

REPRESENTATIONS OF MUSLIMS IN THE COVERAGE
OF THE CHARLIE HEBDO ATTACK IN SELECTED U.S.
NEWS MEDIA

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**REPRESENTATIONS OF MUSLIMS IN THE
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SELECTED U.S. NEWS MEDIA**

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ABSTRACT

Studies looking at the representations of Islam and Muslims in Western media indicate that Islam and Muslims tend to be portrayed in a predominantly negatively manner. This explains why the media has the power to disseminate its ideologies to its readers. It cannot be denied that the media is filled with powerful ideological-loaded texts contributing to the way misconceptions of Islam and Muslims in the real world are being created. This study, which examines news articles from two selected U.S news media namely, the *Fox News* and *Huffington Post*, aims to investigate how Muslims are represented during the coverages of the Charlie Hebdo attack. The representations of Muslims are studied by looking at how they are being named and referred to and what kind of qualities and attributes are being predicated about them in news discourse. This attempt to analyse the representations of the Muslims as social actors is realised through the application of Van Leeuwen's socio-semantic network model. The analysis of this study reveals that there is evidence to suggest that the Muslim social actors are negatively portrayed but there is also some evidence of positive representations followed by some level of dichotomous representations in both news media. Four dominant themes emerged in the negative constructions of the Muslim social actors namely, the association of Muslims with terrorism and extremism, the depiction of Muslims as violent, the depiction of Muslims as opposing Western values and the depiction of Muslims as criminals. The alternative discourses present the Muslim social actors as victims, peaceful, and integrating well with the French society. The ideological implications of such representations towards Muslims (hence Islam) are discussed in the study. As such, there is evidence that both news media echo the Orientalist formation of a discourse despite the alternative discourse provided.

ABSTRAK

Kajian ke atas pembentukan imej Islam and Muslim dalam media Barat menunjukkan bahawa media cenderung untuk memberi gambaran negative terhadap Islam and Muslim. Kewujudan media sebagai medium penyebar ideologi yang hebat didakwa sebagai salah satu faktor yang menyumbang kepada pembentukan imej Islam and Muslim yang negatif pada pandangan masyarakat terutamanya di Barat. Oleh itu, kajian ini menganalisis artikel berita daripada dua media Amerika iaitu *Fox News* dan *Huffington Post* untuk melihat bagaimana imej Muslim dibentuk di dalam liputan media mengenai serangan ke atas Charlie Hebdo. Pembentukan imej Muslim dilihat dengan melihat daripada strategi rujukan dan predikasi yang digunakan oleh kedua-dua media. Strategi-strategi rujukan dan predikasi ini dianalisis menggunakan kategori semantik daripada Model Sosio Semantik oleh Van Leeuwen. Analisis mendapati terdapat empat tema utama yang digunakan dalam pembentukan imej negative Muslim iaitu perkaitan Muslim dengan penganas, kekejaman Muslim, penentangan Muslim terhadap nilai-nilai Barat, dan pembentukan imej Muslim sebagai penjenayah. Walaubagaimanapun, terdapat juga pembentukan imej alternatif yang dikesan di dalam kedua-dua media selain pembentukan imej yang negatif. Muslim juga digambarkan sebagai mangsa, mencintai kedamaian dan menyesuaikan diri dengan baik di kalangan masyarakat Perancis. Implikasi ideologi yang berkemungkinan terbentuk daripada pembentukan imej Muslim ini juga dibincangkan di dalam kajian.

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Because knowledge in power.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.0 Introduction

The media play a vital role as a primary source for disseminating news about real events of the real world. The media, acting, as the agent, also enables those of us with lesser contacts to such parts of the world, to gain a better understanding of what is actually happening globally. As such, the power and influence of the media, on people's perceptions of reality is huge and long-lasting.

The last two decades have witnessed prominent features of Islam, Muslims, Arabs, the Arab world, and the Middle East emerging in the media. This is due to the result of a series of events (Elgamri, 2008) which had happened and had caught global attention. Among them are the Salman Rushdie affair, the second Gulf War in 1991, the September 11 2001 attack, the war on Iraq and Afghanistan, the London bombing, the perpetual conflict between Israel and Palestine as well as the recent attack on Charlie Hebdo's office in Paris which killed 12 people in the name of Islam, after witnesses claimed that one of them had uttered "Allahuakbar" (Arabic for God is great). The attack was said to be an act of "avenging the prophet". Although this may be the case, media coverages of the attackers in the Charlie Hebdo event by a few U.S news media are claimed to be stereotypical. These news media had labeled the act of the perpetrators as an Islamic terrorist attack almost immediately after the event. The news media had in fact also linked the attack to terrorism and violence by Muslims (Mintz, 2015; Philips, 2015). Similarly, the attack was also attributed to the Islamic faith where write-ups of the news depicted the perpetrators as "crazed, misguided bigots who acted alone" (Mohamad, 2015, p. 2).

As such events are significantly influenced and shaped by the media, it can be said that the media is largely accountable for the wide negative public opinion made about Islam and Muslims. Cohen (1963, as cited in Elgamri, 2008), noted that “the press may not be successful much of the time in telling people how to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think” (p. 13). A study examining audiences’ interpretation of Islam based on media texts is able to detect that most of the participants’ perception of Islam is derived from the representations constructed by the media where the attack is considered as a ‘real Islam’ doing, despite the fact that the authors of these texts may not have much personal experiences with Muslims (Smith, 2013). Such an occurrence shown in the news media indicates that the participants had “used the texts to give meaning to experience” (Poole, 2002, p. 241). Poole (2002) further substantiates this by asserting that non-Muslims in the United Kingdom (UK) obtain their knowledge about Muslims, particularly British Muslims, mostly through the media. Correspondingly, a recent survey of adults from the United States (U.S) shows that more than 70 percent of Americans have an ‘unfavourable view’ towards Islam (Obeidallah, 2014). Despite the high percentage of ‘unfavourable views’, a recent Pew survey was able to detect that more than 60 percent of these Americans do not have a personal Muslim friend or know of even one Muslim (“How Americans feel about religious groups: Jews, Catholics & Evangelicals rated warmly, Atheists and Muslims more coldly,” 2014). This openness of a negative perception of an individual from another religious group clearly supports the claim that the media has a great impact or influence on the public’s perception towards other people, in particular, towards Islam and Muslims.

Given the media’s enormous power in constructing a multidimensional representation of Islam and Muslims, there is a possibility that the representation of the Muslims in the media may not have been an action of reporting just the facts but a manipulation of the

language to convey particular ideologies. Fowler (1991) says that “anything written or reported in the media is articulated from an ideological point of view” (p. 10). To illustrate what is meant by ideology, Fields (2015) work is referred to where he observes that, the National Front, France’s third largest political party, through the media, had allegedly preyed on people’s anger towards the attack, as a means to advance its anti-Muslim and anti-immigration agenda. Consequently, thousands of new followers joined the group since the attack. Meanwhile, the right-wing media in the US have been politicizing the attack as an argument to promote a rigorous racial profiling, a measure for counter-terrorism (Hatcher-Mays, 2015). This move indicates that the media is capable of asserting particular ideological positions and dominant messages through the representations evoked through media news. These ideological positions and dominant messages such as stereotypes and biasness, are often overlooked by the readers because the news appeal to the readers’ common sense and the contents of the news also correspond to the dominant ideology and the current society’s power relations such that when placed together, they appear natural (Elgamri, 2008). Therefore, in order to deconstruct media texts so as to understand the ideological issues behind the text, it is vital to denaturalise the ideological message which is embedded in the media. In view of this, studying the media discourse from a Western perspective is the key to investigating how Muslims and Islam is portrayed and constructed for the public consumption (Elgamri, 2008).

Fairclough (1995) asserts that the investigation of an ideological work noted in the media could be examined through a series of questions involving representation, identities or relations such as why one representation is selected over the other available one or why a particular identity is constructed in one way instead of another, where does this representation come from and why is it represented in such a way? Representation has

been the primary object of analysis for studies on Islam and Muslims. This can be in the form of representations projected in the media as well as other prejudiced and xenophobic ideologies and hegemonic relations. Such issues have been highlighted in various studies of racism and anti-Semitism or studies of immigrants and asylum seekers (Akbarzadeh & Smith, 2005; Don & Lee, 2014; Elgamri, 2008; Kabir & Bourk, 2012; Khosravini, 2010; Lemmouh, 2008; Poole, 2002; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Richardson, 2004; Wodak, 1997).

In order to explore the question of representations, identities and relations, the ideological works and the language used in the media should be addressed as a form of social practice where a dialogical relationship exists in tandem with social facets. Social practice is not only shaped by the society, it is also shaping the society as well. Fairclough (1995) highlights that using a linguistic analysis to understand the media has certain advantages over other forms of analysis. This is justified as a linguistic analysis or an analysis of language, can give a detailed account of the mechanisms used throughout the text by the media which mediates sociocultural changes discreetly whilst imposing certain ideologies on their consumers (Fairclough, 1995). As the language use is treated as a social practice, language analysis of media should thus be performed through discourse analysis. This is because discourse analysis has the capacity to simultaneously address both facets of the language use; the socially shaped and the socially constitutive (Fairclough, 1995). By analyzing texts noted in the media linguistically, as a discourse questioning the issue of representation, identities and relations, the ideological works of the discourse producers can be explored satisfactorily (Fairclough, 1995).

A number of significant events involving Islam and Muslims brought about by the media's attention has created an increased awareness about language use thus, there is a

real need to critically study media text as a means to understand the representation of Islam and Muslims in the Western world. The need becomes more crucial when major events such as the September 11, 2001 attack (Poole, 2002) occurred, which had led to a huge cloud of suspicion and misconception about Islam. From the earlier studies conducted, many scholars have argued that Western media in general, tends to construct a particular image of Islam which is distorted and demonizing. In such texts, Islam and Muslims were predominantly portrayed negatively. Western media have framed Islam and Muslim within news about violence, war, crimes, and conflict (Achugar, 2004; Izadi & Saghaye-Biria, 2007; Malcolm, Bairner, & Curry, 2010; Mishra, 2008; Poole, 2002; Said, 2003).

1.1 Research aims and questions

This study investigates the discursive representation of Muslims and the probable underlying ideology projected by two US media outlets namely, *Fox News* and *Huffington Post*. The period selected comprise the time when the news media were covering the coverage of the Charlie Hebdo attack that had occurred in France in January 2015.

It is hoped that the findings of this study can enrich current literature particularly that which is related to 'Muslims and the media' and 'Muslims in the media' as well as studies on media and the role of the media in constructing certain ideologies. This study begins by looking at how similar social actors could be represented differently during the reporting of a similar news event which often serve different objectives. It is hoped that this study could serve as another evidence which can indicate to researchers in linguistics and discourse studies as well as readers with the background of media studies, that the media and language empower each other. In addition, it is hoped that the outcome of this

study can highlight to readers that a close amalgamation between language and media is necessary so as to be able to detect unfair descriptions of a particular group. This notion has been highlighted by David, Maya, Hafriza, and Ain Nadzimah (2006) who noted that language and media share a symbiotic relationship as “not only does language analysis enrich media studies, but that media analysis also enriches our understanding of language” (p. vii). In doing so, Van Leeuwen (1996b)’s socio-semantic network model is performed as the main framework. The purpose of this study is thus guided by the following research questions:

1. How are Muslim social actors represented in the news articles of *Fox News* and *Huffington Post* throughout the coverages of the Charlie Hebdo attack?

The first research question examines how *Huffington Post* and *Fox News* represent Muslim social actors in their news articles with regards to the Charlie Hebdo attack. The representations of Muslim social actors in the news articles are analyzed by looking at how they are named and referred to linguistically and the qualities and traits that have been attributed to them and how are these realized linguistically. This is attempted by analysing the semantic roles of the social actors primarily using Van Leeuwen (1996b)’s socio-semantic network model. The linguistic elements that help to realize the semantic roles of the social actors such as nouns, noun phrases, verbs, and adjectives are also discussed as the categories discussed in Van Leeuwen (1996b)’s socio-semantic network model are still grounded in specific linguistic operations. The findings of this research question are thematically organized in Chapter 4.

2. What do such discursive strategies and linguistic tools reveal about the media's ideologies regarding Muslims?

The second question discusses the implications of the use of discursive strategies and linguistic tools during the construction of the representation of Muslims towards the media's attitude and the production of underlying ideologies. This question is answered by making social sense of the findings from research question 1 as well as using existing theoretical discoveries as guidance. This question is discussed in parallel with the findings of research question 1 in Chapter 4.

1.2 Orientalism: The historical context of the Western construction of Islam and Muslims

An understanding that is geared towards the knowledge of Islam and Muslims in the West has been framed by the concept of 'Orientalism', a concept introduced by Edward Said (1997). The term, 'Orientalism' has been described using various definitions by many scholars. In his understanding, Said (1997)'s concept of 'Orientalism' enacts a certain kind of geopolitical awareness where the world is divided into two unequal parts: the 'Orient' and the 'Occident'. Such binary divisions are common when one culture or one society thinks about the other and regards itself as superior than the other. Initially, the term 'Orient' was used to refer to India, Japan, China, Egypt, and the Holy Land by French and British scholars who discovered the East in which the 'Orient' lands were presumed as "inhabited by cruel and primitive people" as opposed to the civilized West (Elgamri, 2008, p. 14). Consequently, the 'Occident' was considered to be 'superior' while the 'Orient' was considered to be the inferior part of the world. 'Orientalism' also describes the Western's (the Occident) construction of non-Western cultures (the Orient) which is seen as the Other, alien, backward, inferior, and barbaric. Said (1997) claims

that 'Orientalism' originated from and has been maintained by "academic texts, ranging from post-Enlightenment British and French texts to modern day Anglo-American social science studies that claim to have knowledge of the Orient" (Poole, 2002, p. 29). Said (1997), however, asserts that although the 'Orient' is often associated with inferiority, the "Orient" has always been regarded as potentially more powerful (often in terms of destructive power) than the West hence, it could inflict harm and be a threat.

Elgamri (2008) perceives Orientalism as "a system of knowledge" and "an archive of information" about the Orient, particularly the Islamic world, as the 'Orient' has been prominently identified with Islam over a long period of time (p. 20). Nonetheless, as an object of knowledge, the knowledge of Islam in Orientalist discourses has been constructed and produced as a means to "depict backwardness and inferiority" as opposed to the "civilized West and European superiority" (p. 15). As such, the Orient emerges as the West's most prominent image of the Other (Said, 1997). The Orientalist thought used to represent Islam and the image of Islam hence, commonly lends to an impression that Islam is monolithic, fearful, and hostile. From this perception of the Islamic Orient and Middle Eastern Arab, Elgamri (2008) notes likewise, they also seem to be receiving a different set of treatment, unlike the other 'Orient' society and cultures such as Confucian China and Buddhist India. This disparity could be due to the "long history of military, religious, and cultural rivalry between Islam and the Christian West" (p. 16). Correspondingly, Said (1997) argues that despite many religious, psychological, and political factors that might have contributed to the Orientalist construction of Islam, these factors are rooted from the sense that Islam is "a formidable competitor to the West and a challenge to Christianity" (p. 74).

The relationship between Islam and the Christian West can be discussed through five historical phases where the medieval image of Islam dominates the perception of the West. The historical discussion of Islam is categorized through: the Muslim expansion into Spain and the Reconquista, the Crusades and the emergence of the Ottomans, post-medieval Europe and Islam, colonial Europe and the Muslim countries, and the movement of independence in the Muslim countries (Elgamri, 2008). As such, the occurrence of a few events involving Islam during these five phases have contributed to the making of Islam as an influential political force in which Islam was viewed as a colonial movement that had conquered Christian territories for almost eight centuries, serving as an obstruction of the West's colonial expansion into the Middle East (Elgamri, 2008).

For hundreds of years since the Middle Ages, Islam was believed to have threatened Europe. This began with the expansion of Islam territories beyond central and southern Arabia by the Islamic armies' invasion of North Africa, Spain, Sicily, and southern France as well as the Balkans, Asia Minor, and the island of Crete by the Ottoman Empire. These expansions called for the Crusades, a war of justice, to recover the lands of the Christians from the Muslim invasion. During this period, the cultural identity of Europe was synonymous with Christianity. Therefore, as Said (1997) believes, the existence of today's Islamic world reminds the West of its intrusion into Europe. Hence, the power possessed by the Islamic world tends to be regarded as destructive and dangerous. The West's feeling of intimidation by Islamic power is further intensified by the emergence of Islamic movements in the 1980s and 1990s, often labelled as "Islamic terrorism" and "militant Islam". One example is the Iranian revolution in which movements such as the Sunni and Shiite used the term, 'today's Crusaders', 'world superiority', and the 'Great Satan' to refer to the US hegemony forced on them (Elgamri, 2008). As such, Iran was considered America's major enemy due to its refusal to comply to US hegemony in the

Middle East. Iran was also labelled as a terrorist state and the “exporter of fundamentalism” because it provided support to political groups such as Hizbollah (Said, 1997, p. 77).

Although the construction of the Muslims as an out-group in Western countries has existed much earlier, many scholars argue that the September 11, 2001 attacks in the US was perhaps a significant turning point for Western countries. Anti-Muslim sentiments and anti-Muslim attitudes in Western countries was claimed to have escalated dramatically, following the attacks. However, a survey data yielded an interesting finding; it showed that hostility towards Muslims was not primarily rooted from a fear of terrorism itself (Smith, 2013). “It was only after Americans’ fear of terrorism subsided that they started to reassess Muslims in a more derogatory way” (Smith, 2013, p. 2). The survey found that most Americans responded to the September 11 attacks as well as the subsequent London bombings not with prejudice but with a feeling of sympathy for the other peace-loving Muslims who were stigmatized by the actions of the extremists. Consequently, it became the subject of hate crimes (Smith, 2013). The survey concluded that prejudice towards Muslims does not correlate with fear. Hence, scholars argue that it is the media representations of Islam and Muslims that were significantly accountable for the negative construction of the images of Islam and Muslims in Western countries (Elgamri, 2008; Lemmouh, 2008; Ogan, Willnat, Pennington, & Bashir, 2014; Poole, 2002; Richardson, 2004; Said, 1997; Smith, 2013).

As such, many scholars argue that the reality of Islam is often concealed in the media while discursively constructed via the Orientalist formation which represent Islam as:

- a single monolithic entity, stagnant and unable to cope with new realities
- a separate Other: incompatible with other cultures
- inferior to the West; Muslims are perceived as irrational and uncivilised; Muslim countries are classified as associated with despotism irrationality, material backwardness and impoverishment
- violent and aggressive and advocate of terror
- a political ideology used for military and political objectives

(Elgamri, 2008, p. 22)

1.3 Islam and Muslims in Western media discourses

Said (1997) claims that there are informative articles discussing Islamic culture in public discourses. Public discussions of Islam and Muslims by experts or non-experts in the Western media are almost always, only made available when there are political interests taking place and when political crises had happened, for instance, “when there is a bomb in Saudi Arabia or the threat of violence against the United States” (p. 84). According to Said (1997), the ‘newsworthiness’ of Islam and Muslims began in the mid-1970s when the Gulf states were seen as a threat to the West due to their power as the oil-producing states, besides the Iran Revolution. As such, most Americans have come to ‘know’ Islam through issues such as oil, Iran and Afghanistan, and terrorism, all of which, have been deemed as ‘newsworthy’ by Western media. In the middle of 1979, these issues were framed as the “Islamic Revolution”, “the crescent of crisis”, “the arc of instability”, or “the return of Islam” (Said, 1997, p. 85). Meanwhile, in the U.S, campaigns such as anti-terrorism and “oil threat” became the main concern of the media during this period (McAlister, 2001).

Scholars also detect some evidence of the Orientalist discourse in the dominant discourses of the Western media, when discussing Islam and Muslims (Elgamri, 2008; Lemmouh, 2008; Ogan et al., 2014; Poole, 2002; Richardson, 2004; Said, 1997; Smith, 2013). A qualitative study conducted to observe the coverages of Islam by two British broadsheets for the period of 1994-1996 by Poole (2002) finds that topics on Muslims can be categorised into a few prominent themes such as education, relationships, Islamic fundamentalism, political activity, and criminal activity. Discourses focusing on these themes are constructed negatively and Islam and Muslims are portrayed as “a threat to internal security as well as traditional values” (p. 66). For example, an issue on the Muslim groups’ campaign for the government to allocate funding for Muslim schools as it did for other Anglican, Catholic and Jewish schools, was problematized as the Muslims’ inability to adapt themselves to the local culture. Inevitably, this became a representation of a Muslim problem in the British society. Meanwhile, articles focusing on the relationships of Muslims such as the conversion of a British Christian to Islam to marry a Muslim or the story of arranged marriages have also perpetuated the ideology which depicted Muslim law and culture as different from British values. These stories present Islam and the Muslims as a threat to the British culture. Islamic fundamentalism is another significant topic that emerged in the British media during this period of time. It is even discussed as a subtopic in discussions made about other issues such as education, immigration as well as protests and rallies organized by Islamic groups; this is even though the protests and rallies were themselves declared as peaceful.

As the concern towards the representation of Islam and Muslims in the Western media significantly escalates, especially after the September 11 2001 incidents (Lemmouh, 2008; Mishra, 2008; Poole, 2002; Smith, 2013), the coverages of Muslims in British broadsheet newspapers from 2003 onwards continue to be studied by Poole (2006).

Following the September 11, 2001 incidents, 'terrorism' emerges as the theme in media; it is not only covered most frequently but is also discussed very extensively by selected British Press. There is also a dramatic increase in the media's focus on three topics namely terrorism, counter terrorism, and discrimination against Muslims. Meanwhile, Islamic cultural practices in the media are continuously misrepresented as opposing the modern liberal values of Western society. Issues such as honor killings usually represented as a punishment for a forbidden relationship between a female Muslim and her non-Muslim partner are hugely featured in the press although such incidents are rare. Consequently, the construction of such discourses implies to readers that "Muslim families are dysfunctional, Islam is inherently misogynistic, and pride is more important than familial relations" (Poole, 2006, p. 99). Correspondingly, stories on Islam and Muslims are only considered newsworthy if they "fit with an idea of who Muslims are". Unfortunately, this idea consists of the misrepresentation of Muslims where they are portrayed as "a threat to security in the UK, a threat to the British cultures and values and Muslim cultures are incompatible with the Western cultures" (Poole, 2006, pp. 101-102).

Meanwhile, in the U.S, the media were imbued with the 'The clash of civilizations' framework in framing the September 11 2001 attacks. With 'The clash of civilizations' as the operative framework, the mainstream media frame the incidents "within the context of Islam, of cultural conflicts, and of the Western civilization threatened by the Other" (Abrahamian, 2003, p. 531). As such, in hypothesizing the causes of the attacks and terrorism generally, the media often represent Islam and the Muslim culture as barbaric and uncivilised. Due to this, there is hatred towards the West because of its modernity, freedom and democracy values. For examples, one of the articles in the Wall Street Journal comment that "a barbaric culture had declared war not because of our policies but for what we stood for which are democracy and freedom". In another text, one writer who

writes on “Occidentalism” reports that “ideological forces waging wars against the West were really fighting against modernity – against urbanism, liberalism, individualism, humanism and rationalism” (Abrahamian, 2003, pp. 533-534).

The study by Karim (2006) focuses on the coverage of Islam and Muslims in the US media. Karim (2006) finds that the media in the U.S tend to echo the ‘War on Terror’ campaign as well as the declaration of ‘You are either with us, or against us’ in framing Islam and Muslims post the September 11 2001 attacks. This has generally constructed a polarized ‘Self’ versus ‘Them’ concept; anyone who supports the U.S is included in the ‘Self’ while anyone who has even the slightest connection with Islam is considered as ‘Them’ and so, will immediately come under suspicion. Under this framework of representation, even the Muslim Americans are “excluded from the collective Self” regardless of their “deep roots in the US” (Karim, 2006, p. 117). The coverages of the September 11, 2001 attacks by themselves, in most U.S media, have focused heavily on the incidents. They too seem to disregard the broader political, social, and economic causes of the attacks which could explain any possible resentment that trigger the attacks. There are also missing mentions of the U.S political and military activities abroad such as the U.S military actions in Afghanistan which clearly were actions taken against Muslim countries that defied the US. These coverages of terrorism committed by other political or religious groups in other countries such as Ireland, Spain, and Sri Lanka are also conveniently omitted. Such actions of the media clearly suggest that they are bias. Moreover, the media in doing all that they are doing seem to imply that once Islamic terrorism is demolished, all forms of terrorism in the world will follow suit (Karim, 2006).

Although dominant discourses on Islam and Muslims situated in Western media have adopted the framework of the Orientalist thinking, some studies are noted to contain some traces of ‘The clash of civilizations’ theory (Abrahamian, 2003). It is also observed that there is an effort made to offer alternative discourses that challenge the hypothesis and propositions seen in dominant discourses. For example, Poole (2006) finds evidence of the binary representations of Muslims as being positive and negative. Following the September 11 attacks and the war in Iraq, Poole (2006) notes that Muslims were being represented as British which implies their loyalty to Britain while at the same time, opposing the government policy, with regards to both events. Poole (2002) highlights that although there have been positive developments in the representation of Muslims in one of the newspapers, it was marginalised by the “dominance of the conservative interpretative framework” namely, the negative representation of Muslims. In addition, the U.S media such as the *New York Times* has also made an attempt to steer away from the homogenous and stereotyped representations of Muslims such as distinguishing between the good and the bad Muslims and between the correct and false interpretations of Islam during the coverages of the September 11, 2001 attacks. Again, Abrahamian (2003) points out that such distinctions were overshadowed by the broader picture of the portrayal of the main threat as originating from the religion of Islam itself and the Muslim world.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the theoretical background for this study as well as to develop an understanding of the ideas with regards to the research purpose and questions outlined in Chapter 1. This chapter discusses the framework that governs this study through the following sections:

- **Section 2.1: Social construction of news**
- **Section 2.2: News as discourse**
- **Section 2.3: Representation**
- **Section 2.4: Social actors**
- **Section 2.5: Socio-semantic approach**
- **Section 2.6: Studies on representations in media discourse**
- **Section 2.7: Studies on representations of Muslim social actors in media discourse**

2.1 Social construction of news

Readers do not often acquire information on certain social practices, events and primary texts from first-hand experiences but rather from secondary texts that report on these events. Hart (2010) points out that the news media is a form of those secondary texts that play a role as the disseminator of the primary texts and the ideologies that might be embedded in them. For example, representations in political speeches during the election, parliamentary debates, and Government or independent reports are often obtained through media texts such as newspapers. Thus, in this example, the news is the secondary text that acts as “a lens through which the primary texts are represented and recontextualised” (Hart, 2010, p. 17).

As this study focuses on the ideological work noted in the news media, an understanding of the construction of news is vital. To begin with, news is not simply ‘found’ or ‘gathered’. It is not naturally ‘newsworthy’. It is the social construction of the news itself

that makes a news 'newsworthy'. Each news media has its own set of newsworthiness and the more newsworthiness criteria that an event fulfills, the more likely it is to be included. As such, these criteria of newsworthiness, also known as 'news values', play a role as a 'gatekeeper' in the construction of news (Fowler, 1991). Therefore, the news embody a complex journalistic process which involves a systematic selection and transformation of events according to a socially constructed set of criteria (Fowler, 1991; Hall, 1978).

As a product of a constructive process, the construction of news involves various political, economic, and social factors. As such, the construction of news is a representation of the understanding of the world using language. Fowler (1991) emphasizes that any representational discourse is constructed from a particular ideological point of view. Correspondingly, all news "are always constructed and reported from some particular angle" (Fowler, 1991, p. 10). Van Dijk (2000b) points out that discourse including news discourse is among the most significant and common social practice influenced by ideology. As such, the news media plays a significant role in the production and reproduction of ideologies.

Other than the factor of news as being socially constructive, the representation of Muslims in Western news media is hypothesized to be ideological due to the alleged hegemonic relationship between the West and Islam/Muslims, as proposed by the Orientalism framework (see Section 1.2). This ideology is defined as "meaning in the service of power in which it is a proposition that generally manifests as an implicit assumption in a text, which contributes to producing and reproducing unequal relations of power, relations of domination" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 14). For example, studies show that news tend to predominantly reproduce the ideologies that belong to the elites because their role in a

particular institution, signifies authority thus, this legitimizes particular representations (Van Dijk, 2005).

The reproduction of dominant elite ideologies can be explained by using the notion of social power. Social power is described as “the control by a more powerful group and its members on the actions and the minds of the members of a less powerful group” (Van Dijk, 1995, p. 10). Social power is attributed to social groups based on their access to media discourse. The wider their access to the public discourse, the more powerful they become in controlling the public to some extent. As such, elite groups or institutions such as politicians and other professionals including the symbolic media elites (such as the editors and journalists) are attributed to higher social power. This is because they are often introduced as the main news actors or speakers in news reports. Due to their access to important communicative events and other important discourses such as meetings, press conference, research and the formulation of official government documents, they are often interviewed by journalists who produce the media news. These journalists tend to interview them and ask them for their opinions which, it is deduced, are most likely embedding their ideologies. The journalists’ access to the public discourses such as the news enables their opinions hence, ideologies to reach the public because “they have an effective public voice” (Van Dijk, 2000b, p. 181). Correspondingly, the symbolic media elites also have more power to construct the news which they gathered in such a way that is aligned to their personal ideologies hence, it can be said that journalists “have control over the production and reproduction of hegemonic relations in the public discourse and eventually, are able to shape social practices to a certain extent” (Zuraidah & Lee, 2014, p. 690). Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that the construction of ideologies should not be confined to the production of texts only as audiences are not

passive readers (Fairclough, 1995). This aspect of the study is not explained in detail as this study is not focusing on the consumption of texts.

As has been highlighted before, the nature of news as ideologically-loaded texts becomes one of the factors explaining why the genre of news is so popular in the study of media and ideology (Hart, 2010). The power of news, as a mediator of ideology, was derived from two factors. First, the news possesses a massive distributional power which enables it to convey the same thing to millions of consumers simultaneously. The presence of the online form of news greatly increases the media's access and this intensifies the distributional power of the news. Secondly, as the construction of news is influenced by numerous economic, political, and social factors, it is highly possible that the representations made in the various news media would differ from each other hence, reflecting different ideological propositions (which serves as a motivation to study the media texts).

2.2 News as discourse

In order to study the ideological work noted in media (hence news) language or media language should be studied as a technique to understand discourse. Discourse has been described and applied distinctively by scholars in various fields of study especially, in discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis such as Discourse-Historical approach (Wodak, 2001), Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach (Van Dijk, 1993b), and Fairclough's socio-cultural approach (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). The term 'discourse' in this study partly borrows the concept of discourse as proposed by Fairclough in the socio-cognitive approach and Van Leeuwen in the social actor approach which is consistently termed as Van Leeuwen's socio-semantic network model in this study.

As this study emphasizes on the view that media news is socially constructive (see Section 2.1), Fairclough's concept of discourse which entails the view of language as social practice is plausible. As a social practice, language is a "mode of action" that is socially constructive: it is socially shaped and socially shaping (Fairclough, 1995, p. 55). As such, Fairclough (1995) emphasizes that the analysis of a communicative event in any type of discourse is situated within the analysis of the relationships between a 'sociocultural practice', 'discourse practice', and 'textual practice'. These three levels of analysis operate as a system that works in a bottom-up and top-down manner simultaneously. The sociocultural practice shapes the discourse practice and ultimately the textual practice and vice versa (Fairclough, 1995).

The 'sociocultural practice' level used in this study, refers to the analysis of the sociocultural context where the event is embedded within. It can be the immediate situational context or the wider context of the society culture. In this study, the Orientalism framework is discussed as the historical background context for the representation of Islam and Muslims in Western media. The 'discourse practice' level used in this study refers to the production, distribution, and the consumption of texts. This study focuses only on the production of the news texts. It examines how Muslim social actors are represented during the reporting of the Charlie Hebdo attack. It also examines possible ideological implications of such representations in the selected news media. The concept of discourse practice is defined as that which mediates the relationships between the textual practice and the sociocultural practice. Lastly, the term, 'textual practice', serves as the linguistic manifestation of the discourse practice. On a smaller scale, textual practice includes the analysis of meanings and their forms both of which can hardly be separated as meanings when realized in forms. As such, any difference in meanings imply that they are differences in forms. It is safe to assume that the differences in forms would

result in the differences in meanings. In analyzing the representation of Muslims as social actors in two news media, the semantic role of the social actors (and their linguistic realizations) are studied and categorized according to the social categories provided by Van Leeuwen's socio-semantic network model. These are then used to evaluate the referential and predication of the social actors.

Borrowing Van Leeuwen (2008)'s account of 'discourse', the concept of 'discourse' used in the context of this study is described as the recontextualization of social practices (those related to the Charlie Hebdo attack) within the social practice (journalism) in which the news texts are embedded in. Van Leeuwen (2008) asserts that all social practices performed are assumed to encompass all of the elements below:

- i. Social actors
- ii. Actions
- iii. Performance modes
- iv. Eligibility conditions (social actors)
- v. Presentation styles
- vi. Times
- vii. Locations
- viii. Eligibility conditions (locations)
- ix. Resources: Tools and materials
- x. Eligibility conditions (Resources)

During the process of recontextualization, the ten elements provided above can undergo different kinds of transformation. Van Leeuwen (2008) mentions that the transformations can manifest in terms of substitutions, deletions, rearrangements, and additions. It was further added that during substitutions, the elements during the actual social practice is substituted with semiotic elements. This is illustrated by the following. For example, instead of nominating every protestor who is involved in a protest and is labelled accordingly, all these protestors are collectivized as 'large numbers of protestors', using the term to attribute to a homogenized representation. Meanwhile, elements such as social

actors include the ‘reporter’ although this element can also be excluded or deleted during the recontextualization of a robbery as this social actor might be deemed as irrelevant in the reporting of the event. Social actions can also be rearranged during the recontextualization of social practices where the rearrangement of the social actions is opposite to its order in reality. This might be done to suit the persuasive purpose of the discourse. Finally, additions in terms of repetitions, reactions, purposes, and legitimations might occur during the recontextualization. For example, there might be repetitions of the same elements throughout the text such as the time and locations. Meanwhile, the purpose of the same social practice might be “construed differently in different recontextualizations of the same practice” (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 20). For example, people who use drugs were constructed differently in different Malaysian news reports in order to achieve different objectives. These drug-users, as human beings, were constructed as criminals and as victims of circumstances (Ang, 2015). Ultimately, the recontextualizations of social practices are governed by the social construction of the news discourse itself.

2.3 Representation

Fairclough (1995) suggests that texts are simultaneously representing, they set up identities, and also relations. Due to that, analyzing the ideological work seen through media language use can empower discourse analysts experts to study “why one representation is selected over the other or why identities or relations were constructed in one way rather than another” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 15). This justifies why the current study is focusing on the particular representations of the Muslim social actors by two media news.

Representation is the production of meaning through language (Hall, 1997). Studies of media and ideology are often analysed from the perspective of 'representation' because 'representation' is not a straight-forward process of "re-presenting an objective reality". In fact, the representation is filtered and mediated with ideology which is one of the filters (Poole, 2002, p. 36). Representation links concepts and language to enable people to "make sense of the world of people, objects and events, and to express a complex thought about those things to other people, or to communicate those things by using language in ways that other people are able to understand" (Hall, 1997, p. 16). From his perspective, Fowler (1991) describes representation in news and other kinds of discourse as a constructive process. Fowler (1991) asserts that the events and ideas communicated in the news could not have been neutral as they were conveyed through a medium that has its own structures. This medium is used by people who are governed by different social factors such as different economic circumstances, different political backgrounds, and by people who "need to follow certain conventions of production" (Fowler, 1991, p. 25). This leads to the eventual process of the news production. All these social factors mentioned by Fowler (1991) could influence the way people draw their own perspectives of certain events, ultimately, dictating the structural features which they would be using to convey the representation of specific events and ideas.

Hall (1997) explains that the construction of representation involves two systems: the mental representations and the language. The first of this, the mental representation, consists of a set of concepts that enable people to interpret the world meaningfully. Concepts and images that people form in their mental images not only enable them to make sense of the things that they can see, feel or touch physically such as the objects around them but also to help them to understand abstract things such as love, friendship, and trust. Human beings can also form concepts about things that they have never seen

or experienced such as heaven and hell or fictional entities such as the mermaid or Godzilla. The concepts and images formed in the human mental representations become a system. Since concepts and images formed do not work individually, they are classified, organized, clustered, and arranged for the purpose of establishing complex relations between them (Hall, 1997). Therefore, the meaning that people have constructed about the world is derived from the relationship between things in the world such as people, objects, and events and their mental representations of these things.

The concept of mental representation as the understanding of an event is described as 'mental models'. Van Dijk (2000b) proposed that ideology may not only control what we speak or write about but also how we speak or write. Ideology also determines what type of interpretation of the world we build and ideology dictates how we construct certain representations to manipulate the others' interpretation of the world. Our interpretation and perception of the world stem from our mental models. Knowledge, attitudes and ultimately, ideology, play a role in influencing the contents and structures of the mental models of a particular event. Van Dijk (2000a) asserts that mental models are the most important interface between ideology and discourse. Not only do mental models mediate how ideology influences our understanding of the discourse, they also serve as the basis for the production of the discourse itself.

Representations noted from the news become ideological as they are derived from the discourse producers' understanding of the event: their mental models about the events. During the production of media discourse, each media controller, producer or journalist has a mental model of each reported news event which stems from their ideological belief as a member of a particular group (Van Dijk, 1995). As a member of a particular group, the discourse producer possesses the power to manipulate the news texts in such a way

that would facilitate the media consumers to form a mental model of a particular event that is at least almost similar to that mental model of theirs (Van Dijk, 1995). The journalists might exercise their power through the construction of media discourse to delegitimize other social groups or to legitimize their own group. The exercise of power is executed by using the structures and the contents of the news texts to manipulate the structures and contents of the media consumers' mental model. This is used as a synchronization between the consumers' mental models upon reading the news and the ideological beliefs of the journalists. Subsequently, repeated exposure to biased mental models could lead to equally biased attitudes such as ethnic prejudices and over-generalization towards particular social groups. Once these ethnic prejudices are firmly established, they will in turn, control the future formation of the mental models of the media consumers, upon reading any news related to the same particular social groups (Van Dijk, 1993a). Accordingly, the media's ability to shape the consumers' mental models of a particular event gives them the power to control, to some extent, the minds of the public and indirectly, the public's attitudes. Consequently, manipulating the mental models of the media consumers is the key to the production and reproduction of biased ideology in the media hence, the ideological representation.

The second system involves in the construction of representation is the use of language. In order to exchange and communicate the concepts and meaning that we construct, we need access to a shared language. The term 'language' does not only refer to the writing and spoken system but any visual images that are used to express meaning. Hall (1997) points out that generally, words, sounds, and images that are used to express meaning are termed as signs. Having a common language enables us to put our mental representations of the world into words, sounds or images (signs). These words, sounds, or images which operate as a common language, enable us to communicate meanings and thoughts to other

people. Van Dijk (2000b) emphasizes that in order to construct a discourse that is socially appropriate such as what information to make explicit and what information to be concealed in the discourse, the discourse producers need to adapt the style of their discourse to the current communicative context. To understand the current communicative context, it is vital for the discourse producers to gather information about the social beliefs of the target consumers besides knowing who these consumers are. The language system that is related to the construction of representation is described as a 'context model'. The context model serves as some kind of control mechanism or a 'gate keeper' in discourse processing. This is because the context model governs the production of the discourse. It also helps to determine the language use based on the information. It provides the discourse producers with the information on what the discourse producers believe their consumers already know, the kind of social situations they are in, the time, their relationship with the consumers and so on.

The context model helps the discourse producers to determine if the tone used should be more formal or casual or which deictic expression is more appropriate. The information about what the consumers already know help the discourse producers to determine what information should be provided in the discourse and what should be presupposed (Van Dijk, 1998). The context model may share the same ideologically biased nature as mental models (Van Dijk, 2000a). This is illustrated as our ideological beliefs which will not only influence the interpretation we have (our mental models) towards a particular event or group, but also affect our style of speaking about that event or group. For example, if we have built a certain prejudiced mental model towards members of Group A, not only are we more likely to say negative things about them, we are also more likely to use a tone or a choice of word which might be rude or patronizing when speaking to these people.

Consequently, the construction of representation (production of meaning) involves two corresponding systems. The first system enables us to construct the meaning of the world by forming a system that organizes a complex relation between the concepts and the images we form (our mental representations/mental models) and the world such as the people, objects, events, abstract ideas, etc. The second system enables us to express the meaning by correlating the concepts and images that we have formed as our mental representations of the world with a common set of signs (language/context models). Therefore, the relationship between the world, mental representations (concepts and images), and signs (language) are pivotal to the production of meaning (Hall, 1997). These two systems contribute to the ideological construction of representations.

2.4 Social actors

The concept of the “social actor” is a core element in all social practices. Thus, it is also vital in the recontextualizations of various social practices in discourse where the social actors are assigned different roles such as the agent, the goal, or the beneficiary (Van Leeuwen, 2008). The manner in which these social actors are named and referred to in the news discourse can significantly influence the way they will be perceived by others. Richardson (2006) accentuates that “the way in which social actors are named pinpoints not only the group(s) they are connected with (or at least the groups that the speaker or writer wants them to be associated with), it can also indicate the relationship between the namer and the named” (p. 49).

Analysing how social actors are named and referred to serves as insights for the construction of the representation of social actors as in-groups or out-groups. Social actors can also be constructed as positive or negative. This is realised through predications given to the social actors, either as individuals, members of a group or as groups

themselves. Specifically, predications comprise attributions, traits, qualities and characteristics. One of the ways the naming and reference and predication of social actors can be reflected is through the semantic roles assigned to them in news discourse. As such, Van Leeuwen (1996b) introduces the socio-semantic network model to account for the semantic roles assigned to them which could portray their representations as in-group or out-group or as positive or negative.

2.5 Socio-semantic approach

The representation of social actors is analyzed by using the social categories drawn from Van Leeuwen's socio-semantic network model. Instead of categorizing the semantic roles lexico-grammatically, Van Leeuwen (1996b) attempts to analyze the representation of the social actors from a sociological perspective before analyzing how they were realized linguistically. Van Leeuwen (1996b) justifies that the linguistic categories alone would not be sufficient to analyze the representation of the social actors in news discourse because of the English language's lack of bi-uniqueness. For example, 'agency' is one important sociological concepts to observe in discourse analysis while examining the representation of social actors. This is because 'agency' provides information on which social actors were represented as 'agents' and which social actors were 'patients' depending on contexts. From the sociological point of view, 'agency' is not necessarily realised by the grammatical role of 'agent'. It can be realised by other linguistic tools such as a prepositional phrase with 'from' as in "the family received a huge donation from the community". In this example, although "the family" holds the grammatical role of agent, sociologically, "the family" is the 'patient' and "the community" is the 'agent'. Thus, Van Leeuwen (1996b) points out that if discourse analysis "ties itself too closely to specific linguistic tools, many significant examples of agency might be discounted" (p. 33). From another angle, Reisigl and Wodak (2001) argue that the sociological categories proposed

by Van Leeuwen (1996b) “are of great help in accurately describing some of the more subtle forms discriminatorily as well as positive-representatively, constructing, identifying or hiding social actors,” (p. 46).

Van Leeuwen (1996b)’s framework tends to highlight the manifestation of sociological categories such as ‘nomination’ and ‘agency’ instead of linguistic classifications such as ‘nominalization’ and the omission of passive agent. Nevertheless, Van Leeuwen (1996b) states that his framework of representation of social actors still has a trace of a variety of linguistic elements. The model Van Leeuwen (1996b) recommends for analysing the representation of social actors is actually of two levels. The first level draws upon the *sociosemantic* inventory while the second level seeks to find out how a particular representation is realised linguistically soon after the representations are categorised according to the *sociosemantic* inventory. Van Leeuwen (1996b) suggests that “each of the representational choices will be tied to specific linguistic or rhetorical realizations” (p. 34) and he uses this as the operation for the sociological categories noted. Van Leeuwen (1996b) uses a variety of linguistic and rhetorical tools such as nominalisation, adjectivalisation and transitivity.

2.5.1 Categories in Van Leeuwen socio-semantic network model

For the purpose of this study, seven sets of sociological categories extracted from Van Leeuwen (1996b)’s socio-semantic network model are used to analyse the representation of Muslims in the reporting of the Charlie Hebdo event by two U.S news media. The seven sets of categories are:

- i. Inclusion/exclusion
- ii. Activation/passivation,
- iii. Individualisation/assimilation,
- iv. Functionalisation/identification,
- v. Personalisation/impersonalisation,
- vi. Indetermination/differentiation
- vii. Genericisation/Specification

Inclusion/Exclusion

Van Leeuwen (1996b) highlights that discourse producers include or exclude the representation of social actors in their discourse for a purpose: to achieve the desired effect that they want their choice to have on their targeted readers. On one hand, the *exclusion* of social actors could be bias-free as the text producers presupposes that the text consumers are already well-informed about the particular details or that the details are believed to be irrelevant to the readers. Conversely, *exclusion* could also be ideologically motivated as the text producers used it to achieve a particular agenda (Van Leeuwen, 1996b). Reisigl and Wodak (2001) point out that *exclusion* can have discriminating effects such as “cases of underrepresenting of ethnic minorities by not giving them sufficient access to mass media” or *exclusion* can be used for the purpose of concealing the social actors who are responsible for the discriminatory activities (p. 47). Meanwhile, even though the *inclusion* of social actors often reflect a bias-free representation, it can also be used as a strategy to disguise inequalities and injustices (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). Van Leeuwen (1996b) further categorises *exclusion* into *suppression* and *backgrounding* where *suppression* was described as “radical” and *backgrounding* as “less radical”. When social actors are suppressed, there will be no trace of the social actors anywhere in the text. However, when social actors are backgrounded

in the description of particular activities, readers might still be able to identify who they are by making inferences based on their inclusion elsewhere in the text. This is despite the fact that they were not mentioned during the illustration of the given activities related to them. For example, when an activity is included, (e.g. the bombing of a shopping complex) some or all of the social actors involved are excluded. The *exclusion* leaves a trace as it triggers the readers to ask “who planted the bomb?” or “who was it targeted for?”. Thus, in light of this, Van Leeuwen (1996b) observes that the social actors are “not blatantly being excluded, it is more accurate to say that they are being de-emphasized and positioned in the background” (p. 39). Linguistically, *suppression* could be realised through passive agent deletion, non-finite clauses and nominalization. Meanwhile, ellipses in non-finite clauses can also be used to background the social actors. Figure 2.1 illustrates the concept.

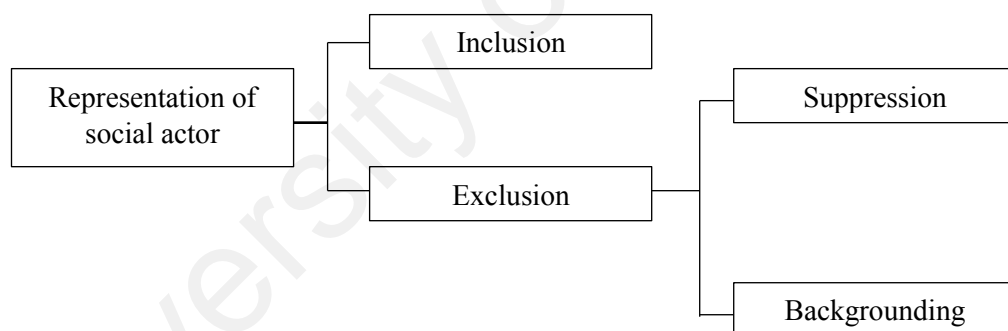


Figure 2.1: Inclusion/Exclusion

Role allocation: Activation/Passivation

Van Leeuwen (1996b) asserts that social actors can play either active or passive roles in representation. *Activation* is described when the social actors are portrayed as the operating forces of the activity while *passivation* is exhibited when the social actors are represented as being affected by the activity. The *activation* of social actors can assign

the social actors as *Actor* in material processes, *Behaver* in behavioural processes, *Senser* in mental processes, *Sayer* in verbal processes or *Assigner* in relational processes. The concept of *passivation* of the social actors can be further categorized as subjected or beneficialised. Van Leeuwen (1996b) mentions that “subjected social actors are treated as objects in the representation while beneficialised social actors are represented as third parties who positively or negatively benefit from it (p. 44).

- a. Malaysia recruited foreign workers from Bangladesh
- b. Many unregistered foreign workers were deported back last year, causing problems to some construction sites.

In example (a), “foreign workers from Bangladesh” is subjected to the activity of “recruited” while in example (b), “construction sites” was negatively benefited with regards to the activity “deported back”.

Halliday’s systemic functional grammar particularly, transitivity (Halliday, 1985), is the linguistic device that could realize this particular set of representation categories. For example, *subjection* can be realized through ‘participation’ where the passivated social actors are assigned as *Goal* in a material process, *Phenomenon* in a mental process, or *Carrier* in an effective attributive process. Representation can also be realized through ‘circumstantialisation’ or ‘possesivation’ through prepositional phrases such as ‘against’ and ‘or’ as illustrated in example (c) and (d) below:

- c. The government is discussing the backlash against Muslims.
- d. The employment of skilled workers helps the company to move forward.

Meanwhile, *beneficialisation* can be realised through ‘participation’ where the beneficialised participant is assigned as Recipient or Client with regards to material processes or Receiver with regards to verbal processes (Van Leeuwen, 1996b). Nevertheless, the social roles played by the

social actors in the social practices do not necessarily fit the grammatical roles given in the text. Figure 2.2 illustrates the sociological concept of *activation* and *passivation*.

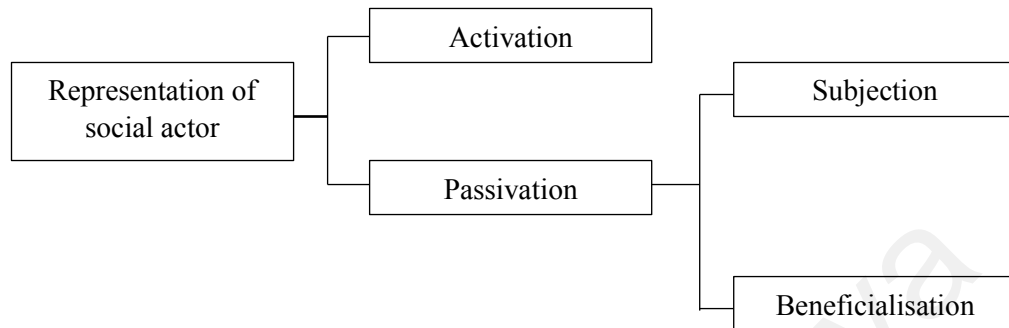


Figure 2.2: Activation/passivation

Individualisation/Assimilation

Social actors thus, can be denoted as individuals; this indicates the social actors as *individualisation* or as groups or *assimilation*. Thus, singularity signifies *individualisation* while plurality signifies *assimilation*. The concept of *assimilation* can be achieved through the use of a noun which symbolizes a group of people. For example, the phrase, “this nation” in “Is he entitled to believe that this nation, which only recently shed White Australia Policy, is somehow impervious to racist sentiment?” (Van Leeuwen, 1996b, p. 49) could refer to the citizens of Australia or it could refer to the policy makers. Van Leeuwen (1996b) further breaks down the notion of *assimilation* into *aggregation* and *collectivisation*. The former, *aggregation* quantifies groups of participants. It is realized through the use of definite or indefinite quantifiers which function as the Numerative or as the Head of the nominal group. For example, “Forty percent of Malaysians” in example (a). Here, “Malaysian” is aggregated through the use of the quantifier “forty percent”. According to Van Leeuwen (1996b), since it is socially sanctioned in our society that the majority rules, *aggregation* is often utilized to

ideologically signify a unanimous opinion. The latter, *collectivisation* does not quantify groups of participants as is illustrated in “The journalists” shown in example (b).

- a. Forty percent of Malaysians agreed with the decision.
- b. The journalists gathered in front of the building to show their protest.

Functionalisation/Identification

With regards to the next set of representation categories, (Van Leeuwen, 1996b) distinguishes *functionalisation* and *identification* in such a way that the first, *functionalisation* happens when social actors are referred to by their action, occupation or role. There are three ways to realize *functionalisation* linguistically. Firstly, it can be realized through the use of a noun formed from a verb with the addition of suffixes such as -er, -ant, -ent, -ian, or -ee. This can be seen in the examples of ‘speaker’, ‘employee’, or ‘driver’. Secondly, *functionalisation* can be realized through the use of a noun that is formed from another noun with the addition of suffixes such as -ist and -eer. For example, ‘motorcyclist’. Finally, *functionalisation* can be realized through the compounding of nouns which denote places or tools closely and they are associated with an activity and are generalised under the categorisation of ‘man’, ‘woman’, ‘person’, and ‘people’. This can be illustrated with the example, ‘cameraman’ or ‘chairperson’ (Van Leeuwen, 1996b, p. 54). In contrast, *identification* happens when the social actors are represented by who they are instead of what they do. In this regard, *identification* can be broken down into *classification*, *relational identification* and *physical identification*. Of the three terms, *classification* refers to when the social actors are represented by major categories which are used by a particular society to distinguish the classes of people. These sub categories include age, gender, economic status, race, beliefs and others. Meanwhile, *relational identification* occurs when the social actors are represented through their relationship with each other which is realized by a set of nouns that denote

the relationship. For example, ‘friend’, ‘aunt’, and ‘mother’. Finally, *physical identification* occurs when the social actors are described in terms of their physical appearance which give them a unique identity in a particular context. Linguistically, physical identification is signified through the use of nouns which indicate physical features such as ‘blonde’ and ‘redhead’ or through adjectives such as ‘disabled’ and ‘thin’(Van Leeuwen, 1996b, p. 57).

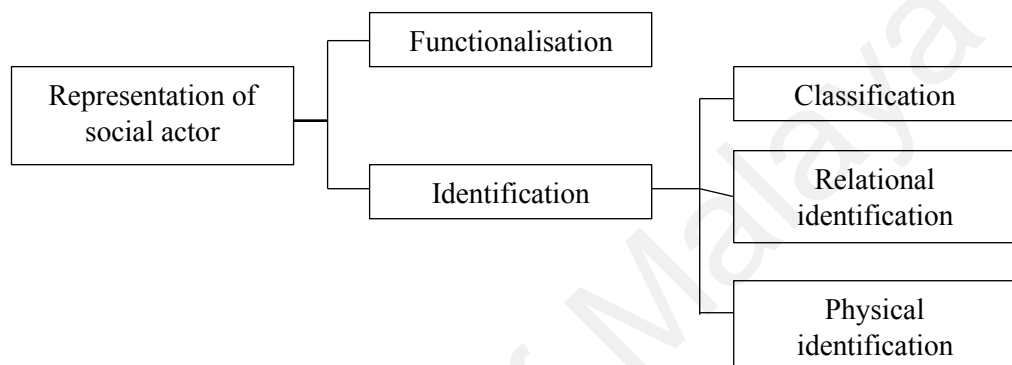


Figure 2.3: Functionalisation/Identification

Personalisation/Impersonalisation

All the categories which represent the social actors as human beings indicate the *personalisation* of social actors. Van Leeuwen (1996b) emphasizes that social actors could also be impersonalised in cases where *impersonalisation* is realized by non-human elements. Van Leeuwen (1996b) introduces two categories of *impersonalisation* which are *abstraction* and *objectivation*. The *abstraction* of social actors can be seen in the sentence of “Australia is in danger of saddling itself up with a lot of unwanted problems” (Van Leeuwen, 1996b, p. 59) where the phrase “unwanted problems” is actually the impersonalising of the migrants. As (Van Leeuwen, 1996b) highlights, *abstraction* occurs when quality is used to illustrate a social actor in a discourse. In the example illustrated above, the quality of being problematic is used to represent the migrants. Meanwhile, *objectivation* occurs when the social actors are represented by a place or an object that

they are connected to in terms of the activity which they are currently associated with (Van Leeuwen, 1996b). This can be illustrated by the given example where ‘the population of Australians’ is substituted with the word, ‘Australia’. This places the process of *objectivation* in the form of *spatialisation*. Another example that can demonstrate the creation of *objectivation* is through the form of *instrumentalisation* which is shown in this sentence, “A 120 mm mortar shell slammed into Sarajevo’s marketplace” (Van Leeuwen, 1996b, p. 60). In this example, the attacker is represented in terms of an object which is the instrument used to accomplish the activity, “a 120 mm mortar shell” (Van Leeuwen, 1996b, p. 60). Adding on to this, is the term *somatisation* which is another type of objectivation where body parts are used to represent the social actors. For example, “She puts her hand on Mary Kate’s shoulder”(Van Leeuwen, 1996b, p. 60) is clear case which illustrates that the person, “Mary Kate” was represented by the phrase “Mary Kate’s shoulder” instead of just stating directly as “Mary Kate”. The last common form of *objectivation* is *utterance autonomisation* where utterances are used to represent the social actors. Thus, “the report” and “surveys” as seen in the construction, “This concern, the report noted, was reflected in surveys which showed that the level of support for stopping immigration altogether was a postwar high” (Van Leeuwen, 1996b, p. 60) is actually impersonalizing the social actors who had actually carried out “the report” and “surveys”. Thus, it can be deduced that the claim which states that “immigration is in urgent need to be stopped” is rooted to these social actors instead of “the report” and “survey”. Consequently, as explained above, *objectivation* is manifested in four different forms namely *spatialisation*, *instrumentalisation*, *somatisation*, and *utterance autonomisation*. This is illustrated in Figure 2.4

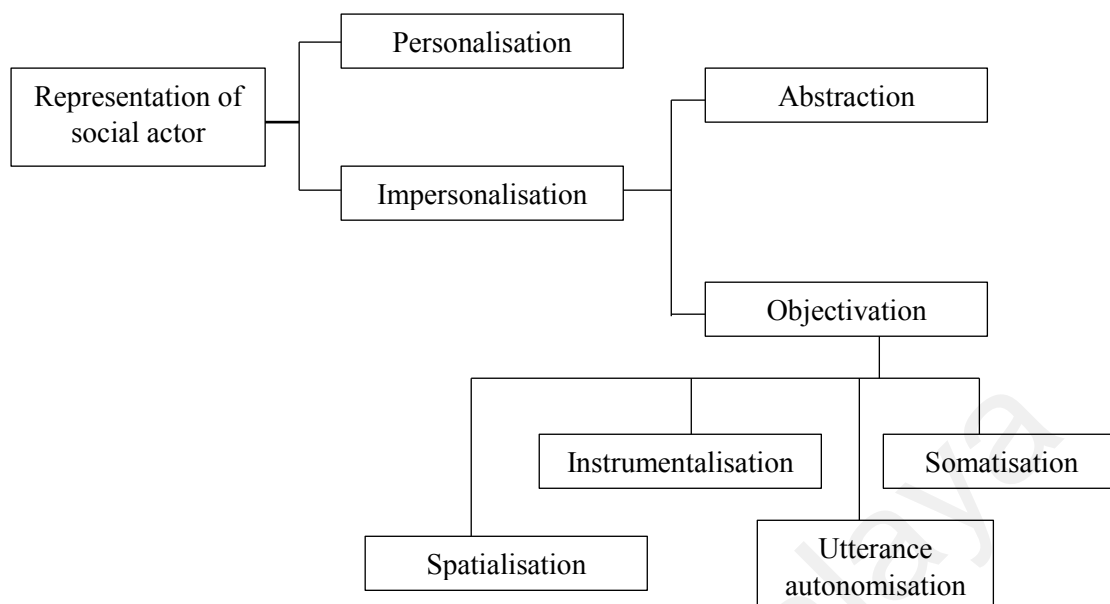


Figure 2.4: Personalisation/Impersonalisation

Indetermination/differentiation

Social actors can be represented as ‘anonymous’ individuals or groups. This is achieved through the use of indefinite pronouns such as ‘somebody’, ‘someone’, ‘some’, or ‘some people’ which denotes *indetermination* as in “someone had paid the flowers for the woman”. In this example, the writer anonymizes the social actor. It could be said that the writer feels that the identity of the social actor is irrelevant to the readers (Van Leeuwen, 1996b). Further to this, *indetermination* can also be realized through the use of the *aggregation strategy* by using expressions such as ‘some say’ and ‘many believe’. Meanwhile, the function of *differentiation* which “explicitly differentiates an individual social actor or group of social actors from a similar actor or group distinguishes the ‘self’ from the ‘other’, or the ‘us’ from ‘them’” (Van Leeuwen, 1996b, p. 52). In the example given by Van Leeuwen (1996b), the use of “others” in the example below creates a division between the migrants from Singapore and Hong Kong who were perceived as

educated and the migrants from Vietnam, the Philippines and Lebanon imply the opposite.

“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,’”

(Van Leeuwen, 1996b, p. 52)

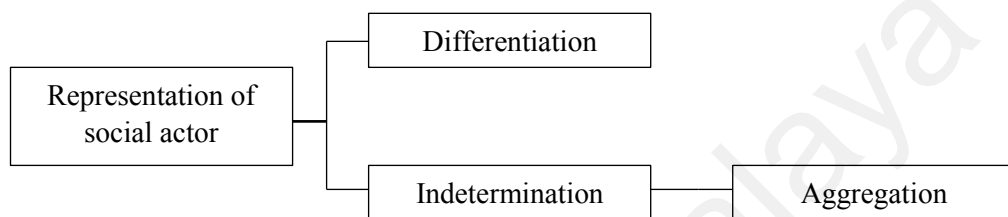


Figure 2.5: Differentiation/Indetermination

Genericisation/Specification

Van Leeuwen (1996b) emphasizes that choosing between presenting the social actors as general or specific is another choice that is significant in the representation of the social actors. *Genericisation* is realised when the social actors are given general references through the use of mass nouns or plurals without articles, for example, “non-European immigrants” as in “non-European immigrants often create problems”. In this regard, *genericisation* can also be realized through the use of singular nouns with a definite article (the) as in example (a) or with an indefinite article (a) as in example (b).

- a. Allow the child to cling to something familiar during times of distress
- b. Maybe a child senses that from her mother

(Van Leeuwen, 1996b, p. 48)

Both instances demonstrate *genericisation*. In contrast, social actors can also be presented as specific and identifiable individuals which denotes *specification*. In this regard, the social actors are named using linguistic items such as a proper noun like “Mr. Smith”.

2.6 Studies on representations in media discourse

There is an extensive literature on the study of language and ideology in the media contexts and a great number of studies have drawn on the representation of social actors as religious and minority groups, political figures and government bodies. Nasser and Alireza (2012), for example, study the representation of social actors in the political contexts where four Western newspapers and their discursive constructs of the representation of Iran as a social actor during the reporting of its nuclear activities is examined. It appears that the reporting of Iran’s nuclear activities by Western newspapers is believed to be ideologically loaded given the political clashes between Western countries and Iran during the time of the reporting. By using Van Leeuwen’s socio-semantic network model as an analytical tool, the said study is able to detect how Iran’s nuclear activities are reported in the four newspapers which has covertly imposed ideological bias when presenting the Iranian side (Nasser & Alireza, 2012).

Meanwhile, Matu and Lubbe (2007) study how ideology is conveyed and realised in news discourses. They examine how three newspapers have presented the various political groups as social actors in Kenya during the 1997 elections. The study notes that the representation strategies used by the *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* which are owned by the ruling party, KANU, presented KANU as an ingroup while the opposition party was projected as an outgroup. The other paper, the *Daily Nation* which is partly owned by His Highness Aga Khan, is considered to be the most objective among

the three in its report of the representation of the KANU party and the opposition party as the ingroup and outgroup, something which has never been consistent and which depends on the issue reported.

In addition, Garcia-Marrugo (2013) studies the representation of illegal social groups namely Marxist guerillas and right-wing paramilitaries during the internal Colombian conflict in four major Colombian press in an attempt to find an explanation for the disparity between the public perception on the right-wing paramilitaries and the statistical fact shown in the human right reports. There is a pre-existing perception among the public that the right-wing paramilitaries' violent actions are regarded as heroic in which their actions are intended to protect the public from the guerilla attacks. This contradicts the statistical evidence in the human right records which shows that 75% of the killings during the conflict are committed by the right-wing paramilitaries. As such, studying how these social groups are represented in the press could uncover how press is responsible for the public perception as mainstream media is assumed to be the public's main source of information about the conflict considering the fact that majority of Colombians has never actually experienced the conflict directly (Garcia-Marrugo, 2013). Using the *differentiation* and *indifferentiation* strategy from Van Leeuwen socio-semantic network model as well as adapting (Hasan, 1985)'s cline of dynamism as the analytical tools, the findings show that the guerillas and the paramilitaries are indeed represented differently in the media contributing in the formation of the public's positive perception towards the paramilitaries. For example, the difference of representation is evident during the examination of the role allocation of the social actors.

Another study that uses representation to investigate the dissemination of ideology in the news discourse is a study by Achugar (2004). Investigating how the actors of the

September 11 2001 attack are presented in two Uruguayan newspapers, Achugar (2004) explains how the discourse producers use the representations constructed in their newspapers to advance their local political agenda as these two newspapers represent two different political standpoint; one is conservative and the other is more progressive. As such, it is possible that the representations construed by these two newspapers echo their political identity which might explain why similar social actors in a similar event are represented differently in different news media.

Studies by Khosravini (2009) and Don and Lee (2014) also demonstrate that the representations constructed in the newspapers selected for their studies are governed by their political standpoint hence, they may be the cause of the ideological work noted in their news discourse. Again, in this regard, it can be said that even though the newspapers are reporting about similar social actors or social groups, the representation strategies chosen by each discourse producer to portray the social actors differ from each other as each media is trying to communicate different messages to the readers. However, the study by Khosravini (2009) found that in some of the analysis, despite the differences in the strategies used to present the social actors or the social groups, the news media have contributed similar negative and positive representations of the social actors or social groups.

Coherently, another study on the representation of Iranian Supreme Leader, Ali Khamenei in government-pro websites also aims to discover how news media are manipulated to create certain representations of Ali Khamenei in order to achieve specific aims: to elevate his authority and to prepare for the upcoming 2013 election (Zuraidah & May, 2013). The findings show that Ali Khamenei is represented positively in the government-controlled websites by nominating him using honorific titles such as 'Imam'

and ‘Grand Ayatollah’ which bestow him exalted status comparable to the Prophet Muhammad and the 12 Shia Imams. Positive representations of Ali Khamenei are also constructed through the activation of other authoritative social actors in verbal processes which represents Ali Khamenei with positive attributes such as “selflessness, prudence, and frugality” (Zuraidah & May, 2013, p. 754).

The findings from the studies discussed above support Hall’s view (1982, as cited in Zuraidah & Lee, 2014) which state that “representation reflects the active practice of selecting and presenting, and of structuring and shaping hence, it does not merely offer a neutral understanding of the world.” (p. 688). As such, studies on representations of social actors using various analytical tools could provide an explanation of how and why different social actors are represented differently in different news media.

2.7 Studies on the representations of Muslim social actors in media discourse

The representations of Muslim social actors in media discourse especially those belonging to the West are increasingly studied particularly, after the September 11 2001 tragedy (see Section 1.3). In this context, the studies of Muslim social actors (and Islam) and their ideological implications are often drawn from discourse analysis involving the use of various linguistic categories and structures. The outcome notes that Islam and Muslims tend to be represented negatively in the Western media (Baker, Grabrielatos, & McEenery, 2013). This can be traced to the study of Alazany and Eng (2014) who covers the representation of Muslims in *New York Times* after the September 11 2001 attack. The study uses textual analysis that is grounded in Halliday’s Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) theory to analyze the representational strategies that are used to represent the Muslim social actors. The outcome indicates that *New York Times* has a dichotomous view of the Muslim social actors; they are portrayed as moderate and extremist.

Meanwhile, Alghamdi (2015) studies the representation of Muslim social actors during the coverage of the Norway terrorist attacks by a few US news media. The study particularly chooses to analyse how the Muslims are presented as perpetrators of the attack through language. Using linguistic tools such as word choices, transitivity, implicatures and quantification, and modality, the study notes that the news texts presented both an implicit and explicit representation of the Muslims as perpetrators of the attack. The difference in the use of the linguistic tools used by the different studies suggest that language can serve as the basis of the distinction as seen in the tone of allegations among the media which ranged from “a mere suspicion to an overt accusation” (Alghamdi, 2015, p. 203).

Apart from the common analysis of Critical Linguistics to study the representation of social actors, others like Lemmouh (2008) applied Corpus Semantics to examine the representation of Muslim social actors in *New York Times*. It is hypothesized that linguistic features such as the use of lexical items are used together with transitive clauses to present a stereotyped representation of the Muslims. However, while using Corpus Semantics as an approach, the study provides more information with regards to the frequency and distribution of these linguistic features. When further analysed, these features could qualify the claim that “there is a pattern of stereotyped representation of Muslims” (Lemmouh, 2008, p. 237). Lemmouh’s (2008) study finds that the nine most commonly used words detected to represent Muslims in the news texts can be categorised as “words that position Muslims in a context of conflict, violence, and Muslims were also referred to in terms of groupings” (Lemmouh, 2008, p. 228).

Elgamri (2008) studies the representation of Islam and Muslim social actors by using the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach. It specifically uses Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to focus on both macrostructure (the overall content of the news) and the microstructure (the meaning of words and sentences) of the news. (Elgamri, 2008) found that press coverages on Islam and Muslims were significantly dominated by negative issues such as terrorism, crises, and social and political unrest. Emotive language combined with religious identifiers such as 'Islamic extremism' and 'Muslim fundamentalist' mainly dominated the coverages of the selected news media. Elgamri (2008) then argues that the media's representation of Islam and Muslims is predominantly focusing on projecting Islam and Muslims as "monolithic, and ignores the demarcations between militant, moderate and liberal versions of Islam" (p. 214).

Chapter 3

Research methods and methodology

3.0 Introduction

This chapter comprises of three essential sections that constitute the methods of this study. The first section discusses the background and justifications for the selected data. The second section discusses the methods of data collection and the third section discusses the methods of data analysis. The sections are organized as below:

Section 3.1: Online news articles as data

Section 3.2: Methods of data collection

Section 3.3: Textual analysis

3.1 Online news articles as data

This study focuses on online news articles as data. The genre of news articles is selected as the primary data for this study. This is because news, as a type of discourse, embodies the representation and recontextualization of social practices in the real world. As such, news provides its audiences with interpretative frameworks which can be used to construct the reality of the work in certain ways” (Poole, 2002, p. 23). Due to its socially constructed production and its distributional power, media news has turned into a powerful mediator of ideology (see Section 2.1). In this regard, the genre of news articles selected for analysis will provide this study with adequate data which will be analysed for the ideological work as seen in the news. This will then be discussed in terms of the representations, thus this study aims to answer the research questions as discussed in Chapter 1.

The online form of the news articles is chosen as it made the data collection process more cost-effective. The search for relevant data can be done at any time of the day by entering

the key words in the “search” tab provided by the news websites thereby making the data collection process more time-efficient.

As this study aims to investigate the representations of Muslim social actors, the Charlie Hebdo attack is also chosen as the discourse topic. This is because at the beginning of the study, the attack had become a significant event which involved Islam and Muslims, a world-grabbing attention. As an event involving Muslims as the primary social actors, the Charlie Hebdo attack was hypothesized to be loaded with the representations of the Muslim social actors.

3.1.1 Fox News and Huffington Post

The selected online news articles were extracted from two U.S news media, *Fox News* and *Huffington Post*. As Fowler (1991) has determined the scale of production as one of the factors that would make the news media an important medium of the (re)production of ideology, these two news websites are also driven by their high estimated unique monthly visitors. *Fox News* and *Huffington Post* are selected as they are listed to be among the ten most popular media news and they both have the most number of unique monthly visitors as of April 2015 ("French police swarm forest 'larger than Paris' in hunt for Charlie Hebdo jihadist assassins," 2015) during the time when this study was started, as outlined in Table 3.1 below:

Table 3.1: Estimated unique visitors and ranking of *Fox News* and *Huffington Post*

News website	Estimated unique visitors	Ranking
Fox News	65 000 000	6
Huffington Post	110 000 000	3

As these media sources have more power in influencing the media consumers as compared to other media sources, due to their high number of readership, it is even more crucial to investigate how these media outlets influence the consumers' interpretation of their media texts (Ang, 2010). The outcome of this analysis could simultaneously shed light on how these powerful news outlets produce and reproduce ideology through their news texts.

Another reason for choosing these two media news is the difference noted in the socio-political ideologies attached to the news media respectively. Elgamri (2008) highlights that ideological labels attached to the news media could be subjective. This is attributed to the fact that what some audiences or journalists consider as 'conservative' may be considered as 'liberal' to others. Nonetheless, the ideological labels attached to *Huffington Post* and *Fox News* are based on the ideological placement of their audiences as found in "Pew's study of Americans media habits" (Blake, 2014). As such, *Huffington Post* is considered to be 'more consistently liberal' while *Fox News* is considered to be 'more consistently conservative' as shown in Figure 3.1 below:

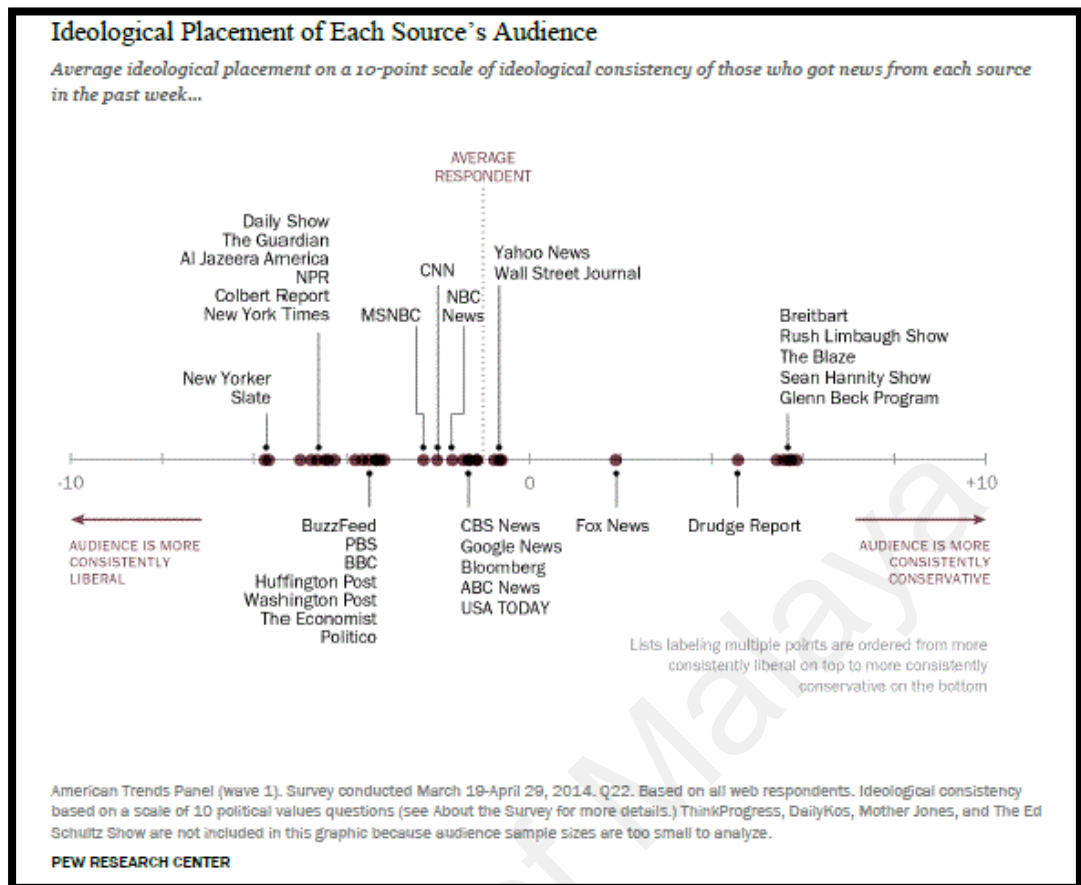


Figure 3.1: Ideological labels attached to media based on their audiences (Blake, 2014)

The ideological labels attached to the news media are considered in choosing the news media as it could influence the social construction of the news (Elgamri, 2008; Fairclough, 1995; Fowler, 1991; Poole, 2002; Van Dijk, 1995). For example, it could be a factor in determining the ‘news value’ of an event (see Section 2.1). Smith (2013) points out that left (more liberal) and right-leaning (more conservative) media outlets in the US predominantly frame the representations of Islam differently throughout the years. This could be due to the fact that “Democrats (liberal/left-leaning) and Republicans (conservative/right-leaning) tend to patronize “partisan media outlets”. Moreover, there is a difference in the partisan’s attitudes and opinions on Islam and Muslim (p. 2). For example, in a survey on American’s opinions about whether Islam encourages violence, Democrats are found to be more positive towards Islam as compared to the Republicans (Smith, 2013). In another study, a survey conducted by the Pew Research Centre notes

that people who leaned towards the Republican party tend to have more negative opinions of Muslims than those who identify themselves as Democrats (Lipka, 2015).

3.2 Methods of data collection

The news reports are collected from the archives of chosen news websites respectively. The time frame of the collected news articles for both news media starts from 7th January 2015 which marks the day of the attack. The time frame is confined within the month of January. As such, only news articles up until 14th January 2015 for *Huffington Post* are found relevant for the study while for *Fox News*, news articles dated up until 20th January 2015 are collected. Data comprises the reporting of all key events related to the Charlie Hebdo attack including the unity march and the attack in the Kosher market. Data are extracted by entering as many relevant key words as possible so as to retrieve the search results which are relevant to this study. Examples of the key words used include: ‘Charlie Hebdo attack’, ‘Paris attack’, ‘Kosher Market attack’, and ‘unity march’. News articles which explicitly mention Muslim social actors are deliberately selected for examination. In that regard, this study also applies Richardson’s (2004) identifying criteria for selecting the relevant news articles.

In the context of this study, a news article is identified as ‘Islam or Muslims related’ (hence it is highly possible to contain representations of Muslim social actors) if it explicitly mentions any of the criteria below in its leader (headline, over-headline, lead in or extended by-line) or in majority of the paragraphs in the articles:

- ‘Islam’
- An individual who explicitly mentioned as ‘Muslim’
- Muslim organization, collective, or social group
- A nation wholly or predominantly populated by Muslims such as the Middle East countries or a nation which, by virtue of history, culture, government or politics could be regarded as ‘a Muslim country’ (e.g. Lebanon)

By determining the criteria of selection as listed above, only news articles that could possibly provide a comprehensive and detailed coverage of Muslim social actors are selected. This step also helps to eliminate any possibility of overlooking articles that do not include the keyword 'Islam' and 'Muslims' yet contain representations of Muslims through other 'Islam and Muslim related' criteria.

News articles from *Fox News* and *Huffington Post* selected for this study is listed in Appendix A and Appendix B respectively. The news articles are labelled with an initial 'FN' or 'HP' to indicate their source ('FN' for Fox News and 'HP' for Huffington Post) and a number which represents the number of the article. For example, 'FN1' or 'HP1' represents 'Article 1' of Fox News or Huffington Post and so forth. There are 18 news articles from Fox News and 22 news articles from Huffington Post selected for this study.

3.3 Textual analysis

In order to study the representations of the Muslims during the coverage of the Charlie Hebdo attack, the approach of discourse analysis is applied. In this approach, focus is given to the linguistic aspects of the text rather than other semiotic aspects like images or symbols. This is thus referred to as textual analysis.

The term, 'Muslim social actors' can be represented in many forms within the news articles selected. For the purpose of this study, the representations of Muslim social actors are then analysed through the representations which are explicitly and implicitly referred to as 'Muslims':

- i. 'Muslims'
- ii. 'The perpetrators of the attack'
- iii. 'Islamic countries in the Middle East' (Syria and Iraq)
- iv. 'Muslim police officer'
- v. 'Muslim employee'
- vi. Those who are considered as 'Islamist/Muslim terror groups'
- vii. 'Muslim leaders and activists'
- viii. 'Muslim organizations/unions' (for example, The Union of Islamic Organisations of France)
- ix. Other Muslim elite individuals such as 'Imam'

In order to answer the first research question, the representations of Muslim social actors are analysed by looking at two discursive strategies namely, i. Naming and reference and ii. Predication. As such, the representations of Muslim social actors as illustrated in Chapter 4 will be based on these two discursive strategies. The analysis will focus on how Muslim social actors are being named and referred to and what qualities are attributed to them. The information gathered will be able to show what representations of these social actors are being constructed in the discourse. These two discursive strategies could reveal how they are constructed in terms of in-group and out-group and whether they are represented positively or negatively (see Section 2.5). These two discursive strategies have been explained in detail by Wodak (2001) in the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA). Although this study does not use DHA as its framework, the explanation of these two discursive strategies are borrowed from DHA.

i. Naming and reference

Naming and reference refer to the way in which a person or a group of people are named and referred to linguistically. This strategy can provide insights into how social actors are portrayed as in-groups and out-groups. The manner in which people are being named and referred to in news discourse can have a significant influence on how they will be perceived. Richardson (2006) accentuates that "the way in which social actors are named pinpoints not only the group(s) they are connected with (or at least the groups that the speaker or writer wants them to be associated with), it can also indicate the relationship

between the namer and the named” (p. 49). The discourse producers’ naming and reference choices can imply the “different ideological affiliations” which the discourse producers have with the social actors (Izadi & Saghaye-Biria, 2007, p. 149).

ii. Predication

After the in-groups and out-groups have been constructed or identified, the predications given to the social actors, whether as individuals, members of a group or as the group itself, are identified. Specifically, predication is made up of attributions, traits, qualities and characteristics. Reisigl and Wodak (2001) mention that the role of predication is to construe the representation of the social actors as being more or less positive or negative.

Reisigl and Wodak (2001) further affirm that it is difficult to completely separate these two discursive strategies from each other because they overlap with each other. For example, some of the references also play a role as specific forms of predication as the identification of naming and reference very often simultaneously comprises of the examination of the positive or negative labelling of the social actors.

3.3.1 Van Leeuwen’s socio-semantic network model

Although the naming and reference and predication of social actors in news discourse can be realised through many linguistic tools, the manifestation of these two discursive strategies in the context of this study is governed by the analysis of social categories which are assigned to the Muslim social actors, as suggested by Van Leeuwen (1996b). The use of social categories instead of lexico-grammatical categories has been justified in Section 2.5. In this study, seven socio-semantic categories adopted from Van Leeuwen (1996) are used. Each of these categories have also been discussed in detail in Section 2.5.1.

Thus, in discussing the representations of social actors based on how the strategies of naming and reference and predication using social categories from Van Leeuwen's socio semantic network model, their construction of identity and the ideological implications are also discussed simultaneously during the discussion of the first research question. As such, research question 2 will be answered in relation to research question 1 in Chapter 4.

University of Malaya

Chapter 4

Data Analysis

4.0 Introduction

The representations of the Muslim social actors being studied in this study will be in accordance to the seven socio semantic categories recommended by Van Leeuwen (1996) thus the outcome will also be illustrating the socio-semantic meanings derived from the analysis. The framework based on the lexico-grammatical meaning is not applied since not all the sociological concepts that can represent the social actors can be realised through their grammatical roles (see Section 2.5). The ideological implications noted from the analysis will be discussed vis-a-vis the discussion of the Muslim social actors under respective themes. This chapter is organised according to the main themes which emerged from the analysis. The chapter begins by discussing the findings according to the themes uncovered:

- **Section 4.1: Association of Muslims with terrorism and extremism**
- **Section 4.2: Depiction of Muslims as violent**
- **Section 4.3: Depiction of Muslims as opposing Western values**
- **Section 4.4: Depiction of Muslims as criminals**
- **Section 4.5: Counter representations of Muslims**

4.1 Association of Muslims with terrorism and extremism

The analysis of the news articles taken from *Fox News* and *Huffington Post* shows that there are constant references to acts of terrorism and extremism when representing the individuals and groups and declaring them as “Muslims”. Despite the ongoing investigation on the attack which suggests that there is no verdict yet and despite the absence of an official confirmation from authorities to verify whether the attack was planned by a terrorist group or others, the news continues to provide its own verdict. This

is evidenced in Extract 1 where the Muslim social actors are framed within the framework of committing terror acts during the coverage of the attack.

Extract 1: Huffington Post

HP6, Line 22-23: Ernest said U.S. officials have been in touch with French counterparts but it's "still in the early stages" of figuring out who was responsible for the attack and he couldn't say whether the gunmen were tied to a specific terror group.

Fox News

The analysis of the data taken from the news articles of *Fox News* shows that the Muslim social actors are explicitly being linked to or referred to with terrorism and extremism. Adjectives highlighting the faith of the social actors who are given a role connected to terrorism and extremism are repetitively used throughout the reporting of the attack. This creates a negative representation of the Muslims as they were constantly linked to what the discourse producers labelled as terrorist and extremist acts. The use of the *identification strategy* is reflected in the choice of the adjectives used which seem to modify the representation of the social actors and their religion (Van Leeuwen, 1996b). Identification strategies highlighting the faith of the social actors in the news articles from *Fox News* connect the social actors to terrorism and extremism. This is shown in the extracts below:

Extract 2: Fox News

FN4, Line 5-6: Shooting comes one day after two masked **Islamist gunmen** killed 12 people, including two police officers, at the central Paris offices of the satirical weekly Charlie Hebdo.

Extract 3: Fox News

FN2, Line 4-5: The masked, Kalashnikov-toting shooters moved with military precision, and then escaped following the 11:30 a.m. attack at Charlie Hebdo, the publication known for challenging **Muslim terrorists**...

Extract 4: Fox News

FN8, Line 1-2: French police are swarming a 51-square-mile dense forest in their hunt for the **Islamist terrorist brother**...

As noted from the data, Muslim social actors are represented in the news through evaluative terms such as “militants” and “terrorists” which portray the social actors negatively. The evaluative terms used in the news portray these social actors collectively as a member of certain terrorist organizations. The negative representations of these social actors are further intensified with adjectives like “Islamic” and “Muslims” which clearly indicate that these social actors are Islamic followers. The repetitive use of other adjectives to signal *identification* of the social actors are also to foreground the fact that these “gunmen”, “militants”, and “terrorists” share a common faith which is Islam. The *identification* of these social actors as Islamic followers could create a prejudiced outlook towards the religion of Islam as the cause of terrorism and extremism because of the semantic associations noted.

From the analysis of the data, it was also noted that *Fox News* has the inclination to associate the representation of ‘Islamic extremists’ with other social actors who are under suspicion of becoming ‘Muslim terrorists’ with Middle Eastern countries. This is illustrated in the extracts below:

Extract 14: Fox News

FN3, Line 13-14: Fox News is told investigators had been reviewing terror databases, including for **individuals who have travelled to Syria**.

Extract 15: Fox News

FN14, Line 25-27: Cherif and Said Kouachi and their friend, Amedy Coulibaly, the man who killed four hostages in the Paris grocery, died Friday in clashes with French police. All three claimed ties to **Islamic extremists in the Middle East**...

Extract 16: Fox News

FN16, Line 23-25: Speaking to legislators in London, the head of European police agency, Rob Wainwright, said that 3000 to 5000 **European nationals have gone to fight in the Mideast**, calling it a “startling figure” and “the most serious threat Europe has faced since 9/11.”

Extract 17: Fox News

FN16, Line 56-57: France will be “merciless in the face of anti-Semitic, anti-Muslim acts, and unrelenting against those who defend and carry out terrorism, notably **the jihadists who go to Iraq and Syria**,” Hollande vowed.

Extract 18: Fox News

FN5, Line 5-6: The younger Kouachi had been sentenced to 18 months of prison in 2008 after trying to leave to join **Muslim fighters battling in Iraq**.

Extract 19: Fox News

FN11, Line 51-52: ...**jihadi fighters in the Middle East** have a natural interest to claim such violence...

Extract 20: Fox News

FN11, Line 45: Thousands of young people from Western Europe have headed to **the war zones in Syria and Iraq to join extremists**.

From all the extracts provided above, it can be seen that *Fox News* portrays the social actors in the light of terrorism such as “the jihadists”, “individuals”, “Islamic extremists”, “Muslim fighters”, and “jihadist fighters”. All these representations used a generic reference which is linked to the *genericisation strategy* (Van Leeuwen, 1996b). As mentioned in Chapter 2, social actors can be represented through the *genericisation* or the *specification strategy*. This is because the discourse producers, the news writers, can choose to represent the social actors either as classes or as a group of participants which is generic or as specific, identifiable individuals (Van Leeuwen, 1996b) (see Section 2.5.1). As can be seen in the extracts provided, the representations of the Muslim social actors seem to be associated with terrorism and extremism and the social actors being portrayed are also confined to a particular location, the Middle Eastern countries of Iraq and Syria. This reference to a particular location is evident of the *specification strategy* which is realised by the use of adjective phrases such as:

- the jihadists who go to Iraq and Syria
- individuals who have travelled to Syria
- Muslim fighters battling in Iraq
- Islamic extremists in the Middle East
- jihadi fighters in the Middle East

In this context, the *specification* of those who are labelled as “Muslim extremists”, “jihadists”, and fighters” seems to be used by the news as an essentialization strategy. Essentialization refers to the attribution of specific characteristics to particular social

groups whereby characteristics are deemed as ‘innate’ (Alazany & Eng, 2014). In this context, the essentialization strategy homogenizes all Muslims and Islamic movements or groups who have links to the Middle East as terrorists and extremists hence, stereotyping the Middle Eastern countries as the breeding ground of terrorism and extremism. The Middle East countries are predominantly mentioned if the social actors or social action associated with them are represented in the context of terrorism and extremism. This representation could ideologically construct the Middle Eastern countries as a threat to Western countries. As such, the strategy could increase other people’s suspicion towards those who originated from Middle Eastern countries. The *specification strategy* could also suggest to the readers that the authorities are paying serious attention to Muslims coming from or going to the Middle Eastern countries. It is possible that this strategy could raise the question as to why Muslims connected to Middle Eastern countries are being monitored closely as compared to Muslims from other Islamic countries such as those in Asia.

In addition, *Fox News* also uses the discursive strategy to construct the suspicion of ‘Muslim terrorists’ who have gone to the Middle East as a “threat” which is currently faced by Europe. This is evident in Extract 16 which illustrates the use of the *impersonalisation strategy* (see Section 2.5.1). In this extract, the news used the adjective phrase, “the most serious” as a means to further exaggerate the “threat”, thereby increasing the level of its seriousness. This strategy could raise an ideological implication which promotes fear or even prejudice and hatred towards Muslims especially those who come from the Middle East. In Extract 16 and Extract 20, the social actors who have gone to the Middle East to join the extremists are represented through the *assimilation strategy* which contains a particular *aggregation* of “3000 to 5000 European nationals” and “thousands of young people”. Clearly, this use of *aggregation* to depict the social actors

is to project the social actors as a huge threat, thus they are portrayed as ‘quantities’. This amplification in number can create a mental image among others that the number of Westerners who are being influenced by the extremist ideology from the Middle East is worrisome and so Western countries need to take the appropriate steps to protect themselves from the threat which they are currently facing.

Huffington Post

As Fox News tends to associate Muslim social actors with terrorism and extremism explicitly through *identification strategy* as discussed above, references to terrorism and extremism in representing the Muslim social actors during the coverage of the attack in *Huffington Post* are quite implicit. The identification of Muslim social actors using terms denoting extremism and terrorism such as “extremists” and “terrorists” is quite low as the terms can only be found in six news articles. Nonetheless, the association between Muslim social actors and acts of terror is mainly traced through the noun terms of “terror attack”, “terrorism”, and “Islamic extremism” in framing the attack which are illustrated in the extracts below.

Extract 6: Huffington Post

HP8, Line 1: ...strongly condemn the deadliest **terror attack**...

Extract 7: Huffington Post

HP16, Line 1: France vowed to combat **terrorism** with “a cry for freedom” ...

Extract 8: Huffington Post

HP16, Line 44: That attack Wednesday was the first act in France’s worst terrorist attacks in decades.

Extract 9: Huffington Post

HP21, Line 7: ...the threats posed by **Islamic extremism**...

In this regard, it is obvious that the Muslim social actors are being *impersonalized* through the terms of “terror attack”, “terrorism”, and “Islamic extremism”. Van Leeuwen (1996b) calls this kind of *impersonalisation* as *abstraction* (see Section 2.1.5). Consequently, through the *impersonalisation* strategy, the Muslim social actors are thus regarded as

‘terrorists’. It appears that the association of the Muslim social actors with terrorism and extremism in *Huffington Post* is being framed beyond the Charlie Hebdo attack itself. Here, the inclusion of “terrorists”, “extremists”, and “militants” identified as ‘Muslims’ are noted in the coverage of this attack by both news media. This is illustrated in the extracts below:

Extract 10: Fox News

FN8, Line 80-81: ...threatened to attack France, which against **extremists in Iraq** and fighting **Islamic militants in Africa**.

Extract 11: Fox News

FN12, Line 6-7: Brothers Cherif and Said Kouachi, as well as Coulibaly, their friend who claimed ties to **Islamic extremists in the Middle East**...

Extract 12: Huffington Post

HP16, Line 53: Western countries have voiced increasing fears about **Islamic radicals who train abroad** and come home to stage attacks.

Extract 13: Huffington Post

HP16, Line 56-58: The attacks in targets for the France as well as a hostage siege last month in Sydney and October killing of a soldier near Canada’s parliament prompted the U.S State Department to issue a global travel warning for Americans. It also cited an increased risk of reprisals against U.S. and Western targets for the U.S.-led intervention against **Islamic State group militants in Syria and Iraq**.

The extracts provided above show that the discourse producers also make references to “extremists” and “Islamic militants” in other countries (Iraq, Africa, Syria, and “abroad”). These countries are presented as an ‘enemy’ through the strategy of *passivation*. Here, the Muslim social actors are passivated in terms of material processes which denote the military actions taken by the Western government as well as in terms of relational processes which denote them as the possible root of the terrorism. Evidence can be traced to Extract 10 and Extract 13. References to these countries during the construction of the Muslims perpetrators exaggerate and highlight the global presence of ‘Muslim terrorists’. As such, Islamist movements are represented as spreading and infiltrating other countries.

Ideological implications

Such representations (both explicitly or by association through *impersonalisation*) emphasize a continuous association between Islam and acts labelled as ‘Islamic terrorism’. The use of ‘Islam’ and ‘Muslims’ as adjectives could develop an ideological implication that project the act of terrorism and extremism as being sanctioned by Islam (Akbarzadeh & Smith, 2005). This strategy could shape the mental schema of readers to think that Islamic followers are susceptible to radicalized and militancy beliefs. This therefore justifies the need to develop suspicion towards Muslims. Akbarzadeh and Smith (2005) point out that the recurring use of quasi-synonymous terms (such as “Islamic militants” and “Muslim terrorists”) can come to be representative of all Muslims and the Islamic religion” (p. 7).

The repetitive use of such evaluative terms suggests over-lexicalization. “Muslim terrorists” are also being described as “Islamist gunmen”, “Islamic terrorists”, “Islamist terrorists brother”, and “Islamic radicals”. In the context of this analysis, it is noted that the clause of “Jihadists who go to Iraq” is conflated with “Muslim fighters battling in Iraq”, “Islamic extremists in the Middle East and “jihadist fighters in the Middle East”. This use of linguistic expressions to denote a particular group of people by the news suggests that the discourse producers used these terms interchangeably. If so, they can enhance and define the homogenized stereotypes of all Islamic associations (Richardson, 2004). The homogenous representation of Islamic movements was also evident as their discursive representations were decontextualized. There is a dearth of contextual background which examines why each Islamist groups or movements did what they did in the respective countries. For example, the socio-political contexts of the countries in which terrorism was referred to were not discussed. As such, their discursive representations is said to be dehistoricized and depoliticized (Poole, 2002). From the

analysis, it was also noted that the homogeneity of the Islamic movements seem to be proposing a characterization of the ‘Islamic terrorism’ as “congenital instead of providing any ground to link it with grievances, political conflicts, discrimination, repression, and prior violence imposed by other parties” (Karim, 2006, p. 119).

As discussed above, it appears that the attribute of violence served as an essential characteristic in all the Islamic movements and groups through the use of *specification strategy*, thereby imposing fear. The essentialization of the Islamic movements as violent also enabled the development of an ideologically stereotype of all Islamic Movements as connected to terrorism and extremism, making Islam or its followers a threat to Western security. This is regardless of the diversity that exists among them such as “whether these movements are traditional or modern, violent or peaceful” (Alazany & Eng, 2014, p. 52). In that regard, the strategy or representation used by the Western media could conceal the fact that “there are Islamic movements that adopt political and civilized means like democracy to participate and compete in the political sphere” (Alazany & Eng, 2014, p. 53). As an illustration, the example of Ayoob (2007, as cited in Alazany & Eng, 2014) is borrowed to demonstrate some examples of Islamic movements that resort to democracy instead of using violence as a means of achieving their agenda such as The Brotherhood in Egypt, AKP in Turkey, and Al-Eslah in Yemen.

The emphasis on the ties between Muslim social actors represented as terrorists and extremists with the Middle Eastern countries in the news articles as seen in *Huffington Post* and *Fox News*, suggests an ideological conception of ‘a threat from outside’ that is driven by “Islam rage, resentment, inferiority to the Western world and hatred of all Western political thought” (Elgamri, 2008, p. 50). The belief which highlights the

hostility of the Middle East countries can mobilize support for and legitimize any military actions and intervention initiated by Western countries in the Middle Eastern countries as exemplified by the U.S military intervention in Syria and Iraq. The representation of Middle Eastern countries as hostile due to terrorism and militant activities seems to imply that “once the elimination of the terrorist groups in the Middle East is completed, the war against terrorism will have been won once and for all”. As such, no further justification is needed to normalize the military actions in the Middle East (Karim, 2006, p. 126).

4.2. Depiction of Muslims as violent

Muslims are represented within the framework of violence in both *Huffington Post* and *Fox News*. The theme noted above not only emerged during the representations of the perpetrators themselves while carrying out the attack but through references to previous violent incidents committed by Muslims prior to the attack. As such, Muslims are predicated with negative qualities such as ‘violent’ and ‘dangerous’.

Fox News

From *Fox News*, the analysis found that there is evidence of references made to previous violent activities when representing the Muslim social actors. In this context, Muslims are discursively constructed as violent mainly through the use of the *exclusion strategy*. This strategy is realised through the portrayal of violent activities committed by Muslim social actors prior to the Charlie Hebdo attack.

Van Leeuwen (1996b) has highlighted that representation of social actors can include or exclude social actors so as to suit the discourse producer’s aims and purposes in relation

to their target readers. Further, the *exclusion* of social actors can also be categorised as *suppression* or *backgrounding*. Some exclusions may not have any reference of either the social actors or their activities anywhere in the text. This is called *suppression*. Meanwhile, some social actors may also be excluded in the text but readers can still refer to them through the inclusion of their activities (e.g. the murder of protestors) throughout the texts. This *backgrounding* of the social actors as an *exclusion* leave a trace for the readers who will ask ‘but who committed the murder?’ or ‘but who was murdered?’. Even though the text does not provide direct answers to these questions, readers can “infer with reasonable (though never total) certainty who they are” (Van Leeuwen, 1996b, p. 39) (see Section 2.8.1).

The *exclusion strategy* particularly, the *backgrounding* of the Muslim social actors, is realised through the use of nouns and noun phrases to signal certain social activities and this linguistic application could create negative connotations for the possible social actors who committ them. The *backgrounding* of the Muslim social actors is evidently seen in the extracts below:

Extract 24: Fox News

FN16, Line 64-65: **Criticism and threats** immediately appeared on militant websites, with calls for more strikes against the newspaper **and anonymous threats** from radicals, according to the SITE Intelligence Group, a U.S-based terrorism monitor.

Extract 25: Fox News

FN2, Line 42-43: He was the subject of **a fatwah**, and there is a Facebook page called “Execute Stephanie Charbonnier.”

Extract 26: Fox News

FN19, Line 1-5: Teachers, parents and media freedom activists are urging police action after **death threats** against a French teenager over a school newspaper issue about the extremist attack against satirical weekly Charlie Hebdo.

Extract 27: Fox News

FN11, Line 3-4: 17-year-old student, chief editor of the paper at the Marcelin Berthelot school in the Paris suburb of Saint-Maur des Fosses, **received seven threats**, according to Reporters Without Borders. They included **letters sent with bullets and swastikas**, some sent to his home, others left in his school lockers.

Extract 28: Fox News

FN2, Line 37-40: Charlie Hebdo first gained notoriety in 2006, when it reprinted a dozen cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad that appeared in Danish daily Jyllands-Posten, in defiance of Islam's forbidding of any image attempting to portray its most important prophet. Its offices were **firebombed** in 2011 after a spoof issue featuring a caricature of the prophet Muhammad on its cover.

In this regard, the Muslim social actors are backgrounded in relation to violent and threatening social activities such as issuing “death threats” to various parties as well as “firebombed”. As discussed by Van Leeuwen (1996b), although the agents of these activities are excluded, the *inclusion* of the social activities could prompt readers to ask questions such as “who organized the violent protests?”, “who sent the death threats to the high school student?”, “who issued the terrorist threat?”, or “who firebombed the office?”.

Given the context of the articles and events, it can be deduced that the negative social activities are most likely to have been committed by Muslim social actors and this information is drawn from other information provided in the texts. For example, in Extract 21, Extract 24, and Extract 28, the “violent protests”, the “firebombing”, and the “death threats” were described as being organised and issued as a means to denounce the depiction of Prophet Muhammad. These strategies, it is deduced, could give an impression to the readers that the social actors who committed various acts of violence also worshipped Prophet Muhammad who is the central figure of Islam. Thus, the suspicions raised would most likely fall on Muslims. Meanwhile, in Extract 23, “a terrorist threat” is provided in the text and this has occurred after a particular group has made a protest against what is believed to be Islamic influence in Western countries. This outcome could create the impression and the interpretation that the social actors who issued the threats are against anyone who condemned Islam. In this regard, the followers of Islam would most likely end up being suspects. In Extract 25, one of the victims killed

during the attack is passivated in the text as “the subject of a fatwah” which was clearly linking the actor to the religion as ‘fatwah’ is a term in the Quran. This outcome also suggests that readers are likely to ask: whose fatwah determined the execution of Stephanie Charbonnier? In this particular extract, the noun “fatwah” had *impersonalised* the Muslim social actors as it denotes an Islamic term.

Huffington Post

The representation of Muslims as being violent in the *Huffington Post* seems to be mainly confined within the portrayal of the perpetrators themselves. This is achieved in the text through the strategy of exaggerating and highlighting their violent acts during the attack. The perpetrators in the text are portrayed as violent as they are activated as the agent of the material processes thereby denoting their extreme vicious actions such as:

- shooting death
- threatened to kill
- opened fire
- unleashed a barrage of bullet
- massacred
- shooting the officer in the head

Examples of the negative activation of the Muslim social actors with regards to violent actions are illustrated in the extracts below:

Extract 29: Huffington Post

HP15, Line 5 - Coulibaly is also suspected in the *shooting death of a policewoman* on a Paris roadside Thursday.

Extract 30: Huffington Post

HP15, Line 22 - Coulibaly had allegedly *threatened to kill* the hostages in the market if police stormed the printing press where the brothers were located.

Extract 31: Huffington Post

HP18, Line 3 – Amedy Coulibaly burst into the market and **opened fire, killing 4 people.**

Extract 32: Huffington Post

HP8, Line 4 - ...they **unleashed a barrage of bullets** that left at least twelve dead.

Extract 33: Huffington Post

HP16, Line 45 – Brothers Said and Cherif Kouachi **methodically massacred 12 people** at the Charlie Hebdo offices...

Extract 34: Huffington Post

H16, Line 46: Separately, Coulibaly **shot a policewoman** to death and **attacked** the Paris kosher market, **threatening to more violence** unless the police let the Kouachis go.

Extract 35: Huffington Post

HP2, Line 21-22: ... one gunman shooting the officer **in the head**.

From the analysis made, it appears that there is evidence of hyperbole which exaggerates the images of the violent actions. The use of quantifiers such as “a barrage of bullet” as shown in Extract 32 signals a hyperbole which illustrate the large number of bullets being fired. Likewise, the use of the prepositional phrase “in the head” complements the *activation* of the perpetrators in the material process. “Shooting the officer”, as can be seen in Extract 35, could possibly yield similar implication in the mental image of the readers as the action of shooting someone in the head is indeed brutal and savagely violent.

Aside from the *activation* of the Muslim social actors as agents of violent actions, allocating the victims a role equally contributes towards intensifying the violence committed by the Muslim social actors. This involves the *passivation* of the victims as they are represented as being “at the receiving end of the violent actions” (Van Leeuwen, 1996b, p. 43) which have been inflicted by the Muslim social actors as well as the *activation* of the victims as agents of the activities, connoting their innocence. The *passivation* of the victims as the goal of the violent actions is shown below:

Extract 36: Huffington Post

HP11, Line 1-2 - A Muslim police officer was **among the victims of the terrorist attack** carried out on the offices of satirical newspaper Charlie Hebdo...

Extract 37: Huffington Post

HP15, Line 14 - Four of the hostages are in critical condition. Among others wounded in the assault were **two police officers**.

Extract 38: Huffington Post

HP16, Line 16 - **Policemen were killed** because they were protecting you. *Jews were killed* because they were Jewish.

Meanwhile, the victims are also activated as performing activities which denotes their innocence when the violent actions of the perpetrators are being committed upon them.

This is illustrated in the extracts below:

Extract 39: Huffington Post

HP16, Line 16 - Policemen were killed because **they were protecting you**. Jews were killed because **they were Jewish**.

Extract 40: Huffington Post

HP11, Line 3-4 - He (the Muslim police officer) was reportedly **patrolling** outside the building when the attack took place.

Extract 41: Huffington Post

HP17, Line 26-28 - "Since 2010, she has had a relationship with an individual whose ideology has been expressed in violence and **by the execution of poor people who were doing their shopping in a supermarket.**"

As can be seen in the data provided, the victims are activated in relation to the activities such as "protecting", "patrolling", and "shopping". The discourse producers make the choice of highlighting the victims' activities while they are being attacked. This creates a mental image that all the victims do nothing to deserve what is done to them, hence it reinforces the violent quality attributed to the Muslim social actors. The *inclusion* of the victims' activities while the attack happened can be regarded as additional information to indicate the victims' undeserving fate when the crime is committed. This additional information seems like a deliberate effort of the discourse producer to validate the representation of Muslims as violent. The reason for mentioning this is because this information could have been omitted and it would not have jeopardized the main narrative (Ang, 2015). Correspondingly, this could also invoke the feeling of sympathy towards the victims, thereby, raising hatred towards the Muslim social actors.

The innocence of the victims was further reinforced through *functionalisation* and *identification* of the victims. The *functionalisation* of the victims expressed the innocence of the victims as can be seen in the extracts below:

Extract 42: Huffington Post

HP15, Line 5 - Coulibaly is also suspected in the shooting death of **a policewoman** on a Paris roadside Thursday.

Extract 43: Huffington Post

HP15, Line 10 - He (Coulibaly) held **15 shoppers** hostage inside

Extract 44: Huffington Post

HP20, Line 18 – Prosecutors said Coulibaly killed four **hostages** Friday in the supermarket, killed **a policewoman**, and shot and wounded **a jogger**.

In this regard, the victims are generally functionalised as “police officer”, “shoppers”, and “jogger” as if they were unlikely adversaries of anybody. Meanwhile, in Extract 38, the victims are identified as “Jewish”. In this context, the use of the lexical item to functionalise and identify the victims makes a clear contrast to the Muslim social actors. The *functionalisation* and *identification* of the victims thereby represent them as innocent individuals who do not cause any threat to anyone hence, do not deserve to be harmed. This portrayal thus suggests the use of the emotionalization strategy which functions as a strategy to evoke emotional feedback from the readers. Further, this strategy also foregrounds the quality of violence which is attributed to the Muslims (Dubrovskaya, Dankova, & Gulyaykina, 2015). Dubrovskaya et al. (2015) note that emotions which “appeal to reader’s emotions are often practiced by journalists as an efficient way to accomplish their aim” (p. 302). In this context, the semantic roles assigned to the victims reinforce their innocence thereby, creating feelings of sympathy towards the victims while deepening negative feelings such as anger and hatred towards those associated with the terrorist attack.

The representation of the Muslims as violent is further reinforced through the pairing of positive and negative lexical items. Correspondingly, this creates a positive self-representation and a negative other-representation. Lexical items that carried positive connotations are used to portray the Muslim social actors while lexical items that carried negative connotations are used to represent the “self”. This is illustrated in the extracts below:

Extract 45: Huffington Post

HP1, Line 19 – “And those who carry **senseless attacks against innocent civilians**, ultimately they’ll be forgotten.”

Extract 46: Huffington Post

HP1, Line 38 - ...the newspaper’s Paris office *was firebombed* after it published an issue *jokingly* “guest edited” by the Prophet Muhammad.

Extract 47: Huffington Post

HP16, Line 57-58 – It also cited an increased risk of *reprisals* against U.S. and Western targeted for the U.S. -led *intervention* against Islamic State group militants in Syria and Iraq.

Extract 48: Huffington Post

HP16, Line 20-21 - ...where he killed four hostages, in which he *lashes out* over Western *military campaigns* against extremists in Syria and Mali.

Table 4.1: Other lexical items attributing the quality of violent

Positive lexical items vs. Negative lexical items
innocent civilians vs. senseless attack
jokingly vs. firebombed
intervention vs. reprisals
lashes out vs. military campaigns

The pairing of the negative and positive lexical items shown in Table 1 suggests a deliberate intention of the discourse producers to make the discourses emotive and thereby, escalate the degree of violence attributed to the Muslim social actors. For example, the pair of lexical items “jokingly vs. firebombed” could create an impression that the Muslim social actors “firebombed” the office over a “joke”. This implication suggests how heartless and ruthless the social actors are for inflicting harmful actions

over something that is supposed to be an entertainment. Such pairs of lexicalization also seem to highlight that the Muslim social actors have been reciprocated with the good intention of the 'self' with violence. For instance, the word "intervention" suggests an action that is taken to solve a problem or to improve something. However, the Muslims are represented as committing "reprisals" over this good intention.

Ideological implications

As discussed above, both news media of *Huffington Post* and *Fox News* predominantly attribute the quality of violence to the Muslim social actors in their coverage. However, there is a slight difference in the way Muslim social actors are represented as violent in both *Huffington Post* and *Fox News*.

Fox News tends to frame the representation of Muslims as violent within the framework of 'acting in the name of Islam'. This is evident as *Fox News* mainly features the violent actions that are represented as acts of revenge for the insult made towards the Islamic religion (such as the publishing of Muhammad cartoons and movies). Hence, 'revenge' is used as the explanatory context for the violent actions. This could yield an ideological image of religious fanaticism on Muslims. From the discussions made above, there is also evidence of generalisation which could create a stereotyped mental image that individuals with the Islamic faith are prone to be violent when it comes to standing up for their religion. This is done by making references to the previous violent actions committed by Muslims as an act of revenge or discontentment. In this context, only violent responses are represented in the news articles despite the fact that disagreement can be demonstrated in many forms including peaceful ones. For example, there are other Muslims who responded to the publishing of Muhammad cartoons by organizing peaceful protests.

Nonetheless, these ‘peaceful ways of protesting’ are not featured in the news articles. This disparity suggests that the news media have a concerted effort aimed at reinforcing the preconceived negative image of Islam as being supportive of violence in the Western collective memory (Elgamri, 2008).

Meanwhile, *Huffington Post* discursively constructs the representation of Muslims as violent by framing it vis-à-vis with the positive representations of the victims and the Western countries. This portrayal of the victims and the Western countries as innocent can develop hostile reactions as readers could have the notion that such acts are unjustifiable. This therefore, leads to the creation of an ideological construct of the Muslim social actors as being irrational and hence their actions are irrationally violent. However, it is interesting to note that the representation of the Muslim social actors as violent in *Huffington Post* is constructed mainly from the perspective of the perpetrators as social actors. As such, it appears that there is an attempt to refrain from stereotyping all the Muslims as violent.

4.3. Depiction of Muslims as opposing Western values

Both *Fox News* and *Huffington Post* frame the freedom of speech within the context of the Western universal value. Analysis of the news articles found that both news media represent Muslim social actors as opposing this Western value.

Fox News

Extract 49: Fox News

FN2, Line 61-62: “France is America’s oldest ally, and has stood shoulder to shoulder with the United States in the fight against terrorists who threaten our share security and the world,” Obama said in a statement. “Time and again, the French people have stood up for the **universal values** that generations of **our people have defended**.”

Extract 50: Fox News

FN7, Line 5: “This wasn’t an attack on the French magazine,” terrorism expert Rachel Ehrenfeld, PhD., director of the American Center for Democracy told FOX411, in an email. “This was an attack on free expression and all the liberal values of the West.”

Extract 49 and Extract 50 highlight the representation of the freedom of speech within the framework of universal values and the liberal values of the West. In Extract 49, the freedom of speech is framed as the universal value that “generations of our people” have defended and the “French people” share this sentiment. As such, the freedom of speech is represented as the legacy of the Western people as Americans are collectivized as “our people” and identified themselves with the “French people”. By framing the freedom of speech as a value highly upheld by the Western, opposing it can be equated as opposing the Western liberal value.

Analysis of data also found that *Fox News* represents the magazine positively by referring it as a satirical magazine that depicts religions and political figures indiscriminately. This therefore, mitigates any assumption that the magazine has deliberately targeted the Islamic religion or is anti-Muslims. On the other hand, Muslims are represented negatively as the only social group that responds violently to the magazine’s depiction of the religion of Islam. This is realised through the expressions of “firebombed for depictions of Islam” and “had received threats after depicting Muhammad”, illustrated in Extract 50 and Extract 51. From these examples, it can therefore be inferred that the agents are Muslims as both actions represent the acts committed in the name of Islam.

Extract 51: Fox News

FN8, Line 45: It was **firebombed for depictions of Islam**, although it also satirized **other religions and political figures**.

Extract 52: Fox News

FN16, Line 66: Charlie Hebdo, which **lampoons religion indiscriminately**, had received threats **after depicting Muhammad before**.

Extract 53: Fox News

FN1, Line 3: This was **an attack on journalists**, it’s **an attack on our free press**,” Obama said...

Extract 54: Fox News

FN21, Line 62-64: At an international conference in India, U.S secretary of State John Kerry said the world stood with the people of France “not just in anger and in outrage, but in solidarity and commitment to the cause of confronting extremism and in **the cause that extremists fear** so much and that has always united our countries: **freedom.**”

Extract 55: Fox News

FN16, Line 62-65: Defying the bloodshed and terror last week, a caricature of the Prophet Muhammad was to appear Wednesday on the cover of the latest issue of Charlie Hebdo, weeping and holding a placard with the words “I am Charlie.”

Criticism and threats immediately appeared on militant websites, with calls for more **strikes against the newspaper...**

In Extract 50 and Extract 53 provided above, the Muslim social actors are objectified as “the attack” (see Section 2.5.1). Since the “attack” is represented as an act committed for “free expression” which appears to represent the “liberal values of the West”, the “journalists” and the “free press”, the counter portrayal of “the attack” links it to the agent of the attack as being against the free expression of the West and its liberal values.

Likewise, in Extract 54 and Extract 55, the Muslim social actors are also collectivised as “extremists”. In this regard, they are activated as fearing the freedom as well as committing attacks on newspapers that publish the caricature of the Prophet Muhammad. This reinforces the representation of the Muslims as denouncing the values of the West. This collectivization of the Muslim social actors as “extremists” as shown in Extract 54 suggests another homogenous representation for every Islamic movement and group that is undoubtedly perceived as ‘extremists’. Since it is perceived that all ‘extremists’ fear and oppose the freedom of speech of the West, the *collectivisation* of the Muslim social actors as ‘extremists’ may indicate that this representation is not only confined to the perpetrators of the attack but also others.

Huffington Post

As before, the representation of freedom of expression as a Western value that is shared universally is also highlighted in *Huffington Post*. This is evidenced in Extract 56.

Extract 56: Huffington Post

HP11, Line 9-10 - But the one thing that I'm very confident about is that the values that we share with the French people, a belief – **a universal belief in the freedom of expression**, is something that can't be silenced because of the senseless violence of the few," he added.

In this context, the use of the adjective of "universal" implies that the quoted voice, President Obama, has made a declaration that the value of the freedom of speech is shared by people from all around the world. In this context, Americans are collectivized (see Section 2.5.1) as "we" and they are identified with the French people as those who believed in the freedom of speech. This differentiates them from "the few" who are represented as against the value "we" hold. Although "the few" are undetermined (see Section 2.5.1), it can be deduced that "the few" refers to the Muslims who commit the "senseless attack".

Extract 57: Huffington Post

HP1, Line 6-7 – "The fact that **this was an attack on journalists, attack on our free press**, also underscores the degree to which these terrorists **fear freedom of speech and freedom of press**," Obama said...

In Extract 57, the Muslim social actors are represented as avenging the authors or journalists whose publications are portrayed as an exercise of the right to free speech. As such, there are implicit and explicit representations of the Muslims as the agents of the violent attack that are in retaliation to such publications. In Extract 57 above, Muslim social actors are objectified as "the attack", an act committed on the "journalists" and the "free press". This portrayal implies that Muslim social actors have committed the attack in their bid to oppose Western value of freedom of speech. Such kinds of representation

tend to reinforce the perception that the Muslim social actors are revengeful, “terrorists” and agents of the “fear of freedom of speech and freedom of press”.

In the context of this study, the analysis found that only those cartoonists who had been threatened or harmed as a result of their Islamic-related drawings, are included in the discourse. This is illustrated in Extract 58 and Extract 59. Here, although the agents of the “threats”, “murder attempt” and violent actions towards the “Syrian cartoonists” are excluded, the suspicion would inevitably fall on Muslims. This is attributed to the background context provided: “depicting Muhammad” and “lampooned President Bashar Assad”.

Extract 58: Huffington Post

HP10, Line 15: Westergaard, who lives under police protection, has **faced multiple death threats** and **murder attempts** for his 2005 drawing depicting Muhammad with a bomb-shaped turban.

Extract 59: Huffington Post

HP10, Line 31: Cartoonists have been targeted in the past. In 2011, Syrian cartoonist Ali Farzat **was beaten and both his hands broken** before being dump on the side of the road after he lampooned President Bashar Assad.

Following this, other extracts such as Extract 60 serves as an example to depict the explicit representations made of the Muslims who are portrayed as strongly opposing the freedom of speech. Muslims and the “Islamist groups” are activated in this extract, as agents of the “violent protests” and “recurring threats” which are conducted in retaliation to the publishing of the caricatures of Prophet Muhammed. Here, the representation of the Muslims’ discontentment towards the Western value is again reinforced. In addition, as the original publisher of the caricatures, “Danish newspaper Jyllands-Posten” is also activated as exercising the freedom of press hence, he too became a victim of the Muslims.

Extract 60: Huffington Post

HP9, Line 4-6: In February 2006, Charlie Hebdo, along with several other European newspapers, published 12 caricatures of the Prophet Muhammed, originally published in the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten*, in the name of freedom of press. These drawings provoked **violent protests in the Muslim world**, and since then the newspaper has been **the object of recurring threats** from **Islamist groups**.

Ideological implications

In doing the analysis, it is also noted that anti-Western sentiment prevailed as a dominant theme and that it often emerges within the studies of the representation of Islam and Muslims in Western discourse. In the context of this study, this ideological concept helps to reinforce the Muslim people's opposition towards Western values such as democracy and freedom of speech. In this regard, it is found that both *Fox News* and the *Huffington Post* highlight the theme of Muslim resentment towards the freedom of speech, a universal valued enjoyed by Western countries. In constructing this representation, there is some evidence of inconsistency noted in the representation of the Muslim social actors. This is evidenced in the data which sometimes specified who the perpetrators of the Charlie Hebdo attack is and sometimes the perpetrators appear as a homogenized group who opposed the freedom of speech. Nonetheless, this depends on the semantic roles assigned to them. As stated before, the representation of the Muslims as opposing one of the Western liberal values could create an ideological perception that Muslims are backward and conservative unlike Western liberalism and democracy.

4.4. Depiction of Muslims as criminals

Huffington Post evidently refers the Muslim social actors to some link of criminal history during the coverage of the attack. This association between Muslims and criminal backgrounds could create a representation of Muslims as criminals even before these Muslims commit any crime. By highlighting the criminal aspect of the Muslim's history,

the Muslim social actors are thus portrayed as those who are likely to go against authority hence, such acts are perceived to be deplorable and felonious (Ang, 2015, p. 56). Correspondingly, the representation of these social actors as criminals depict a negative attribute: Muslims as bad citizens while the Westerners are depicted as the victims of such acts. Hence, it is easy to see how the Muslim social actors are seen in a bad light. The bad activities of the Muslim social actors can be seen in the extracts provided below:

Extract 61: Huffington Post

HP17, Line 41-42: His former client, Sauveur said, had **at least six prior convictions**, including **three for armed robbery**...

Extract 62: Huffington Post

HP17, Line 43-44 - ...**Coulibaly admitted furnishing ammunition** for a planned jailbreak intended to free a radical Islamist.

As can be noted, the Muslim social actors are activated in the processes of criminality such as “having prior convictions” including “armed robbery” and “furnishing ammunition”. In Extract 61, it is possible that the discourse producers’ decision for only mentioning “armed robbery” out of the “six prior convictions” is to inform the readers that the social actor has a bad history or serious crime. The adjective “armed” is provided as a device to highlight the robbery which presupposes that the social actor has access to dangerous weapons. Likewise, this portrayal reinforces the danger such kinds of people would pose to the community.

Clearly, the Muslim social actors presented in the media text are not only activated with criminal actions but also specific details which could highlight their notoriety. It is deduced that the discourse producers provide the extra information demonstrating the number of convictions for the purpose of enumerating the quality of being untrustworthy. Here, the social actor is described as having had “six” convictions, which again, presupposes prior and repeated convictions. In this context, the representation of the

crime as being repetitive further reinforces the representation of the social actor as a criminal. From the perspective of the argumentation strategies proposed by Wodak and Meyer (2009) as seen in the approach of Discourse- Historical Approach (DHA), “six” was obviously applied as a means to justify the negative attribute. Likewise, the use of the premodification of “three” to describe how many times the social actor had committed an armed robbery can yield two implications: it was easy for the social actor to get the weapons and using dangerous weapons was the social actor’s modus operandi when committing a crime.

Extract 63: Huffington Post

HP17, Line 55-56 - Coulibaly **regularly sold marijuana and hashish** to high school students, and as recently as one month ago, was **still dealing dope** at La Grande Borne, a tough public housing estate to the south of Paris.

As discussed before, the Muslim social actors are activated in criminal acts involving the use of weapons which represents them as dangerous criminals that can harm one’s life. Based on Extract 63 shown above, it can be seen that the social actor is activated into the material process of another degrading behavior, that of “selling marijuana, hashish and dope”. This projection implies the involvement of the social actor in drug-related crimes as the use or possession of illicit drugs in France is a criminal offence ("National Drug Laws," 2016). Further, the use of a complement like “to high school students” is to project an extra information linked to the drug-related crime committed by the social actor. As can be expected, this extra information connoting young and easily influenced group of people, can magnify the mental image that the Muslim social actors are not only criminals and parasites of society, they are also bringing detrimental effects to the younger generation which, if not intervened adequately, could lead to more social problems in the country.

Extract 67: Huffington Post

HP22, Line 25-28 – However, Peter Neumann, director of the International Center for the Study of Radicalization, King’s College London, said that in keeping with the guidelines laid down in an influential handbook for jihadis published in 2004, he believes the Paris attacks were **self-financed**.

“They could **use credit card fraud...even stealing from people**,” Neuman said. “Their attitude is the whole society (in Europe) is rotten infidels.”

In Extract 67 above, the Muslim social actors are objectified through the activity describing them as engagers in the “Paris attacks”. Van Leeuwen (1996b) maintains that when social actors are represented through a reference linking them to a place or thing, these social actors would also be closely associated with or to that activity. In this regard, the news had portrayed the Muslim social actors in a bad light through the strategy of *objectivation* (see Section 2.5.1). In addition, it can also be seen that the phrase of “self-financed” is pointed at the Muslim social actors to presuppose that the social actors either have sufficient funds to carry out the act or that they are sponsored or supported by others who share similar ideologies. In this regard, the social actors are activated as “self-financing” which is semantically neutral. However, this changes when the social actors are activated as agents of illegal activities when they were assumed to commit “credit card fraud” and “stealing from other people” as a means of self-financing themselves. Note that the examples given consist of only negative activities even though there are many other possible ways for the social actors to “self-financed” themselves. It seems clear that the way the voice in the text immediately draws a conclusion demonstrates a presupposition. Huang (2007) mentions that presupposition refers to claims that are presumed and manipulated as common sense. Presupposition implies that not only the author’s message is being implied, it also demonstrates the author’s attitude, belief and ideology. The *activation* of the social actors with regards to the illegal activities tend to implicate a presupposition that Muslims resort to illegal ways in order to survive. The use of strategies such as presupposition and *activation* of the social actors with regards to criminal and illegal activities strengthens the representation of the Muslims as criminals.

4.5 Counter representations of Muslims

The analysis of data also discovered evidence of alternative discourses that possibly challenged the representation of Muslims. In this regard, one such attempt to distinguish those who are labelled as ‘terrorists’ and ‘extremists’ from the ‘other Muslims’ is traced.

4.5.1 Muslims as victims

In *Fox News*, the Muslim social actors are also represented as victims of the attack committed by fellow Muslims where they are passivated as the goal of action. This possibly stems from the prejudiced ideology and the stigmatization of Muslims. This is exemplified through the following extracts.

Extract 68: Fox News

FN13, Line 1: Firebombs and pig heads thrown into mosques. Veiled women subjected to crude insults in the street. The internet awash with threats against Muslims.

Extract 69: Fox News

FN6, Line 1: **Muslim places of worship in two French towns were targeted** with blank grenades and bullets...

Extract 70: Fox News

FN13, Line 15: Concerns about **backlash against Muslims** were discussed Monday during a counter-terrorism meeting at the Interior Ministry. “We said above all, pretty unamously, that in France there are 5 or 6 million Muslims. These terrorist issues concern 1000 individuals,” said Socialist lawmaker Patrick Mennucci. “We should be careful not to stigmatize anyone.”

Extract 71: Fox News

FN13, Line 4: ...ordinary people increasingly heed rightist rhetoric **equating the millions of peaceful Muslims with the few plotting murder and mayhem.**

In this context, Extract 68 and Extract 69 demonstrate that Muslims are impersonalized by their places of worship. Meanwhile, in Extract 70 and Extract 71, Muslims are passivated as the goal of backlash and a stereotype that identifies them with the terrorists. As such, Muslims themselves are also represented as victims of other fellow Muslims who committed the attack. It is interesting to note that the agents of the abuse and attacks imposed on Muslims are excluded during the representations of Muslims as victims.

Instead, the references as victims are framed as the consequences of the actions of the ‘Muslim terrorists and extremists’. This is demonstrated below:

Extract 72: Fox News

FN13, Line 29-31: French Muslims were already facing a backlash triggered by terror acts by French radicals twisting their religion – particularly **since the rampage in southern France in 2012 in which Mohamed Merah killed three children at a Jewish school, a rabbi and three paratroopers.**

Extract 73: Fox News

FN6, Line 9: The incidents occurred **following the Islamist terror attack** at the offices of the Charlie Hebdo satirical publication in Paris...

The extracts provided above illustrate a few examples showing how the representations of Muslims as victims, have been constructed with reference to the violent actions of other Muslims, labelled as ‘terrorists and extremists’. As such, Muslim social actors are negatively *beneficialised* (see Section 2.5.1) from the violent committed by other Muslims such as from the killing committed by “Mohammad Merah” and from the “Islamist terror attack” committed by the ‘Islamist terrorists’. The representations of Muslims as victims within this framework seem to suggest conflicting ideologies. Although the Muslim social actors are referred as the victims, the *inclusion* of other Muslims who are violent suggests them as deserving the repercussion of those actions. The inclusion of the violent actions committed by fellow Muslims as the explanatory context for the abuses faced by these Muslims also seems like an attempt to normalise the discourse on victimization of Muslims.

4.5.2 Muslims are peaceful

To a small extent, *Huffington Post* attempts to deviate from the negative representation of Muslims homogenously. This is achieved through the attribution of the ‘other Muslims’ as peaceful which is realised through the *activation* of Muslim social actors to show the disapproval of the perpetrators’ actions. This effort reinforces the peacefulness of the ‘other Muslims’. Illustrations are provided below.

Extract 74: Huffington Post

HP11, Line 17-18: **Muslims around the world** swiftly *condemned* the terrorist attack Wednesday. The Grand Mosque of Paris – one of the largest in France – issued a statement saying its community was “shocked” and “horrified” by what happened.

Extract 75: Huffington Post

HP11, Line 19-20: “Their barbarism has nothing to do with Islam,” Hassan Chalghoumi, imam of the Drancy mosque in Paris’s Seine-Saint-Denis suburb, told BFM TV.

Extract 76: Huffington Post

HP8, Line 5-6: **Muslim leaders and activists** immediately *denounced* the terrorists’ actions, reiterating the verse in the Quran that tells Muslims when one kills just one innocent person, it is as if he has killed all of humanity.

Extract 77: Huffington Post

HP8, Line 7-8: Grand Mosque of Paris, one of the largest in France, *issued a statement* on its website shortly after the attacks, *saying* its community was “shocked” and “horrified” by the violence.

“**We strongly condemn** these kinds of acts and we expect the authorities to take the most appropriate measures. **Our community is stunned** by what just happened. It’s a whole section of our democracy that is seriously affected. This is a deafening declaration of war.”

Extract 78: Huffington Post

HP8, Line 12-13: The Union of Islamic Organisations of France also *responded* on its website, writing: “The UOIF condemns in the strongest terms this criminal attack, and these horrible murders. The UOIF expresses its deepest condolences to the families and all the employees of Charlie Weekly.”

Extract 79: Huffington Post

HP8, Line 15-16: Hasan Chalghoumi, imam of the Drancy mosque in Paris’s Seine-Saint-Denis suburb, *spoke* with France’s BFM TV and *condemned* the attackers, saying, “Their barbarism has nothing to do with Islam.”

Extract 80: Huffington Post

HP16, Line 39: Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas *condemned* the attacks. Gaza’s Islamic Hamas leaders condemned the attack on the newspaper...

Extract 81: Huffington Post

HP8, Line 19: *Countless* Muslim activists, leaders and authors took to social media Wednesday to express horror and dismay at the attack...

Extract 82: Huffington Post

HP8, Line 1: *Muslims in France and around the world* banded together on Wednesday to **strongly condemn** the deadliest terror attack...

Extract 83: Huffington Post

HP8, Line 17-18: “These are criminals, barbarians. **They** have sold their soul to hell. This is not freedom. This is not Islam and I hope the French will come out united at the end of this.”

As all the extracts demonstrate, the peaceful Muslim social actors are represented as distancing themselves from the perpetrators, despite sharing similar faith, thereby excluding the perpetrators as their group members. The peaceful Muslim social actors are

also represented as constructing positive self-representation and negative other-representation of the perpetrators. The peaceful Muslims are collectivised as “we” and “our community”, “we condemn the attack” that is committed by “them” who are “criminals, barbarian, and their actions do not reflect Islamic values”. This clear dis-ownership of the other ‘bad Muslims’ impose a very distinct split between Muslims who are peaceful and Muslims who are violent.

Thus, it can be said that Muslims who are peaceful are collectively referred through the *assimilation* and *collectivisation strategy* as shown in Extract 74, Extract 76, and Extract 82. This occurrence clearly depicts an ideological concept to demonstrate that there are followers of Islam who do not condone the attack regardless of its alleged justification. According to Van Leeuwen (1996b), social actors can be represented as individuals which denotes *individualisation* or as groups which denotes *assimilation*. *Assimilation* can be further distinguished as *aggregation* and *collectivisation* where “the former quantifies groups of participants while the latter does not” (Van Leeuwen, 1996b, p. 49) (see Section 2.5.1). The use of *aggregation* was to describe the “Muslims” who condemn the attack. This is illustrated in Extract 81. Here, the indefinite quantifier “countless” is used to describe the Muslim activists, leaders and authors who do not condone the attack committed by the perpetrators. In this context, it is deduced that the discourse producer’s choice to use *aggregation* may be an attempt to highlight the fact that the number of Muslims who despised the attack is unlimited. This could create a mental image that majority of the Muslims are against any violent action regardless of its cause.

The representation of the peaceful Muslim as a large quantity is also intensified through the *collectivisation strategy*. In Extract 74, the use of the prepositional phrase “around the

world” modified the Muslim social actors, “Muslims”, as the group that represents the solidarity of Muslims from different demographic groups. The Muslim social actors shown in Extract 76 and Extract 82 are also represented as a group through the *association strategy*. Van Leeuwen (1996a) has indicated that *association* is another way to represent social actors as a group. Thus, in Extract 81, “Muslim leaders” and “Muslim activists” are associated in relation to the action of “denouncing the terrorists’ actions”. Similarly, “Muslims in France” and “Muslims around the world” in Extract 82 are associated to a group which strongly opposed the attack. This is done as a means to refine the distinction between peaceful Muslims and violent Muslims. As such, the strategy helps to further distance the two groups.

The representations of the Muslim social actors as a group is also evident in Extract 74, Extract 76, and Extract 82 where the strategy of *collectivisation* and *assimilation* are used to portray the Muslim social actors as a “homogeneous, consensual group and helps to signal their agreement” towards the strong disapproval of the attack (Van Leeuwen, 2008 as cited in Zuraidah & May, 2013, p. 751). Consequently, this could mitigate the ideological concept that conflates Muslims with violence and presupposes Islam as supportive of violence. As such, it is inaccurate for Islam, as a religion, to be held accountable for every act of violence committed by Muslims. This is because if Islam encourages violence, then Muslims who are peaceful would not have been in existence and nobody would have condemned the attack.

Further to that, the discourse producers also used the strategy of *individualisation* (see Section 2.5.3) to nominate the Muslim social actors who condemned the attack. These

social actors are individualised through the use of honorific titles such as “Imam”, “Dr”, “President”, and “Islamic leaders” as illustrated through the examples below.

- Hassen Chalghoumi, imam of the Drancy mosque...
- Dr. Bilal Rana, president of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Youth Association...
- Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas...
- Gaza’s Islamic Hamas leaders...
-

This strategy of using honorific titles in nominating and individualizing Muslim elites while representing them as the agents of opposing the attack and disowning the attack as Islamic signifies their personal authority in the Islamic world, thereby, legitimizing what they say. For example, the honorific title ‘Imam’ implicates the eminent status of “Hassan Chalghoumi” as someone who has extensive knowledge of the teachings and values of Islam. The honorific title also qualifies him to be credible thereby legitimizing the ideology (Zuraidah & May, 2013) that Islam never condones killings and violence. The Quran states that there is “no uniform and cohesive Islam” (Elgamri, 2008, p. 103).

Van Leeuwen (1996a) maintains that social actors can be personalised in instances where they are represented as human beings or they can be impersonalised, in instances where they are represented by other means which do not include the semantic feature ‘human’ (see Section 2.5.1). In this regard, the Muslim social actors who are attributed as peaceful are impersonalized by means of reference to a Muslims’ sacred place and organization as evident in Extract 74 and Extract 78. The Muslim social actors who are peaceful are impersonalized as “The Grand Mosque of Paris” and “The Union of Islamic organizations” in relation to the activity which condemn the attack. This strategy legitimizes the peaceful ideology of Islam. Van Leeuwen (1996a) notes that such an *impersonalisation* of social actors can lend an ‘impersonal authority or force to an activity or quality of a social actor’ (p. 60).

The disapproval of the Muslims towards the attack can also be determined through the *activation* of the Muslim social actors who are portrayed as agents in a few material processes as highlighted in the extracts below:

Extract 84: Huffington Post

HP8, Line 1: Muslims in France and around the world **banded together on Wednesday to strongly condemn** the deadliest terror attack...

Extract 85: Huffington Post

HP8, Line 19: Countless Muslim activists, leaders and authors **took to social media** Wednesday to express horror and dismay at the attack...

Extract 86: Huffington Post

HP16, Line 10-11: Unity against extremism is the overriding message for Sunday's rally. Among the expected **attendees** are the Israeli Prime Minister and Palestinian president.

Extract 87: Huffington Post

HP16, Line 36: The prime minister and Muslim and Christian supporters **joined** Jewish groups in a vigil after sundown Saturday to mourn the four people killed at the Kosher market.

The *activation* of the Muslim social actors in the material processes further reinforces the representation of Muslims as despising the attack, thereby validating their peaceful ways. Extract 84 and Extract 85 highlight the Muslims as agents of the material processes represented as a group through the *assimilation* and *collectivisation* strategies. This portrayal can signal the solidarity of the Muslim social actors. Meanwhile, in Extract 86, "Palestinian President" is individualized possibly to illustrate to the readers that this attack is also condemned by one of the prominent Islamic leaders. This further reinforces to readers that there are two parties of Muslims with two contending views.

4.5.3 Muslims are integrating well with the French society

Another evidence of indicating the positive representation of Muslims in *Huffington Post* illustrate that Muslims, in general, adapted well with the French society. These Muslim

social actors are functionalised in terms of their occupational role as illustrated in the extracts below.

Extract 88: Huffington Post

HP19, Line 1: A *Muslim police officer* was among the victims of the terrorist attack...

Extract 89: Huffington Post

HP12, Line 1: Lassana Bathily, a *Muslim employee* at Paris Kosher grocery store Hyper Cacher, saved several people...

The *functionalisation* of these Muslim social actors gives an impression that they do not have any issues in blending themselves within the French society. For example, knowing that there is a Muslim who made it into the police task force suggests that this particular Muslim social actor has fulfilled all the requirements that qualify him to become a police officer. His ability to fulfill the requirement implies that he possesses high moral values just like a good citizen of the country. This portrayal could be the discourse producer's effort to demonstrate the value of trust and the value of reputation as the social actor is attached to the police force that safeguards the nation. Meanwhile, Extract 89 discloses the fact that another Muslim demonstrating good values is working as an employee at the Paris kosher even though it is a Jewish community. The fact that a Muslim social actor works within the Jewish community suggests that there is no conflict and no prejudice and it displays collaboration, cooperation and harmony. The fact that a Muslim social actor works within the Jewish community can argue any pre-existing image of Muslims as anti-Semitic. The nomination of Muslims who are integrating well with the French society can challenge a stereotype that all Muslims in France have disengagement issue despite it being hypothesized as one of the possible explanations for the actions of the perpetrators as highlighted below:

Extract 90: Huffington Post

HP20, Line 33-34: "He seems to be the prototype of the young, disengaged French Muslim who suffers from this sense of alienation, and then comes (to support an) ideology that makes him feel important, clear cut and gives him purpose and orientation.

Chapter 5

Discussion and Conclusion

5.0 Introduction

As the conclusion chapter, this chapter will attempt to provide a summary of the analysis by focussing on the outcome and linking it to the aims of this study and the research questions formulated.

It is evident from the analysis of data which focussed on two research sources namely *Fox News* and the *Huffington Post* that both media discourses are inclined towards representing the Muslim social actors negatively. Despite this, it is also observed that the Muslim social actors are not homogenously represented as negative within the negative framework. There is adequate evidence noted in the alternative discourses which appear to project the Muslim social actors differently. Based on the data collected and analysed through Van Leeuwen's (1996) seven social categories, it seems clear that the possible ideological implications derived from the analysis could create a negative image of the Muslim social actors. Much of these are discussed in Chapter 4. The summary of the findings and their ideological implications, discussion on how media discourses influence their consumers particularly in projecting certain representations of Muslims, and recommendations for future study are thus discussed in this chapter. The chapter develops by looking at the following:

- **Section 5.1: Summary of findings**
- **Section 5.2: Susceptibility to the influence of media**
- **Section 5.3: Recommendations for future study**

5.1 Summary of findings

In order to fulfil the aims of this study, two research questions were formulated to govern this study. Analysis of the data reveals the following findings which answer both research questions respectively:

5.1.1 Research question 1

How are Muslim social actors represented in the news articles of *Fox News* and *Huffington Post* throughout the coverage of the Charlie Hebdo attack?

Negative representations of Muslim social actors

Both *Fox News* and *Huffington Post* construct the representation of Muslims as social actors during the coverage of the Charlie Hebdo attack and this is based on three similar themes namely, terrorism and extremism, violence, and opposition towards Western values. As such, the Muslim social actors are represented negatively under the respective themes.

The first theme that emerged from the analysis of the data reveals that both media held negative perceptions of the Muslims as social actors. Both *Fox News* and *Huffington Post* frame the Charlie Hebdo attack as a terrorist attack instead of a criminal act although there is no official confirmation yet on who is responsible for the attack. The representation of the Muslims as terrorists and extremists is evident by the portrayal of the Muslim social actors as perpetrators of the attack and links to Islamic groups in the Middle Eastern countries particularly those named as Syria and Iraq. In the case of *Fox News*, the perpetrators of the attack are framed explicitly as terrorists and extremists through the *identification strategy* which was achieved by referring them through evaluative terms such as “Islamist gunmen” and “Islamist terrorist brother” which foreground their religion.

From the analysis, it is also noted that *Huffington Post* is more implicit in presenting the perpetrators of the attack as terrorists. The frequency in use of the evaluative terms such as those used in the *Fox News* is comparatively low. *Huffington Post* tends to functionalise the perpetrators by referring to them as “gunmen”, “attackers” and “murderer” without adding any adjective to highlight their religion. Nonetheless, the perpetrators are still identifiable through the *impersonalisation strategy* as *Huffington Post* refers the attack as “terror attack” and “terrorism”.

Fox News and *Huffington Post* also refer to the Middle Eastern countries as a way of indicating the Muslim social actors negatively. This is achieved by framing the Muslim social actors as breeding and harbouring terrorists. *Fox News* accomplishes this through the *specification strategy* where the Muslim social actors are named as terrorists and they are specifically linked to those who have travelled to the Middle Eastern countries or those who have ties with Islamic extremists in the Middle East. Meanwhile, *Huffington Post* made references to the presence of “Islamic militants” and “Islamic terror groups” in other countries by passivating the Muslim social actors. This was achieved through the process of “being against the Western” and thus, harmful.

In conclusion, it can be said that the representation of the Muslims as terrorists and extremists in both news media is achieved through social actors such as the perpetrators, Islamic groups and movements, and the Middle East countries. This first representation is realised through the *identification, specification, impersonalisation, and aggregation strategy* by *Fox News*. Unlike its counterpart, *Huffington Post* realises this representation of the Muslim social actors through the *impersonalisation, inclusion and passivation strategy*.

Clearly, the Muslim social actors are represented as being violent by both *Fox News* and *Huffington Post*. They predominantly frame the Muslim social actors as being violent within the context of the attack. The Muslim social actors are also framed as being against western values through incidents showing Muslims' resentment towards the value of the freedom of speech. *Fox News* portrays the Muslims as violent through the perpetrators of the attack as well as other Muslims who had been violent in their retaliation to the publishing of the caricatures of Prophet Muhammad. The negative quality of violence was also projected by backgrounding the Muslim social actors during violent actions.

Huffington Post has a tendency to discursively construct the representation of Muslims as violent. This is achieved mainly through the projection of Muslims as perpetrators. Here, Muslims are activated in various violent actions. In addition, their violence is exaggerated and reinforced through the representation of other Muslims as victims. The *passivation* of the victims as the receiver of atrocious actions committed by the perpetrators and their *activation* in innocent activities during the attack imply that those Muslims do not deserve such violent actions. In other instances, the Muslim social actors are also functionalised as "police officer", "shoppers", and "jogger" in order to reinforced the attribution of violent towards the perpetrators of the attack. These portrayals help to signify the higher quality of such Muslims who could be seen as representing trust and authority as well as normalcy, like normal human beings who would 'shop' and 'jog'. Again, they do not deserve to be killed. The *functionalisation* of these social actors demonstrates an ideological representation, which, if omitted carries no weight in the information, thus an unnecessary piece of information, in reporting the attack.

The third representation of the Muslim social actors as constructed by both news media depicts the Muslims as oppositions of Western values. *Fox News* and *Huffington Post* frame the freedom of speech as one of the core liberal values held by West. As such, opposing the freedom of speech is thus resisting Western values. Such representation of the Muslim social actors is not only confined to the perpetrators of the attack but it is extended to other Muslim social actors too. These Muslim social actors are represented as the group who condemns the works of the other group of Muslims who have opposed Western values through violent means. In *Fox News*, Muslims who opposed the freedom of speech are portrayed more generally through *collectivisation* as “extremists”. Although they are backgrounded as the agents of the violent acts, their identification as Muslims could still be inferred through the contextual information. As the incident is presented as an attack on journalists and the free press, an indication that this is not an isolated attack on the magazine, this strategy of the discourse producer reinforces the representation of the Muslim social actors as resisting and opposing the western value in general. Here, the Muslim social actors are objectified through the action of “attack”.

Another dominant representation of the Muslim social actors found in *Huffington Post* is the representation of the Muslims as criminals. The perpetrators of the attack are presented as criminals even before they have committed the attack. This presentation is realised through *activation of Muslim social actors in various criminal activities* encompassing robbery and drug dealing. Nonetheless, this strategy was not noticed in *Fox News* as it mainly focused on the discursive representation of the perpetrators as terrorists.

The summary of the representations and discursive strategies by both newspapers in constructing negative representations of Muslim social actors is illustrated in Table 5.1 below:

Table 5.1: Summary of negative representations of Muslim social actors

	Representation	Fox News	Huffington Post
Negative representations of Muslim social actors	Muslims are linked to terrorism and extremism	1. Identification strategy 2. Spectification strategy	1. Impersonalisation strategy 2. Passivation of Muslim social actors
	Muslims as violent	1. Activation of Muslim social actors in violent activities. 2. Backgrounding of Muslim social actors in violent activities.	1. Activation in Muslim social actors in violent actions. 2. Activation/Functionalisation of Muslim social actors as victims
	Muslims as opposing Western values	1. Collectivisation of Muslim social actors	1. Objectivation of Muslim social actors as “the attack” – implies the Muslim social actors committed the attack in retaliation to the freedom of speech
	Muslims as criminals	Not found	1. Activation of Muslim social actors in criminal activities before the committed the attack.

Counter representations of Muslim social actors

Fox News also portrays the Muslim social actors as the victims of stigmatization and crime-haters. This is realised through *impersonalisation* where the Muslim social actors are impersonalised by their places of worship which have been targeted and attacked. The Muslim social actors are also passivated in relation to the backlash and the stereotype of Muslims as terrorists and extremists. However, no conclusion could be drawn from this representation as a positive representation of the Muslims. This is due to the fact that the portrayal of Muslims as victims is framed as a repercussion of the terrible actions

committed by other Muslims. As such, the victimized Muslims appear to be negatively *beneficialised* from the violent actions committed by their fellow Muslims.

Meanwhile, there is evidence showing the positive constructions of the Muslim social actors in *Huffington Post* where they are portrayed as peace-lovers who integrate well within the French society. This strategy foregrounds the Muslims through their *activation* in the material and verbal processes. This representation is further reinforced by the notion that peace-loving Muslims are also in large quantities, hence indicating the strategy of *assimilation* and *collectivisation*. The Muslim social actors are also individualised through honorific titles such as “imam”, “Dr”, and “President” which are used to signify their personal authority in the Islamic world hence legitimizing the declaration that this attack is not condoned by Islam. The representation of the Muslim social actors as adapting well in the French society thus challenges the pre-existing image of the Muslims as alienated and disengaged from Western society. This representation is realised through the strategy of *functionalisation* and *nomination* which portrays the Muslim social actors working as a police officer and an employee at a kosher market. This magnifies the trustworthiness and authority for keeping peace and providing safety to others of the Muslim who works as the police officer and the fact that there is a Muslim working within the Jewish community can challenge any pre-conceived assumption of Muslims being anti-Jewish.

The findings related to counter representations of Muslim social actors in *Fox News* and *Huffington Post* are summarized in Table 5.2 below:

Table 5.2: Summary of counter representations of Muslim social actors

News media	Representation	Discursive strategies
Fox News	Muslim social actors are negatively beneficialised: Muslims as victims	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Impersonalisation of Muslim social actors as places of worship that have been attacked. 2. Passivation of Muslim social actors in relation to backlash and stereotype Muslims face.
Huffington Post	Muslim social actors are represented positively: Muslims as peace-lovers and intergrate well within the French society	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Activation in material and verbal processes. 2. Assimilation and collectivisation of Muslim social actors who are represented positively. 3. Functionalisation and nomination of Muslim social actors to represent them positively.

5.1.2 Research question 2

What do such discursive strategies and linguistic tools reveal about the media's ideologies regarding Muslims?

As discussed above, it is evident that both Fox News and Huffington Post represent Muslim social actors negatively by making constant associations of Muslims with terrorism and extremism through: i. the stereotyping of all Islamic groups and movements as terrorists and extremists, ii. prejudicing Islamic Middle East countries as a breeding ground of terrorists, and iii. framing criminal acts committed by Muslim perpetrators as 'Islamic terror attack'. The negative representations projected by these media could contribute to prejudice against the Islamic religion itself as these discursive strategies are drawn on the religion of Islam.

Here, Islam can be viewed as ideologically condoning terrorism and violent attacks. Consequently, it could lead to many misconceptions which can jeopardize the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims especially Muslims from Middle Eastern backgrounds, who may be viewed as terrorist suspects (Akbarzadeh & Smith, 2005). The representation of the Middle East with countries like Syria and Iraq being specifically mentioned could also be used to legitimize certain political and military actions by the West which is often normalised as “punitive measures against the protagonists” (Poole, 2002, p. 150).

Similarly, as the ‘Muslim-ness’ of the perpetrators and their criminal actions (for examples, as “a revenge for the prophet Muhammad” and “yelling Allahuakbar!” after committing the attack) are emphasized during the representations of Muslims not only during the Charlie Hebdo attack, but also in a series of previous violent actions, this portrayal of the Muslims can lead to a prejudiced and stereotypical construction of Muslims. The framing of violent actions committed in the name of Islam can impose an ideological concept of Muslims being religious fanaticisms while the negative representation of Muslims as violent vis-à-vis positive representation of the victims as innocent can ideologically construct Muslims as irrational. Such discursive strategies reinforce the polarized representation of good versus evil. The representation of Muslims as opposing the freedom of speech which was framed as the value that “we (American) shared with the French people” and the value that “shared universally” suggests the inherent value difference existing between Muslims and the world (as denoted by “universal”). This clear distinction can provoke “integrative concerns” (Poole, 2006, p. 102). The representations of the Muslims are underpinned by four dominant themes as discussed in Section 5.1.1 which, collectively, portray Muslims as a ‘threat’ to the West,

a threat to security in the Western countries and a challenger of the liberal values of the West.

Although the representations of Muslims across the dominant themes discussed seem to appear as homogenous, clearly, total homogeneity could not be drawn. The representations of Muslim social actors in *Huffington Post* seem to be less negative compared to those found in *Fox News*. This is evident as the representations of Muslims as violent in *Huffington Post* seem to be mainly confined to the perpetrators (see Section 4.2) rather than Muslims in general. In contrast, the discursive strategies used to representation Muslims as violent in *Fox News* could create a stereotype that Muslims are violent. For example, through the inclusion of violent social activities in the name of Islam in which the social actors are backgrounded (see Section 4.2).

As discussed in the previous section, there is evident of positive representation of Muslims in *Huffington Post* as Muslims are represented as peace-loving people and as well-adjusted people who can blend into the French society suggests the diversity of the Muslim group. As such, it is evident that *Huffington Post* attempts to create a dichotomous representation of Muslims by differentiating between Muslims who possess good qualities (peaceful and can adapt well with the French society) and Muslims who possess bad qualities (are linked to terrorism and extremism, violent, oppose Western values, and involve in crimes).

However, the same cannot be said for the representations of Muslims in *Fox News*. It is evident that negative representations of Muslims can be found clearly in the news articles from *Fox News*. Despite the negative representations, *Fox News* also represents Muslims

as victims. However, the representation of Muslims as victims cannot be concluded as positive as it seems that the Muslim social actors are negatively beneficialised from this representation (see Section 4.5.1). As such, the dichotomous representation of Muslims in *Fox News* is not as clear as those projected by *Huffington Post*.

Ultimately, it can be deduced that the representations of Muslims in both media are not homogenous as there is evident of counter representations of Muslims. The counter representations of Muslims in the media challenge the stereotyped homogeneous representations of Muslims although it can be argued that not all the alternative representations of Muslims portrayed Muslims positively (as discussed in Section 4.4). However, there is still evidence of the Orientalist formation of discourses (as mentioned in Section 1.2) which could create stereotypes and a prejudiced ideology against Muslims. Nevertheless, it cannot be simply assumed that these findings are the manifestations of the discourse producers' biased ideology nor the results of the discourse producers' deliberate distortion of the image of Muslims as the complexity of journalism and news production involving different social, structural and professional controls should be taken into consideration (Poole, 2002; Richardson, 2004).

5.2 Susceptibility to the influence of media

As discussed in Chapter 1, the fact that media is extremely powerful in representing the real world from a particular point of view cannot be denied. For example, a study found that the American's negative views of Muslims and Islam did not primarily come from their fear of terrorism after the September 11 2001 attack. The negative views had been negatively and significantly constructed from the media representations of Islam and Muslims (Smith, 2013). Cultural proximity and cultural understanding are claimed to be

the factors of the audiences' inability to resist dominant discourse on Muslims and Islam in the media (Poole, 2002; Smith, 2013). A study found that those who had little or no knowledge about Islam and Muslims cite the media as their primary source of knowledge. (Smith, 2013).

The findings by Poole (2002) who looks at the media consumption of focus groups consisting of non-Muslims who frequently communicated with Muslims (contact group) and non-Muslims who have no frequent contact with Muslims (non-contact group) also support this claim. The non-contact group is found to be dependent on the textual information for the need to interpret meaning when reading about Islam and Muslims in the media. Meanwhile, the meanings and interpretations of the Muslims by the contact group are also found to have been filtered and shaped by the media despite their claim that their experiences with Muslims in the real world govern their beliefs towards Islam and Muslims.

As media tend to provide a limited framework and discourse on Islam and Muslims, both of which are predominantly projecting the concept of terrorism, extremism, violent, and conflict, it is not surprising to note that public opinion and behaviour towards Muslims (to a certain extent) was also predominantly negative (Akbarzadeh & Smith, 2005; Elgamri, 2008; Karim, 2006; Poole, 2002; Richardson, 2004; Smith, 2013). This implies that textual information provided in the media is indeed a very significant agent in guiding the interpretation and meanings formed by the readers especially those with very little knowledge and understanding of Islam and Muslims. Through a manipulative use of language, Muslims have been negatively constructed by the Western media (Alghamdi, 2015). As such, critical media literacy can be helpful for developing the critical ability of

readers to “deconstruct and reject preferred meaning” as well as to recognize the ideological work behind the information noted in the media although this may not be accomplished with total assurance (Poole, 2002). Approaching the media in a ‘critical’ manner does not mean that readers are able to immediately recognize biasness in the media, hence reject the representations in news media. Rather, it means that readers are equipped with a set of skills to become more aware of the social constructions of the news and the relationships between media, power, and language. As such, knowledge about Islam and Muslims combined with critical literacy skills can help the readers to counter the negative representations of social actors or social groups (Poole, 2002).

5.3 Recommendations for future study

The representation of Muslims as discussed in this study cannot be generalized for all U.S and Western media or to all coverage of events involving Muslims as social actors. The findings are only exclusive to the analysis of Muslim social actors during the coverage of the Charlie Hebdo attack within the specified time frame noted in *Huffington Post* and *Fox News*. This study does not attempt to ‘prove any religious prejudice’ either. The aim of highlighting the possible existence of an ideologically biased representation noted in this study serves as a caution towards potential manipulations of the media and its harmful effects extracted out of text interpretation.

To further triangulate the findings, the following recommendations are made for future research:

- Analyze how journalism practices help to shape the ideological representations of Muslims in the media.
- Study the interactions between text and the audience in order to examine how social meanings are produced.

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Appendix A: List of news articles for Fox News

Code	Date	Article
FN1	07/01/2015	Obama condemns 'cowardly, evil' Paris attack, offers help to pursue terrorists ("Obama condemns 'cowardly, evil' Paris attack, offers US help to pursue terrorists," 2015)
FN2	07/01/2015	At least 12 dead in Islamist terror attack at satirical French publication ("At least 12 dead in Islamist terror attack at satirical French publication," 2015)
FN3	07/01/2015	US officials scanning terror databases in search for Paris attack suspects (Herridge, 2015)
FN4	08/01/2015	French police officer killed in shooting on edge of Paris ("French police officer killed in shooting on edge of Paris," 2015)
FN5	08/01/2015	2 brothers now the most wanted men in France, sought lethal attack on Paris newspaper ("2 brothers now the most wanted men in France, sought in lethal attack on Paris newspaper," 2015)
FN6	08/01/2015	Muslim places of worship in France targeted with blank grenades, bullets ("Muslim places of worship in France targeted with blank grenades, bullets," 2015)
FN7	08/01/2015	Media rally over Paris attacks, vow to defend freedom of expression (McKay, 2015)
FN8	08/01/2015	French police swarm forest 'larger than Paris' in Charlie Hebdo jihadist assassins ("French police swarm forest 'larger than Paris' in hunt for Charlie Hebdo jihadist assassins," 2015)
FN9	10/01/2015	Are we all Charlie? Paris attack sparks debate about free speech, and its limit ("Are we all Charlie? Paris attack sparks debate about free speech, and its limits," 2015)
FN10	11/01/2015	'We are Charlie': Across France, nearly 4 million march to honor victims of terrorists attacks ("We are Charlie': Across France, nearly 4 million march to honor victims of terrorist attacks," 2015)
FN11	11/01/2015	Video of Paris gunman raises questions of affiliations in attacks ("Video of Paris gunman raises questions of affiliations in attacks," 2015)
FN12	12/01/2015	Police: Up to 6 Paris terror suspects may still be at large ("Police: Up to 6 Paris terror suspects may still be at large," 2015)
FN13	13/01/2015	Europe's Muslims feel heat of backlash after terror spree in Paris ("Europe's Muslims feel heat of backlash after terror spree in Paris," 2015)
FN14	13/01/2015	Frenchman believed to have links to Charlie Hebdo attacker held in Bulgaria ("Frenchman believed to have links to Charlie Hebdo attacker held in Bulgaria," 2015)

FN15	14/01/2015	Al Qaeda in Yemen commander claims responsibility for Charlie Hebdo attack ("Al Qaeda in Yemen commander claims responsibility for Charlie Hebdo attack," 2015)
FN16	14/01/2015	French police say weapons, funding for Paris attacks came from overseas ("French police say weapons, funding for Paris attacks came from overseas," 2015)
FN17	15/01/2015	Surveillance footage shows harrowing scene inside Paris kosher grocery ("Surveillance footage shows harrowing scene inside Paris kosher grocery," 2015)
FN18	20/01/2015	Dem rep waves pencil to show solidarity with Hebdo victims ("Dem rep waves pencil to show solidarity with Hebdo victims," 2015)

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<http://www.foxnews.com/world/2015/01/11/are-charlie-thousands-to-march-to-honor-victims-paris-attack.html>

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Appendix B: List of news articles for Huffington Post

Code	Date	Article
HP1	07/01/2015	Obama condemns ‘cowardly, evil’ attack on French Newspaper Charlie Hebdo (Pickler, 2015)
HP2	07/01/2015	Suspect surrenders in Charlie Hebdo attack (Gordts, 2015b)
HP3	07/01/2015	Paris shooting at Charlie Hebdo magazine office leaves at least 12 dead (Elgot, 2015)
HP5	07/01/2015	These are the Charlie Hebdo cartoons that terrorists thought were worth killing over (Taibi, 2015)
HP6	07/01/2015	Obama spokesman: U.S stands with French after Paris terrorist attack (Pickler, 2015)
HP7	07/01/2015	#JeSuisCharlie hashtag is a message of solidarity after Charlie Hebdo shooting (Sieczkowski, 2015b)
HP8	07/01/2015	Muslims around the world condemn Charlie Hebdo Attack (Blumberg, 2015b)
HP9	07/01/2015	Head of Charlie Hebdo published ‘prophetic’ drawing a week before his death ("Head of CHARlie Hebdo published 'prophetic' drawing a week before his death," 2015)
HP10	08/01/2015	Cartoonists worldwide condemn killings at French Newspaper Charlie Hebdo
HP11	08/01/2015	Muslim policeman killed in Charlie Hebdo Terrorist attack (Terkel, 2015)
HP12	09/01/2015	Obama on situation in Paris: Terrorists ‘have nothing to offer but hatred and human suffering’ (Lavender, 2015)
HP13	09/01/2015	France’s Jews on high alert following kosher market attack (Blumberg, 2015a)
HP14	09/01/2015	Charlie Hebdo suspects killed, market shooter dead (Gordts, 2015a)
HP15	09/01/2015	Gunman kills 4 in kosher market attack in Paris (Sieczkowski, 2015a)
HP16	10/01/2015	France vows to combat terror with massive rally (Latieule et al., 2015)
HP17	10/01/2015	French police search for slain terror suspect’s widow Hayat Boumeddiene
HP18	10/01/2015	Lassana Bathily, Muslim employee at kosher market saved several people during Paris hostage situation (Goyette, 2015)
HP19	10/01/2015	Hundreds of thousands rally across France for terror victims (Alfred, 2015)
HP20	11/01/2015	Said Kouachi, suspect In Charlie Hebdo attack, trained in Yemen: Reports (Hosenball, 2015)
HP21	13/01/2015	Far-Right blame game distracts from France’s underlying divisions (Alfred, 2015)
HP22	14/01/2015	Amedy Coulibaly’s house could hold clues to 4 th Paris attacker

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