

(32) Intertextuality and Access in Islamophobia News Articles: A Critical Discourse Analysis

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available for the in-groups and the out-groups. The Islamic voice and its intertextual sequencing have no choice to express or defend itself in such kind of texts which are mainly provocative. Similarly, this lack of access by the Islamic sources would result in a vague image of Islam in the Western minds and thence, the process of negative stereotyping of this religion can be easier and more effective. In sum, Islamophobic discourse is hardly accessible by Muslims and when so, it is directed to enhance the otherness and negativity of Islam and Muslims.

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inaccurate claim made by elite intellectuals who are not logically eligible to stand against the claims of experts in information, politics, and religion. The struggle of voices or accesses within this text alludes to the invalidity of Islam in the most needed areas for managing the life of people.

Integrating voices within this text is basically made to show evidences and to express the in-group beliefs. This is represented by the relatively equal stance concerning the role of the writer as presenter in (3) instances and commenter in (4). The absent and lack of access by Muslims and Islamic resources can refer to their inferior role and their reality as outsiders and threat causers. This negative portrayal affirms the ideological structuring of this texts which is also accompanied by unequal relations of power between Muslims and Americans due to the unbalanced degree of access to the discourse under investigation. The following table show the intertextual analysis of outer voices in the text:

No	Discourse Representation	Intertextual Representation	Source Type	Source Function	Author Role
P1	Most Americans think radical Islam is the greatest threat to America's peace and stability.	Description	American polls	Belief	Presenter
P1	you can't enjoy a good job and a strong economy if you're dead at the hands of a religious fanatic.	Negative	Unidentified	Evidence	Commenter
P2	One calls for a long march to destroy the terrorists. The other calls for an all-out strategy to destroy the terrorists at once	Paraphrasing	Unidentified	Background information	Presenter
P2	Donald Trump promises to take the No. 2 route	Description	Trump's speech	Evidence	Presenter
P3	Will the public have the patience to drag the leaders to an appreciation of the problem, and then to the planning and execution of a successful strategy?	Description	Unidentified	Belief	Commenter
P5	When in 2016 Pope Benedict XVI reasserted intellectual criticism of the foundations of Islam, there was a torrent of abuse from the elites	Description	Pope Benedict	Background information	Commenter
P6	To sling the epithet of "Islamophobia" at those who merely observe the fundamental differences between the Islamic culture and the intellectual inheritance of the West is to not only misunderstand the argument.	Direct quotation	Intellectual elites	Belief	Commenter

8. Conclusions:

Part of the Islamophobic racist ideology manifested in the media discourse selected for the study is reflected in the process of access to the discourse itself. The negative ideological implications of Islam are disseminated through the unequal and unbalanced access

the argument, but to threaten the security of everyone, including peaceful Muslims.

Analysis of access in Text 2:

Initiative: Christian religious authorities, western media institution, American politicians

Setting (accesses – role) : symbolic elites and politicians - authority

Communicative event (mode – language- genre): written – formal language - persuasive

Participants: journalists – writers and Americans - readers

Sequencing (opening and closing the session): article writer

Speech acts: verdict, accusations, questions, assertions: article writer

Topic(s): news article – Islamic threat to Western peace

Style: argumentative

Audience/scope: immediate: mass mediated - large.

Result: Muslims are the source of dangers and America had to react.

This article is made of (6) paragraphs. (7) instances are identified concerning the representation of other voices in the text. In this relatively short article, the analysis of intertextuality shows a divergence in the resources that are relied on as the writers provide the source voice in (4) instances. As compared with the previous text, the rate of source voice here is comparatively high. To detect the source voices, they represent an authoritative voice that the readers and the interpreters can hardly negotiate. It is the polls that prove the threat of Islam, The winner presidential candidate (Trump) who points to that threat, and the Pope himself who criticizes the intellectuality of that religion. Hence, the voice of the American elite intellectuals who ‘slit the epithet of Islamophobia’ on the claim of authoritative voices cannot resist the influence of such voices. Therefore, the article tries to persuade that ‘Islamophobia’ is merely

Barack Obama is not much longer in the White House, and Democrats can now look to the defense of the country as well as the defense of the president and the party. Hillary Clinton, despite her implied promise to deliver Mr. Obama's third term, tends to fudge on No. 2. Donald Trump promises to take the No. 2 route and, like Hillary, is short on specifics.

Many voters are too young to appreciate the execution of the long and ultimately successful war against communism and the old Soviet Union, when the world lived for decades on knife's edge through several frightening crises. Will the fight against Islamic terrorism be a similarly long and tortured conflict? Will the public have the patience to drag the leaders to an appreciation of the problem, and then to the planning and execution of a successful strategy?

There's evidence that the current resistance to fanatical Islam's penetration into Western societies is in some ways a repetition of those earlier struggles. Political Islam, with ritual and moral concepts borrowed from Jews and Christians, has been repelled by the West before. But earlier Islamic efforts to overwhelm other cultures were led by armies. This time the threat is an ideological assault on a Christian world which has lost faith in its own institutions, and by an enormous wave of Muslim migrants filling the empty spaces left by falling Western birthrates.

The West is disarmed by its instincts to be nice, and attempts to give Islam irrational ideological tolerance in the open forums which are the essence of modern democratic societies. When in 2016 Pope Benedict XVI reasserted intellectual criticism of the foundations of Islam, there was a torrent of abuse from the elites, who long ago abandoned their own faith and the church, except for convenient places to marry their daughters and bury their dead. Benedict's critics could hardly remember enough theology to understand reason vs. will. The first understanding encourages the continuing development of civilization and freedom, the second sows the seeds of oppression without reason.

To sling the epithet of "Islamophobia" at those who merely observe the fundamental differences between the Islamic culture and the intellectual inheritance of the West is to not only misunderstand

No	Discourse Representation	Intertextual Representation	Source Type	Source Function	Author Role
P1	When two fanatics pledged to ISIS slit the throat of 85-year-old Father Jacques Hamel at mass on Tuesday morning.	paraphrasing	Unidentified	Background information	Presenter
P2	How, exactly, did we help kill that priest?	Question	Unidentified	Belief	Commenter
P4	We ignored the Islamist slaughter of Christians elsewhere.	Description	Unidentified	Background information	Commenter
P4	When Coptic Christians were murdered in Egypt, we dismissed it as an internal matter.	Description	Unidentified	Background information	Commenter
P4	When Christians were butchered in Nigeria and elsewhere in Africa, we merely shrugged.	Description	Unidentified	Background information	Commenter
P5	Ordered to ignore the plight of Iraqi Christians to “avoid perceptions of bias,” our troops watched as Christians were slaughtered or driven out.	Direct quotation	Unidentified	Background information	Commenter
P5	The 2,000-year-old Christian civilization of Mesopotamia has been reduced to bones.	Description	Unidentified	Background information	Commenter
P5	With Syria ravaged, President Obama refused to acknowledge the torture, rape, kidnapping, enslavement and mass murder of Christians at the hands of Islamist fanatics (and not just ISIS).	Indirect quotation	President Obama	Background information	Commenter
P6	When Israelis were killed by Muslims for being Jewish, we blamed “Israeli policy.”	Direct quotation	Unidentified	Background information	Commenter
P6	Outside of Israel, the 3,000-year-old Jewish civilization of the Middle East has been annihilated.	Description	Unidentified	Background information	Commenter
P7	we claimed they had nothing at all to do with Islam. We explained attacks as workplace violence, the result of mental illness, or the acts of “lone wolves”...anything but jihad.	Direct quotation	(WE)	Background information	Commenter
P8	We can’t discuss fourteen centuries of relentless jihad, of the savage Muslim conquest of much of Europe and occupations of Christian lands that began in the Middle East in the seventh century and only faded from Europe in 1912.	Description	Unidentified	Background information	Commenter

Text 2: The threat to peace and security

Does the West have the stamina to resist the radical terrorist wave?

Most Americans, according to the polls, think radical Islam is the greatest threat to America’s peace and stability. It’s the economy, too, as Mr. Stupid is forever trying to learn, but you can’t enjoy a good job and a strong economy if you’re dead at the hands of a religious fanatic.

Within the consensus are two distinct ideas about what to do about it. One calls for a long march to destroy the terrorists. The other calls for an all-out strategy to destroy the terrorists at once, to flatten their sanctuaries and if necessary make the rubble bounce. These two approaches have begun to cross party lines, now that

In the intertextual analysis of this text, (12) instances were identified out of the (10) paragraphs that make the article. What is notable in this text is the writer's biased stance against the Islamic civilization which is best justified by the poor intertextual resources that the writer relies on while drawing on other texts. Fairclough (2003) and Wang (2006) stress that the writer needs to provide other voices in the text which are more authoritative and convincing through reference to well-known authorities, religions, holy books, historical and legal activities, famous social and cultural figures or even objects. In this text, this seems to be highly ignored whereas the writer provides implied voices of historical, religious, political, and social backgrounds while leaving the source unidentified in (10) instances. This makes the consumers of the text fail to demarcate the represented discourse while voices are translated to be the voice of the representing discourse. with re-contextualizing the source discourse, this can be seen as a reducing factor for the argumentative force in the text which tackles the Islamic civilization negatively in the whole argument.

In this text, the writer mixes three different discourses within the article. Starting up with reporting the murder of the American Priest, then to reclaiming the historical discourse of Muslims destroying competing religious civilizations, and finally to identifying the political discourse in which the Western policy operate in response to the situations in the middle east. Similarly, the role of the writer as mainly commenter who provides background information to enhance the persuasive act depicts him as a relevant authority. Access in this context is explicitly limited to the in-groups although they are not directly and evidently identified. The voice of the out-groups, represented by Muslims and Islamic resources is hardly relied upon in the persuasion. necessarily, this indicates an implicit unequal chance to access the journalistic discourse and hence unequal relations of power between Muslims who are inferiors with no trusted source voice. Ideologically, this vague image of Islam highlight a negative representation of it and its believers who are the source of threat to the West throughout the history. The following table extracts the intertextual analysis of text (1):

and occupations of Christian lands that began in the Middle East in the seventh century and only faded from Europe in 1912.

In the name of tolerance, we've allowed foreign-funded hate mosques to tyrannize our Muslim fellow citizens. Citing religious freedom, we won't even eavesdrop on incitements to murder or prevent rabid foreign institutions from sending militant mullahs to bully Muslim communities in the West.

We empower the worst elements among our Muslim citizens. Especially, in the USA, most Muslims just want to prosper and live decent lives.

We undercut them by inviting America-hating, Jew-baiting militants to the White House. Instead of embracing Muslims who assimilate, we kowtow to apostles of separatism.

We blame our foreign policy for crises created by Islamic culture.

Analysis of access in Text 1

Initiative: western journalists, western strategic analysts, president Obama

Setting (accesses – role) : symbolic elites and politicians - authority

Communicative event (mode – language- genre): written – formal language - persuasive

Participants: journalists – writers and Americans - readers

Sequencing (opening and closing the session): article writer

Speech acts: verdict, accusations, questions, assertions: article writer

Topic(s): news article – Islamic threat to Western peace

Style: argumentative

Audience/scope: immediate: mass mediated - large.

Result: Muslims are the source of dangers and America had to react.

7. Analysis and discussions

Text 1: We have failed to protect Christians from Islamic terror

When two fanatics pledged to ISIS slit the throat of 85-year-old Father Jacques Hamel at mass on Tuesday morning, we steadied the knife. Our tolerance for Islam's intolerance is the greatest weapon these blood-cult terrorists have.

How, exactly, did we help kill that priest?

We ignored the Islamist slaughter of Christians elsewhere. When Coptic Christians were murdered in Egypt, we dismissed it as an internal matter. When Christians were butchered in Nigeria and elsewhere in Africa, we merely shrugged.

Ordered to ignore the plight of Iraqi Christians to "avoid perceptions of bias," our troops watched as Christians were slaughtered or driven out. The 2,000-year-old Christian civilization of Mesopotamia has been reduced to bones.

With Syria ravaged, President Obama refused to acknowledge the torture, rape, kidnapping, enslavement and mass murder of Christians at the hands of Islamist fanatics (and not just ISIS). When alarmed voices raised the prospect of giving priority to Christian refugees, the administration cried, "Bigotry!" — and gave priority to Muslim migrants.

When Israelis were killed by Muslims for being Jewish, we blamed "Israeli policy." Outside of Israel, the 3,000-year-old Jewish civilization of the Middle East has been annihilated. Our Leftists want to finish the job.

As the terrorists grew ever bolder and more zealous, we claimed they had nothing at all to do with Islam. We explained attacks as workplace violence, the result of mental illness, or the acts of "lone wolves"...anything but jihad.

We embraced their lies as Islamists rewrote history to vilify Christians. Every Muslim failure became the fault of the Crusades, a two-century occupation of a tiny coastal strip in the Levant that ended seven centuries ago. We can't discuss fourteen centuries of relentless jihad, of the savage Muslim conquest of much of Europe

specifically in their opinion sections, the searching engines of the two journals were used to search for two keywords (ISLAM and MUSLIMS). The results obtained were restricted to the periods:

1. (July, 2016) to detect the reactions to Paris and Nice Attacks and the accusation of all Muslims in committing this crime.
2. (August, 2016) to detect reactions to Orlando attack and how it can be attributed to Islam and the escalated anti-Muslim speeches of candidate Trump before the closing of the electoral race.

Then, confined to (Commentaries and Editorials), The Washington Times showed (5) results, while The New York Post showed (2) results. The next step is designed to pick (2) articles to undergo the critical discourse analysis. In this respect, two procedures are followed in the selection:

1. The degree of intertextual manifestations that are directly related to Islam rather than terrorists or radical groups. Avoiding repetition and redundancies in:
 - Titles
 - Themes and topics

Following these steps, (1) article is selected from each newspapers that can best reflect reporting and reconfiguring IOPA through the unequal access to discourse. These articles are:

Title	Article type	Author	Date of publish
We have failed to protect Christians from Islamic terror	Commentary NYP	Ralph Peters	July 26, 2016
The threat to peace and security	Editorial WT	THE TIMES	August 24, 2016

The study is carried through a qualitative research approach to CDA with an eclectic model that is based Fairclough's theory of intertextuality (1995b), van Dijk's model of access patterns. The eclectic model is supposed to uncover the racist ideological labouring and the unequal relations of power in news articles of the two newspapers based on the unequal access to the Islamophobic discourse manifested in these journals.

participate, and in what role, may be decided by the chairperson or by other powerful participants who control the interaction.

3. Controlling communicative events: The crucial form of access consists of the power to control various dimensions of speech and talk itself: which mode of communication may/must be used (spoken, written), which language may/must be used by whom (dominant or standard language, a dialect, etc.), which genres of discourse are allowed, which types of speech acts, or who may begin or interrupt turns at talk or discursive sequences. Besides these overall constraints, participants may have differential access to topics, style or rhetoric.
4. Scope and audience control: For dialogues such as formal meetings, sessions or debates, initiators or participants may allow or require specific participants to be present (or absent), or to allow or require these others to listen and/or to speak. Beyond the control of content or style, thus, speakers may also control audiences. That is, discourse access, especially in public forms of discourse, also and most crucially implies audience access. Full access to a major newspaper or television network thus also implies access to a large audience: obviously, access to the *New York Times* or CBS signals more power than access to a local newspaper or local radio station. The same is true for writers, teachers, professors or politicians and the relative sizes of their audiences.

6. Methodology:

This study is limited to online news articles cited in the opinion sections of two American newspapers, namely; The Washington Times and The New York Post. Purposeful sampling, defined by Creswell (2011:206) as the process of “selecting people or sites who can best help us understand our phenomenon”, is preferred to collect the data of this study due to its capability of providing more free area for the researcher to include what can be seen as more representative data. The websites of the two journals were accessed and observed for about (2) months to measure their reaction with events related to Islam in the mid-2016. After proving them to be highly concerned with religious and political issues about Islam,

5.3. Teun van Dijk's model of analyzing patterns of access

Teun van Dijk is one of the pioneers in the domain of CDA. Most of his works involve racism and prejudice in discourse. In his early works, van Dijk (1988a) and (1988b), he tackled the reproduction of ideologies concerning ethnic minorities in certain European countries. van Dijk's approach is mainly based on mental processes, i.e., representing experiences that exist in the mind. He used his tools of analysis to prove the struggle between what he calls 'US' as insiders and 'THEM' as outsiders (van Dijk, 1998b: 12). This is highlighted by positive self-representation and negative other-representation. van Dijk claims no specific approach and advocates no fixed framework. He confirmed this view in most of his works as he states that:

We do not operate within the narrow boundaries of a pre-established paradigm or "school" to describe and explain racism. Rather, we make use of discourse analysis, linguistics, cognitive and social psychology, sociology, anthropology, political science, and history in our effort to describe the multiple dimensions of such a complex problem as the role of the elites and their discourses in the reproduction of racism. However, instead of eclectically borrowing and combining incompatible notions, we propose to reconstruct this problem within a coherent theoretical framework in which a multidisciplinary concept of discourse plays a central and organizing role. (van Dijk, 1993:18)

Concerning access to discourse, van Dijk (1995) makes a number of analytical distinctions with certain specification that are intended to overcome the ambiguity in the notion of access. He calls it dimensions of access analysis, and these are:

1. Planning: Paneras of discourse access already begin with taking the initiative, the preparation or the *planning* of a communicative event. Thus a chairperson may 'call' a meeting, a judge may issue a warrant to appear in court, and a professor may decide to hold an exam, etc.
2. Setting: There are many elements of the setting of communicative events that may be controlled by different participants. First of all, who is allowed or obliged to

Wang (2006) In his attempt to work out a method for intertextual analysis in media discourse, based on Bazerman's perspective (2004), distinguishes the different levels at which a text invokes another text and relies on the other text as a resource. He identifies six levels of intertextuality that emerge in a text. These are 'prior text as a source of meaning to be used at face value', 'explicit social dramas of prior texts engaged in discussion', 'background, support, and contrast', 'beliefs, issues, ideas, statements generally circulated', 'recognizable kinds of language, phrasing and genre', and 'resources of language'.

These levels of intertextuality can be recognised through certain techniques that represent the words and utterances of others. These techniques start with the most explicit – 'direct quotation' and 'indirect quotation'; to 'mentioning of a person, document, or statements' and 'comment or evaluation on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked voice'; to more implicit 'using recognizable phrasing, terminology associated with specific people or groups of people or particular document' and 'using language and forms that seem to echo certain ways of communicating, discussions among other people, types of documents'.

Bazerman (2004) proposes the following procedures for analysing intertextuality.

1. Create a list of all instances of intertextuality in the text, that is, to evaluate the material as relevant;
2. List how the instance is expressed, that is, to evaluate the degree of textual integration (i.e. whether it is through a direct quotation, indirect quotation, paraphrase or description);
3. Identify whether it is attributed to some person or source;
4. Interpret the intertextuality, that is, make comments on how or for what purpose the intertextual element is being used in the text.

Such a procedure seems to fit the aims of this study and the corpus selected for analysis and therefore it will be attributed to the major work of Fairclough in intertextual analysis.

the sense that it gains its meaning in relation to other texts (Thibault, 1994:171). Within the perspective of CDA, Fairclough (1992:84) defines intertextuality as “the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth”. Besides, Fairclough identifies two types of intertextuality: “manifest intertextuality” and “constitutive intertextuality”. The former refers to the heterogeneous constitution of texts by which “specific other texts are overtly drawn upon within a text.” This kind of intertextuality is marked by explicit signs such as quotation marks, indicating the presence of other texts (ibid:86). Constitutive intertextuality, on the other hand, refers to the “heterogeneous constitution of texts out of elements (types of convention) of orders of discourse (interdiscursivity)” (ibid:104). This kind of intertextuality refers to the structure of discourse conventions that go into the new text’s production.

Basically, the analysis at the level of discourse practice is also a linguistic one as the intertextual analysis, according to Fairclough (1995b:61) focuses on the borderline between text and discourse practice in the analytical framework. Intertextual analysis is looking at text from the perspective of discourse practice, looking at the traces of the discourse practice in the text. Therefore, it is the nature of the analysis itself that distinguishes the textual level of analysis from the discursive one whereas the “linguistic analysis is descriptive in nature while the intertextual analysis is more interpretative”. (Fairclough,1995b:16)

Fairclough (1992:85) identifies two types of intertextuality: “manifest intertextuality” and “constitutive intertextuality”. The former refers to the heterogeneous constitution of texts by which “specific other texts are overtly drawn upon within a text.” This kind of intertextuality is marked by explicit signs such as quotation marks, indicating the presence of other texts. Constitutive intertextuality, on the other hand, refers to the “heterogeneous constitution of texts out of elements (types of convention) of orders of discourse (interdiscursivity)” (ibid:104). This kind of intertextuality refers to the structure of discourse conventions that go into the new text’s production.

on the other hand, is designed to help increase consciousness of how language contributes to the domination of some people by others, because consciousness is the first step towards emancipation. To meet these aims, Fairclough makes certain considerations like viewing language as a form of social practice, it is a part of the society and not external to it, and language is a socially conditioned process, conditioned that is by other non-linguistic parts of society (Fairclough,1989:22). Discourse is constructive of social structure. It has three kinds of constructive effect; the construction of social self or identity, the construction of social relationships between people and the construction of systems of knowledge and belief (Fairclough, 1995: 56). Therefore, Discourse in Fairclough's approach involves three elements which are text, interaction, and social context. In comparison to the three aspects of discourse, Fairclough (1989,26-27) identifies three dimensions for CDA:

- **Description** is the stage which is concerned with formal properties of the text.
- **Interpretation** is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction by seeing the text as the product of the process of production and as a resource in the process of interpretation.
- **Explanation** is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context, with the social determination of the process of production and interpretation, and their social effects.

Each dimension has its own nature of analysis so that we have three levels of analysis in this approach. Analysis in the first level is limited to the formal properties of the text and regards text as an object. In the second level, CDA detects the discursive processes of the participants and their interactions. And in the third stage, the relationship between social events and social structures that affect these events and also are affected by them is explained.

5.2. Fairclough's framework of intertextuality analysis:

On the basis of Bakhtin's works, Kristeva (1980) is believed to coin the term intertextuality, arguing that every text is ideological in

6. The link between text and society is mediated
7. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory
8. Discourse is a form of social action.

CDA states that discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned. In the same rate, it is an instrument of power, of increasing importance in contemporary societies. The way this instrument of power works is often hard to understand, and CDA aims to make it more visible and transparent (Blommaert, 2005: 25). The main aims of CDA are summarized by van Dijk (2001b: 353) by putting them as follows:

1. CDA focuses on social problems and political issues.
2. An empirically adequate critical analysis of social problems is usually multidisciplinary.
3. CDA does not describe only discourse structure; it rather attempts to explain discourse in terms of social power.
4. CDA also focuses on the way discourse exercises its power in relation to the society.

5.1. Norman Fairclough: The Social Approach to CDA

Norman Fairclough is one of the leading figures in the realm of CDA. He adopts a socio-semiotic view of discourse and employs it in protesting against the power and control of institutions and groups manifested in discourse. Concerning access to discourse, the approach attributed to Fairclough is based on the theory of intertextuality in his major works; Fairclough (1989), (1992), (1995a), (1995b) and (2003) where theories of linguistics and social theory are brought into a dialogue. Fairclough believes in the dialectical relationship between discourse and social practices, that is our language, which shapes our social identities and interactions, knowledge systems, and beliefs, is also shaped by them in turn.

Fairclough (1989:1) states that his approach has theoretical and practical parts. The first is intended to help correct a widespread underestimation of the significance of language in the production, maintenance, and change of social relations of power. The second,

society and a social process that is socially conditioned (Fairclough, 1989: 19). Likewise, Fairclough (1993: 135) comments that CDA aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes. The investigation of such practices is ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggle over power. Therefore the notion of power and ideology are of central interest in CDA (Titscher et al., 2000: 151).

Furthermore, Critical discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary framework. This is carried out by bringing a variety of theories into dialogue, especially social theories on the one hand and linguistic theories on the other (Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 16). Wodak (2002: 65) comments that nowadays relationships among social entities are very complex and we have not been able to provide clear answers about who influences who and how these influences are guided. Only interdisciplinary research will be able to make such complex relationships more transparent. Besides, CDA is a problem-oriented research program, perspective, or school of research but not a method or theory. This is due to the fact that studies in CDA are multifarious, derived from quite different theoretical backgrounds, oriented towards different data and methodologies. Researchers in CDA also rely on a variety of grammatical approaches and have different academic interests. Even the central terms like 'discourse', ideology, and 'power' seem to have different implications for each scholar (Wodak, 2008: 3).

Language in CDA is considered as social practice and the context of its use is crucial while discourse is understood as "relatively stable uses of language serving the organization and structuring of social life" (ibid:6). Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 271-80) summarize the main tenets of CDA as follows:

1. CDA addresses social problems
2. Power relations are discursive
3. Discourse constitutes society and culture
4. Discourse does ideological work
5. Discourse is historical

public discourse, and that of the mass media, in particular, thus also are able to control the formation and reproduction of the very ideologies that help to sustain their power.

Access in Fairclough's approach to CDA is part of a complex process of analysis that is called the discursive practice. Within his approach, newsworthy events originate from the contracted set of people who has privileged access to the media, who are treated by journalists as reliable sources, and whose voices are the ones which are most widely represented in media discourse. For Fairclough, In some news media, the external voices tend to be explicitly identified and demarcated. When, they are translated into a newspapers version of popular language, there is a degree of mystification about whose voices and positions are being represented. If the voices of powerful people and groups in politics, industry, etc. are represented in a version of everyday speech, then social

identities, relationships and distances are collapsed. Powerful groups are represented as speaking in a language which readers themselves might have used, which makes it so much easier to go along with their meanings. The news media can be regarded as effecting the ideological work of transmitting the voices of power in a disguised and covert form. (Fairclough, 1993:110).

5. Critical discourse analysis (CDA):

Critical discourse analysis is "a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (van Dijk, 2008: 85). Its roots is found in the critical theory of the Frankfurt school and specifically in Critical Linguistics that emerged in the 1970s by the works of Fowler *et al.*,(1979). In the first instance, CDA detects the relationship between language and society whereas language is considered as "crucial in the reproduction of ideologies, which is seen as central in establishing and sustaining social identities and inequalities (Wodak 2001: 10). Critical discourse analysts do not study such relation in its wider view but in the realizations of both language and society represented in certain discourses social practices, thus the two entities are no longer seen to come into contact occasionally. Language is therefore considered as; part of

reproduced or legitimised by the text and talk of dominant groups or institutions. Within the framework of such an account of discursively mediated dominance comes the patterns of access to discourse. Access is one major element in the discursive reproduction of power and dominance to discourse. In this respect discourse is similar to other valued social resources that make the basis of power and to which there is unequally distributed access. For instance, not everyone has equal access to the media or to medical, legal, political, bureaucratic or scholarly text and talk. Therefore, it is urgent to explore the implications of the complex question “*Who may speak or write to whom, about what, when, and in what context, or Who may participate in such communicative events in various recipient roles,*” (van Dijk,1995:85) for instance as addressees, audience, bystanders and overhearers. Access may even be analysed in terms of the topics or referents of discourse, that is, who is written or spoken *about* (ibid). Henceforth, one can assume that the social resources that are more accessed have more social power. In other words, measures of discourse access may be rather faithful indicators of the power of social groups and their members.

In this respect, access to the mass media means who has preferential access to journalists, who will be interviewed, quoted and described in news reports, and whose opinions will thus be able to influence the public? That is, through access to the mass media, dominant groups also may have access to, and hence partial control over the public at large. Except for letters to the editor, the public generally has passive media access only as readers or viewers. (van Dijk, 2008:145) As is the case for most public discourse, the news is imbued with ideologies. A detailed study of such ideologies in the mass media and other forms of public elite discourse contributes to our insights into their very reproduction in society. For instance, the ideological and discursive reproduction of women, poor people, workers, black people, immigrants, and all those who have no access to, and control over public discourse are largely ignored, or represented negatively when seen as a problem or a threat to the social mainstream. To sustain existing powers, polarized (Us vs. Them) ideologies are necessarily aligned along fundamental dimensions of society, such as those of class, gender, and race. The elites that control the access to, and the contents and structures of

Media discourse has certain requirements such as the everyday organization of news making, the journalistic routines of news gathering, the socioeconomic constraints of news production as well as news events and source texts that describe them (van Dijk, 1988b: 12). Therefore, the study of media text should not be carried out away from the socio-economic and cultural framework within which this specific text operates. There should be an interface between media text represented as news material and its context so that implicit messages disseminated through media discourse can be uncovered. Media discourse is realized by two structures identified by van Dijk (1988:23) as microstructures, referring to textual structures, and macrostructure, indicated by the social and cultural context. Once we have decided that media constitutes a discrete discourse, we need to characterize the textual structure of that discourse. Grazia Busa (2013:13) tries to identify media text as a type of text that is “written to report information on new or current events and are relayed to a mass audience by print, broadcast or the Internet”. These texts are shaped by news agencies’ objectives and agendas and the kind of reception expected from the audience. Most of the studies available on news texts shed more light on the external non-linguistic factors imposed on both the two processes of text production and text comprehension, including realities like ownership control, rates of sales and circulation, the collaborative task of news making, information resources in addition to space and time constraints. These approaches to studying news text and necessarily discourse see the media news as a good within a wider process of trade or business that seeks profits in the first grade and formulates ideologies on a lesser scale. Cotter (2010:21) also introduces two components that encapsulate the discourse of media news which are similar to that of van Dijk to far extent. These components or dimensions are: Text; encoding values and ideologies that reflect the larger world, and Process; including the norms and routines of the community of news practitioners.

4.1. Access to media to discourse:

One of the crucial tasks of Critical Discourse Analysis, argues van Dijk (1995:84), is to account for the relationships between discourse and social power. More specifically, such an analysis should describe and explain how power abuse is enacted,

meaning whilst negating somewhat entirely any spiritual or theological value to the hijab.

4. Media discourse:

In contemporary life, media is an influential and integral medium all over the world due to its central role in shaping people's collective thinking and in negotiating the meaning(s) of what is/are going on in the world as "important agents of socialization" (Williams,2003:13). According to van Dijk, (2008:220), it can mutually perform as "a source of conflict and as a source of consensus". Therefore, it can give certain indications concerning group ideologies and relations of power based on its solid relationship with society and its representative institutions. As defined by O'Keeffe (2006:1), media is "a broad term which can refer to a totality of how reality is represented in broadcast and printed media from television to newspaper". Likewise, Kellner (2003:9) argues that the products of media provide "the materials out of which we forge our identities; our sense of selfhood; our notion of what it means to be male or female; our sense of class, ethnicity and race, of nationality, of sexuality; and of 'us' and 'them'. Media images help shape our view of the world and our deepest values: what we consider good or bad, positive or negative, moral or evil."

It has been acknowledged by many discourse practitioners, like Fairclough (1992:45), that the media is the main actor in carving and orienting public opinion towards significant issues particularly in the current world; a world that is being described as a world of mass communication. However, typical forms of media are not only the result of workers in media institutions who present and modify the social values and meanings in the news; it is also a product of discourse. The notion of 'discourse' is used here to indicate the relationship between a specific form of language use, spoken or written, and the notions of society and social relations (Qadouri,2015:90). Kress (1989:7) defines discourses as "systematically-organized sets of statements which give expression to the meanings and values of an institution". Meanings and values are expressed and accomplished through language, which reflects the social relations, political and economic interests of the powerful groups, elites and institutions in society.

however that not all exclusionary practices that result in disadvantage for Muslims and their communities can be assumed either wholly or in part to be based upon an Islamophobic premise: it is not the practices themselves that are necessarily anti-Muslim or anti-Islamic but more so the discourse or ideology deployed to initiate such.

Allen and Nielsen (2002:35) have already provided an interpretation, highlighting the idea of visual identifiers that function as products through which Muslims and Islam are identified, signified and attributed meaning and understanding. They describe the signification of Islam and Muslims as “problematic and protean”, this is almost carried through mediatised stereotypes, embedded misunderstandings, mistruths and mistrusts, supplemented and empowered by social constructions and myths that emerge from contemporary events, interactions and associations, as well as representations and interpretations culminating in a situation where Muslims and Islam are inherently different to ‘us’. What becomes subsequently normative is the establishment and acceptance of Muslims and Islam as inherently and oppositely different, a process that reifies the perceiving and conceiving of all Muslims unidimensionally. This process, a correlation of the ideological component of racism that Miles and Brown (2003) describe, therefore attributes and homogenises Muslims and Islam as an undifferentiated ‘out-group’, simultaneously acquiring authority and legitimacy through the unchallenged belief that the ‘in-group’ is both superior and authoritative and by consequence, legitimately able to counter any competing or alternative claims, arguments or understandings that emerges from the out-group. Hence the description of this process as ideological whereas the out-group becomes simultaneously attributed with characteristics (signifiers) that by default disseminate meaning that is either negatively evaluated or may be seen to be inducing negative consequences for the in-group. Such signifiers could be biological, racial, cultural, religious or theological. One particular example being that of how the hijab disseminated meanings about Muslim women as inferior, oppressed and of being second class citizens whilst simultaneously disseminating meaning about Islam and its alleged associations with terrorism, anti-Westernism and so on, both inferring knowledge and

7. Hostility toward Islam is used to justify discriminatory practices towards Muslims and exclusion of Muslims from mainstream society.
8. Anti-Muslim hostility is seen as natural or normal.

2. Islamophobia as a racist ideology

Islamophobia has extensively been used both in academic institutions and the media while the motives behind using it reflect a deep controversy whether in the Western socio-cultural studies or in other parts of the world. Recently, Islamophobia is seen as a form of racism which in turn means “the process of giving meaning and understanding about different ‘races’ through the product of ideological and discursive labouring” (Miles and Brown,2003; cited in: Allen,2010:160). This assumption is based on three major characteristics that a racist phenomenon should consist:

1. A political programme or ideology that becomes largely interdependent with the notion and ideology of nationalism as well as providing knowledge and meaning about other both new and existing relations of power and meaning.
2. A set of prejudices, opinions and attitudes that may be held by either individuals, groups, communities or society, or indeed a combination of these.
3. A set of exclusionary practices as a result of prejudice and discrimination in employment, housing and other socio-economic spheres as well as subjection to violence as a tool of exclusion.

(Wieviorka,1995; cited in Allen,2010:160)

Consequently, to achieve certain social consensus of realities that can best elucidate IOPA as an identifiable racist phenomenon, the above criteria should be fulfilled. For instance, Islamophobia must be proven empirically as an ideological practice with specified discursive labouring and a catalyst for social exclusion and discrimination (Allen,2010:163-66). To achieve this, it is imperative that the determinative influence of Islamophobia is demonstrated: without it, such claims will continue to be refuted and be merely anecdotal. It is equally imperative to remember

cultural and political phenomenon” that has “re-emerged over the last two decades, in both vernacular and academic language, to describe and explain a negativity towards Islam and Muslims that goes beyond philosophical disagreement or simple dislike”. Besides, Stolz (2005:547) states that “Islamophobia is a rejection of Islam, Muslim groups and Muslim individuals based on prejudice and stereotypes. It may have emotional, cognitive, evaluative as well as action-oriented elements (e.g. discrimination, violence)”. These two definitions can be seen as the most extensive ones about the term, therefore they will form the basis for the next discussions about Islamophobia.

In the course of understanding the nature of Islamophobia, many researchers, including Allen (2010), Pratt and Woodlock (2015), and Miles & Brown (2003), insist on regarding it as a complex phenomenon of racism, and a product of ideological and discursive labouring. This is necessarily a result of certain western prejudice toward Islam that is evidently manifested in socio-political and socio-economic spheres. In 1997, the British race relations NGO known as Runnymede Trust issued a report entitled Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All, providing a definition of Islamophobia that have eight constitutive components quoted in Amiri et.al, (2015:10) as follows:

1. Islam is seen as a monolithic bloc, static and unresponsive to change.
2. Islam is seen as separate and “other”. It does not have values in common with other cultures, is not affected by them and does not influence them.
3. Islam is seen as inferior to the West. It is seen as barbaric, irrational, primitive and sexist.
4. Islam is seen as violent, aggressive, threatening, supportive of terrorism, and engaged in a “clash of civilizations”.
5. Islam is seen as a political ideology and used for political and military advantage.
6. Criticisms made of the West by Islam are rejected out of hand.

freely. Therefore, Critical Discourse Analysis becomes an important diagnostic tool for the assessment of social and political dominance. Van Dijk (1995:85) states that access to discourse means “Who may speak or write to whom, about what, when, and in what context, or Who may participate in such communicative events in various recipient roles,”. This study aims at investigating the role of strategies of access to media discourse in highlighting Islamophobia as a racist ideology and how such strategies can be used to indicate a negative and vague image of Islam and Muslims in the American public mind.

1. Islamophobia: origin and definition

Islamophobia is a neologism formed by combining ‘Islam’ referring to Islam, the religion, and the Greek suffix ‘phobia’ which means ‘fear of’ and defined as “a strong unreasonable fear or hatred of a particular thing” by the Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (2005). The origin of the term seems is somehow debatable. Some scholars and sociologists state that Islamophobic practices started “as early as the Crusades and later the Inquisition in Spain” (Mohideen and Mohideen,2008:76). Others trace the term back to the mid twentieth century starting up from the eruption of the Arab-Israeli struggle (Richardson,2006:103-104). Edward Said (1981), on the other hand, claims that anti-Muslim attitudes had appeared in modern age prominently only after the oil crisis in the mid-1970s and the overthrow of the American ally, the Shah of Iran, through the Islamic revolution.

However, the term Islamophobia became too popular with the publication of Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All by the Runnymede Trust in Britain in 1997. The report presents a justification that “anti-Muslim prejudice has grown so considerably and so rapidly in recent years that a new item in the vocabulary is needed”. Within this perspective, The Council of Europe defines Islamophobia as “the fear of or prejudiced viewpoint towards Islam, Muslims and matters pertaining to them”. Allport (1991:12) defines prejudice as “a hostile attitude toward a person who belongs to a group, simply because he belongs to that group, and is therefore presumed to have objectionable qualities ascribed to that group”. Pratt and woodlock (2015:2) see Islamophobia as a “religious,

Introduction:

Islamophobia, defined as “unreasonable fear of Islam and Muslims” (Zimmermann,2008:454), is drawing increased attention among researchers in the last decades. The use of this term represents cultural, political, and religious disputes that enfold many areas of social practices and journalism is only one of them. Schiffer and Wagner (2011:79) consider Islamophobia as a new form of racism and that its target of discrimination is not a race but a group that is perceived as religious community. The kind of racism we are talking about captures Islam as a monolith and develops stereotypes that locate all Muslims, as one community, as opposed to the West (Schneider, 2011:8). If Islamophobia is considered as a phenomenon of racism, as Miles & Brown (2003) and Allen (2010) put it, it must be a product of ideological and discursive labouring. Henceforth, Allen (2010) highlights Islamophobia as a form of ideology *per se*, that carries relations of power and inequality in verbal and non-verbal interactions that negatively evaluate Islam and Muslims.

Being mediatized through its iterative use by newspapers, radios, satellite channels as well as websites, Islamophobia started to enter discursual fields and institutions in which language has the upper role. Likewise, the ideological configuration of Islamophobia and its capability of stereotyping views and attitudes which carry unequal relations of power make it worthy to be studied under the heading of critical discourse analysis (CDA). Within CDA, language and society are brought together in a way that discursive and social practices may uncover implicit realities about text. It is a perspective that extends language studies to new directions and pays too much attention to issues of social bias and inequality (van Dijk, 2008: 113).

Within the CDA perspective, access to discourse is seen as one form of discursive labouring through which social inequality and racist practices are reflected and (re)produced (van Dijk,1995:88). It is a mode of implicit representation for expressing control by dominant individuals, institutions and groups. In the process of discourse production that is ideologically bound, part of depicting the negative image of others is to allow them no access to that discourse. Besides, discourse access can be seen as measure of power, i.e, those who has the power can access discourse more

Abstract:-

This study is investigating the role of strategies of access to media discourse in highlighting Islamophobia as a racist ideology and how such strategies can be used to indicate a negative and vague image of Islam and Muslims in selected American newspapers. Through provocative and exclusionary practices motivated by the media of the conservative republican policy-makers in the U.S., Islamophobia begun to appear as a product of discursive labouring in which access and voice are hardly accessible by outsiders and designed to serve the in-groups positive representation. The study is a critical discourse analysis to (2) news articles selected randomly from two conservative American newspapers with an attempt to uncover the implicit relations of powers and the disseminated ideologies proposed by Islamophobic discourse and its strategies of access to that discourse as an implicit technique of dominance and control.

Keywords: CDA, Intertextuality, Islamophobia, access, media discourse, ideology.

المخلص:-

تبحث هذه الدراسة دور استراتيجيات الوصول إلى الخطاب الإعلامي في إبراز الإسلاموفوبيا كأيدولوجية عنصرية، وكيف يمكن استخدام هذه الاستراتيجيات للإشارة إلى صورة سلبية وغامضة للإسلام والمسلمين في صحف أمريكية مختارة. ومن خلال الممارسات الاستفزازية والاستبعادية التي تحركها وسائل الإعلام لصانعي السياسات الجمهوريين المحافظين في الولايات المتحدة، بدأت ظاهرة الخوف من الإسلام تبدو وكأنها نتاج عمل استباقي لا يمكن الوصول إليه إلا من خلال جهات خارجية، ويهدف إلى خدمة التمثيل الإيجابي داخل المجموعات. الدراسة هي تحليل الخطاب النقدي لمقالتين إخباريتين مختارة عشوائياً من صحيفتين أمريكيتين محافظتين مع محاولة للكشف عن العلاقات الضمنية للسلطات والأيدولوجيات المنشورة التي اقترحها الخطاب الإسلامي، واستراتيجياتها للوصول إلى هذا الخطاب باعتباره تقنية ضمنية من الهيمنة والسيطرة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: تحليل الخطاب النقدي، التناس، الرهاب من الإسلام، الولوج، الخطاب الاعلامي، أيدولوجيا.

Intertextuality and Access in Islamophobia News Articles: A Critical Discourse Analysis

Asst. Prof. Farah Abdul Jabbar Al.Manaseer (PhD.)

Asst. Prof. Ahmed Sultan Hussein (PhD.)

Researcher

Salah Hadi Shukur

Almustansiriyah University - College of Arts

التناص والنفاذ في المقالات الصحفية للرهاب من الإسلام

دراسة تحليل خطاب نقدي

الأستاذ المساعد الدكتورة

فرح عبد الجبار المناصير

Farah_fa78@yahoo.com

الأستاذ المساعد الدكتور

أحمد سلطان حسين

Ahmed.Sultan@gmail.com

الباحث

صلاح هادي شكر

salah.shukur@gmail.com

الجامعة المستنصرية – كلية الآداب