge provoked weeks of outcry from Islamic religious broadcasters and prompted much-watched follow-up shows. In subsequent debates on the same program, Salem Abdel-Gelil, a scholar from the state-sponsored Al Azhar institute and former official of the ministry overseeing mosques, fired back with Islamic verses about tolerance, peace and freedom.

But then he warned that, under Egypt’s religion-infused legal system, the public espousal of atheism might land his opponents in jail.

“When a person comes out and promotes his heresy, promotes his debauchery, and justifies his apostasy on the basis that ‘Islam is not good,’ then there is the judiciary,” Sheikh Abdel-Gelil said. “The judiciary will get him.”

M. Steven Fish, a political scientist at the University of California, Berkeley, sought to quantify the correlation between Islam and violence. In his book, “Are Muslims Distinctive?,” he found that murder rates were substantially lower in Muslim-majority countries and instances of political violence were no more frequent.

Over a 15-year period ending in 2008, Islamist militants were responsible for 60 percent of high-casualty terrorist bombings, his study found, but almost all were concentrated in just a handful of Muslim-majority countries in the context of larger conflicts that were occurring — places like Afghanistan after the American invasion or Algeria after the military takeover.

“Is Islam violent? I would say absolutely not,” Mr. Fish said in an interview. “There is very little empirical evidence that Islam is violent.”

In Egypt and the Arab world, however, the debate over Islam’s connection to violence has been given new impetus in recent events: the military ouster of the Islamist elected as president of Egypt, Mohamed Morsi; the deadly crackdown on his supporters in the Muslim Brotherhood and a retaliatory campaign of attacks on security forces; and the spectacular rise of the bloodthirsty Islamic State extremists in Syria and Iraq.

Mr. Sisi, a former general, led the ouster of the Islamist president in 2013 and the suppression of the Brotherhood on charges that it was a violent “terrorist group.” (The group has denounced violence for decades and continues to do so.) Even before his speech, he has also presided over an effort to reassert the state’s control over the teaching and application of Islam by installing government-aligned imams in mosques and dictating Friday sermons.

Intellectuals supporting him have applauded his efforts and called for the state to lead a sweeping top-down overhaul of the popular understanding of Islam, attributing the problem to a lack of education or cultural advancement. “Religious thought, or religious discourse, is afflicted with backwardness,” Gaber Asfour, the minister of culture, declared in a recent television interview. “We now live in an age of backwardness.”

Many pro-government intellectuals consider the popularity of the Muslim Brotherhood an aspect of that backwardness and argue that all such Islamist political movements are inherently violent — even if the groups publicly disavow violence.

“Their task is not becoming modern; it is becoming hegemonic again, making a new world in which Islam will be on top again,” argued Prof. Sherif Younis, a historian at the Helwan University here who has led calls for an Islamic “reformation.”

“Every fundamentalist has in mind a counter-regime, even if he does not know how to use a knife,” Professor Younis said. That includes the mainstream Islamists of the Brotherhood and the ultraconservatives known as Salafis, as well as the overtly violent jihadist groups like the Islamic State or Al Qaeda, he said.

Others argue that the state control of the Muslim religious establishments — whether in relatively secular states like Egypt or the United Arab Emirates, or in explicitly religious ones like Saudi Arabia — only reinforces the problems. Such attempts at control inject politics into religious teaching, diminishing its credibility. And the state religious establishments further entangle politics and religion by seeking to confer the legitimacy of Islamic law on autocratic rulers.

Amr Ezzat, a researcher with the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights, argued that the official clerics and the jihadists agree on one thing: Both “say that Islam is the source of the state’s authority, and that we should all be governed by Islamic law.”

Some say it is also naïve to expect unaccountable governments like Egypt’s that cannot provide health care or education to do a better job leading religious reform.

“In an authoritarian society, there is no room for reasoned debate, so it is not surprising that irrational religious discourse is going to flourish in certain quarters of Egypt or the Arab world,” argued Mohammad Fadel, an Egyptian-American Islamic legal scholar at the University of Toronto. “But the answer of these governments has been to double down on repression and that is only likely to increase the extremism.”

A handful of non-Muslim researchers in the West — typically outside the academic mainstream — seek to build a case that Islam is inherently more violent than Judaism or Christianity by highlighting certain Quranic verses. But they struggle to explain away approving passages about violence in other religious texts, such as the book of Joshua in the Old Testament, the Book of Revelation in the New Testament, or the statement attributed to Jesus by the Gospel writer Matthew that “I come not to bring peace, but a sword.”

Raymond Ibrahim, the author of “Crucified Again: Exposing Islam’s New War on Christians,” argued in an interview that the passages in the Bible are descriptive but the Quranic ones are prescriptive. But most scholars say such distinctions are matters of interpretation.

Mainstream Muslim scholars in the Arab world or the West emphasize the Prophet Muhammad’s injunctions to mercy and forgiveness, his forbidding of “coercion in matters of religion,” or his exhortation to restraint even in self-defense. “Fight in the cause of God against those who fight you, but do not transgress limits,” reads one verse. “God does not love transgressors.”

Emad Shahin, the editor of The Oxford Encyclopedia of Islam and Politics, compared the discussion of violence in the Islamic tradition to the “just war” teachings of the Catholic Church. But because of the specific history of Western colonialism and Arab responses, he argued, Islam now provides an effective way to appeal to feelings of identity, community, justice, freedom and nationalism all at once. “It is all rolled into one,” he said.

*Merna Thomas contributed reporting.*

*A version of this article appears in print on January 9, 2015, on page A1 of the New York edition with the headline: Raising Questions within Islam.*



# LASTING PEACE IN ISRAEL REQUIRES TWO-STATE SOLUTION, SAYS CAMERON

Monday, 23 March 2015 23:55 GMT

David Cameron has told Binyamin Netanyahu that the UK continues to believe that a two-state solution is the best way to “achieve a lasting peace and to secure Israel’s long-term security and prosperity”, after Netanyahu appeared to rule out recognising a Palestinian state.

A spokesperson for the prime minister said he had spoken to Netanyahu, the Israeli prime minister, by phone on Monday night and had “congratulated him on winning the recent Israeli elections, and looked forward to working with the new government when it was formed”.

Speaking in the Commons earlier on Monday, the prime minister said he would use the telephone call to put pressure on the newly re-elected Netanyahu to commit to talks on a two-state solution.

“We must put pressure on both sides to make sure talks get going on a two-state solution,” he told MPs in parliament. “I think that’s in the long term interest not just to the Palestinians, but also to the Israelis, and Britain’s policy on that will not change.”

Netanyahu’s rightwing Likud party surged to victory in last week’s national election in Israel, after he abandoned a prior commitment to an independent Palestinian state and warned the electorate that Arab citizens would vote “in droves”, apparently to attract last-minute support among conservatives.

While Cameron simply tweeted his congratulations to the Israeli prime minister, Barack Obama expressed concern about Netanyahu’s divisive rhetoric.

On Sunday, the Israeli ambassador to the United States told NBC that Netanyahu’s comments had been misunderstood. “He didn’t change his position. He didn’t run around giving interviews saying he’s now against the Palestinian state,” he said.

Former Labour foreign secretary Jack Straw asked the prime minister on Monday if he would use the call to “emphasise to Mr Netanyahu that what his party and government have been involved in is trying to change the reality on the ground through settlement building, so that if it goes on, it will be impossible for there to be a separate state of Palestine and if he carries on like this the patience of this House and Europe will run out”.

Cameron said he agreed with Straw’s point: “If there isn’t a two-state solution you end up moving towards a one-state solution which I think will be disastrous for the Jewish people in Israel.

“So I really do believe in the two-state solution and we’re very much opposed to the settlement building that there has been and been very clear about that and will continue to

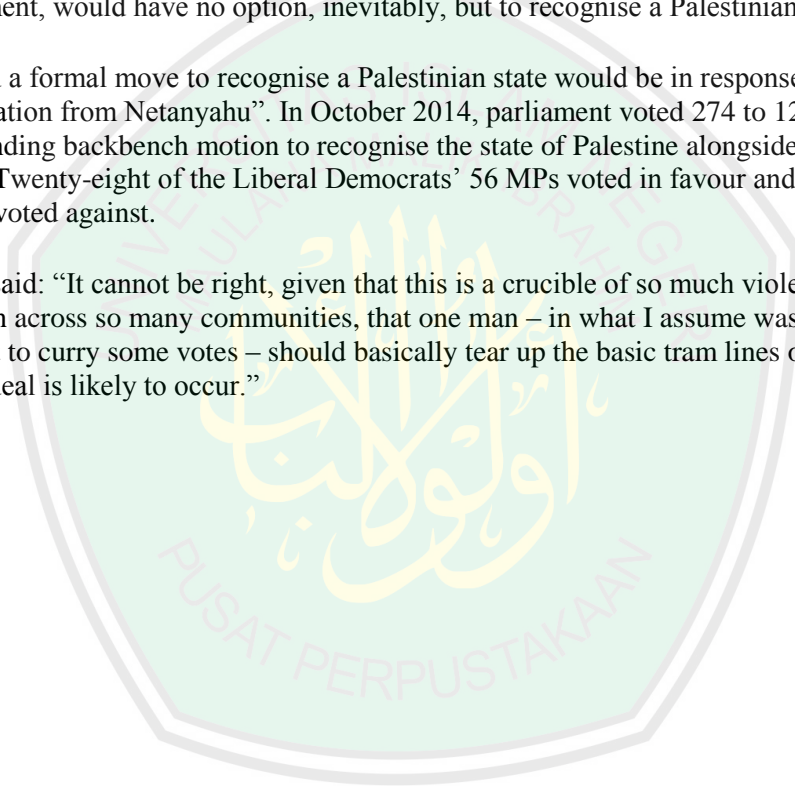
be clear about that. It makes a two-state solution more difficult and that in turn will make Israel less stable rather than more stable.”

Cameron’s comments come after the deputy prime minister criticised his weak reaction to Netanyahu’s remarks ahead of the Israeli election. “I actually share President Obama’s views much more than David Cameron’s,” Clegg said during his weekly radio phone-in show on LBC. “It is extremely worrying – it cannot be more alarming – to have seen Binyamin Netanyahu do something which no leading Israeli politician has ever done – to rule out the prospect of a two-state solution.”

Clegg said he hoped Netanyahu’s comments had been “breathless rhetoric which he is now going to row back from”, but that if the Israeli prime minister continued to rule out a two-state solution and expand illegal settlements “the world, including the British parliament, would have no option, inevitably, but to recognise a Palestinian state”.

He said a formal move to recognise a Palestinian state would be in response to “extreme provocation from Netanyahu”. In October 2014, parliament voted 274 to 12 in favour of a non-binding backbench motion to recognise the state of Palestine alongside the state of Israel. Twenty-eight of the Liberal Democrats’ 56 MPs voted in favour and one (Sir Alan Beith) voted against.

Clegg said: “It cannot be right, given that this is a crucible of so much violence and division across so many communities, that one man – in what I assume was a desperate attempt to curry some votes – should basically tear up the basic tram lines on which a peace deal is likely to occur.”





# BOKO HARAM DECLARES ALLEGIANCE TO ISLAMIC STATE

Daniel Boffey and agencies Sunday 8 March 2015 09.38 GMT

Nigeria's militant Islamist group Boko Haram has sworn allegiance to Islamic State, which rules a self-declared caliphate in parts of Iraq and Syria, according to a video posted online. The pledge came in an Arabic audio message with English subtitles alleged to have come from Boko Haram leader Abubakar Shekau and posted Saturday on Twitter, according to the SITE Intelligence monitoring service.

"We announce our allegiance to the Caliph of the Muslims ... and will hear and obey in times of difficulty and prosperity, in hardship and ease, and to endure being discriminated against, and not to dispute about rule with those in power, except in case of evident infidelity regarding that which there is a proof from Allah," said the message.

The video script identified the caliph as Ibrahim ibn Awad ibn Ibrahim al-Awad al-Qurashi, who is better known as Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, the leader of Islamic State and self-proclaimed caliph of the Muslim world. Baghdadi has already accepted pledges of allegiance from other jihadist groups in the Middle East, Afghanistan, Pakistan and north Africa.

Boko Haram has been waging a six-year military campaign to carve out an Islamic state in northern Nigeria.

Earlier on Saturday, four bomb blasts killed at least 50 people in the northeastern Nigerian city of Maiduguri in the worst attacks there since Boko Haram militants tried to seize the town in two major assaults earlier this year. Female suicide bombers believed to be acting for the group launched a series of attacks in markets, while another detonation was reported at a bus station.

In a fifth incident, a car bomb exploded at a military checkpoint 75km outside the city, wounding a soldier and two members of a civilian defence unit. The attacker in this incident had wanted to reach Maiduguri, a police officer at the scene said. In total, it is believed 58 people have been killed in the incidents and 143 wounded, but both figures were expected to rise.

Maiduguri was once the base of the Islamist group, which has been conducting a campaign of violence pushing for Islamic rule in Nigeria. At least 13,000 people have so far been killed in the campaign. After being pushed from the city last year, the militants retreated to the nearby Sambisa forest, from where they launched attacks on villages and towns in the region, taking over swaths of territory.

Last month experts warned Boko Haram was likely to increase its attacks on civilian targets in response to the successful campaign by government forces to retake several of the group's former strongholds.

The first attack on Saturday occurred at the city's Baga fish market at around 11.20am, according to Abubakar Gamandi, head of the fisherman's union in Borno state. "A female suicide bomber exploded as soon as she stepped out of a motorised rickshaw," said Gamandi, who was at the scene. "Eighteen people were killed." A market trader, Idi Idrisa, said: "I saw many bodies and several badly injured".

About an hour later a second explosion rocked the Post Office shopping area near the market, leaving many casualties. A further series of bombs then rocked what is known locally as the Monday market, the biggest in Maiduguri, killing at least 15.

A trader there told the BBC that two other female bombers seemed to have targeted the market. One had a bomb strapped to her body that detonated as she was being scanned at the entrance gate, he said. Another woman was said to have exploded a bomb she was carrying in a bag a few feet away.

A fourth bombing came shortly after 1pm at the nearby busy Borno Express bus terminal, where witnesses said about 12 people were left either dead or injured. A survivor of the first blast said it occurred when a boy aged about 16 moved into a crowd by the gates holding what looked like a remote control. Security officials were about to stop the teenager when there was a blast. The witness said he was blown over by the impact and when he came to he saw at least six bodies.

A vigilante leader in Borno, Danlami Ajaokuta, whose civilian fighters have been working with the military in the region to fight Boko Haram, said security forces had ordered the closure of all businesses in the city given the apparently coordinated nature of the bombings and the fear there could be more. The state's justice commissioner, Kaka Shehu, confirmed the attacks but declined to discuss casualties.

Last week, President Goodluck Jonathan said the tide has "definitely turned" against militant Islamists as Nigerian troops and their regional allies recapture territory.

Boko Haram has recently launched attacks on villages in Cameroon and Niger, as Nigeria's neighbours are forming a multinational force to confront the spreading Islamist uprising.

Chad's President Idris Déby last week said his forces knew the whereabouts of Boko Haram leader Abubakar Shekau and warned him to surrender or face death. Shekau's fighters are massing at a headquarters in the northeastern town of Gwoza, in apparent preparation for a showdown with multinational forces, according to witnesses who escaped the town. An intelligence officer told Associated Press that they were aware of the movement, but that the military is acting with care as many civilians are still trapped in the town and Boko Haram is laying land mines around it.

Nigeria's presidential and parliamentary elections have now been postponed by six weeks to 28 March to give troops time to push back the militants. Shekau has vowed to disrupt the vote and widespread unrest, especially near polling stations, could prove disastrous. Hundreds of thousands of people displaced by the conflict are living in Maiduguri, swelling the city's population to well over two million.

# PUBLISHING MUHAMMAD CARTOONS WOULD HAVE BEEN TOO RISKY, SAYS AMOL RAJAN

**John Plunkett** Thursday 8 January 2015 14.03 GMT

The editor of the Independent has said “every instinct” told him to publish the Charlie Hebdo cartoons caricaturing the prophet Muhammad but described it as “too much of a risk”.

The newspaper, along with the rest of the UK’s national press, did not reprint any of the satirical magazine’s caricatures of Muhammad or the cartoons from Denmark’s Jyllands-Posten, with which Charlie Hebdo first provoked international outrage in 2006.

Amol Rajan instead put a striking cartoon by Dave Brown on his paper’s front page on Thursday, showing a hand with the middle finger raised emerging from the cover of Charlie Hebdo. But he was “very uncomfortable” with his decision not to reprint Charlie Hebdo’s cartoons, which he described as “self-censorship”.

Rajan said he had a duty to his staff and had to “balance principle with pragmatism”.

“Every instinct that you have as an editor is to publish and be damned. You don’t like the idea of self-censorship, you don’t like the idea that you grant a victory to these religious fanatics by not publishing something that instinctively you would like to,” Rajan told BBC Radio 4’s Today programme on Thursday.

“But the fact is as an editor you have got to balance principle with pragmatism, and I felt yesterday evening a few different conflicting principles: I felt a duty to readers; a duty to the dead; I felt a duty to journalism – and I also felt a duty to my staff.

“I think it would have been too much of a risk to unilaterally decide in Britain to be the only newspaper that went ahead and published so in a sense it is true one has self-censored in a way I feel very uncomfortable with. It’s an incredibly difficult decision to make.”

“What’s happened here is a bunch of religious fanatics have tried to silence cartoonists, have tried to silence satire. I think the important thing is not just whether you should show the prophet Muhammad, but to say that those cartoonists wouldn’t be silenced,” he said.

Rajan added that the decision to put a cartoon on the front page was in part a practical decision not “to be overtaken by events”.

Peter Huth, editor of German newspaper BZ, which did publish a series of Charlie Hebdo cartoons, said: “I must say we are not so totally different in the end because we both published cartoons.”



“We worked with the same tool to express our emotions, we did it in a slightly different way,” he told Today.

“We printed 43 covers that Charlie Hebdo printed over the last three or four years, not only dealing with Islamic issues but also with French politics ... because they are a satirical magazine.

“What we wanted to do was honour their bravery, what they showed over all those years, and the other point we were thinking about was just journalistic, we had to explain to our readers what is Charlie Hebdo.”



# OBAMA TELLS MUSLIMS: DON'T LET ISIS HIJACK YOUR RELIGION AND IDENTITY

Staff and agencies Thursday 19 February 2015 07:07 GMT

Muslims in the US and around the world have a responsibility to fight the idea that terrorist groups like Islamic State speak for them, Barack Obama has declared in his most direct remarks yet about any link between Islam and violent extremism.

“We are not at war with Islam,” Obama said. “We are at war with people who have perverted Islam.”

In the first of two speeches to a counter-extremism summit in Washington, the president reiterated his determination to avoid letting the agenda become characterised as a battle against Islam, saying this would be playing into the hands of Isis and other terrorist groups.

“They propagate the notion that America, and the west generally, is at war with Islam; that’s how they recruit, that’s how they try to radicalise young people,” he said.

“Just as leaders like myself reject the notion that terrorists like Isil genuinely represent Islam, Muslim leaders need to do more to discredit the notion that our nations are determined to suppress Islam.”

For weeks the Obama administration has sidestepped the question of whether deadly terror attacks in Paris and other western cities amount to “Islamic extremism”, wary of offending a major world religion or lending credibility to the “war on terror” waged by George Bush.

But as he hosted the summit at the White House, the president said some in Muslim communities had bought into the notion that Islam was incompatible with tolerance and modern life.

While putting the blame on Isis and similar groups — Obama said the militants masqueraded as religious leaders but were really terrorists — the president also appealed directly to prominent Muslims to do more to distance themselves from brutal ideologies, calling it the duty of all to “speak up very clearly” in opposition to violence against innocent people.

Obama acknowledged it was a touchy subject but insisted it was critical to tackle the issue “head-on”.

“We can’t shy away from these discussions,” he said. “And too often folks are understandably sensitive about addressing some of these root issues, but we have to talk about them honestly and clearly.”

The president differentiated militant groups from the “billion Muslims who reject their ideology”. Isis was killing far more Muslims than non-Muslims, he said, and called for the world community to elevate the voices of those who “saw the truth” after being radicalised temporarily.

Obama acknowledged many Muslims in the US had a suspicion of government and police and felt they were unfairly targeted – confounding efforts to strengthen co-operation between law enforcement and Muslim communities. He praised Muslims who have served the US and other capacities for generations.

“Of course that’s the story extremists and terrorists don’t want the world to know: Muslims succeeding and thriving in America,” Obama said. “Because when that truth is known it exposes their propaganda as the lie that it is.”

Obama has long tried to shift his administration’s terror rhetoric away from what he saw as the hyperbolic terminology used by his predecessor, George Bush, particularly Bush’s declaration in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks that the US was engaged in a “war on terror”.

On Wednesday Obama said: “If we’re going to prevent people from being susceptible to the false promises of extremism, then the international community has to offer something better and the United States intends to do its part.”

Issuing such a direct challenge to Muslims to disown the ideology of extremist groups marked a clear departure from the restrained, cautious language Obama and his aides have used to describe the situation in the past.

In the days after last month’s shootings at a satirical French newspaper that had caricatured the prophet Muhammad, Obama avoided calling the attack an example of “Islamic extremism” and instead opted for the more generic “violent extremism”. Recently the White House also struggled to explain whether the US believed the Afghan Taliban to be a terrorist organisation.

The refusal to directly assess any Islamic role in the terrifying scenes playing out in Europe, the Middle East and Africa has drawn criticism from those who say Obama has prioritised political correctness over a frank acknowledgement of reality. National security hawks, in particular, have argued that Obama’s counterterrorism strategy couldn’t possibly be successful if the president was unable or unwilling to confront the true nature of the threat.

Yet the argument over terminology has increasingly become a distraction, including this week as Obama gathered law enforcement officials, Muslim leaders and lawmakers for a three-day summit on violent extremism.

Obama echoed the concern over the killings in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, though he did not directly address the question of the murderer’s motive, preferring to emphasise the solidarity of other Americans.

“Most recently, with the brutal murders in Chapel Hill of three young Muslim Americans, many Muslim Americans are worried and afraid and I want to be as clear as I can be: as Americans of all faiths and backgrounds, we stand with you in grief and we offer our love and we offer our support,” he said.

Obama is due to speak again on Thursday when delegates from about 65 countries gather for the summit’s closing session at the state department.





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UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM MALANG  
FAKULTAS HUMANIORA  
JURUSAN BAHASA DAN SASTRA INGGRIS

**BUKTI KONSULTASI SKRIPSI**

Nama : Khat Qanitat

NIM : 11320079

Judul Skripsi : Social Actor Representation on Islamic Issues in The New York Times and The Guardian Newspapers.

Dosen Pembimbing : Dr. Meinarni Susilowati

No.	Tanggal	Topik Bimbingan	Catatan	Tanda Tangan
1.	22 Desember 2014	Judul dan <i>Research Question</i>	Topik harus lebih jelas, pilih antara <i>syntax</i> , <i>semantics</i> atau <i>social actor</i> .	
2.	12 Maret 2015	Proposal Skripsi ( <i>Chapter I</i> )	1. Judul diringkas, 2. Lengkapi <i>background of the study</i> , <i>research design</i> , <i>data source</i> , <i>data collection</i> dan <i>data analysis</i> .	
3.	19 Maret 2015	Proposal Skripsi ( <i>Chapter I</i> )	1. Lengkapi <i>background of the study</i> dengan konsep dan <i>importance of the topic</i> , <i>subject</i> dan <i>issue</i> , 2. Ubah paradigm tentang <i>significance of the research</i> , dan 3. Perbaiki <i>research method</i> .	
4.	20 Maret 2015	Proposal Skripsi ( <i>Chapter I</i> )	1. Terdapat kekurangan pada <i>Background of the study</i> , <i>objective</i> dan <i>significance of the research</i> , 2. <i>Pay attention to spelling and grammar</i> , dan 3. <i>Be consistent in using a certain term</i> .	



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5.	23 Maret 2015	Proposal Skripsi	<i>ACC for proposal seminar</i>	
6.	28 April 2015	<i>Chapter II</i>	1. Usahakan untuk membuat sendiri contoh-contoh yang ada pada <i>theoretical framework</i> , 2. Tambahkan kelebihan dan kekurangan ( <i>critical comments</i> ) pada <i>previous studies</i> .	
7.	19 Mei 2015	<i>Chapter III</i>	Lengkapi analisis hingga selesai.	
8.	27 Mei 2015	<i>Chapter III</i>	Lengkapi analisis hingga selesai.	
9.	15 Juni 2015	<i>Chapter III</i>	Dalam melakukan analisis pada setiap datum belum masuk ke lingkup CDA.	
10.	22 Juni 2015	<i>Chapter I, II, III, IV</i>	<i>Discussion</i> merupakan penjelasan dari <i>findings</i> , sehingga tidak perlu mengulang penjelasan tentang teori yang telah dijelaskan pada bab sebelumnya.	
11.	23 Juni 2015	Skripsi	1. Revisi penulisan halaman-halaman awal ( <i>statement of the authorship</i> , etc), dan 2. Abstrak terdiri dari <i>introduction</i> , <i>method</i> , <i>findings</i> dan <i>conclusion</i> .	
12.	26 juni 2015	Skripsi	<i>ACC for thesis seminar</i>	
13.	8 Juli 2015	Revisi Skripsi ( <i>Chapter I, II</i> )	1. Perhatikan penggunaan tanda baca dan <i>tenses</i> , 2. Jangan lupa mencantumkan sumber pada setiap kutipan, 3. Jika itu kutipan langsung, penulis harus	



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			mencantumkan halaman, jika bukan kutipan langsung cukup mencantumkan tahun saja, dan 4. Elaborasi dan tambahkan <i>previous studies</i> .	
14.	29 Juli 2015	Revisi Skripsi ( <i>Chapter I, II, III, IV</i> )	1. Elaborasi penjelasan pada tiap data, 2. Jangan mengulangi kalimat yang sama terus menerus, dan 3. Pastikan bahwa font yang digunakan adalah TNR 12.	
15.	28 Agustus 2015	Skripsi	ACC	

a.n. Dekan,

Ketua Jurusan Bahasa dan Sastra Inggris

Dr. Syamsudin M.Hum

NIP 19691122 200604 1 001

## CURRICULUM VITAE

### PROFIL

Name : Khat Qanitat  
Place/ Date of Birth : Bima, February 10<sup>th</sup>, 1994  
Address : Jln. BTN Pepabri,  
Gg. Al-Husainy II, RT. 012 RW. 005,  
Monggonao, Mpunda, Kota Bima-NTB

Foto 3x4

### FORMAL EDUCATION

1997-1999 **Kindergarten**  
TK Perwanida II Kota Bima, TK Perwanida III Bolo-Kab.Bima

1999-2005 **Elementary School**  
MIN Sila Bolo-Kab. Bima, SDN 45 Kota Bima

2005-2008 **Junior High School**  
MTsN 1 Kota Bima

2008-2011 **Senior High School**  
MAN 1 Kota Bima

2011-2015 **Higher Education**  
State Islamic University of Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang  
Department of English Language and Literature

### ORGANIZATION EXPERIENCES

2012 Staff of English Info Division in English Letters Students Association

2013 Coordinator of English Info Division in English Letters Students Association



- 2014      Staff of Health Division in KSR-PMI of State Islamic University of Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang
- Staff of Information and Research Division in DEMA-F Humaniora of State Islamic University of Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang
- 2015      Staff of Public Relation Division in KSR-PMI of State Islamic University of Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang

#### **ACTIVITY AND WORKING EXPERIENCES**

- 2013      Guide for international participant at Temu Karya Nasional (TKN) V
- 2013      Committee of BARAPAMERA for East Java Level.
- 2013      Attended ELITE Conference
- 2013      Private tutor for Elementary School children at Ilhami Education Center
- 2015      Internship program as a reporter at Beritajatim.com, Surabaya

