Islam and Mosque Developments in the Australian Media: A Literature Review

Caitlin McGregor, University of Newcastle, Australia

Abstract
The paper is a literature review of current thinking on discursive representations of Islam in Australian media, particularly in relation to proposed mosque developments. Research into representations of Islam in Western media has increased since the events of 9/11, and the Iraq and Afghanistan wars (Abu-Fadil 2005; Kothari 2013). Research has found that "Western media have generally failed to provide fair and balanced reporting of Islam" (Abu-Fadil 2005, p. 1). Similar results have been found in the Australian context, where the Muslim community is portrayed negatively in mainstream media (Akbarzadeh & Smith 2005; Al-Natour 2010; Dreher 2003; Kabir 2006; Pederson, Aly, Hartley & McGarty 2009; Saniotis 2004). One of the key theorists of representations of Islam in Australian media is Anne Aly. Aly's investigations "found that Australian Muslims were not given a voice amongst the dominant discourse of terrorism in Australian media and this marginalised them into the position of 'the Other'" (McGregor 2013, p. 109). Another significant Australian researcher is Kevin Dunn, who argues that "Muslims proposing mosques and Islamic centres in Sydney were portrayed as alien 'Others': as unknown, unfamiliar, foreign, mysterious and as threatening" (Dunn 2001, p. 304). These ideas of 'the Other', discussed above, stem from Edward Said's theory of Orientalism (2003, 1997, 1994), by which the West sees Islam as an inferior, strange and threatening 'Other' in Australian society. This literature review is part of the researcher's PhD thesis, which will, in part, test if Orientalist depictions of Islam are currently evident in Australian media.

Keywords: Islam, Discourse, Identity, Orientalism

Introduction

Research into representations of Islam in Western media has increased since the events of 9/11, and the Iraq and Afghanistan wars (Kothari 2013; Abu-Fadil 2005). This research has found that "Western media have generally failed to provide fair and balanced reporting of Islam, the Arabs and have often mixed up the two" (Abu-Fadil 2005, p. 1). This finding is supported by research from Kothari who reports on the "increasing chances of misrepresentations and stereotypes, resulting in hate crimes against Muslims and the stigmatisation of the religion of Islam" (2013, p. 107) and Van Dijk who states that "research in several countries has repeatedly demonstrated that ethnic and racial minority groups always have been, and continue to be, portrayed negatively or stereotypically by the press" (1997, p. 50 in Kabir 2013, p. 238). Although some researchers believe that the media does not promote such racial and ethnic stereotypes, and that the media is just reflecting violence in a violent society (Kabir 2013, p. 239), Said's theory of Orientalism argues that the majority of the Muslim community worldwide continue to be scapegoated and stereotyped in Western media. This paper will present a literature review of research pertaining to representations of Islam in Australian newspapers. The literature review is part of the researcher's PhD thesis, which will, in part, test if orientalist depictions of Islam (Said 2003, 1997, 1994) are evident in Australian newspaper reporting on proposed mosque developments by using discourse as both a theoretical perspective and analytic methodology.

Islam in the Media

Research on media representations of Islam in the Australian context shows that the Muslim community is portrayed very negatively in mainstream media (Pederson, Aly, Hartley & McGarty 2009; Saniotis 2004; Akbarzadeh & Smith 2005; Dreher 2003; Al-Natour 2010a; Kabir 2006). Australian reporting on Islam generally portrays "Islam as a religion in direct conflict with the values and traditions of Western culture, and deem[s] Muslims unable to commit to the values of liberal democracy on the basis of their religious beliefs" (Pedersen, Aly, Hartley & McGarty 2009, p. 81). Muslim community members are also denied a voice or right of reply in Australian media (Hafez 2002) and are discursively placed into the position of 'the Other'. Kabir suggests that the reasons for this treatment may be "deliberately perpetrated, either to marginalise Muslim people as the uncivilised 'Other' in the dichotomy between Eastern and Western culture, or for purely commercial reasons – sensational stories guarantee higher newspaper sales" (2006, p. 313). Whatever the motivation, and whether it is intentional or unconscious 'othering', the majority of studies find that the representation of Islam in Australian media is a problem.

One of the key theorists of representations of Islam in Australian media is Anne Aly. Aly's investigations in Australian media reporting found that "the media discourse directly situates Australian Muslims outside mainstream Australia" (Aly 2007, p. 32). "She found that Australian Muslims were not given a voice amongst the dominant discourse of terrorism in Australian media and this marginalised them into the position of 'the Other'" (McGregor 2013, p. 109). Aly (2007) states that religion is used as the primary marker of identity for the Australian Muslim community (as opposed to the ethnic diversities amongst the people) and that this portrays the Muslim community as a homogenous unit.

Another significant Australian researcher is Kevin Dunn, who argues that "the news media in Australia usually portray Islam very negatively" (Dunn 2004, p. 335-336) and that "Muslims proposing mosques and Islamic centres in Sydney were portrayed as alien 'Others': as unknown, unfamiliar, foreign, mysterious and as threatening" (Dunn 2001, p. 304). This represents the presence of the Orientalist theory in contemporary discussions about Islam in Australia. Dunn, Klocker and Salabay argue that these Orientalist constructions "rely upon a narrow construction of the Australian Self, perhaps as Christian or white, but most certainly as 'not Muslim'" (2007, p. 574). These identity constructions and negative portrayals can be at least partially contributed to the "accumulated Western heritage of Islamophobia" (Dunn 2001, p. 292) which impacts locally in Australia in opposition to proposed Muslim developments including mosques and private schools.

Orientalism

These ideas of 'the Other', which have been discussed above, stem from Edward Said's theory of Orientalism, by which the West sees Islam as an inferior, strange and threatening 'Other' in Australian society. Said (2003, p. 3) states that Orientalism began around the eighteenth century and "can be discussed and analysed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authorising views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient". Orientalism therefore has its basis in the polarisation of the Orient 'other' and the Occident West (Said 1997, p. 4). In the electronic world, Orientalism has only intensified as television, films and general media resources continue to increase standardisation and cultural stereotyping (Said 2003). Said therefore argues that it is the representations of Islam which create problems, rather than Islam itself. He finds that in this reporting "clichés, caricatures, ignorance, unqualified ethnocentrism and inaccuracy were inordinately evident" (Said 1997, p. 130). "The misrepresentations and distortions committed in the portrayal of Islam today argue neither a genuine desire to understand nor a willingness to listen and see what there is to see and listen to (Said 1997, p. xlvii). He argues that Islam is afforded a special position by Orientalism, in that "for no other ethnic or religious group is it true that virtually anything can be written or said about it, without challenge or demurral" (Said 2003, p. 287). That is, as a society, we allow these stereotypes and undercurrents of racism to continue, when similar portrayals could not be made about other ethnic minorities without backlash. Said's key point is that he finds a lack of understanding of Islam to be a key problem.

Theories about Orientalism have been taken up and extended by other theorists such as Abu-Fadil, who states that "Orientalism…seems alive and well in the 21st century. It just fits into glib 10-second sound bites and clickable links with downloadable PDFs or MP3s" (2005, p. 4). Here Abu-Fadil refers to the media perpetration of Orientalist stereotypes. Orientalism is also discussed in an Australian context with 'Australian Orientalism' described as being "a portrait of deep and sustained fear" (Manning 2003, p. 69). However, the use of Orientalism as a theoretical framework is criticised by Kothari as it "limits our understanding of evolving construction and resistance to media-constructed identities [and]…does not allow room for exploration of alternative representations of Muslims and Islam in the general-media market" (2013, p. 111). He argues that "a more pervasive use of framing theory, critical

discourse analysis, or grounded theory with inductive coding may provide a richer view of evolving Muslim identity in the media" (Kothari 2013, p. 111). Therefore, it is important to consider some of the research surrounding discourse as both a theoretical framework, and a methodology.

Discourse

For the purposes of the research that this paper is drawn from, discourse is defined by Paltridge as "an approach to the analysis of language that looks at patterns of language across texts as well as the social and cultural contexts in which the texts occur" (2006, p. 1). Discourse can be understood as

"a group of statements which provide a language for talking about a topic and producing a particular kind of knowledge about a topic. Thus the term refers both to the production of knowledge and representations and the way that knowledge is institutionalised, shaping social practices and setting new practices into play" (Ainsworth and Hardy 2004, p. 236).

Therefore a discursive approach to language and its functions considers how some ideologies are embodied in texts, while others are concealed (Kilby, Horowitz & Hylton 2013). Foucault argues that "in order to account for the choices that were made out of all those that could have been made (and those alone), one must describe the specific authorities that guided one's choice" (Foucault 1989, p. 74). It is therefore vitally important to consider the wider socio-cultural context in which the text was produced (Heck 1980; Hall 1980b; Morley 1980).

Foucault also wrote widely on the relationships between discourse and power. "As Foucault has argued, every attempt to put something in meaning comes about from a position of power, because power connects and organises the social positions from which meaning comes about" (Chouliaraki 2006, p. 166). Power is also integral to the process of meaning construction (and potential interpretation) through techniques, strategies and practices of inclusion and exclusion, for as Foucault questions, "how is it that one particular statement appeared rather than another?" (1980, p. 27). Discursive statements are partially determined by professional protocols that the journalists have to work within and social norms regarding can and cannot be acceptably said about Muslim people. In studying representations of Islam in Australian media, it therefore important to consider these ideas of exclusion and inclusion.

With the focus on media representations it is especially important to look into media discourses (Talbot 2007), and how they circulate meaning through newspaper articles. "For some sections of society, at least, the media have largely replaced older institutions (such as the Church, or trade unions) as the primary source of understanding of the world" (Talbot 2007, p. 3). The media is therefore an important conveyor of discourses, because we live in a second-hand world. By this, it is meant that people:

are aware of much more than they have personally experienced; and their own experience is always indirect. The quality of their lives is determined by meanings they have received from others…But in their everyday life they do not experience a

world of solid fact; their experience itself is selected by stereotyped meanings and shaped by ready-made interpretations. Their images of the world, and of themselves, are given to them by crowds of witnesses they have never met and never shall meet (C. Wright Mill 1967, p. 405-406 in Said 1997, p. 46-47).

People therefore very rarely have knowledge of complex phenomenon outside of what is presented to them through the media, and they engage with this mediated content to build knowledge and produce meaning through constructions of reality. The media is therefore one of the most important communicators of discourses in society.

When using discourse analysis as a methodological tool, the aims are to examine "how a given topic or subject gets 'talked about' in media messages or in everyday language" (Weerakkody 2009, p. 9). Discourse analysis allows the investigation into what types of knowledges are being presented to an audience. This kind of analysis asks questions such as "How do people use language to present themselves in a certain (favourable) way to others, for example? How is discourse constrained by the presence of a person in power?" (Tesch 2013, p. 61). Fairclough states that discourse analysis also investigates issues such as "choice, the selection of options from systems constituting meaning potentials (and lexicogrammatical potentials and phonic potentials)" (1992, p. 212). Outside of strictly linguistic concerns, discourse is also concerned with what sources are used, the focus of articles and the relation between headlines and stories. Discourse analysis is a particularly useful method for the investigation of power relations, because "what critical discourse analysis does, like any approach which is suspicious of the ways in which power is embedded in media texts, is to 'unveil' the hidden subtexts of media…these forms of analysis demonstrate the extent to which a particular, partisan view of the world is presented" (Toynbee and Gillespie 2006, p. 187). Ideas pertaining to hidden subtexts are very relevant to the subject matter, as a discourse analysis will enable an investigation into how Orientalist undertones become embedded in the newspaper articles.

Media Effects

With the media being one of the most important communicators of discourses in society, it is important to consider what effect, if any, media can have on an audience. Stuart Hall's encoding/decoding model proposes that "certain codes and conventions are drawn on in the production of a media text as encoding, whereas decoding refers to the process in which readers, viewers or auditors draw on certain codes in their interpretation of a media text" (Deacon, Pickering, Golding and Murdock 2007, p. 145). The encoding occurs at the hands of the journalists writing the newspaper articles. The process is quite discursive, as it is "framed throughout by meanings and ideas: knowledge-in-use concerning the routines of production, historically defined technical skills, professional ideologies, institutional knowledge, definitions and assumptions, assumptions about the audience and so on frame the constitution of the programme through this production structure" (Hall 1980b, p. 129). Encoding can therefore be used to intentionally frame an issue in a certain way, or to promote one aspect of a story.

Heck argues that "the coding and decoding of a message implies the usage of the same code" (1980, p. 124); however, Hall states that "the codes of encoding and decoding may not be perfectly symmetrical" (1980b, p. 131). This asymmetry means

that depending on numerous factors the receiver may not decode the message in the way the encoder intended. The strengths of this model are that it gives consideration to both production and consumption, or as McIntyre says, "his model admits to the possibility that while interpretation is an important aspect to the creative process, a degree of power to control meaning still may reside with the producer" (2012, p. 66).

Also important in looking at media effects is van Dijk's concept of mental models. Van Dijk writes that "models are mental structures of information which, besides the new information offered in a news report, feature information about such a situation as inferred from general knowledge scripts" (1991, p. 74). Such mental models come from our personal experiences, as well as readers' socialisation. "While the formal properties of texts are cues in the process of interpretation, the interpretation of these cues is mediated by the assumptions, values, beliefs, and internalised representations of the world that readers or listener bring with them to the text" (Hobbs 2008, p. 245). The mental models therefore allow the audience to infer large parts of the knowledge surrounding an article. "The text is like an iceberg of information of which only the tip is actually expressed in words and sentences. The rest is assumed to be supplied by the knowledge scripts and models of the media users, and therefore usually left unsaid" (Van Dijk 1991, p. 151). Mental models are also partially constructed through "an ongoing and fluid process of text-audience-media interaction within a broader socio-political context...in response to the introduction of new information, the acquisition of new cultural competencies, new interactions and changes in the socio-political milieu within which media texts are interpreted" (Aly 2010, p. 33). In this way, each newspaper article a reader interacts with can change, even slightly, their mental model.

The mental model theory can be applied specifically to the way audiences understand Islam through reporting on terrorism in the news and the application of social amplification theory. "The core idea behind the social amplification framework is that an accident or act of terrorism will interact with psychological, institutional and cultural processed in ways that may amplify (or attenuate) community response to the event (Kasperson et al 1988)" (Burns & Slovic 2013, p. 286). There are therefore many indirect impacts when the media report on an event, such as terrorism, and the information in the report is interpreted based on the audience's existing mental models. Depending on the mental model of the individual, this will either aid in alleviating or amplifying the risk perceived. This can also be linked to ideas about cultural trauma, whereby "members of a collectivity feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways" (Alexander 2004, p. 1 in Thompson 2013, p. 388). Such events would clearly be influential on an audience's mental model. If these theories are applied to the reporting on proposed mosque developments, it can be suggested that the audience's existing mental models about Islam (which may or may not be influenced by such ideas as terrorism) will impact on their risk perception of the situation.

In reference to both Hall's encoding/ decoding model and van Dijk's mental models theory, it is important to conceive of the audience as active in the meaning making process (Van Dijk 1991; Ang 1990, 1991). Van Dijk argues that "the readers...do not simply register conveyed meanings, but construct them" (1991, p. 42). Kabir argues,

however, that "to believe that...media images do not impact upon reader's perceptions is naïve" (2006, p. 315). Some audiences realise the effectual power of the media, although fall into the trap of the third-person effect. "The third-person effect is an indirect media effect, caused by an individual's perception that while he or she is immune to media influence that others (third persons) are not and that they thereby come to accept, approve, or support the media message" (Kothari 2013, p. 118). Audiences often do not realise that "while individuals, as active agents, make conscious choices and uses of media in their everyday life, they may not always be fully aware of the consequences of their choices. In this sense they are at once active players in the media communication process but also vulnerable, albeit unconsciously, to media messages" (Aly 2007, p. 33). Therefore they may still be susceptible to the discourses being presented in the articles. As Ang argues, "audiences may be active in myriad ways in using and interpreting media, but it would be utterly out of perspective to cheerfully equate 'active' with 'powerful'" (1990, p. 247). It is important therefore to conceive of the audience as active but also of the media as powerful.

Racism

Despite the current consensus that 'race' is a social construct and not a real phenomenon, "the use of 'race' as a concept persists. This leads Mason to conclude that '…race is a legitimate concept for sociological analysis because social actors treat it as a real basis for social differentiation and organise their lives and exclusionary practices in terms of it'" (1994, p. 845 in Babacan 2006, p. 35). When people believe a phenomenon to be true they will act in ways that are consistent with that phenomenon, which allows racism to continue to be an issue in the 21st century. Racism has traditionally been understood as related to the ethnic background of citizens and the "coded societal messages and public discourses on immigration, ethnic minorities, indigenous people, multiculturalism, refugees and citizenship" (Gopalkrishan & Babacan 2006, p. 6). In contrast to racism based on ethnicity, new racism, also sometimes described as cultural racism, moves beyond traditional categories of 'race' and considers other minority identities of culture and even religion. Corlett argues that "while the basis of the old and new racism has shifted, the core element of the old remains central to the new: the incompatibility to co-exist" (2002, p. 46).

It is important to consider how racism is presented specifically through media content, such as newspaper articles, because "Van Dijk (1999, quoted in Richardson 2001, p. 148) has argued that 'speakers routinely refer to…newspapers as their source (and authority) of knowledge or opinions about ethnic minorities'" (Meer, Dwyer & Modood 2010, p. 221 – 222). Van Dijk argues that the reproduction of racism in the press is a process of "how media discourses contribute to the formation and change of the social representations of the readers about themselves as a group, about ethnic minorities, and about the relations between these groups" (1991, p. 226-227). This relation between the media representations and societal understandings is a collaborative one, as the media may shape how people see and understand ethnic minorities, but "according to Roy Greenslade (2005, p. 11) most journalists who are responsible for racist material genuinely believe they are reflecting the views of society and therefore mirroring reality" (Keeble 2001, p. 180). Journalists may

therefore believe that it is the society they are reporting for that shapes how they write about minorities.

There are explicit links in the literature between Islam and racism (Said 2003; Corlett 2002). Manning argues that "as a society we have a problem with racism and we are ignorant about Arabs and Muslims, and our politicians and media have preyed upon this" (2006, p. 275). This is supported by a 2006 study by the University of New South Wales, Australia which showed that "one in three Australians admits to knowing nothing about Islam and even more know things that turn out to be wrong" (Manning 2006, p. 275). Racism (through Islamophobia) against the Australian Muslim community has been primarily expressed through opposition to proposed mosques and Islamic private schools (Dunn 2001). It is important, however, to note that Islamophobia "is neither consistent nor uniform, neither in the way in which it is manifested nor in the way that it is defined. It may even be that a plurality of 'Islamophobias' – or more so a multiplicity – rather more than a single, all encompassing entity is that which exists" (Allen 2010, p. 62). There are therefore many different manifestations of Islamophobia, which range from mild to extreme which are expressed in different ways, and it is important to consider all of these demonstrations in the media.

Identity

When considering the concept of identity, one of the most important realisations is that identity is a construct (Said 2003; Hall 1996; Grossberg 1996). The construction of identity "is bound up with the disposition of power and powerlessness in each society" (Said 2003, p. 332), and is a result of discursive practices (Hall 1996) that are always in process.

Precisely because identities are constructed within, not outside, discourse, we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies. Moreover, they emerge within the play of specific modalities of power, and thus are more the product of the marking of difference and exclusion, than they are the sign of an identical, naturally-constituted unity (Hall 1996, p. 4).

It is therefore through conceptions of 'the Other' and difference that identity is formed (Grossberg 1996). Robins argues that "identity todays finds itself in rejection; it hardly has a positive basis any longer" (1996, p. 81). Therefore identity is almost exclusively built as an opposition to something else, a 'not' relation, for example 'not-Australian'.

This 'Othering' can be seen in the construction of a Muslim identity through Australian newspapers. This is supported by Said who argues that "the construction of identity – for identity, whether of Orient or Occident…*is* finally a construction – involves establishing opposites and 'others' whose actuality is always subject to the continuous interpretation and re-interpretation of their differences from 'us'. Each age and society re-creates its 'Others'" (2003, p. 332). It is Said's (2003) argument in his book *Orientalism* that the current 'Other' for Western societies is people from the Orient, meaning people of Arab ethnic backgrounds or people ascribing to the Muslim religion. Said argues that Orientalism became such a focal point of identity for people

from the West to apply to Arab and Muslim people that "the attribute of being oriental overrode any countervailing instance. An Oriental man was first an Oriental and only second a man" (2003, p. 231). Orientalism thus became a static and perpetuating marker of identity.

Moral Panics

Moral panic literature centres on "a threat to the fundamental moral basis of society – evil threatens the good" (Thompson 2013, p. 396). It is "a process in which the response to an alleged social problem appears exaggerated, that is, disproportionate to the actual threat posed" (Denham 2013, p. 320). A moral panic is therefore "not about real deviance, or about real activities subsequently classified as deviant, but about 'the manufacture of the chimaera of the existence of those activities'" (Davies 1986 in Hunt 1997, p. 633). It is perception of the threat that is important, not the actual threat itself, if the threat is even really present. As such, moral panics can be related to ideas about risk, specifically "the *cultural theory of risk perception* (Douglas & Wildavsky 1982; Rayner 1992) [which] asserts that individuals' perceptions of risk reflect and reinforce their commitments to visions of how society should be organised" (emphasis in original) (Kahan, Braman, Gastil, Slovic & Mertz 2013, p. 165). Under this theory, the society is likely to perceive a threat if the 'folk devil' is not following cultural norms, therefore the more deviation observed from the norm, the greater the risk perceived. The 'folk devil' is the name given to the deviant group, usually referring to "individuals, minorities, or subcultures" (Al-Natour 2010a, p. 574). Many of the ideas surrounding moral panics centre on the youth group as a folk devil, however, "Cohen has correctly identified how notions of 'race' are utilised" (Al-Natour 2010b, p. 44), and it has been argues that the 'other' or 'folk devil' is likely to be a vulnerable group in society (Hunt 1997; Padgett & Allen 2003). This description can certainly be applied to the Muslim communities of Australia.

It has been suggested that "in contemporary Australia we are witnessing the emergence of the 'Arab other' as the pre-eminent 'folk devil' of our time" (Poynting et al 2004, p. 3 in Al-Natour 2010b, p. 45). Reasons for the moral panics surrounding Arab and Muslim people have been suggested to include "fears of neighbourhood change, and...the formation of 'ethnic ghettoes'" (Dunn 2001, p. 299) as well as the links frequently made between Islam, terrorism and fundamentalism (Poynting, Noble, Tabar & Collins 2004 in Bugg 2009; Said 1994). During the moral panic, "the diverse identities of Arabs, Lebanese and Muslims are used interchangeably" (Al-Natour 2010b, p. 44), and this simplification of identity is typical of the panic process. Al-Natour has studied the controversy surrounding the proposed private Islamic school in Camden, a suburb in Sydney, Australia, and he states that "the events at Camden show that the Arab folk devil *still* preys upon the moral concerns of mainstream Australia and can be depicted through the media as a threat to national well-being" (emphasis in original) (2010a, p. 583). This idea of national well-being is also raised by Humphrey who argues that "the moral panic around terrorism has led to the situation where any expression of Islamic religious identity is suspected as a sign of fundamentalism or radicalism and therefore a potential national threat" (2007, p. 13-14). In this way, the moral panic fuels itself and continues to perpetuate stereotypes regarding Muslim Australians.

Preliminary Conclusions

Based on the extensive literature review conducted, it can be concluded that current reporting on Islam in relation to proposed mosque developments and Islamic schools in the Australian media is problematic. Stereotypes regarding Muslim communities are being purported through the media, leading to Orientalist depictions. It is proposed that the journalists writing articles on Islam work in environments which would benefit from revisiting professional protocols for reporting on Islam with appropriate cultural sensitivity. This would allow for more respectful relationships for both individual Muslims and Muslim communities within Australian society.

References

Abu-Fadil, M. (2005). *Is Coverage of Arabs, Islam Good? Western Media Under Scrutiny.* Paper presented at the IPI World Congress and 54th General Assembly, Nairobi, Kenya. Retrieved May 2013 from the Institute of Professional Journalists website: http://ipj.lau.edu.lb/outreach/2005/05_unfairportrayal/IPJ-IPI-Nairobi-5-05.pdf.

Ainsworth, S., & Hardy, C. (2004). 'Critical Discourse Analysis and Identity: Why Bother?'. *Critical Discourse Studies, 1*(2), 225 – 259.

Akbarzadeh, S., & Smith, B. (2005). *The Representation of Islam and Muslims in the Media (The Age and Herald Sun Newspapers).* Retrieved May 2013 from the Asia Institute website: http://asianinstitute.unimelb.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0008/571625/akbarzadeh-islam-media.pdf.

Al-Natour, R. (2010). 'Folk Devils and the Proposed Islamic School in Camden'. *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies*, 24(4), 573 – 585.

Allen, C. (2010). 'Islamophobia: From K.I.S.S. to R.I.P.'. In S. Sayyid & A.K. Vakil (Eds.), *Thinking Through Islamophobia* (pp. 51 - 64). London, Hurst & Company.

Aly, A. (2010). 'Shifting Positions to the Media Discourse on Terrorism: Critical Points in Audience Members Meaning-Making Experiences'. *Media International Australia, 134*, 31 – 45.

Aly, A. (2007). 'Australian Muslim Responses to the Discourse on Terrorism in the Australian Popular Media'. *Australian Journal of Social Issues, 42*(1), 27 – 40.

Ang. I. (1991). *Desperately Seeking the Audience.* London: Routledge.

Ang, I. (1990). 'Culture and Communication: Towards an Ethnographic Critique of Media Consumption in the Transnational Media System'. *European Journal of Communication, 5*, 239 – 260.

Babacan, H. (2006). 'Challenges of Anti-Racism'. In N. Gopalkrishan & H. Babacan (Eds.), *Proceedings of the International Conference on Racisms in the New World Order: Realities of Culture, Colour and Identity,* University of the Sunshine Coast, 8 – 9 December (pp. 35 – 43).

Bugg, L. (2009). 'Religious Freedom and the Right to the Rejection of Islamic Schools in Sydney, Australia'. Retrieved April 2013 from the Berlin Roundtables website: http://www.irmgard-coninx-stiftung.de/fileadmin/user_upload/pdf/Cultural_Pluralism/Religion/Essay.Bugg.pdf.

Burns, W.J., & Slovic, P. (2013). 'Predicting and Modelling Public Response to a Terrorist Strike'. In P. Slovic (Eds.), *The Feeling of Risk: New Perspectives on Risk Perception* (pp. 285 - 306). London: Earthscan.

Chouliaraki, L. (2006). 'Towards an Analytics of Mediation'. *Critical Discourse Studies, 3*(2), 153 – 178.

Corlett, D. (2002). 'Asylum Seekers and the New Racism'. *Dissent,* Autumn/Winter, 46 – 47 & 59.

Deacon, D., Pickering, M., Golding, P., & and Murdock, G. (2007). *Researching Communications: A Practical Guide to Methods in Media and Cultural Analysis.* London: Hodder Arnold.

Denham, B.E. (2013). 'Intermedia Agenda Setting and the Construction of Moral Panics: On the Media and Policy Influences of Steven Soderbergh's *Traffic'*. In C. Krinsky (Eds.), *The Ashgate Companion to Moral Panics* (pp. 319 – 334). Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Dreher, T. (2003). 'Speaking Up and Talking Back: News Media Interventions in Sydney's 'Othered' Communities'. *Media International Australia, Incorporating Culture and Policy, 109*, 121 – 137.

Dunn, K. (2004). 'Islam in Sydney: Contesting the Discourse of Absence'. *Australian Geographer, 35*(3), 333 – 353.

Dunn, K.M. (2001). 'Representations of Islam in the Politics of Mosque Development in Sydney'. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie, 92*(3), 291 – 308.

Dunn, K., Klocker, N., & Salabay, T. (2007). 'Contemporary Racism and Islamaphobia in Australia'. *Ethnicities, 7*(4), 564 – 589.

Fairclough, N. (1992). 'Discourse and Text: Linguistic and Intertextual Analysis within Discourse Analysis'. *Discourse and Society, 3*(2), 193 – 217.

Foucault, M. (1989). *The Archaeology of Knowledge.* (A.M. Sheridan Smith, Trans.). Oxon: Routledge.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977.* (C. Gordon., L. Marshall., J. Mepham., & K. Soper, Trans.). New York: Random House, Inc.

Gopalkrishan, N., & Babacan, H. (Eds.). (2006). *Introduction: Proceedings of the International Conference on Racisms in the New World Order: Realities of Culture, Colour and Identity, University of the Sunshine Coast, 2005.*

Grossberg, L. (1996). 'Identity and Cultural Studies: Is That All There Is?'. In S. Hall., & P. du Gay (Eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity* (pp. 87 - 107).

Hafez, K. (2002). 'Journalism Ethics Revisited: A Comparison of Ethics Codes in Europe, North Africa, the Middle East, and Muslim Asia'. *Political Communication, 19*(2), 225 – 250.

Hall, S. (1996). 'Introduction: Who Needs "Identity"?'. In S. Hall., & P. du Gay (Eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity* (pp. 1 – 17).

Hall, S. (1980b). 'Encoding/Decoding'. In S. Hall., D. Hobson., A. Lowe., & P. Willis (Eds.), *Culture, Media, Language* (pp. 128 - 138). Oxon: Routledge.

Heck, M.C. (1980). 'The Ideological Dimension of Media Messages'. In S. Hall., D. Hobson., A. Lowe., & P. Willis (Eds.), *Culture, Media, Language* (pp. 122 - 127). Oxon: Routledge.

Hobbs, P. (2008). 'It's Not What You Say But How You Say It: The Role of Personality and Identity in Trial Success'. *Critical Discourse Studies, 5*(3), 231 – 248.

Humphrey, M. (2007). 'Culturalising the Abject: Islam, Law and Moral Panic in the West'. *Australian Journal of Social Issues, 42*(1), 9 – 25.

Hunt, A. (1997). 'Moral Panic and Moral Language in the Media'. *The British Journal of Sociology, 48*(4), 629 – 648.

Kabir, N. (2006). 'Representations of Islam and Muslims in the Australian Media, 2001 – 2005'. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs, 26*(3), 313 – 328.

Kahan, D.M., Braman, D., Gastil, J., Slovic, R., & Mertz, C.K. (2013). 'Culture and Identity-Protective Cognition: Explaining the White-Male Effect in Risk Perception'. In P. Slovic (Eds.), *The Feeling of Risk: New Perspectives on Risk Perception* (pp. 163 - 182). London: Earthscan.

Keeble, R. (2001). 'Race/Anti-Racism Matters'. In R. Keeble (Eds.), *Ethics for Journalists* (2nd edn, pp. 174 – 198). Oxon, Routledge.

Kilby, L., Horowitz, A.D., & Hylton, P.L. (2013). 'Diversity as Victim to 'Realistic Liberalism': Analysis of an Elite Discourse of Immigration, Ethnicity and Society'. *Critical Discourse Studies, 10*(1), 47 – 60.

Kothari, A. (2013). 'Overview of Research on Media-Constructed Muslim Identity: 1999 – 2009'. In D.L. Lasorsa & A. Rodriguez (Eds.), *Identity and Communication: New Agendas in Communication* (pp. 107 – 125). New York: Routledge.

McGregor, C. (2013). 'Reporting Islam in Australian Newspapers: the case of the proposed Elermore Vale mosque'. *PLATFORM: Journal of Media and Communication, 5(*1), 107 – 117.

McIntyre, P. (2012). *Creativity and Cultural Production: Issues for Media Practice*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Manning, P. (2006). *Us and Them: A Journalist's Investigation of Media, Muslims and the Middle East*. Milsons Point, NSW: Random House Australia.

Manning, P. (2003). 'Arabic and Muslim People in Sydney's Daily Newspapers, Before and After September 11'. *Media International Australia, Incorporating Culture and Policy, 109*, 50 – 70.

Meer, N., Dwyer, C., & Modood, T. (2010). 'Beyond "Angry Muslims'? Reporting Muslim Voices in the British Press'. *Journal of Media and Religion, 9*, 216 – 231.

Morley, D. (1980). 'Texts, Readers, Subjects'. In S. Hall., D. Hobson., A. Lowe., & P. Willis (Eds.), *Culture, Media, Language* (pp. 163 - 173). Oxon: Routledge.

Padgett, A., & Allen, B. (2003). 'Fears Slave: The Mass Media and Islam After September 11'. *Media International Australia, Incorporating Culture and Policy, 109*, 32 – 40.

Paltridge, B. (2006). *Discourse Analysis: An Introduction*. London: Continuum.

Pedersen, A., Aly, A., Hartley, L., & McGarty, C. (2009). 'An Intervention to Increase Positive Attitudes and Address Misconceptions About Australian Muslims: A Call for Education and Open Mindedness'. *The Australian Community Psychologist, 21*(2), 81 – 93.

Robins, K. (1996). 'Interrupting Identities: Turkey/Europe'. In S. Hall., & P. du Gay (Eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity* (pp. 61 - 86).

Said, E. (2003). *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books.

Said, E. (1997). *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World*. London: Vintage Books.

Said, E. (1994). *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Vintage Books.
Saniotis, A. (2004). 'Embodying Ambivalence: Muslim Australians as 'Other'. *Journal of Australian Studies, 28*(82), 49 – 59.

Talbot, M. (2007). 'Introduction: Media and Discourse'. In M. Talbot (Eds.), *Media Discourse: Representation and Interaction* (pp. 3 – 17). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Tesch, R. (2013). *Qualitative Research: Analysis Types and Software Tools*. Oxon: Routledge.

Thompson, K. (2013). 'Cultural Trauma and Moral Panic: 9/11 and the Mosque at Ground Zero Affair'. In C. Krinsky (Eds.), *The Ashgate Companion to Moral Panics* (pp. 387 - 400). Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Toynbee, J., & Gillespie, M. (2006). 'Framing the Real: Beyond the Text. In J. Toynbee & M. Gillespie (Eds.), *Analysing Media Texts* (pp. 187 – 191). Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Van Dijk, T.A. (1991). *Racism and the Press*. London: Routledge.

Weerakkody, N. (2009). *Research Methods: For Media and Communication*. South Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Contact Email: caitlin.mcgregor@uon.edu.au