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A Critical Discourse Analysis of the National Islam and Foreign Islam in the Australian Press

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Abstract

Recent studies conducted in the UK, US, and Europe have highlighted the major differences regarding coverage of internal (i.e., National) Islam and external (i.e., Foreign) Islam, with foreign Islam covered and viewed as the greater threat. This paper explores the prominent themes of National Islam and Foreign Islam in the editorials of Australian newspapers in the period from January 1, 2016 to March 31, 2017. Employing Teun A. van Dijk's (b. 1943) ideological square and lexicalisation approaches within the critical discourse analysis paradigm, this study examined editorials from two leading newspapers: "The Australian" and "The Age." The findings show that both newspapers focused and highlighted conflict, violence, and collectivism regarding Islam and Muslims while covering Foreign Islam, with "The Australian" highlighting the underrepresentation of women as well. On the other hand, when discussing National Islam, "The Age" focused on victimisation and prejudice towards Muslims in Australia and emphasised the need for understanding, harmony, and cohesion. On the contrary, "The Australian" associated National Islam with the same themes associated with Foreign Islam i.e., violence, collectivism, conflict, and women underrepresentation.

Keywords

National Islam, Foreign Islam, critical discourse analysis, ideological square, lexicalisation, representation.

Introduction

While Islam occupies a predominant space in international reporting in Western media outlets (Foreign/External Islam), it is also the religion of a

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wide-spread and important minority living in those very societies (National/Internal Islam).[1] The relationship between the Muslim minority and "mainstream" society is defined and problematised as the "essential European cultural problem" by Modood, Traindafyllidou, and Zapata-Barrero. Earlier studies have shown that there is a major difference in international reporting regarding national or internal Islam (within the boundaries of a given country) and foreign or external Islam (outside the given country).[2] Foreign Islam is presented as a "greater threat" as compared to National Islam,[3] and the social and cultural contributions by Islam and Muslims to European society is absent from the news.[4] While National Islam is less embedded with violence, Foreign Islam contains more themes of violence, conflict, underrepresentation of female actors, and collectivisation.[5] Anouk van Drunen labels coverage of Islam in Netherlands as creating a "domestic other" and representing a "foreign threat."[6]

The "female underrepresentation" as individual Muslim actors includes a negative and stereotypical portrayal of Islam and Muslims. The representation of Muslim women as being discriminated against, oppressed, and subjugated by Muslim men or due to "Muslim/Islamic values/social systems" contains a disparaged image of Islam and Muslims.[7] The "collectivisation" approach generalises all Muslims instead of making distinctions and recognising them individually. Under this approach "terrorism," "militancy," and "extremism" are associated with the Islamic, rather than the individual identity of the Muslim who practices Islam.[8]

Recent studies conducted in the UK, US, and a number of European countries have revealed an "essential European cultural problem"; that is the relationship between the non-Muslim majority population and the

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[1] Stefan Mertens, "European Media Coverage of Islam in a Globalizing World," in *Representations of Islam in the News: A Cross Cultural Analysis*, ed. Stefan Mertens and Hedwig de Smaele (Lanham, MD: Lexington-Books, 2016) 59–73.

[2] Ibid., 61.

[3] Dina Ibrahim, "The Framing of Islam on Network News Following the September 11th Attacks," *International Communication Gazette* 72, no. 1 (2010): 111–25; Leen D'Haenens and Susan Bink, "Islam in the Dutch Press: With Special Attention to the Algemeen Dagblad," *Media, Culture & Society* 29, no. 1 (2007): 135–49.

[4] D'Haenens and Bink, "Islam in the Dutch Press," 135–49.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Anouk van Drunen, *Media Coverage of Muslims: The Foreign Threat versus the Domestic Other* (Rotterdam: Etmaal van de Communicatiewetenschap, 2013), 7–8.

[7] John Richardson, *(Mis)Representing Islam: The Racism and Rhetoric of British Broadsheet Newspapers* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2004), 60.

[8] Paul Baker, Costas Gabrielatos, and Tony McEnery, *Discourse Analysis and Media Attitudes: The Representation of Islam in the British Press* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

numerically important Muslim minority. Many studies have provided evidence of the major differences regarding coverage of internal (i.e., National) Islam and external (i.e., Foreign) Islam with Foreign Islam being covered and viewed as the "greater threat."[9] This study explores and investigates the extent to which Foreign Islam is represented as a greater threat by the Australian press as compared to National Islam.[10]

The study is aimed at exploring the predominant themes regarding National and Foreign Islam in the editorial coverage of Muslims by the selected newspapers in the period from January 1, 2016 to March 31, 2017. The researcher intends to map out if there are any thematic differences regarding "National Islam" and 'Foreign Islam' in the representation of Muslims within and outside Australia.

This study is part of the researcher's PhD project which is devoted to exploring discourses regarding Islam and Muslims in the Australian press. The project focuses on editorials because they are considered as a reflection of the newspaper's overall policy. Moreover, the editorials are taken as subjective writings that try to educate, make, and/or change minds of their readers. Therefore, the selection of editorials makes the analysis about portrayals, themes, and images easier for the researchers.

Conceptualisation and Operationalisation

Coverage of issues related to Islam and Muslims within the national boundaries of a particular country are overwhelmingly different from those outside national boundaries. Coverage related to Foreign Islam and Muslims contains more themes such as violence, conflict, female underrepresentation, and collectivisation as compared to National Islam.

Editorial content discussing, highlighting, and portraying issues related to Islam and Muslims within Australia are considered as contributing to discourse on National Islam. Editorial content considered as Foreign Islam refers to discourse, which encompasses issues related to Islam and Muslims outside the boundaries of Australia. Using the lenses of "lexicalisation" and "ideological square," the editorial content will be analysed to identify themes related to Foreign and National Islam. The following section contains a detailed and careful review of the available literature on the subject under study.

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[9] Tariq Modood, Anna Triandafyllidou, and Ricard Zapata-Barrero, *Multiculturalism, Muslims and Citizenship: A European Approach* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2006); D'Haenens and Bink, "Islam in the Dutch Press," 135–49.

[10] Mertens, "European Media Coverage of Islam," 28.

Literature Review

The study at hand is set to examine Australian media regarding the representation of Muslims because of the fact that Australia is a migrant-friendly country[11] and Muslim communities have been offered all available facilities and benefits for years without significant reports discrimination. The Muslim community in Australia is diverse and, according to a media release on 27 June 2017 from the Australian Bureau of Statistics, Islam has become the second largest religion in Australia with 2.6% of the population, following Christianity (52%) and overtaking Buddhism (2.4%).[12] Recent statistics have also shown that the Muslim population in Australia has increased to over 604,000 (2.6%) in 2017 from 300,000 in 2006 (2%) with a 77% increase in the Muslim population in the last decade.[13] Muslims in Australia trace their heritage to more than 120 countries around the world, mainly from Lebanon and Turkey. A sizable Muslim population is from Asian countries including Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan, Arab countries, and also from America and Europe. Converts, however, constitute only a very small population in Australia. Muslims migrate to Australia for variety of reasons including; family reunification, seeking refuge from war and conflict in their home countries, employment and personal advancement etc.[14]

The Muslim community in Australia has long enjoyed religious freedom through being able to freely practice their religion and having their own schools and community associations. But since 9/11, 7/7, Bali attacks, Madrid bombings, and Brussels shootings, many studies have shown that Muslim communities have been negatively perceived in the media and that they have become vulnerable to racial attacks, discrimination, harassment, and prejudice.[15] Hence, this study attempts to map recent trends in the

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[11] Ahlam Alharbi, *Corpus Linguistic Analysis of the Representation of "IAM" in the Australian Press before and after 9/11* (Monash: Monash University, 2017), 107.

[12] "2016 Census Data Reveals "No Religion" Is Rising Fast," June 27, 2017, http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/mediareleasesbyReleaseDate/7E65A144540551D7CA258148000E2B85?OpenDocument.

[13] Brianne Tolj, "Number of Muslims in Australia Soars Census 2016," *Daily Mail*, June 26, 2017, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4641728/Number-Muslims-Australia-soars-Census-2016.html.

[14] "Final Report: Australia Deliberates Muslims and Non-Muslims in Australia," October 21, 2011, http://www.ida.org.au/final-report/.

[15] Alharbi, *Corpus Linguistic Analysis*, 107; Michael Safi and Nick Evershed, "Three-Quarters of Muslim Australians Feel that They are Unfairly Targeted by Terror Laws, Study Reveals" *Guardian*, March 16, 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/world/ 2015/mar/16/three-quarters-of-muslim-australians-feel-they-are-unfairly-targeted-by-terror-laws-study-reveals?CMP=share_btn_fb; Amy Quayle and Christopher Sonn, "The Construction of Muslims as Other in Mainstream Australia's Print Media: An Analysis of Discourse," *Australian Community*

representation of Islam and Muslims, within Australian boundaries (National Islam) and outside them (Foreign Islam) in two Australian newspapers: *The Age* and *The Australian* in the period from January 1, 2016 to March 31, 2017.

The clash between Islam and the West is described as an historical phenomenon, as for centuries the West has looked down upon Islam and Muslims.[16] Due to the involvement of Muslims associated with violent and terrorist acts around the world, Muslims have been "historicised" and described as terrorists instead of being understood as individuals. International media have generally linked any violent and terrorist acts to Islam and Muslims on the basis of their preconceived stereotypes or developed new stereotypes.[17]

Though some scholars disagree with the notion of comparing Islam with a geographical entity like the West, relations between Islam and the Western world have been unstable for many decades before 9/11 attacks in America. Since the Iranian Revolution in 1979 and the Gulf War in 1991, Islam and Muslims have attained a considerable degree of attention in Western media, with the media stereotyping Islam and Muslims as hostile and negative.[18] However, the image of Islam and Muslims in this portrayal has worsened following the 9/11 attacks. Since then, many studies have shown that the media's depiction of Islam and Muslims has been prejudiced and pejorative.[19] Since the media tends to focus on the unusual and sensational, the majority of the media coverage about Islam and Muslims contains negative incidents including terrorist and violent acts. Consequently, the people relying only upon news media for their information perceive Islam and Muslims through these negative reports as constructed by the media. In Western countries like Australia, where wider society does not have direct contact with Muslims due

Psychologist 21, no. 1 (2009): 8–23; Halim Rane, *Knowing One Another: An Antidote for Mass Media Islam* (Brisbane: Griffith University, 2008), 1–13; Rane, "Australian Press Coverage of Islam," (MA thesis, Bond University, 2000), 18–22; Samina Yasmeen, "Muslim Women as Citizens in Australia: Diverse Notions and Practices," *Australian Journal of Social Issues* 42, no. 1 (2007): 41–54; Ian Munro, "Portrayal of Muslims 'Tainted by Racism,'" *Age*, March 18, 2016, http://www.theage.com.au/news/national/portrayal-of-muslims-tainted-by-racism/2006/03/17/1142582526996.html#; Shahram Akbarzadeh and Bianca Smith, *The Representation of Islam and Muslims in the Media: The Age and Herald Newspapers* (Melbourne: School of Political and Social Inquiry, Monash University, 2005).

[16] Abu Sadat Nurullah, "Portrayal of Muslims in the Media: '24' and the 'Othering' Process," *International Journal of Human Sciences* 7, no. 1 (2010): 1020–46.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Rane, *Knowing One Another*, 1–13; Edward Said, *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World* (London: Vintage, 1997), xi–xxvii.

[19] Rane, *Knowing One Another*, 1–13.

to their small population, people are forced to have a mediated-image of Islam and Muslims, meaning that the media has made Islam "known" to them.[20]

Elisabeth Poole, for example, claims that the volume of coverage of Islam and Muslims in the UK press after 9/11 was manifold. The coverage of *The Guardian* and *The Times* in the period from September 12 to October 25, 2001, for example, was equivalent to their annual coverage during the previous year.[21] Studies have revealed that there is a clear difference between the type and volume of coverage related to the National and Foreign Islam. Poole (2016) identifies a prominent increase in the UK press coverage of Islam and Muslims at home as compared to that of Islam and Muslims abroad. She argues that although the coverage of British Muslims has increased, the focus remains on Foreign Islam.[22] Many other studies in the USA, Netherlands, Germany, and France have revealed the same trend: that the local press contains a clear difference in the type of coverage extended towards the "foreign threat" and the "domestic other." Foreign Islam and Muslims are viewed as a greater threat and comparatively more associated with violence as compared to National Islam and Muslims.[23]

Poole argues that the major shift in the post 9/11 coverage of British Muslims was their association with terrorism. Pre-9/11 coverage did not conflate British Muslims with terrorism directly; rather, it was the image of global Islam and Muslims. Britain's Muslims, who were asylum seekers, dissidents, and exiles, were now being categorised as terrorists. The change in coverage regarding British Muslims appeared immediately after the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the attention shifted to "terrorism," "counter terrorism measures" and "discrimination towards Muslims."[24] The interpretation and representation of the internal "other" as a source of threat and terror strengthened after the 7/7 London bombings. She further argues that the conservative press in the UK paid more attention to Islam as compared to the liberal and tabloid newspapers that focused more on domestic issues as compared to the broadsheets who covered international issues related to Islam.

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[20] Said, *Covering Islam*, xi–xxvii.

[21] Elisabeth Poole, "Reporting Islam: Media Representations of British Muslims," in *Representations of Islam in the News: A Cross Cultural Analysis*, ed. Stefan Mertens and Hedwig de Smaele (Lanham, MD: Lexington-Books, 2016), 21–36.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Evelyn Alsultany, "Arabs and Muslims in the Media: Race and Representation after 9/11," in *Representations of Islam in the News: A Cross Cultural Analysis*, ed. Stefan Mertens and Hedwig de Smaele (Lanham, MD: Lexington-Books, 2016), 64; D'Haenens and Bink, "Islam in the Dutch Press," 135–49; Van Drunen, *Media Coverage of Muslims*, 7–8; Ibrahim, "Framing of Islam on Network News," 111–25.

[24] Poole, "Reporting Islam," 28.

Tabloids, despite having covered much less, associated Islam with negative terms as compared to the broadsheet newspapers. Overall, the right wing press associated Islam and Muslims with terrorism, conflict, violence and cultural difference more that the left-wing press.[25]

Alazzany found that in *The New York Times (NYT)* themes such as evil, violence, and threat were dominant which cemented the depiction of Islam and Muslims as a challenge to global security in the world. He maintained that *The NYT* contained ideologically significant strategies of selection and generalisation to represent Islam and Muslims in a biased way. Representing Islam and Muslims, the newspaper emphasised on negative and chaotic incidents and ignored positive aspects in the Muslim world. The newspaper deliberately constructed dichotomies of internal versus external Muslims and moderate versus extremist Muslims by portraying American Muslims as a peace-loving and moderate people while external Muslims are violent and terrorists.[26]

In "Muslims in Public and Media Discourse in Western Europe" published in *Representations of Islam in the News*, Roza Tsagarousianou has explained the discourses and problematics related to seeing Muslims as an essential European cultural minority. She argues that over the last two decades Islam has been associated with religious and cultural fundamentalism, extremism and terrorism. This has resulted in positioning European Muslims as antagonists to European culture and values, which are holding back their integration in European societies. The situation has given rise to discourses defining Muslim immigration as a problem and distinguishing them as "manageable" and "unmanageable" population groups. This "unmanageable" community, due to its adherence to Islam and Muslim identity, is seen as a threat to the European secular character and to the social cohesion in France, the UK and in Europe overall. Muslim identity in Europe has been perceived as a deficiency that has to be rectified through becoming accustomed to the European way of life or to be restricted through a variety of forms of exclusion. Through this construction as societal insecurity, Islam and Muslims in Europe have been facing the brunt of condemnation and public security.[27]

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[25] Ibid.

[26] Murad Ali Obaid Abdullah Alazzany, "A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Representation of Islam and Muslims Following the 9/11 Events as Reported in The New York Times" (PhD diss., Universiti Putra Malaysia (UPM), Malaysia, 2008), 256–63.

[27] Roza Tsagarousianou, "Muslims in Public and Media Discourse in Western Europe: The Reproduction of Aporia and Exclusion," in *Representations of Islam in the News: A Cross Cultural Analysis*, ed. Stefan Mertens and Hedwig de Smaele (Lanham, MD: Lexington-Books, 2016), 3–20.

Research Methodology

Data Collection and Sampling

The study focused on the editorial coverage of Islam and Muslims in two Australian newspapers: *The Age* and *The Australian*. *The Age* is a daily national newspaper in compact format published from Melbourne, Australia. The newspaper is owned by Fairfax Media and has been in circulation since 1854. *The Age* is ranked sixth in the list of largest published newspapers in the country with a maximum circulation of 115,256 copies on weekends and an average 83,229 on weekdays.[28] Furthermore, *The Age* is one of the leading metropolitan daily newspapers based in Melbourne, which provides local, world and business news along with comprehensive reporting and insightful analysis on day-to-day issues from within Australia and around the world.[29]

In contrast, *The Australian* is a daily national newspaper in broadsheet format published from Sydney, Australia and available throughout Australia. The newspaper is owned by News Corporation, also known as News Corp or News Limited, and has been in publication since 1964. *The Australian*, ranked the most-selling national newspaper in the country, has a maximum circulation of 219,242 copies on weekends and an average 94,448 on weekdays.[30] According to the numbers available on LexisNexis, *The Australian* has a weekend readership of 952,000 and on weekdays, almost 441,000 people read this newspaper daily. *The Australian* is one of the leading national dailies in the country with journalists, photographers, and one permanent bureau in every state and territory capital. Overseas, *The Australian* has correspondents in ten major cities around the world including Washington, London, Tokyo, Beijing, Jakarta, Bangkok, Wellington, Honiara, New York and Los Angeles.[31]

This study considers *The Age* and *The Australian* as a representative sample of the Australian media for the desired objective. These newspapers were selected because both are very candid, outspoken and clear in their ideological lines whereby the former represents the left-wing political ideology and the latter advocates the right-wing explicitly.

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[28] Audit Bureau of Circulations, *ABC Circulation Results-Feb 2017*, February 25, 2017, https://mumbrella.com.au/abcs-weekend-nationals-grow-circulation-metro-weekly-newspapers-continue-decline-427101f.

[29] "Source Information: The Age," *Nexis, 2017*, December 4, 2017, https://www.nexis.com/results/shared/sourceInfo.do?sourceId=F_GB00NBGenSrch.T25501762415.

[30] Audit Bureau of Circulations, *ABC Circulation Results-Feb 2017*, February 25, 2017, https://mumbrella.com.au/abcs-weekend-nationals-grow-circulation-metro-weekly-newspapers-continue-decline-427101f.

[31] "Source Information: The Australian," *Nexis, 2017*, December 4, 2017, https://www.nexis.com/results/shared/sourceInfo.do?sourceId=F_GB00NBGenSrch.T26708005099.

Originally, the study analysed a sample size of 11 editorials from each newspaper published regarding Islam and Muslims during the period under study. All 22 editorials were selected using "census sampling" and "data cleansing." This paper uses 2 editorials selected using "Purposive Sampling." The themes published by the newspapers regarding National and Foreign Islam are analysed comparatively.

Data Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is the theoretical and methodological approach to study the social inequality and power dominance in language, discourse and communication. The origin of CDA is based on the paradigm of Critical Linguistics (CL) and Critical Semiotics (CS). The approach is considered to be an explicitly advocatory study of the marginalised sectors of society.[32] The fundamentals of CDA also involve a detailed scrutiny of the different discursive practices that convey dominant ideologies of the elite to the public and the discourses of resistance of the ordinary to that dominance. Therefore, in this sense CDA looks at the two-way flow of communication: the top to bottom and bottom to top, which completes the hegemonic process effectively.[33]

Teun A. van Dijk's (b. 1943) "ideological square" and "lexicalisation" approaches within the CDA paradigm have been employed as data analysis tools.

There are various approaches and offshoots of CDA as developed by the major proponents based on different theoretical aspects such as Ron Scollon who described CDA from microsociological perspectives, while Siegfried Jager, Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak developed their stances from the theories on society and power closely premised in the Foucauldian school of thought.[34] The present study however is based on the paradigm of social cognitive perspective as developed and advocated by van Dijk.[35] This approach assumes that power is exercised by manipulating and influencing the mind. In other words, dominance and discourses have a direct social cognitive

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[32] Teun A. van Dijk, "Aims of Critical Discourse Analysis," *Japanese Discourse* 1 (1995): 19–27.
[33] Van Dijk, "Principals of Critical Discourse Analysis," *Discourse and Society* 4, no. 2 (1993): 249–83.
[34] Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer, *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (New York: Sage Publications, 2001), 95–120.
[35] Van Dijk, "Principals of Critical Discourse Analysis," 249–83; Van Dijk, "Discourse Analysis as Ideological Analysis," in *Language and Peace*, ed. Christina Schoaffner and Anita Wenden (London: Routledge, 1995), 17–33; Van Dijk, *Ideology and Discourse: A Multidisciplinary Introduction* (Barcelona: Pompeu Fabra University, 2000), 1025–34.

connection which deems it imperative to critically analyse the (re)production of texts and also the way they are perceived and interpreted.[36]

Ideological Square

The notion of ideology is fundamentally centered in the debates of critical discourse analysis. Ideology can be understood as some kind of ideas or belief systems that members of a society share collectively to create social representation of groups.[37] As these ideologies are a function of socio-cognitive structures, they can be acquired and abandoned gradually by members of a society through everyday discursive process.[38] An important aspect that ideology represents is the social identity or self image of a group or individual which implies the political phenomenon of in-group and out-group polarisation.[39] This simply means that ideologies sometimes have polarised nature when they belong to opposing groups—as the discourses of racial prejudice related to immigrants.[40] This usually creates the "Us" versus "Them" dichotomy where an individual or group members of the in-group portray the group in good terms by mentioning the positive elements or in other words they deploy positive self presentation. While they use negative "other" presentation when discussing the members of the out-group. With the same concurrence they de-emphasise or mitigate the negative aspects of their own group and highlight or intensify the negative aspects of their opponents.[41] Van Dijk calls this the "Ideological Square" model. It basically entails four moves, which are as follows:

- Emphasising our good things
- Emphasising their bad things
- De-emphasising our bad things
- De-emphasising their good things.[42]

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[36] Van Dijk, "Principals of Critical Discourse Analysis," 249–83.
[37] Van Dijk, "New(s) Racism: A Discourse Analytical Approach," in *Ethnic Minorities and the Media: Changing Cultural Boundaries*, ed. Simon Cottle (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2000), 37.
[38] Van Dijk, "Ideology and Discourse Analysis," *Journal of Political Ideologies* 11, no. 2 (2006): 115–40.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Van Dijk, *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach* (New York: Sage Publications, 1998), 200–63.
[41] Van Dijk, "Ideology and Discourse Analysis," 115–40.
[42] Ibid.; Van Dijk, "Opinions and Ideologies in the Press," in *Approaches to Media Discourse*, ed. Allan Bell and Peter Garrett (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998): 21–63.

The ideological square, as proposed by van Dijk,[43] is a theoretical and methodological approach that incorporates positive in-group and negative out-group strategies. Both these strategies of taking binary positions are manifested through lexical choices and various other linguistic facets in a discourse.[44] Van Dijk argues that many group ideologies seem to be polarised in representing Self and Other i.e., Us and Them in terms of "We are good and They are bad."[45] The ideological square operates to present a polarised image of in-group and out-group by portraying "us" in a favorable way and "them" in an unfavorable way.[46]

The ideological square is a theoretical model that emphasises examining media texts to determine ideological strategies that ascertain eminent descriptions of different social groups.[47] According to van Dijk, there are hundreds of analytical strategies within the ideological square. Lexicalisation and Polarisation (us-them categorisation) are two of them. Lexicalisation belongs to the style and Polarisation belongs to the meaning domain of discourse analysis.

Lexicalisation

The ideological polarisation is manifested in a discourse through various forms such as in terms of lexical choices wherein positive and negative evaluations are employed.[48] The strategy of employing binary opposition in a discourse is manifested through lexical items to portray in-group (us) positively and out-group (them/other) negatively. The strategy is one of many categories of ideological square analysis and is called as lexicalisation. Van Dijk argues that in the ideological and linguistic studies the best known method is the analysis of lexical items. He maintains that the words, generally or contextually, are used in terms of "value judgments," "opinion," and "factually/evaluatively."

Therefore, considering the relevance and appropriate nature of the ideological square and lexicalisation, this study has employed these two approaches within the premises of CDA paradigm to analyse the editorial contents of *The Age* and *The Australian* to determine predominant themes

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[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Amir Shojaei, Kazem Youssefi, and Hossein Shams Hosseini, "A CDA Approach to the Biased Interpretation and Representation of Ideologically Conflicting Ideas in Western Printed Media," *Journal of Language Teaching and Research* 4, no. 4 (2013): 858–68.

[46] Sai-Hua Kuo and Mari Nakamura, "Translation or Transformation? A Case Study of Language and Ideology in the Taiwanese Press," *Discourse & Society* 16, no. 3 (2005): 401–02.

[47] Greg Philo, "Can Discourse Analysis Successfully Explain the Content of Media and Journalistic Practice?" *Journalism Studies* 8, no. 2 (2007): 175–96.

[48] Shojaei, Youssefi, and Hosseini, "A CDA Approach," 858–68.

regarding National and Foreign Islam in the period from January 1, 2016 to March 31, 2017.

Interpretation and Analysis

The following section contains the interpretation and analysis of the editorial contents of *The Age*. The interpretation and analysis has been done using the ideological square and lexicalisation within the paradigm of CDA. The editorials have been arranged chronologically beginning with the most recent.

Date	**September 22, 2016**
Headline	**Syrian conflict a damned dilemma**

In a lexical style, the newspaper represents the Syrian conflict as a negative situation in which it is difficult to choose between two alternatives. The use of the descriptive word "damned" reflects the editor's anger and frustration regarding the conflict. Therefore, "Syrian conflict a damned dilemma" is a crux of the opinion of the newspaper represented in a lexical style to portray a frustrated situation wherein it is difficult to choose what is right and wrong among different alternatives.

The "damned dilemma" has been elaborated in the lead paragraph through the use of lexical choices such as: botched air strike, right and understandable concern, Australian community, clear failing, apparently mistaken, Islamic State fighters. The newspaper has clearly and explicitly criticised the air strike as "botched" in Syria. An important and visible difference in this paragraph from a dominant discourse regarding Islam and Muslims in The Australian and Western media is the use of "Islamic state fighters" instead of "terrorists" or "militants." Although the "Islamic State" in itself is a stereotypical (on intentional basis) and wrong or misrepresentation (on unintentional basis) of Muslims and Islam but this is a trap narrative that the newspaper falls into and a researcher has to consider it normal and true depiction of what it must have been "terrorists," "militants," and/or "killers." The origin, history, logic, and epistemology of the word "Islamic" in combination with "state" is yet to be discovered and is a debatable topic. However, in the context, the use of "Islamic state fighters" instead of "Islamic militants" or "Islamist terrorists" is a kind of counter-discourse.

Utilising a polarisation strategy, *The Age* has drawn a line between those who carried out the "botched air strike" (us) and those who are victims (them). The newspaper has taken explicit position against "us" by highlighting concerns in the "Australian community." Ideologically, the newspaper has emphasised "our" bad in comments such as: *what has been admitted to have*

been a botched air strike in Syria...a right and understandable concern is evident in the Australian community about what led to this clear failing.

Through the lexical choices and polarisation strategy, the newspaper has produced a counter discourse regarding Islam and Muslims in this paragraph. Since the discussion is about Islam and Muslims outside the boundaries of Australia, so the discourse is Foreign Islam and a prominent theme in this discourse is conflict.

The frustration and anger of the newspaper regarding the "vicious conflict," especially in the context of the "botched strike," is evident in the last paragraph as well. The lexical choices opted by the newspaper to comment on the situation express the extent of frustration and anger of the newspaper editor for the actors involved in the conflict. The lexical choices also show the concerns of the editor regarding the people who are suffering. Ideologically, the newspaper places the international community including Australia and Mr. Malcolm Turnbull, the Australian Prime Minister, (us) in place of responsibility for the "parsimonious attitude" towards those who need "our" support.

Overall, this editorial opines on a Foreign Islam situation with conflict, crisis and war as prominent themes.

Date	**July 6, 2016**
Headline	**One Nation should be heard—and rebutted**

Using lexical items such as "should, heard and rebutted," the newspaper expresses its political ideology by criticising One Nation, a political party that opposes immigration and immigrants. The political position of *The Age* is also evident from the fact that in another editorial it used "must" for Muslim voices to be heard while here "should" has been used for One Nation. The use of "rebutted" further strengthens the perception of the reader about the newspaper's policy in favor of immigration and immigrants. The message in the headline has been expanded in the text below in the form of arguments against One Nation's anti-immigration stance.

Ideologically, through the use of the polarisation strategy, *The Age* emphasises "our" bad by portraying a negative image of Ms. Hanson (an Australian i.e., *us*). Therefore, a counter discourse regarding Islam and Muslims is evident in the form of emphasis on "our" bad and by portraying Muslims being targeted by "our" politician. The lexical items such as "the extreme positions of Donald Trump, banning Muslims, our citizens, support for multiculturalism, pockets of resentment," show a counter-discourse

regarding Muslims where "they" are considered as "our citizens" and policies against 'them' are portrayed as "extreme policies."

The counter discourse regarding Muslims is available in the form of comments such as "the extreme positions of Donald Trump—which include banning Muslims." The newspaper includes Muslims into "us" as "almost 30 per cent of our citizens were born outside Australia." While the resentments against Muslims (National Islam) has been marginalised as "but also revealed pockets of resentment, particularly to Muslims." The National Islam discourse also appears in the editorial where situation of Muslims and Australians feedback about "them" is discussed.

The last two paragraphs contain prominent discourses in favor of Muslims where they are portrayed as victims and "their" good has been emphasised. The lexical choices such as "unprecedented, refugees, shameful dog-whistling, demonisation, asylum, innocent individuals, contribution, positive," portray Muslims in a positive way. Ideologically, "our" bad has been emphasised as "a decade of shameful dog-whistling and demonisation by both sides of Australian mainstream politics of people seeking asylum." While "their" good is emphasised as "their net contribution to the economy and to our society is positive."

Overall, this editorial contains only a hint of National Islam. The prominent themes regarding National Islam are "their" difficulties and basic human rights. Ms. Pauline Hanson and her One Nation party have been criticised for their anti-immigrant and banning burqa (burkini) stance. Secondly, Muslims have been portrayed as "positive" by emphasising "their" good.

The following section contains the interpretation and analysis of the editorial contents of *The Australian*, arranged chronologically beginning with the most recent.

Date	**July 16, 2016**
Headline	**Jihadist's deadly hit on liberty, equality, fraternity**

In a lexical style, *The Australian* labels terrorists as "jihadists" (them) who commit a deadly hit on "liberty, equality, and fraternity" (us). First, the "us" versus "them" division is prominent from the outset of the editorial. Second, the terrorists are stereotypically labeled as jihadists, which portrays a negative image of Islam and Muslims. Third, "their" bad is emphasised by using "deadly hit," which portrays "them" as violent, barbaric and savages. On the other hand, "our" good is emphasised through the use of positive attributes such as "liberty, equality, and fraternity," for "us." Therefore, the headline portrays a

negative, othered and securitised image if Islam and Muslims. This portrayal is present throughout the text in the form of a coherent opinion.

Using lexical items such as "Islamic State wanes, extremists, bloodied bodies, mangled strollers, sharp reminder, vulnerable, radical Islamist terrorism, and atrocity," the newspaper portrays a negative, violent and securitised image of Islam and Muslims. The newspaper uses "radical Islamist terrorism" as an alternative term for terrorism to portray Islam as a security threat. Second, the use of lexis by the newspaper to represent "us" such as "the most beautiful places on earth, cherished principles, liberty, equality and fraternity, free societies, democracy, civilisation, evocative annual event, and lovelier place," portray a positive image of "us" and emphasise "our" good as compared to the Islamic state that seeks softer targets. Therefore, the division between "us" and "them" is explicit in the text.

In terms of ideological square, there is a clear difference in the opinion regarding "them" and "us." Stereotypically, "they" are collectivised as "radicals" against "us" who cherish principles of "free societies" such as liberty, equality and fraternity. The newspaper emphasises "their" bad by portraying them as "radicals, violent, and barbaric" using phrases such as "As Islamic State wanes, extremists seek softer targets. . . . Images of bloodied bodies, including children and babies lying dead in mangled strollers . . . even the most beautiful places on earth are vulnerable to radical Islamist terrorism." On the other hand, opinions about "us" are constructed as "victims, free societies, and the most beautiful places on the earth who are under siege." The emphasis on "our" good is evident from the comments such as "during fireworks to celebrate the cherished principles of 'liberty, equality and fraternity' that underpin free societies, showed yet again that democracy and civilisation are under siege. . . . There is no more evocative annual event than Bastille Day, and no lovelier place to celebrate it than Nice's Promenade des Anglais." Therefore, there is a clear division between the opinions of "us" and "them" by the newspaper.

Lexical items opted by the newspaper to construct the identity of the man of Tunisian background such as "20-tonne truck, heavy weapons, full speed, zigzagging for 2km, to kill as many people as possible," portray a barbaric and violent image of Muslims. Avoiding his name and emphasising his background, and then collectivising the Arab nation for the act of one person shows a stereotypical, negative, and biased approach of the newspaper towards Muslims. In terms of the polarisation strategy, *The Australian* presents a collectivised and securitised image of Muslims in the comment such as "Arab nation has been the source of more jihadists for Islamic State than any other."

Using lexical items such as "foiled, plots on our soil, Islamic terrorism, fostered, jihadists," the newspaper represents a negative and securitised image if Islam and Muslims. Islamic terrorism and jihadists are used as alternative and pronouns for terrorism and terrorists. The securitised image is also evident from the suggestion of "monitoring of the suspect communities and returning jihadists." By conflating terrorists as "returning jihadists" and Muslim communities as "suspect communities," *The Australian* represents a stereotypical, decontextualised, collectivised, and securitised image of Islam and Muslims. The polarisation strategy, representing "them" as terrorists and jihadists, is also evident from the comments such as "Islamic terrorism also has been fostered by pockets of France's five million Muslims, especially jihadists returning from Syria. . . . France and the EU must be more proactive in monitoring of suspect communities, especially returning jihadists."

"Islamic State, the demise, under siege, fanatical political Islamists, precipitating, waging jihad," are lexical items that portray more of this image. The comment "its focus, and that of other fanatical political Islamists, is on precipitating and waging jihad to the ends of the earth," constructs Muslims as violent and a security threat to the world.

This is the most polarised, negative, and securitised image of Islam so far portrayed by *The Australian* in this editorial. The newspaper emphasising that the situation is "as it has been for 1400 years" contaminates the whole history of Islam. Using lexical items such as "the goal, interspersed, long setbacks, periods of inactivity, relative peace, to impose sharia, annihilate, through force if necessary," the newspaper portrays the whole 1400 years of Islamic history as problematic and violent. Portraying the "forceful imposition of sharia law" and "forceful convert of kafir to believer" as the goal of Islam, the newspaper constructs a threatening image of Islam. This paragraph is an explicitly polarised representation of Islam wherein Islam has been portrayed as threatening and security threat for rest the religions and whole world.

Referential strategies containing evaluative terms such as "Islamist fanatics, Islamist terrorism, radical jihadists, menace, threatening freedom," portray a negative and threatening image of Islam and Muslims. Lexical terms such as decent and peace-loving Muslims are two terms that are rarely used by the newspaper for Muslims. This editorial, on the other hand, uses the sentence "Islamist fanatics, of course, have nothing in common with decent, peace-loving Muslims who deplore such atrocities," and the sequence of sentences in this paragraph make them as a tool of creating another "them" within the "them." In terms of polarisation strategy, the comment "the free world, as Hillary Clinton and French Interior Minister Bernard Cazeneuve

noted, was 'at war' with radical jihadists," is a classical example of dehumanising the other, emphasising our good and their bad.

Overall, in this editorial Islam and Muslims have been constructed as violent, securitised and threatening to the rest of the world wherein the emphasis is on the differences, division of "us" versus "them," backwardness and exotic nature of Islam and Muslims. Since the overall discussion in this editorial is about Islam and Muslims, predominantly, outside Australia, so the editorial is categorised under Foreign Islam discourse category.

Date	**June 15, 2016**
Headline	**Hate preachers not welcome**

According to the Oxford dictionary, a preacher is the one who gives religious talks in a public place.[49] Hate, on the other hand, is a strong feeling of dislike for someone.[50] Therefore, the hate preacher is the one whose religion is hate, based on hate, or teaches hate. This headline is expanded in the whole editorial and "hate preacher" refers to Sheik Farrokh Sekalesshfar who is labeled as a radical Islamist. Therefore, the headline is ideologically biased containing lexical items "hate preacher" and "not welcome." It emphasises on "their" bad and dehumanises the other.

From the very first sentence, the tone of the editorial is very clear. In a lexical style, the newspaper places Australia in authority and emphasises that "Australia cannot tolerate anti-homosexual incitement." The use of lexical items "tolerate" and "incitement" shows the binary position the newspaper has taken. Tolerate means to accept something annoying or to allow someone to do something you do not agree with.[51] Incitement means to encourage someone to do something violent and unpleasant.[52] This means that *The Australian* stresses that any anti-homosexual move/statement is encouragement to violence and Australia cannot tolerate it. Moreover, this statement suggests that the one who speaks against homosexuals is a violence-preacher. In terms of polarisation strategy, those who speak against homosexuals are excluded from "us" by the newspaper as "Australia cannot tolerate anti-homosexual incitement."

Lexical Items in the lead paragraph are "tolerate, incitement, massacre, radical Islamist, and Islamic immigration." These lexical items imply an

[49] *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), s.v. "preacher."
[50] Ibid., s.v. "hate."
[51] Ibid., s.v. "tolerate."
[52] Ibid., s.v. "incitement."

ideological understanding of the editorial lead paragraph regarding Muslims. Massacre means to kill a large number of people especially in a cruel way.[53] The subtle use of these words implies that Muslims (National Islam/Them) are intolerable, radical, and that they incite violence. These ideology-laden words represent a negative image of Muslims (National Islam/Them).

Using the ideological square concept, it can be understood from this editorial how Muslims (other) are degraded, dehumanised, and ridiculed as compared to the Australians and Westerners (us). Terms used to define "us" are such as "Australia cannot tolerate; Australians heard a different meaning of 'compassion;' Dutch Party for Freedom founder Geert Wilders; a vocal opponent of Islamic immigration." In contrast, Muslims (them) are represented in a negative way through terms such as "anti-homosexual incitement; Radical Islamist Sheikh Farrokh Sekalesshfar; a guest of the Imam Husain Islamic Centre in Sydney. . . . Many are asking why he was invited to Australia or permitted a visa to enter."

It is observed that Muslims are depicted as violent, radical, and those who incite violence. Moreover, by labeling the Sheikh as a "radical Islamist" and then by stressing on the fact that he was a guest of the Imam Husain Islamic Centre in Sydney, the newspaper decontextualises and incriminates the whole Muslim community in a stereotypical way. The newspaper ridicules that for a radical Islamist, compassion means to get rid of homosexuals. The newspaper's criticism on letting the Sheikh enter into Australia and delaying issuing a visa to Geert Wilders shows its biasness and opposition to the immigration of Muslims.

The next paragraph contains lexical items like "controversial history, character references, security grounds, notorious, and deported." Controversial is an adjective which means something or a topic that causes an angry public discussion and disagreement.[54] Combining this word with "history" means to emphasise that something or the topic is causing angry public discussions and disagreement for a long period. Therefore, by labeling the Imam Husain Islamic Centre with the term "controversial history,'" the newspaper implies that people are involved in angry discussions and are rejecting the existence of this centre since long time. Character reference means a recommendation or a letter containing good qualities about you written by someone who knows you for your employer.[55] "On security grounds" means due to security reasons. Here security means; activities to

[53] Ibid., s.v. "massacre."
[54] Ibid., s.v. "controversial."
[55] Ibid., s.v. "character reference."

protect something or someone from some danger.[56] Ground means good reason. "Notorious" is another negative adjective associated with a Muslim sheikh Mansour Leghaei which means he is a well-known person for being bad.[57] "Deport" is a verb which means to force someone to leave your country due to his unlawful activity.[58] All these lexical items have been directed and associated with Muslims and the Muslim community (National Islam) in a way to dehumanise, degrade and to represent them as a "bad other" who are security risk and cause of trouble in "our" country.

Looking through the lens of the ideological square, it can be determined that the whole paragraph is ideologically biased. Muslims and their associations have been dehumanised, degraded, securitised, decontextualised, and termed as controversial, security risk, and notorious. Virtually, every sentence in this paragraph emphasises "our good" and "their bad." This is evident in the statements "The Imam Husain Islamic Centre has a controversial history; despite character references; Leghaei was denied permanent residency on security grounds; His case became notorious; he was deported. Our Good is evident as; Despite character references from Labor's former attorney general Robert McClelland and opposition frontbencher Anthony Albanese; the United Nations declared he was denied a fair hearing; after years of appeals."

The last paragraph of this editorial contains following lexical choices, which entail ideological traces regarding Muslims such as "inciting violence, the denial, persona non grata, zero tolerance, to preach hate, Australian radical Islamist, urged Muslims to unite against homosexuality, violates human rights, basic moral decency, Hate preachers." Incite means to encourage someone to do something violent and illegal.[59] Violence is to hurt or kill someone by physical force.[60] Therefore, inciting violence means to encourage someone to cause harm to or kill someone by force. The editorial associates inciting violence with Muslims and with Sheikh Sekalesshfar who has been labeled as a radical Islamist. The denial means a refusal to accept something unpleasant and painful as true.[61] This noun represents a psychological state of patient who denies his poor health condition. Here, this noun is associated with Sheikh Sekalesshfar who denies inciting violence. *Persona non grata* is a foreign person who is prohibited by the government to enter or live in the country. Sheikh

[56] Ibid., s.v. "security."
[57] Ibid., s.v. "notorious."
[58] Ibid., s.v. "deport."
[59] Ibid., s.v. "incite."
[60] Ibid., s.v. "violence."
[61] Ibid., s.v. "denial."

Farrokh Sekalesshfar has been labeled with this term.

In conclusion, authority and positive attributes have been associated with "us" while "they" have been represented as violent, in denial of inciting violence, persona non grata, radical Islamists, morally indecent, violators of basic human rights, and hate preachers. This paragraph, also, emphasises on "their" bad and "our" good, degrading and dehumanising of the other, and discourses of securitisation. This editorial contains negative representations regarding both National and Foreign Islam. Themes associated with National Islam are collectivism, violence, radicalisation, and insecurity. Overall, a negative picture of National Islam has been constructed by the newspaper.

Conclusion

Drawing on the work of Tsagarousianou and Mertens, the researcher explored the thematic differences in the coverage of Islam and Muslims within Australia (National Islam) and outside Australia (Foreign Islam). The findings of this study have shown that both the newspapers focused and highlighted conflict, violence and collectivism regarding Islam and Muslims while covering Foreign Islam, however, *The Australian* highlighted the underrepresentation of women as well. On the other hand, as far as National Islam is concerned, *The Age* focused on victimisation and prejudice to Muslims in Australia and emphasised the need of understanding, harmony and cohesion. On the contrary, *The Australian* associated National Islam with the same themes it associated with Foreign Islam i.e., violence, collectivism, conflict and "women underrepresentation."

Earlier studies pointed out that there was a prominent difference in international reporting on National and Foreign Islam.[62] This study also provides ample evidence that the trend is visible in the Australian press as well. However, there is a prominent difference in this trend in the Australian press that *The Australian* associated both National and Foreign Islam with the same negative themes while *The Age* associated supporting themes with National Islam.

Therefore, the study at hand has found out that both National and Foreign Islam received critical and negative coverage with a focus on violence, conflict, collectivism and women underrepresentation.

[62] Mertens, "European Media Coverage of Islam," 59–73; Baker, Gabrielatos, and McEnery, *Discourse Analysis and Media Attitudes*, 35–55; Van Drunen, *Media Coverage of Muslims*, 7–8; Ibrahim, "Framing of Islam on Network News," 111–25; D'Haenens and Bink, "Islam in the Dutch Press," 135–49; Richardson, *(Mis)Representing Islam*, 60.