Representation of Muslims in Canadian Newspapers: Comparing the Coverage of the 2014 Parliament Hill Shooting and the 2017 Quebec City Mosque Shooting

by

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B.A., Communication University of China, Beijing, 2016

Extended Essay Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in the School of Communication (Dual Degree Program in Global Communication) Faculty of Communication, Art and Technology

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SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
Summer 2018

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Abstract

In this research, representation of Muslim in Canadian newspaper is examined. Terrorism-related report has been becoming an essential part for newspaper since 2001 and terrorism is always hotly debated in the globe. With the appearance of terrorist group from Islam world, media relate terrorism and Islam world rather closely. How mass media reflect Islam world and Muslim has great impact on how the public think of Islam countries and their citizens. In this paper, the study mainly focus on how Canadian print media, newspaper in this case, construct image of Islam world and Muslim when they are covering terrorism story.

Keywords:  Terrorism; Media coverage; Representation; Muslims; Canadian Newspapers; Content Analysis
Acknowledgements

I want to thank my supervisor Dr. Daniel Ahadi for many insightful conversations during developing ideas for this thesis, and for helpful comments through countless emails and meetings.

I thank Prof. Zhao for creating the program and providing such precious opportunity for me. This whole experience has been and unique and unforgettable for my life. I want to express my appreciation to Adel Iskandar and Kirsten McAllister who have been there all the time for me, welcoming me whenever I encounter difficulty in academic and life. Adel and Kirsten are also helpful in inspiring me when I decided my topic of this project.

I would like to thank Prof. Alison Beale and Milena Droumeva whose class I have taken in the first semester and learnt much from. They are creative and inspiring people, and always happy to help. I thank our TA of this program Xiaoxing Zhao for being a good instructor and friend for me and our program coordinator Dora Lau for being helpful and warm-hearted all the time.
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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Motivation

News values such as violence, outburst, graveness, influence and aftereffect, terrorism, especially domestic terrorism, are often the focus for media. Coverage on terrorism can not only meet people’s need for information, but also attract significant benefits for media. However, coverage of terrorism is closely associated with politics, economy, society and history of a nation. How to report terrorism becomes a critical issue in the field of journalism. Faced with sudden and large-scale violence, the public become terrified, confused and insecure, which would eventually turn into social panic. Misinformation and rumors are easily created and communicated in such panic. In this era, all kinds of ideologies and values systems are crazily raising and communicating with each other, and media discourse in terrorism plays a decisive role in shaping people’s knowledge base and building up value system for them. How media can guide readers or audience in a rational way while disseminating truth of news is an issue worth being studied in field of academics and social practice. No news coverage is value-free, and values are transmitted through media discourse. In some way, the relationship between mass media and terrorism is symbiotic. On the one hand, media is considered and used as weapon of anti-terrorism. On the other hand, terrorists propagate their ideologies skillfully via traditional and social media. Therefore, it is necessary for media to figure out how to find out the truth out of terrorism events without being taken advantage of by terrorist.

Media is the main channel connecting people, leaders of their nations and truth of news event when terrorism happens. Apart from providing relevant information of the event, media strengthens terror among the public and cultivates an environment for public opinion via description of language, expression of emotions and guideline of values. Media coverage on terrorism constructs people’s cognition of terrorism itself, and in most of time, people’s impression on Muslims as well. Media discourse on Muslim can solidify existing public image of Muslims constructed by the West and prevailing for decades. Through mass media, Muslims become major actor of and are symbolized by barbarism. Normally, there are several ways in which media construct terrorism and image of Muslim. Firstly, they construct them by purposefully choose their report materials. When
they are covering terrorism story, media is prone to select news events with dramatic impact on society. Hence, certain image of Muslims will be reinforced or magnified. Western media have a tendency of associating Muslims with terrorism. Secondly, the way media report Muslims portrays image of Muslims for their audience or readers. Interpretation of terrorism events and people involved in terrorism will influences people’s impression on Muslims and their social relationship with Muslims. Thirdly, media give symbols and meanings to news event and news figures. Once these symbols and meanings are accepted by the public, they will be instituted and left. Symbols on Muslims created by media include “terrorism”, “radicalized”, “ISIS”, “Islamic extremism” and “Al-Qaeda” and so on. Whenever terrorism happens, media focus on terrorist who carried out the violence and terrorist organization beyond them. The religious background information is also placed in under spotlight. People nowadays receive countless information in daily base, and it is difficult for them to spend time recognizing all of them.

I intend to find out whether how Canadian media represent Muslims in aftermath of terrorist attack and what kind of image they construct for Muslims under Canadian context. My motivation to write on how Canadian newspapers represent Muslim in coverage of domestic terrorism firstly lies on previous study in international terrorism and media discourse in Chinese and American newspapers. In Western media context, Muslims are portrayed mostly as terrorist or extremist, especially in America and European countries. Canada, on the other hand, has been seen as a successful example of multiculturalism. I start this study in an attempt of finding out whether Canadian media promote such discourse of Muslims, what kind of image they construct for Muslims living in Canada and how they represent them when they are covering domestic terrorism story.

1.2. Background

In modern days, interaction between countries yields opportunities for communication between different cultures and value systems. Meantime, conflicts between different cultures also are likely to occur. Among those cultural confrontations, conflict between Islamic and Western culture has always been a hot-debated topic in international community, particularly during such period of Islamic Fundamentalism rising. Islamic Fundamentalism refers to a set of ideology of fighting against “an
aggressive, oppressive, dividing, and humiliating Western mentality that began during the Crusades and Colonial period”. Western scholar Samuel P. Huntington set up a “Clash of civilizations” theory through his book titled as The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order. A large number of terrorist attacks has happened in Western countries after 9.11., from Paris shooting in 2015 to London subway bombing in 2017. Media tend to blame the frequent occurrences of terrorism on Muslims and their faith.

Numerous Western countries recently target Muslims as root of immigration crisis and terrorism. Western world describe them as “extreme different”, “inferior”, and “aggressive” all of which constitute a term “Islamophobia”. Islamophobia is born in soil of Europe-centralism and it places Muslims in a unequal position in a society. Just as what is portrayed in a book Muslims are coming by Kundnani, such thinking excludes Muslims from the country and legitimizes any violence on Muslims. (Arun Kundnani, 2014) Mass media, as a bunch of “soft power”, plays a role of disseminating information, leading public opinion and shaping ideology. It critically affects image of Muslims within a society. The “Otherness” framed by media socially impacts relationship between Muslims and majority.

1.3. Research questions and research purpose

In this paper examines representation of Muslims in terrorism coverage under Canadian context. As a country with high rate of immigration and diversity of cultures, Canada is famous for its tolerance, openness and kindness. Nonetheless, discrimination on Muslims still endures in Canadian society. I intend to examine Canadian newspapers and their coverage on domestic terrorism events, and to see if how they represent Muslims in aftermath of terrorism.

Research questions:

1) How Canadian print media represent Muslims in the aftermath of terrorism

2) What kind of image of Muslims is constructed in Canadian news media

1 http://natoassociation.ca/the-terror-spectrum-part-23-islamic-fundamentalism/
1.4. Creativity

There is a large number of researches studying Muslim representation in terrorism coverage all over the world. However, these researches are mainly conducted in North America, the United States particularly, and European countries where refugee constitutes considerable amount of people.

In addition, there is a large amount of terrorist attacks happening in Europe in recent years. Countries such as France and Britain have been an obvious target for terrorism and these terrorist attacks are reported by international media in detail, attracting people’s attention on the issue. Therefore, it is justifiable that researches on Muslims and terrorism are concentrated in these areas. Furthermore, Muslim studies in Canada and Australia are essentially closely connected to gender—Muslim women. There is limited quantity of Muslims studies focusing on terrorism coverage by media and representation of Muslims in Canada, especially those comparing Muslim and non-Muslim representation in media discourse. Therefore, hopefully my study can provide a Canadian perspective on media representation on Muslims by analyzing coverage on terrorism.
Chapter 2. Literature Review

2.1. Theory

Edward Said in his book Orientalism proposes an idea particularly useful in studying the rise of contemporary Islamophobia in the West. According to Said, there are three layers of definition on Orientalism: firstly, it is a discipline Western world studies as an academic which is all kinds of knowledge the West construct for the Eastern world and its people; second, it is also a pattern of thinking, based on distinguish on the concept of “the West” and “the East”; third, Orientalism boils down to cultural imperialism or discourse of power which is widely spread in everywhere in Western world. It is a ruling system towards the Eastern world. As Said puts it, “Modern Orientalism embodies a systematic discipline of accumulation. Far from this being exclusively an intellectual or theoretical feature, it made Orientalism tends fatally towards the systematic accumulation of human beings and territories. To reconstruct a dead or lost Oriental language meant ultimately to reconstruct a dead or neglected Orient; it also meant that reconstructive precision, science, even imagination could prepare the way for what armies, administrators, and bureaucracies would later do on the ground.” Said’s theory is widely applied in Muslim studies. In his account, “The Orient and Islam have a kind of extra real, phenomenological reduced status that puts them out of reach of everyone except the Western expert. From the beginning of Western speculation about the Orient, the one thing the orient could not do was to represent itself. Evidence of the Orient was credible only after it had passed through and been made firm by the refining fire of the Orientalist’s work.”

2.2. Muslim studies

In order to study representation of Muslim in media, it is important to look into the previous studies related to Muslim.

In her book Casting Out: The Eviction of Muslims from Western Law and Politics, Sherene H. Razak provides an analytical tool to her readers to examine Muslim issue. In this work, Razack comes up with a perception that Muslim are evicted from national legal and political systems in western countries. Muslims are constituted as an exception
to western countries’ laws. This political exclusion makes Muslims different from other social vulnerable groups. In social vulnerable group’s case, they have fewer rights and are in an inferior position compared with majority group. Moreover, Muslims are evicted from national legal and political system, which means they have no right to have their right. In order to support her theory, Razack addresses three arguments. First, she proposes an idea of “camp”. In a western society, the proliferation of camps or population is evicted from political community. Camp can include groups such as asylum seekers, people wearing hoods, migrant workers from places like Niagara peninsula or conventional prison in Palestine. Unlike social vulnerable group and discriminated group, no political community is willing to take over the camp, which means “these populations are constituted as a different order of humanity altogether by virtue of having no political community willing to guarantee their rights” (Razack, 2008). She also presents two examples. One is the example of Hassan Almrei, a Muslim man who is arrested because he happens to have a similar personal profile as one in “terrorist list”. Second example she brings out is Abu Ghraib. To move forward, she proposes the idea of “race thinking”. In her definition, race thinking refers to “the denial of a common bond of humanity between Euro-descended and non-Euro-descended peoples” and this thinking pattern remains as a “defining feature of the world order” (Razack, 2008). Race thinking is the legacy of colonialism and allows hierarchy to exist. Under political operation, race thinking turns into a racial project. This project results into a fact that a group is abandoned by the society and Nation. This eventually brings out legal exclusion of Muslim. The notion of Exceptionalism is another highlight in Casting Out. The theory of exceptionalism is first brought up by Giorgio Agamben. In this book, it is applied in Muslim problem. Once the exception is built, Muslim will be excluded from the whole and any violence and punishment on Muslim is seem as acceptable. Violence towards Muslims is regarded as a way of controlling population and of protecting its people from being harmed by people from the camp. Abu Ghraib is a perfect illustration. As Razack puts it, “the absence of a code was the code in Abu Ghraib” (Razack, 2008). As a work on Muslim study, Casting out depicts how legal exclusion of Muslim is conducted under a bigger picture in which Muslims are perceived as “dangerous Muslim men” and “imperiled Muslim women” while Westerners being civilized and modern. Razack takes Norway and Canada as examples when she discusses about Muslim women. In Norway’s case, the government and majority introduce all means of administrative techniques of disciplinary racial state to spread their social norms and try their best to
simulate their Muslim community. This simulation actually highlights cultural clash and indelible difference between Muslim culture and Western culture. In her own word, “an overly patriarchal Muslim culture, a generous, misguidedly tolerant and humanitarian culture, whites victimized by minorities, and victimized Muslim women all come altogether in case of forced marriage” (Razack, 2008). As for Canada, Muslim women are portrayed as “imperiled” while western women are perceived as “imperialists”. She states that “saving Muslim women from the excesses of their society marks western women as emancipated” (Razack, 2008). In both cases, Muslim women’ bodies are often considered as marker between modern and pre-modern cultures. Western society has a history of colonialism and for a long time live under a climate of fear. It creates a legal and political black hole for whoever they label as terrorist in order to limit their fundamental rights and then to eliminate whatever they perceived as threat.

_Casting out_ considers the issue from a political perspective, talking about political and legal exclusion Muslims are faced with. It gives me a rough picture which describes how Muslims are omitted by the society.

_Islamophobia and the Politics of Empire_ is another work on Muslim studies worthy attention. The author Deepa Kumar addresses core argument that the image of “Muslim Enemy” is constructed on purpose by the Western Europe and the United States later. It introduces a history from 18th century when Islam first contact with Europe to 21st century when the 9/11 event shocked the Western World. The author keeps emphasizing that Muslim is not presented as “the Others” from the very beginning. Rather, Muslim and Europe kept a peaceful relations with mutual respect. Western Europe and the States construct Islamophobia discourse in virtue of strategic purpose. USA uses it as a political tool to implement apartheid and resource distribution. In order to obtain discursive power, Western empires create an Islamophobia discourse through all kind of institutions such as universities, think-tanks, churches and media. There are various discourses created to connect with Muslim: alien values, Problem of multiculturalism, threat of immigrant and security many of which is closely associated with discourses used in my study. Yet, this book focuses more on why these discourses are constructed and how it serves as political tool for western nations. Three main sections are divided in the book. First section is a thorough historical description of how Islamophobia originates and develops under the historic context in Europe. At the meantime, it explains how the concept is being presented in the United States today. By
telling the history linearly, Kumar provides a clear picture of how Islam and Muslim is perceived in Western Europe and how this perception travels through Atlantic Ocean and arrives in the States. Three chapters are included in this section, with chapter 1 illustrating historic connection and cultural relation between Islam and Christianity, chapter 2 demonstrating a fact that European colonialism and American domination provides soil for racialized discourse on Muslim by promoting Christian values and dismantling Islamic World, and chapter 3 bringing up a notion that orientalism and contemporary racism results into presence of Islamophobia in U.S.. In the second section of Islamophobia and the Politics of Empire, Kumar mainly introduces how American foreign policy effectively instrumentalizes Islam and Muslim as a political tool to maintain its authority over its wide region (Kumar, D. 2012). By illustrating this notion, Kumar starts this section by giving readers a sense of how U.S. and Islam interact with each other from positive relationship to adversity. In this part, discussion on America’s intervene in Islam world like Saudi Arabia, the concept of “political Islam” and history of how “War on Terror” has arrived in North America are detailed described. The last but not the least, the third section is author’s insight of how Islamophobia has been systematized in U.S. Kumar conceives that America manipulates Islamophobia discourse purposely and creates an environment for legitimizing Islamophobia, drawing public attention on the issue they call “terrorism” and even put National security before other agenda in America’s Institution. As she claims, these right-wing Islamophobia exists in the States in a rather organized level. In conclusion, the author proposes a notion that Islamophobia is far more than a religious or cultural phenomenon, but a political phenomenon. Therefore, people should look at this issue from political perspective if they are seeking solution for Islamophobia.

What this book provides for my study is the historic and political perspective of Islamophobia. Great detailed information of relationship between the West and Islam under a historic context is presented in this book. In order to study Muslim in Canada, it is essential to see how Muslims and their faith came to the continent and developed. This book also reminds us that it is vital to understand political context when examining the nature and effect of Islamophobia in North America. Before and during the Cold War, communism has been the most evil Western countries tried their best to eliminate. Yet, U.S.A. lost its enemy when Cold war ended with Soviet collapsing and Berlin Wall being torn. After Second World War, United States became one of two superpowers in the
world and neo-liberalism worked effectively within the country. America started to pose economic and cultural imperialism on other parts of the world. Islamophobia, thus, emerged as a political and imperial tool to consolidate the country by granting America a role of world police and purveyor of morality and, at the same time, granting it an enemy to fight against. By learning these how Islamophobia has been emerging and communicated in Western Europe and America, I am able to have a close look at the origin of the issue and obtain a new perspective to examine Muslim issue in Canadian context, especially when I intend to discuss the issue in Multiculturalism context.

*Muslims are coming!* Islamophobia, extremism, and the domestic war on terror is a book on Muslim study written by Arun Kundnani. What is different in this book from other Muslim study is that it addresses Muslim problem under domestic environment in U.S. and UK and considers it as a structural issue within these two western countries. In this work, Kundnani aims to show how the struggle against terrorism is based on Islamophobia and its domestic fronts of the war on terror in U.S. and UK. Moreover, it explains why this is regarded as a form of structural racism. *Muslims are coming* tries to answer two questions throughout the whole book. The first question is why Islamic ideology for a long time has been thought as the root cause of terrorism, and the second is why people from any other ideological belief find the acceptance of Muslims as fellow citizens within their country so difficult.

To answer these questions, Kundnani first discusses how domestic environment looks like in America for Muslims: Muslims are perceived as terrorists and Islamic identity is considered as the root cause of terrorism. Government is launching a “domestic war on terror”. He then notions that after 9/11, state secrecy and surveillance have been normalizing preventive measure against what they define “terrorists” and installing anxiety and fear within nation (Arun Kundnani, 2014). They even illegitimated legal actions just because they find people strange in their profile. Police enforcement agency employ intelligence to gather vast quantity of personal information and to build up a large database. All these effort is to eliminate any form of terrorism, however, the reality is they are on a war on what they produce. Without any knowledge of jihadist terrorism, they have been taking any form of violence by Muslims as terrorism, ignoring the reality there has been similar number and scale of political violence within the country. This vast quantity of data is overload and so-called intelligence fail to connect their data with actual violent crime and terrorist plots. As the Kundnani says, “more often
than not, when the U.S. government has failed to prevent terrorist acts, it is not because the intelligence was missing but because its significance was not identified amid the huge tracts of surveillance data the national security collects” (Arun Kundnani, 2014, P194). They also establish a procedure to detect terrorists, in this case, they target at vulnerable Muslim youth, despite the fact that they have inadequate ability to carry out an act of terrorism. Their aim is to lure these opinionated but criminally inept young Muslims into a situation they are provided everything to commit a crime, being manipulated and pushed into criminal activity so they can be arrested. They are arrested not because of what they actually do but for having a “predisposition” to commit terrorism, which brings out another key point in this book—the social science model of radicalization. In *Muslims are Coming*, the author perceives that there is a “race principle at work that enables the separation of Muslims from the usual liberal norms of rights and citizenship” and “a kind of domestic totalitarianism provides a radicalized discourse of fear that constructs Muslims as a cultural threat to the liberal order” (Kundnani, 2014, P284). According to Kundnani, this radicalization model is “based on failed terrorist plots carried out in different social contexts” and only recognizes Muslim carrying out violence while neglecting far-right extremists in the country. This Radicalization model is flawed, as Kundnani addresses in this book, for it regarding extremism as equivalent with “radical opposition” and believes that “the best way to stop terrorist violence is to prevent radical ideas from circulating” (Kundnani, 2014, P288). In conclusion, the most effective way to reduce or even eliminate “jihadist terrorism” is to “open up genuinely radical political alternatives and reviving the political freedoms that have been lost in recent years (Kundnani, 2014, P15). What attracts me in this book is the discussion on the radicalization model on the ground that the term “radical” and “radicalization” have been appearing in news articles on the two terrorist attack I am going to analyze in this study. In order to understand discourse used on Muslims in these two attacks, it is necessary to know what the term actually means. Although the term means differently under Canadian context, it is essential to learn where it originates and how it develops in American context since we are in the same continent and share so many in common. Kundnani also relates her work with Deepa Kumar’s *Islamophobia and the politics of Empire*. Both are considering Islamophobia and Muslim issue from political perspective and domestically.
2.3. Media and Muslim

Since I am going to focus on news coverage of terrorism in Canada, it is necessary to see how these two terms get related by scholars. Countless works have been done in this area and I will review some closely related to my project.

The first one will be *The Theatre of Terror: Mass Media and International Terrorism* by Gabriel Weimann and Conrad Winn (1994). It introduces the whole background why studies of media coverage on terrorism is important. It is also the reason why I intended to study this topic in the first place. Although I have been studying journalism throughout my whole university years, it didn’t come to me until my third year when I realized media could be an accomplice of terrorism and this raised my interest in studying media coverage on terrorism. This book carefully criticizes the symbiotic relationship between mass media and international terrorism by conducting content analysis during 1970s and 1980s on nine newspapers on four continents. Its central argument is that mass media coverage of terrorism triggers the action. On the one hand, terrorism aims at threatening, affecting and inducing audience of mass media by plotting bombing and hostage event. It purposely plans emergency events that carries news values such as blackmailing and killing without warning in order to provoke social panic. Terrorists use modern media to attract attention from all over the world. On the other hand, mass media is enthusiastic about reporting terrorism in an attempt of increasing its viewership or publish number. Nowadays, terrorism is becoming more and more “media-minded”, paying increasing attention on media when they are plotting terrorist event. Among all the countries reporting terrorism, America develops into prime target of terrorism based on large number of coverage on terrorism by American media. According to the authors, there exists a contagion effect between terrorism and mass media: coverage of terrorism leads to more such acts. They also call for more responsibility taken by journalists, more “thoughtful, restrained, conscientious” coverage that paraphrase terrorism instead of legitimizing its cause.

*Covering Islam* by Edward Said would be another literature worth being mentioned in the field of media and terrorism studies. In this book, Said exposes issue of coverage on Islam in Western media in the period of Islamic resurgence in Iran and other parts of the world. The book introduces its readers how the American Media and American academics presented an image of Islam and the Arab World to American
public in recent year by examining how they described Islam and the war during Iranian Revolution from 1979 to 1980. *Covering Islam* first addresses the historic relationship between Islam and the West. Islam has been discussed “outside a framework created by passion, prejudice and political interest” since Middle Age. As Said puts it, any discussion on Islam as a social phenomenon from the West is interpreted, and any interpretation carries value. They tend to find out what they want to find out rather than what is there. “Generalization of Islamic characteristics” is widely spread in Western journalism. Therefore, there is no such thing “real Islam” or “essence of Islam”. For different people in different time, Islam carries various meanings. The author then goes forward and talks about American coverage on Islam in general. He takes U.S. media coverage of the Iranian Revolution as example, illustrating that they presented Islam as a quintessentially medieval and static phenomenon. When they were covering the story, the revolution story was told from an “inside information” perspective, which means only America’s feeling was voiced. It is typical in American journalism compared to European approach that serves as media of information delivery for the public and is antagonistic towards policy makers. *Covering Islam* regards American media’s interpretation on Iranian history and social phenomenon is of no meaning and “event-obscuring” on the ground that they pay too little attention on Iran’s modern history and its experience of imperialism in the last hundred years. Even the history is mentioned partially in the coverage, it was seen from the Shah and its regime, not from Iranian people. Its one-sidedness is also shown when they ignored voice from opposition against U.S. but reported “rational” and pro-American discourse only. In the third section of his book, Said investigates relations between knowledge and power and explores the reason why the same values and stereotypes persist despite evident flaws of representation of Islam from media. As it indicates, knowledge and power are intimately associated in America. In the field of Middle Eastern studies, U.S. government will seek help from experts or academics for consulting, thus, they share similar values and perspectives in certain issues. It becomes a closed circle. Attacking scholars for participating in policy making process, Said, on the other hand, dose not assert that any study of human social phenomenon ought to be value-free. Instead, he conceives that people studying in Middle Eastern in America should ask themselves a question why they carry on studying in the subject and for whom their knowledge serves. As he conclude, “If the history of knowledge about Islam in the West has been too closely tied to conquest and domination, the time has come for these ties to be served completely” (Said, 1997).
Even though there are some criticism on this work, I consider it an indispensable reference for my study because it gives a clue of superficiality in Islam representation from western media. Said’s discussion on the relations of knowledge and power also provides an insight of mechanism in American journalism and government.

*Islam Peril: Media and Global Violence* is next work focusing on relationship between media and terrorism. Karim H. Karim first starts with stating a phenomenon that western media bear bias, distortion and ethnocentrism in mind when they are reporting story on Islamic world. As a book discussing Western mass media and violence in the globe, it first emphasizes the role international mass media play in portraying Muslim society. Speaking from news producer’s aspect, Karim looks into the process of producing news and talks about the role of journalist. When they portraying Muslims and Islamic world, Western society is thinking from superior and imagining Islam and Muslims as embodiment of fanaticism and violence. Karim then moves forward and concentrates on Western mass media during 1980s and 2000, especially Canadian press. By looking at the western coverage on Islamic world and Muslims, Karim attempts to examine how they construct an incorrect perception of West vs. Islam. Mass media has great impact on the public and Muslim community because construction of discourse on Muslim such as religious war, terrorism, hijacking, and hostage-taking and so on can build up a wrong impression for the public, which in turn to worsen relations between Muslim community and majority in society. What’s more, relations of trust have been eroded in such miscommunication. This kind of misinformation results from lack of knowledge on Islam’s history and culture. Most western journalists do not have adequate information about Islam or Muslims and find it uneasy to learn it. Being ignorant of Islam in religion and the real meaning of jihad in Islamic world, western mass media associates jihad with terrorism. The association implants an image of the West being peaceful and secure while Islamic states being law breakers and cause of dispute. In this book, Karim introduces historical background and philosophy behind all the acts of Muslim community to his readers. Last but not the least, the author claims that western media construct Islam and Muslim as the Other of the West by presenting stereotypical representation of Islam and Muslims. Behind this purposeful construction, as Karim suggests, is the history introduced in Kumar’s book. After the collapse of the communist bloc, “the west” lost its old adversary. In an attempt to establish the concept of “Us”. It had to find a new villain, and it came the Muslims. This is the basic logic of theory of
“otherness” proposed by Edward Said in the first book of his series Orientalism. Western media began constructing Islamic world as “the deadly enemy of the west” and portraying Muslims as a huge threat to western civilization and a “primary obstacle to global peace.” Yet, this book is not perfect. Karim uses the terms such as “Dominant Northern discourse on Islam” and “alternative discourses” too often but fails to further explain what they actually means. This lack of explanation might lead to some confusion in readers. Second, when he addresses the mechanism of producing news content and politics of power, he does not provide a detailed description on what kind of power is behind this “dominant discourse”. Most importantly, the discussion on how agents of those political power construct dominant discourse for Islamic world and Muslims is inadequate. Nonetheless, I consider Islam Peril: Media and Global violence a valuable reference in virtue of its focus on the relation of western media and global violence which is the starting point and basic framework of my study on Canadian newspaper.

The last one would be Muslims and the news media edited by Elizabeth Poole and John E. Richardson (2006). What makes this book essential to my study is that it closely associates media with Muslim as a community, discussing relationship between media and Muslim society. It contributes a close observation on content and production of Muslim representation under geographical and political context, showing “how the cycle of communication comes full circle, how journalism contributes to social reality” (Poole & Richardson, 2006, P19). From what I have reviewed above and reality we are living in, it is not difficult to tell that Muslim and Islamic world have gotten a dreadful press in western world which labels them with tags like “terrorist” and “barbaric” and so on. However, there are various factors playing behind this unfair communication game, as this book suggests, including racial prejudice, the influential binary of “us” and “them” in news discourse, sociocultural environment in which journalism functions and the way journalism reinforces existed assumptions in society. Muslims and the news media is a collection of articles by various experts and scholars in Muslim studies. There are three main themes among these articles: “Context, Politics and Production”, “Media output” and “Audience Practices”. It aims to examine the whole cycle of the journalistic process where negative discourse on Muslims are created. It also analyzes the reproduction of its social meaning within the cycle. One of the editors Elizabeth Poole is well known in this field for her publish of article analyzing how British media represent Muslim in Britain. In this book, British media still is the object being examined. It mainly analyzes
news article from selected British press and investigates how they represent Muslim in the coverage, illustrating negative impact these representations have in society on the whole. Strong analysis of news context is provided in this book and this is one reason why this book is crucial for my study because news context also is collected and analyzed critically in Canadian context in the study. Yet, Muslims and the news media go beyond context analysis on news content. Journalist, as an object, is inspected as well, especially those from minority community. It is widely assumed that journalists from minority community such as Muslim community would observe and uncover stories on minority in comparatively positive and valid way. Yet, the reality is most of journalists from “other” communities tend to internalize and reproduce discourse and value from mainstream media in order to fit it the environment where they live and work or to get a promotion in newsroom. Instead of merely revealing negative representation on Muslims from media, the book also evaluates circumstances influencing news content by examining how social, cultural and national structure impact news content and its audience. Misinterpretation on Muslims, as all those works suggest above, is not a simple issue on communication or journalism. National history, social structure, and cultural confrontations are all related. Therefore, it is vital to consider this media representation from a structural level. Muslims and the news media examines and elucidates organized and professional process of news production and audience’ reception.
Chapter 3. Methodology

3.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a linguistic analysis method developed about three decades ago, and this method is first proposed by Norman Fairclough. Critical discourse analysis aims at uncovering the relationship between language, ideology and power. What distinguishes critical discourse analysis from social psychological approach by Wetherell and Potter and Van Dijk’s social cognitive model is that it is analysis of concrete language usage and the wider social context in which the language is used. Relation between the language itself and social and cultural structure where it exists is a crucial in CDA. There three dimensions in critical discourse analysis: simultaneously text, discursive practice and social practice. According to Fairclough, elements such as the form and function of the text, the way how text is produced and consumed and their relation with text itself, and the whole social environment is crucial to be taken into consideration while doing analysis on what discourse is and how it works. Social practice, text and the society are in a closed circle in critical analysis: social practices influence the text by shaping context and mode where the text is produced and reproduced, and the text, in turn, affects the society through framing viewpoints and value system for people consuming the text. To put it in journalistic context, newspaper is a product of specific people who work in a certain social environment. Yet, the news itself carries social influence. Different from content analysis, textual analysis emphasizes “the choice”, which means choices have been made on how to describe a person, a behavior or a process; how to construct a sentence; and what kind of opinion and how to present it. In linguistic analysis, there are several elements needs attention: vocabulary, semantics, grammar, writing system and sound system. Critical discourse analysis focuses on the function of vocabulary, grammar and semantics. Discourse analysis, especially analysis on the process of production and consumption of text like news, is a two way street: institutional character in which editors produce news content through certain procedures, and from a narrow perspective, the decoding process by readers. In the model of critical discourse analysis by Fairclough, producer, text and consumer have double dialectic relationship with one another. On the one hand, producer of the text encodes meaning into the text and text in turn impacts the way how it will be presented. On the other hand, text to different extent shapes beliefs and builds
up values systems for consumers while consumers decode the text from diverse perspectives.

When we discuss critical discourse in journalistic realm, it revolves components such as news values, audience role, structural and functional properties of news gathering and reporting process (Richardson, 2007). As Stuart Hall (1980) proposes, in the model of encoding and decoding in media text, producer of news content encode meaning in news or media text and media audience decode the same text when they receive it, not only decoding literally the text itself but also the context in which the text is interpreted. However, Fairclough’s Critical discourse analysis model takes a step further. “The meaning encoded/decoded in texts are the result not only of producer intensions but also of the ‘outcome of specific professional practices and techniques, which could be and can be quite different with quite different results’,” as he puts it (Fairclough, 1995, P204). In critical discourse analysis, there are two dialectic relationships as well: first, the process of producing media context is two-way: the producer encode meanings into media text and the media text itself can shape the way how it is going to be collected and presented. To be more specific, a news article and editorial from the same news organization may carry similar ideology but they will collect information and present them in diverse ways because they are from different news genre. This can be seen as a counter function on producer. On the other side, the process of decoding is also two-way process: even though the media text would in some way shape readers’ understanding, readers are not simply accept whatever they receive from media. As a matter of fact, they read with different perspectives, agendas and background knowledge which vary thoroughly from what the media text intends to convey. In addition, “the assessment of the meaning of a media text is often affected by people’s judgement”. As Cotter (2001) said, “a deeper knowledge of the practitioner’s focus on his or her readership or audience would allow a more nuanced discussion of media practice and its relation to audience or the communities that are covered.”

In critical discourse analysis, all these practices are based on specific social and power relations. It places discourse under a “socio-cultural practice” or “the social and cultural going-on which the communitive event is part of” (Fairclough, 1995). It is of great importance to discuss the discourse under social circumstance. Whenever discourse is related to questions such as “how discourse reflects the society it exists in; or does the discourse aggravate or alleviate social inequality”, discourse analysis becomes critical
discourse analysis. That means critical discourse analysis exposes how language in use associate with production and reproduction of social relations like unequal, iniquitous and discriminatory power relations. What stands out in critical discourse analysis is that it attempts to challenge current inequality in the society. As Blommaert (2005) puts it, critical discourse analysis "exposes power abuse and mobilizes people to remedy social wrongs". In Richardson’s book *Analyzing Newspapers*, he includes a model represented by Luke to illustrate the relationship between discourse and society: society will influence the whole process of circulation of text and readers via implanting social structuration and in turn get resistance from it. “The social formation is a structure-in-process constituted by unequal elements that are in contradiction with each other: movement and change are provided by the struggle between elements” (Coward & Ellis, 1997, P62).

In conclusion, critical discourse analysis is described as “a shared perspective on doing linguistic semiotic or discourse analysis” (Van Dijk, 1993, P131). It connects linguistic research with social study, claiming that language should be closely related to the social context in which it is used and social consequence produced by the usage. It also concentrates on relation between discourse, social condition and relationship between ideology and power. In terms of journalism, critical discourse analysis asserts that social practice and production of news content in journalism is a “two-way street”. It works the same between consumption of media context and social practice. Readers decode media context with their background knowledge and value system and the context goes on shaping knowledge and value systems for the same readers.

A key point of critical analysis is that it puts power in a rather important position: the power of social practice on production, the power of texts shaping understandings for people, power of readers resisting such influence and power of people reproducing or transforming society. It is “that to identify a given process as ‘an exercise of power’ rather than as a case of structural determinism, and it is to assume that it is the exerciser’s or the exerciser’s power to act differently (Luke, 1995, P55).

The reason I choose critical discourse analysis as one of the methods I apply in my project is that it places media text under social circumstance and relation of power, and that is exactly what research on discourse of Muslims needs. Muslim issues have been considered as a social issue, and media discourse on Muslims should be discussed under social context. By using critical discourse analysis to examine media
discourse on Muslims in Canadian newspapers, I try to answer these questions: What discourse is practiced in media content; how Muslims are represented through these discourse; if these discourse on Muslims impacts Canadian society as a whole in any possible way?

3.2. Content Analysis

One of the critiques about qualitative research is that it lacks the scientific rigor and credibility from traditionally accepted quantitative methods. For this reason, I am relying on content analysis as my quantitative method.

Content analysis was first applied in field of communications. During Second World War, a group of American Scholars led by H.D. Lassie conducted a research named “wartime communications research” which set public newspapers in German as study object and obtained loads of military secrets. This research showed not only obvious feasible effect of content analysis as a method but also developed it into a pattern in methodology. What confirmed content analysis as a methodology is a book titled Content Analysis in Communications Research written by American Bernard Berelson and John Naisbitt (1952). They discussed content analysis profoundly in the book and systemized content analysis later.

Content analysis is a method conducting objective systematic quantity analysis on content being analyzed. It aims at describing characteristics of context via investigating “who says what to whom and with what effect” (Bloor& Wood, 2006). Analysts usually apply the content analysis in order to uncover implicit information in the context and to predict direction of certain event. By employing content analysis, analysts basically transform text, image and symbols into numbers and other quantitative forms, build up a coding category and then analyze some characteristics out of these data.

Content analysis was born as a quantitative method. To put in quantitative technique. Harold Lasswell, Lerner, and de Sola Pool’s word, “There is clearly no reason for content analysis unless the question one wants answered is quantitative” (Lasswell, 1952, P45) Being quantitative normally means that researches have to collect all the samples and counting frequency becomes one of primary works in content analysis.
Counting and then obtaining the frequency of certain appearance of text, image and symbol result into the quantification. In terms of this notion, De Sola Pool (1959) once wrote in his work: “Counting frequencies was the main activity of content analysts in the 1930s and 1940s. Indeed, for many people that is how content analysis was defined.” Content analysis has been referred as a systematic approach. As what Waples and Berelson (1941) claimed, “Systematic content analysis attempts to define more casual descriptions of the content, so as to show objectively the nature and relative strength of the stimuli applied to the reader or listener.”

Berelson who wrote the first general textbook on content analysis *Content Analysis in Communication Research* in 1952 defined content analysis as “a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication.” From this perspective, quantification is closely associated with “systematization, rigor, precision, and exactitude in definitions and measurements, with objectivity and replication of procedures and findings” (Berelson, 1952)

Three characteristics of content analysis can be distinguished. First of all, research object of content analysis would be manifest communicative content. Manifest declares that communicative content being analyzed must be clear and obvious instead of implicit and ambiguous composition. If understanding of communicative content differs between researchers and audience, then the content becomes an inappropriate object to be studied because it is difficult to conduct measurement on this kind of content. Secondly, the approach of content analysis has to be “objective, systematic and quantitative”. Lastly, the result of content analysis must be descriptive. Normally, after collecting a large number of samples and categorizing those following a unified protocol, result of content analysis would be a bunch of numbers, charts and tables. Being “objective, systematic and quantitative” would require researchers to turn these information into descriptive result.

Content analysis become one of research approaches for scientists and researchers in virtue of several advantages. The foremost reason why content analysis is regarded as reasonable research method is that it is conducted in a rather objective way. As mentioned above, content analysis is a formulated method which acquires clear and thorough definition of category and operative rules. It requires researchers to conduct their research step by step. Different researchers or the same researcher in
different periods can gain the similar conclusion by carrying out the procedure repeatedly. If they don’t get the similar outcome, they should figure out what goes wrong in the process.

What’s more, content analysis is a structural approach. It requires its researchers to bear a clear goal in their mind all the time. All participants have to operate each step following decided procedures. It is convenient to quantify all the collected and categorized data for computer programs.

Another advantage of content analysis is that researchers are able to discover essence of text analyzed. For example, content analysis is applied in studies examining facts and changing trend of certain issue or track of academic development. In terms of this study, content analysis provides an analytic tool of revealing techniques and strategies used by Canadian newspapers when they are covering Muslims. Also, the reporting style of each media can be analyzed via content analysis.

Last but not the least, content analysis can be quantitative and qualitative at the same time. Although content analysis is widely recognized as a quantitative method, it intend to find out nature of target text. All the data collecting and analyzing are to present relationship obtained from qualitative research in mathematical language. By employing content analysis, it is possible to analyze data qualitatively and at the same time quantify the data (Ghrich, 2007).

Qualitative content analysis has developed as a bunch of content analysis as a methodology. It becomes a “systematic coding and categorizing approach used for exploring large amounts of textual information in order to determine trends and patterns of words used in context, their frequency, their relationship and the discourse in communication” (Pope et al., 2006). Content analysis considers data as representations of texts, images and expressions created to be seen, read and interpreted (Krippendorff, 2004).

According to Elo and Kyngas (2008), there are three simplified steps of conducting content analysis:
Preparing. In this step, researchers have to immerse in the data and obtain the sense of whole. They select the unit of analysis and decide on the analysis of manifest content.

Organizing. After finishing preparation, researchers start to create coding categories before grouping codes under higher headings, formulating a general description of the research topic through generating categories and subcategories as abstracting.

Reporting. Reporting the analyzing process and the result through models, conceptual systems, conceptual map or categories, and a story line.

3.3. Research object

3.3.1. Canadian Newspaper

In this research, six Canadian newspapers, two national daily newspapers and four regional newspapers, will be analyzed.

1) The Globe and Mail

A Canadian daily newspaper founded in 1844 by George Brown and is printed in 5 cities over Canada. According to newspaper report released in 2015, it has average circulation of 323,133 on weekdays and 403,258 on Saturday. It is also the second largest daily newspaper in Canada after Toronto Star.

2) National Post

A Canadian English-speaking national newspaper founded in 1998 by Conrad Black. It is also a publication released through Tuesday to Saturday of Postmedia Network. By 2015, its circulation arrived at 186,434 on weekdays and 184,934 on Saturday. National Post fell out of list of daily newspaper.
3) Ottawa Citizens

A Canadian English-speaking newspaper founded as The Bytown Packet by William Harris in 1845. Now it is owned by Postmedia Network, with weekday circulation of 93,277 and 84,394 on Saturday by 2015.

4) Toronto Star

It is a Canadian broadsheet daily newspaper created in 1892 by Toronto News printer and writers. It has the highest circulation on overall weekly circulation according to 2015’s statistic report. Toronto Star is now owned by Toronto Star newspaper Ltd.

5) Montreal Gazette

Montreal Gazette is the only English-language newspaper published in Montreal, Quebec, Canada. It is established by Fleury Mesplet in 1778, being Quebec’s oldest daily newspaper and Canada’s oldest daily newspaper. According to 2015’s report, its circulation on weekdays is 78,797 and 91,384 on Saturday.

6) Vancouver Sun

It is a Canadian daily newspaper published in province of British Columbia in 1912. Now Vancouver Sun is owned by the Pacific Newspaper Group, a division of Postmedia Network. By 2015, it has circulation of 133,329 on weekdays and of 154,074 on Saturday.

In the era when people pay their attention largely on new media and see those media platforms as main channels of seizing information, newspaper seems to be an outdated option. Canadian newspapers have also been struggling for survival in the competitive market for a while. Nonetheless, I still consider newspaper as one of primary platforms where all kinds of information being exchanged by news producers and audience. Newspaper is a perfect platform of presenting information carrying stories, especially in-depth reporting which requires considerably extended length. In this case, coverage on terrorism or religion is within that category. For this kind of news, it is most likely people desire to know the whole story of the attack with detailed background information and prolong impact. In order to go with the tide of times, newspapers explore the new media field and widen their platform via publishing digital version of their
newspapers. In this study, the research object is digital version of six selected Canadian newspapers.

There are few reasons why I select these six Canadian newspapers as my research object: first of all, I intend to include both national and regional newspapers in this study. Muslim issue is not only a regional issue but a national concern. Thus, it is of great importance to examine both national and regional newspapers. The Globe and Mail, Nation Post and Toronto Star are national newspapers published in wide range of Canadian areas, with Toronto Star being the daily newspaper of highest circulation overall and The Globe and Mail being the second highest-circulation one. High circulation to a large extent guarantees the size of audience. Regional newspapers include Vancouver Sun, Montreal Gazette and Ottawa Citizen. Second concern is proximity. According to a government document on immigration, more than 60% of immigrants and 70% of recent immigrants choose to settle their home in Canada's three largest cities—Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver.² It would be interesting to investigate how newspapers in these regions cover terrorism involving Muslims. One of the attacks—Parliament Hill shooting in 2014—happened in Ottawa, adding value in examining Ottawa Citizen. In addition, it would be interesting to see if there is any differences in reporting style focus in terrorism coverage between national and regional newspapers.

3.3.2. Terrorist Attacks

Two recent terrorist attacks happened in Canada will be examined in this paper.

The first one is the 2014 Ottawa Parliament Hill Shooting. A series of shooting happened on October 22nd 2014. An armed man burst into the Central Block in Parliament Hill and then shot at a Canadian Forces member at the National War Memorial, 24 year-old Cpl. Nathan Cirillo. He is later confirmed dead because of the fatal wound. The attacker is a Canadian Muslim Zehaf-Bibeau who was born in Canada in 1982. He was later shot dead by the police later inside the Parliament building. Zehaf-Bibeau has a criminal record dating back 10 years in Quebec. This attack is the second

attack within the same week in Canada, following another one happened in Quebec. The then Prime Minister Stephen Harper who was happened to be in the Parliament building when the attack occurred referred it as “a brutal and violent attack on our soil.”

The second one is the 2017 Quebec City Mosque Shooting. On the evening of January 29th 2017, a mass shooting occurred at the Islamic Cultural Centre of Quebec City. A gunman broke into the mosque and started shooting at people randomly nearly before 8 pm when worshippers were doing evening pray. 6 people were killed and 19 were heavily injured in the shooting. The perpetrator is a 24 year-old student Alexandre Bissonnette from Laval University. He was charged with 6 counts of first-degree murder. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau called the attack an act of terrorism in public interview, but Alexandre Bissonnette didn’t get formal terrorism charges by the RCMP. Ceremony of mourning was held in several cities around the country.

It is always crucial to choose the right case to study terrorism and Muslims, not only because there is no unified definition of terrorism but also because religious issue can be rather sensitive in any country. Yet, the topic of this paper is going to focus on terrorist attack which involving Muslims and to examine what and how Canadian newspapers portray Muslims. These two attacks match well with the topic because they both involve Muslims, one with a Muslim man being a shooter while the other Muslims being victims by a white attacker. On the one hand, in terms of the Muslim representation, we are able to see if there is any differences on news coverage on different attacks due to role Muslims play in them. If so, how they portray Muslims differently. On the other hand, it would be compelling to see how Canadian newspapers define these attacks according to what religion the attacker is from.

3.3.3. Selected period

News articles from the six newspapers will be selected from the second day after occurrences of two attacks to the 14th day, so the duration is two weeks after attacks. In general, number of reports on each attack starts to decrease after two week. Some coverages will reappear months later but mostly following reports on court result and these articles will not be included in this study. Due to the limited time given, it would be more feasible and reasonable to focus on samples from these two weeks. This will make
the specific duration be October 22\textsuperscript{nd} 2014 to November 6\textsuperscript{th} 2014 and January 29\textsuperscript{th} 2017 to February 13\textsuperscript{th} 2017.

3.3.4. Research Method

As introduced earlier in this section, two methods are used in this study—Quantitative Content Analysis and Fairclough’s Critical discourse analysis. Large number of the samples can be systematically sorted and transformed into numbers through quantitative content analysis, hopefully indicating some phenomenon.

3.3.5. Conceptualization

Concepts involved in this paper: terrorism, coverage of terrorism and Muslim. There is no universal definition of terrorism. The same happens with the coverage on terrorism. In realm of journalism, no clear definition of terrorism coverage can be found. It carries different range of journalistic content under different circumstances in different areas. Nonetheless, in this paper, terrorism coverage refers to news coverage on terrorist attack itself and all reports related to the attack or impacted by the attack, including social movement, sports, entertainment, and legislation and so on.

3.3.6. Steps

Operational measure

Collect samples from selected newspapers and prepare for coding scheme.

Coding scheme

Create a coding scheme. The protocol consists of two main parts: basic information of the two terrorist attacks for the first section, and the framing and discourse of Muslims in the attacks for the latter section.

Coding

Use about two weeks to code all the collected samples according to the protocol. Code them into numbers indicating options in the coding scheme.
Calculation and tabulation

Collect all the statistics. Sort all the numbers from coding and put them in tables or charts.

Reporting and analyzing

Put all the statistics into descriptive results. According to the result gained from content analysis, choose one news article from each newspaper in each attack—which means 12 articles, and conduct critical discourse analysis. These articles will represent as many different sides of story as possible.
Chapter 4. Content analysis

4.1. Content analysis

4.1.1. Number of articles

In order to analyze how Canadian newspapers represent Muslims in terrorism coverage, it is essential to look at all the numbers first.

There are 291 news articles from six selected Canadian newspapers being analyzed in this study in total, 120 news articles on the 2014 Parliament Hill shooting and 171 articles on the 2017 Quebec City mosque shooting. The coverage of the Parliament Hill shooting is slightly less than one of the Quebec City shooting and the same with each newspaper. For 2014 Parliament Hill shooting in which the attacker is confirmed as a Muslim, daily newspapers such as The Globe and Mail and National Post, the coverage on the attack within two weeks starting from the second day of the shooting are both less than 30 articles. Regional newspapers have around 15 to 20 articles for the Parliament Hill attack, with Toronto Star covering 28 articles. However, the average number of all the coverage from national newspaper is 30 articles while the number of regional newspapers is 19 during selected time. On the other hand, for the attack happened in a mosque of Quebec City in 2017, the coverage on the whole is larger than the former one. It has 50 more articles than the Parliament Hill attack does, with each newspaper has near 30 articles reporting on the attack during two weeks after the attack occurred. There is no much difference between the number of news articles covered by national newspapers and regional newspapers on the Quebec City attack for the same duration.

To sum up, the coverage from selected newspapers on the Parliament Hill attack in 2014 is less than the one on Quebec City mosque attack in 2017. Yet, it is not necessary to say the importance or influence of these two attacks is different and can be rated by numbers.
Table 1.  Total number of report collected for each terrorist attack

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspapers</th>
<th>2014 Parliament Attack</th>
<th>2017 Quebec Attack</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Globe and Mail</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Post</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottawa Citizens</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto Star</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver Sun</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal Gazette</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.2. Timeline

Normally speaking, media’s attention on an event intensively increase in certain duration and then generally decrease. It is one of the characteristics of media. They chase anything newsworthy and attract people’s attention on such event, yet the attention doesn’t last long. It will change whenever new things occur. They will place the latest news as their priority to report. This phenomenon is especially typical in news coverage on natural accidents such as earthquakes, tornados, floods and so on.

For news coverage on the Parliament Hill Shooting in 2014 during two weeks after occurrence, coverage on the attack from these five newspapers mainly focuses on the first week after the shooting appeared. The Globe and Mail has few reports on the second day of the shooting, and the number of reports rises to 11 during the first week. From the 9th to 13th day, there is only 1 article related with the Parliament Hill shooting. The curve of Toronto Star is a rising line suddenly from the second day to the first week. However, the number didn’t decline sharply in the second week, keeping the number close with 1 in the first week. Montreal Gazette also has a wild increase in the first week but the number dropped from the beginning of second week. There arises report on the attack in National Post on the second day right after occurrence, followed by the highest number during first week. The first report on the attack appears in the first week instead of the second day in Ottawa Citizen, and the number goes up to 10 during the first week.

For the attack in a mosque in Quebec City in 2017, the five newspapers—The Globe and Mail, National Post, Ottawa Citizen, Montreal Gazette and Toronto Star, principally have the same pattern with the Parliament Hill shooting. The first report comes out in the first week accept for Montreal Gazette which has two reports on the second day after the shooting. The number boosts during the first week and then diminishes in the second week.
What stands out in this section would be *Vancouver Sun*. Changes in numbers of reports related with the Parliament Hill shooting and Quebec City mosque shooting in *Vancouver Sun* does not adhere to pattern described above as other five newspapers do. For the Parliament Hill shooting, the number of articles escalates on the second day right after the attack and then slumps sharply during the following two weeks. The coverage on the attack on the first day right after the shooting mostly is associated with basic information about the attack itself and instant reaction from government. There are only 2 articles for the rest 2 weeks.

![Timeline of *Vancouver Sun* reporting on the Parliament Hill Shooting in 2014](image)

**Figure 1.** Timeline of *Vancouver Sun* reporting on the Parliament Hill Shooting in 2014

For the Quebec City Mosque attack in 2017, the pattern is opposite. There is only 1 article on the first day after the shooting. Unlike any other newspapers selected, the number of reports only enhance in the second week, doubling the number of the first week. The peak of coverage appears in the second week when the story is chiefly associated with people—perpetrator and victims, and public reaction from the whole society.
Figure 2. Timeline of *Vancouver Sun* reporting on the Quebec City Mosque Shooting in 2017

It can be deduced that *Vancouver Sun* concentrates more on details of the shooting and instant reactions from all walks of life on the Parliament Hill shooting in 2014. In addition, it aims its attention on portraying people in the attack—the Muslim victims who died from fatal shots and people who are left behind, and atmosphere in Muslim community and the society as a whole after the attack.

4.1.3. Source

It is impossible for journalists to see, to hear and to experience everything themselves. Therefore, it requires journalists to seek each possibility to get in touch with people and organizations involved in a news event. These channels or agencies are regarded as news source. News source refers to the origin of news, mainly implying to owner or provider of news resources. Through contacting news source directly, journalists are able to learn and understand the truth of news event as close as possible before delivering it to the public. On the other side, readers or audience can decide whether or how much they are going to accept and believe the news via news source. News source provides credibility for media and clue for audience to decide whether they can trust media.

**Number of source**

Number of news source in important not only because it to some extent represents credibility of the news but also reveals whether it has different sides of a story. The news source being counted includes those being cited or quoted in articles.
Table 2. Number of source used in report on the Parliament Hill Shooting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of source</th>
<th>The globe and Mail</th>
<th>National Post</th>
<th>Ottawa Citizen</th>
<th>Toronto Star</th>
<th>Montreal Gazette</th>
<th>Vancouver Sun</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1~2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3~4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5~6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Parliament Hill shooting happened in the capital of Canada, Ottawa. Proximity can be considered as a crucial reason for the high percentage. There are more sources the newspaper is able to gain and cite in its reports, giving a vivid picture of what happened in this beautiful city and how people react to it while granting credibility and liability to its news.

![Number of news sources cited](image)

**Figure 3.** Number of news source cited in Ottawa Citizens for the Parliament Hill Shooting

For the 2017 Quebec City mosque shooting, most of the six Canadian newspapers have 1 to 2 news source cited in their reports as well. Montreal Gazette has 44% of articles citing 1 to 2 news sources and 34% citing 3 to 4 news sources. 50% of reports from National Post are citing 1 to 2 news source while 19% citing 3 to 4, 16% citing 5 to 6 and more than 6 news sources in them. Ottawa Citizen has an average percentage for each category: 28% for 1 to 2 news sources, 32% for 3 to 4, 16% for 5 to 6, and 24% for more than 6 news sources. The Globe and Mail has 64% of articles citing 1 to 2 news source. 53% of reports from Toronto Star specify 1 to 2 news sources while 23% cite 3 to 4 sources and 10% and 13% for 5 to 6 and more than 6 news sources.
There are 46% of articles quoting 1 to 2 news sources and 29% indicating 3 to 4 news sources in *Vancouver Sun*.

**Table 3. Number of source used in report on the Quebec City Shooting**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of source</th>
<th>The globe and Mail</th>
<th>National Post</th>
<th>Ottawa Citizen</th>
<th>Toronto Star</th>
<th>Montreal Gazette</th>
<th>Vancouver Sun</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1~2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>82</td>
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<tr>
<td>3~4</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>45</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Type of news source**

For both the Parliament Hill shooting in 2014 and Quebec City mosque shooting in 2017, the major source is news source that involving people. This category can be identified as individuals and groups or institutions such as governmental institutions, political organizations, or NGOs and so on. Contacts between journalism and these organizations are achieved via spokesmen from all kinds of institutions conveying news information to media. In this sense, media is also one of stored news sources.

For both attacks, major type of news source employed in six Canadian newspapers are individuals and government. Coverage containing basic and specific information about the events-when it happened, where it happened, who is involved, and how is everything going on the site cites government as a major news source on the ground the country is the first that react to the attacks. The Parliament Hill shooting in 2014 is a perfect case here demonstrating the point. The Canadian government itself is the victim of the attack, which turns it into a significant news source not only because it is a critical and valuable information source but also because it plays role of participant in the news event. Under this circumstance, *The Globe and Mail* chooses other media and news organizations as its main news source and individuals come as the second major source.

**Genre**

News can be majorly identified as hard news and soft news in accordance to nature of news. Hard news usually refers to those up-to-the-minute news and events. Hard news is reported immediately and contains basic information about news events.
Normally, news about politics, war, economics and crime are regarded as hard news. These stories tend to take a factual approach and answer questions like: what happened; where and when did it happen; who are involved; and why. On the other hand, soft news is recognized as news introducing background information of a news event that may be not up-dated as information in hard news, or human interest story which consist a considerable portion of coverage on terrorism. Arts, entertainment and lifestyles news are typical soft news.

Even though terrorism is firmly counted as hard news in virtue of its timeliness, urgency, and significance, according to the definition of terrorism coverage given in this particular study, there are copious stories narrating the stories involving people. Therefore, there is a substantial segment of soft news.

In the coding protocol used in this paper, there are other genres listed: News in brief which is short news form which is mainly used in important emergencies; Editorial which includes articles that conveys an opinion of the management / editorial board of the newspaper; Feature that identified as stories about personal experience of an object or subjective description by witnesses of an event. It also includes background information of the event or people. This type of reports can be written in literature language such as description of dialogue or environment or people; In-depth report that is often covered in terrorism coverage. In-depth report recounts not only facts but also deep analysis on fact and this type of report usually is longer than general report; Opinion articles that expresses viewpoint of media or editor from a specific news organization; and letters from readers, reacting to one news article published previously or news coverage on the attacks.

For both the 2014 Parliament Hill shooting and 2017 Quebec City mosque shooting, articles from the six newspapers are mostly under hard news category. It is reasonable that terrorism coverage concentrates on factual information such as where and when the attack happened, who is the perpetrator, if there is any people injured and so on. All people want from this dramatic news event in first attention would be instant and descriptive information about it. Allocation of hard news coverage on the Parliament Hill shooting from six Canadian newspapers—The Globe and Mail, National Post, Toronto Star, Ottawa Citizen, Vancouver Sun and Montreal Gazette would be 53%, 46%, 50%, 38%, 44% and 60% respectively. The percentage for the Quebec City
mosque shooting would accordingly be 54%, 41%, 53%, 36%, 50% and 34%. Generally speaking, the quantity of hard news for the Parliament Hill attack is slightly bigger than the one for the Quebec City mosque attack.

Notwithstanding, there are other categories of story being presented. Soft news and genres such as editorial, opinion, and letters from readers take a noticeable chunk. Apart from hard news coverage, the second category articles meet for the Parliament Hill shooting in *Montreal Gazette* and *Toronto Star* is opinion, taking 27% and 29% of all samples. For *The Globe and Mail*, it is editorial, taking 18% of all articles. There are 22% of all articles in *Vancouver Sun* from feature category while 23% in *National Post* from letters. For *Ottawa Citizen*, the second largest category is soft news, comprising 19% of all articles collected. Articles from this type chiefly connected to entertain, arts and sports story. For the 2017 Quebec City mosque attack in 2017, soft news comes to the second largest fraction in *The Globe and Mail*, *Vancouver Sun* and *Montreal Gazette*, taking 36%, 21% and 28% of the sample subsequently. In *Toronto Star* and *Ottawa Citizen*, it is the opinion category occupying the second largest category, assuming 27% and 20% separately. There are 19% of collected samples in *National Post* under letter category.

4.1.4. Theme

News theme refers to core viewpoint and elemental notion in news reports which also equals to journalist’s attitude and opinion towards facts, and subjective intention they intend to narrate through delivering these reports. News theme plays a controlling role in news. It affects logics, writing style, structure, choice of materials, and language in the article. Journalists choose what to include in their reports according to the theme of news.

Commonly speaking, terrorism is accommodated in theme of national security, which consisted of stories covering national military policy and related content. To be more specific, it includes activities such as military activities within a country. After sorting and coding all the articles into news theme, it turns out that there are three newspapers having most articles reporting on the Parliament Hill attack in 2014 fitting into national security theme: *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and *Montreal Gazette*. There are 70% of articles in *The Globe and Mail*, 67% in *Toronto Star* and 33% in
Montreal Gazette under national security theme, depicting the attack as a security problem that impacts the whole nation and a hole which should be amended.

In coverage on the Parliament Hill attack from National Post, the major theme is police and crime that covering crimes, corruption and violence (detailed data of crime within a country, investigation report by national organization, record of trials, etc.).

For Ottawa Citizen, dominant theme is legislation. These articles aim attention at national legislation such as anti-terrorism law in Canada and international legislation issue like American president Trump announcing Muslim Ban against six Muslim countries. Religion and crime take similar chunk of all samples as second leading theme.

The predominant theme for coverage on Parliament Hill attack from Vancouver Sun is religion. According to the protocol, religion story contains articles on spiritual world of individual and public, including religious organization such as church, and social discussion on belief, value system and moral issue. These articles generally centre on Islam world and Muslims. For example, there are many articles narrating how Islam as a religion impacts people’s political attitude and how Muslim community react to a shooting conducted by a Canadian Muslim.

When covering the Quebec City mosque shooting in 2017, National Post, Ottawa Citizen and Montreal Gazette portray it largely as a national security issue, with 37%, 44% and 35% of all samples accordingly.

The Globe and Mail particularly describes the attack as a social problem. 32% of articles describe it as an action result from social hatred the shooter Alexandre Bissonnette carries towards Muslims or unequal situation between Muslims and non-Muslim. They describe social environment in Quebec and Canada as a whole, portraying a peaceful and tolerant country which is famous for multiculturalism policy and where people from diverse background live peacefully together.

The major theme of articles in Toronto Star would be police and crime while Vancouver Sun predominantly talks about Islam as a religion, and how Muslims lives harmoniously in Quebec. Details such as how Muslim community react to the attack are depicted as well.
4.1.5. Number of news source and perspective

Number of news source and perspective is another feature this paper intends to examine. It looks irrelevant between number of news source and perspectives presented in news reports. However, it indicates whether a piece of news demonstrates multiple perspectives or not and with how many news sources supporting it. Largely, coverage on both the Parliament Hill shooting in 2014 and the Quebec City mosque shooting in 2017 are displaying only one perspective with multiple news sources.

For the Parliament Hill attack in 2014, there are 41% of articles introducing sole perspective with single news source. They are mostly stories of family of the Muslim victims narrating their life after the tragedy, and reports citing the Prime Minister of Canada Justin Trudeau and Mayor of Quebec City Régis Labeaume’ word, describing the attack as terrorism against Canada as a whole.

When Ottawa Citizens covers the Quebec City Shooting, 39% of its coverage displays more than one perspective on the mosque shooting via citing various news sources. They demonstrate a vivid picture of the whole news event and enrich it into a human-interest story by which Canadian people are substantially influenced.

4.1.6. Facts and Data

Whether news provides adequate facts and data is a far-reaching indication of credibility and liability of news. Generally, facts and data grant the readers or audience a tool of examining information they receive from mass media.

Nonetheless, for terrorism coverage, usage of facts and data is inclined to impact reader’s impression on the event. After coding all news articles on both the Parliament Hill attack and the Quebec City mosque attack from six newspapers, it shows that most of newspapers have over 50% of articles providing facts and data in order to support the story. Among the selected newspapers, National Post have nearly half of all samples not demonstrating facts and data while covering the Quebec City mosque shooting occurred in 2017.

For readers who are reading terrorism story form newspapers, report carrying adequate factual information is critical and it is actually one of requirements for
journalists to cover such topic. Yet, too much detailed descriptive information about the killing to a large extent provokes sensational reaction among readers. For instance, excessive comprehensive portrayal on the attack such as the scenes of victim laying over floor bleeding and injured or witnesses crying and shouting are likely to stimulate sympathy and anger out of the public. Number of toll is also another factor evoking people’s emotion on terrorism.

4.1.7. Sensational language

Terrorism carries news value for its characteristics of violence, conflicts, suddenness, abnormality, catastrophic, huge impact on society and knowledge value for the public and so on. Therefore, terrorism becomes target of mass media. Yet, the way of reporting and choice on material from Western media have been challenged for such a long period. Media sensationalism is one of those faced with questions from academic and public.

From 1930s to earlier years of 20th century, popular newspapers gradually developed, centered by development of Yellow Journalism and tablet. With popular newspapers became mainstream print media, media sensationalism appeared and attracted public attention. In early 1930s, The New York Sun was born and Penny Press sprang up. It was famous for low price and focusing on local news, social news and crime news. Writing style of this kind of newspapers is to attract people’s attention by sensational reporting news story. It targets at ordinary people in the country and provides human-interest story. The Herald created by James Gordon Bennett in 1835 is another penny newspaper after The New York Sun. it concentrated more on violent and crime news, bringing media sensationalism up in a trend. By the end of 19th century, American journalism entered the era of Yellow Journalism which was also built upon media sensationalism. In virtue of booting economy, arisen urbanization and popularization of education, people’s need from media changed, allowing media sensationalism to revive. In 20s of 20th century, tablet became popular in American journalism. It centered in entertainment news such as crime, death, female, and sex scandals and stimulated readers’ sensations via pictures. Media sensationalism has lasted for almost a decade.
On the whole, there are few features of media sensationalism. Firstly, in terms of reporting theme, it centers on private life of celebrity, sexual crime and detailed description on violence. For example, it will focus on news story on natural disaster and social calamity. Secondly, in terms of reporting style, media sensationalism principally presents news story in a rather dramatic way, exaggerating facts through words and photos.

When describing terrorist incident and Muslims, using sensational language would affect people’s impression on the event and people in unconscious way. Readers are also human beings and are able to feel what the stories intend to express. This is why media sensationalism is controversial.

When reporting the Parliament Hill shooting in 2014, over 50% of news articles from six newspapers did not apply sensation language to describe the attack itself and people involved. Only 29% of news article from The Globe and Mail, 28% of news articles from Ottawa Citizen, 14% from Toronto Star and 17% from Vancouver Sun adopt sensational language to describe the attack and the attacker.

The Globe and Mail and Montreal Gazette have comparatively high percentage of articles applying sensation language when they are covering the Parliament Hill shooting. For instance, there are 2 articles portray the attack as “bizarre”, “disgusting”, disturbing”, or “awful” by quoting Prime Minister Justin Trudeau’s comment on the shooting. They also depict the attacker as “coward”, “irrational”, and “weak” person who had “anti-social” attitude.

In coverage on the Quebec City mosque shooting from six newspapers, there is also a small quantity of news content employing exaggerative language in depicting the shooting and the shooter. There are 14% of articles from The Globe and Mail, 19% of articles from National Post, 37% from Ottawa Citizen, 20% from Toronto Star and 21% of news articles from Vancouver Sun employ emotional language when reporting the tragedy. Comparatively, there are 41% of samples from Montreal Gazette portraying the attack as “awful murder” or “horrifying insult” towards the country and Canadian Muslims.
These sensational and emotional languages may seem common in such coverage; yet, readers are influenced by them and shape the attack and the Muslim victims as what the newspaper intend to portray for them.

4.1.8. Muslim Framing

Framing refers to subjective explanations and thinking framework with which people get to know, understand and define outside world. On the one hand, there is a framework in the outside that frame the world itself and inside that frame exists the epistemic world. On the other side, it can be seen as framework with which people reconstruct social meanings.

Canadian-American sociologist Erving Goffman first apply concept of framing in communications context, mainly discussing approach of organizing the world. It suggests fundamental reference framework in which people learn and understand social activity. He conceives that social activities originally scatter and have to be transferred into symbols that can become people’s cognition inside. The process of transmission is the basis of framing.

Gaye Tuchman (1978:209) reveals relationship between journalism and social reality in his work Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality. He asserts that news is similar with a framework that confines people’s vision. Through this frame, readers or audience get to learn about lifestyle and social institutions, and figure out what is happening around the world they live in every day.

News framing specifically can be identified as way of journalists choosing news theme or topic to deliver. To take an example, photographers or painters would take what they think as valuable and substantial into their work and tend to omit minor segments. They are more likely to emphasize core content or opinion according to these presuppositions.

Each context let it be a piece of news, history or a symbol, is just representation of partial reality or phenomenon. Stories are told through diverse approaches and frameworks. There are two prevailing categories of framing: one is possibly related to the whole structure of news. For example, background and perspectives of news content may result into distinctive framework; one is associated with choice of language in news.
For instance, different adjectives or verbs used to describe Muslims produce different image of Muslims for readers.

In this section of Muslim Framing, it predominantly suggests the former one, how newspapers frame Muslims involved in these two attacks as a whole, whether they frame Muslims in a positive or negative way.

After examining nearly 300 news articles from the six Canadian newspapers covering the Parliament Hill shooting and the Quebec City mosque shooting, I found that in the coverage on the Parliament Hill shooting where the shooter is identified as a Canadian Muslim, most newspapers out of all six selected samples frame Muslims in a negative aspect, presenting 47% of articles from *The Globe and Mail*, 46% of articles from *National Post*, 56% of articles from *Ottawa Citizen*, 64% of articles from *Toronto Star*, 44% of articles from *Vancouver Sun* and 60% of articles from *Montreal Gazette* framing a negative Muslim image for their readers.

It is understandable to see Muslims are portrayed in negative light in this attack since the perpetrator was confirmed as a Muslim who killed an innocent soldier in Parliament Hill where governmental officials were having a meeting and which stood out as a symbol of Canada as a country. Nonetheless, there is noticeable allocation of samples framing Muslims in a rather neutral way. There is no report framing Muslim in a totally positive perspective in this attack.

On the contrary, among reporting the shooting which took place in a mosque in Quebec City in 2017, there exists positive framing on Muslims. Coverage from *the Globe and Mail*, *National Post*, and *Montreal Gazette* is mixed. *Montreal Gazette* has the highest percentage of articles framing Muslims positively, taking 25% of all samples, while *the Globe and Mail* and *National Post* have only 4% and 9% of all articles presenting positive image for Muslims respectively. In these reports, Muslims are displayed as ordinary people who peacefully live this country with other Canadians. Descriptions such as Muslims were praying peacefully in the mosque when the attacker Alexandre Bissonnette burst in and shot at them randomly also can be found in the articles. Articles that frame Muslims neutrally assume the largest chunk in these three newspapers. *Toronto Star* and *Vancouver Sun*, on the other hand, do not provide positive framing for Muslims when they are narrating the Quebec City shooting. 53% of
articles are preset a neutral and rational image of Muslims while 47% of them are framing Muslims adversely in Toronto Star. There are 92% of all articles from Vancouver Sun framing Muslims disinterestedly while only 8% of them displaying Muslims unfavorably. High quantity of coverage presenting neutral framework on Muslims indicates that these two newspapers present a comparatively unbiased image of Muslims when they are covering the mosque shooting. In addition, Ottawa Citizen is the only newspaper that does not frame Muslims into a negative image, with 13% of articles depicting those Muslim victims as “innocent” and “respectful” and 87% of all samples portraying Muslims in an evenhanded approach.

To sum up, coverage on the Parliament Hill attack chiefly frame the Muslim shooter in a neutral or adverse way, and coverage on the mosque shooting construct the Muslim victims into a comparatively favorable image.

4.1.9. Discourse

Discourse is now generally conceived as units of language organized by meaning, and it can be said or written context. The concept of discourse emphasizes the social influence on the use of language. According to Fairclough’s theory, it is impossible to consider discourse solely as product of individual choice, but context entailing ambiguity between generality and specificity (Fairclough, 2001, P24). Even though there are copious discussion on discourse analogous with linguistic phenomenon, discourse can also be conceptualized as inhabiting a variety of other forms, such as visual and spatial (Fairclough, 2001, P22). The dictionary of semiotics defines discourse as “the interaction between the figurative dimension, relating to the representation of the natural world and the thematic dimension, relating to the abstract values actualized in an utterance” (Martin, Bronwen & Felizitas Ringham, 1999, P51). What is highlighted in Fairclough’s Critical Discourse Analysis theory is that he assumes discourse as a medium where power and social norms function.

The discourse applied in Muslims from the six newspapers to some extent illuminates how these Canadian newspapers represent Muslims when they are covering terrorism with Muslims involved.
In the protocol, there are more than 20 discourses about Muslims listed. These discourses are concluded according to all the samples collected. More than 20 discourses have been utilized to represent Muslims in these newspapers, yet, only those with high frequency are introduced in protocol for the convenience of coding and sorting.

Here, whether terrorism has been purposefully connected with Muslims is substantially examined on the ground that Western world has launched a “war on terror” decades ago and western media for prolong period associate terrorism with Muslims, creating social inequality and cultural gap between the Muslim “others” and the Western “us”.

The term “terror” originates from a Latino word “teppop”, meaning fear and terrified. History of terrorism can be traced back to ancient Greek and Roman era. Terrorism was born in 18th century in France during the French Revolution. During that time, terrorism specifically referred to any action by Jacobins. However, terrorism haven’t had impacted any country or entity in an international level by the end of 1960s. Starting from 1970s, both form and complication of terrorism have been escalated. Tide of terrorism flooded with the globe and threatened everyone’s life. People called it “the political plague in 20th century”. This “plague” didn’t die with time; instead, it is turning into a fiercer trend in 21st century, marked by 9.11 happened in the United States in 2001. There are over 100 influential definitions of terrorism by experts and scholars from all kinds of realms, but no universal definition of the term. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in their official website defines international terrorism as actions “perpetrated by individuals and/or groups inspired by or associated with designated foreign terrorist organizations or nations (state-sponsored).” As for domestic terrorism, it describes it as actions “perpetrated by individuals and/or groups inspired by or associated with primarily U.S.-based movements that espouse extremist ideologies of a political, religious, social, racial, or environment nature.” According to United Nations, terrorism is identifies as “criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act”. (UN Security Council Resolution 1566 (2004))

3 https://www.fbi.gov/investigate/terrorism
Canada, section 83.01 of the *Criminal Code* defines terrorism as an act committed "in whole or in part for a political, religious or ideological purpose, objective or cause" with the intention of intimidating the public "…with regard to its security, including its economic security, or compelling a person, a government or a domestic or an international organization to do or to refrain from doing any act."

Either definition mentioned above stresses political feature of terrorism and sees it as a threat to a country’s security and peace. In coverage on the Parliament Hill shooting from six newspapers, most of them portray the attack as act of terrorism. Terrorism is the discourse appearing in articles with highest frequency in *The Globe and Mail, National Post, Toronto Star* and *Montreal Gazette*. All three national newspapers mainly define this attack as terrorism. Other discourses widely applied contain extremism, crime and lone-wolf action and so on. There are 6% of articles from *The Globe and Mail* narrating the Parliament Hill shooting as lone-wolf action. *Ottawa Citizen* and *Vancouver Sun* predominantly depict the attack as an act by extremist and discourse of “national crime” committed by “an extremist” comes as second.

For the mosque shooting happened in Quebec City in 2014, the most common discourse in *The Globe and Mail, National Post, Ottawa Citizen, Toronto Star* and *Vancouver Sun* is “victim”. In the mosque shooting, Muslims are victims who were “peacefully carrying their evening praying” while perpetrator, a student from Laval University Alexandre Bissonnette, started “violently shooting” at people. In these newspapers, Muslims are placed in a passive position, position of “innocent victims” who lost their families and had to face social hatred to Muslim community from society. Islamophobia is another highly used discourse in these newspapers which pay considerable attention on Islamophobia atmosphere in Canada and reaction from Muslim community through telling background story of the attack. As a matter of fact, *Montreal Gazette* chiefly utilizes Islamophobia as discourse in describing Muslims in the Quebec City shooting. What is worth to be mentioned in coverage on the Quebec City mosque shooting is that positive or neutral discourse appears. This does not happen with coverage on the Parliament Hill shooting. Even though there are noticeable quantity of articles quoting Prime Minister Justin Trudeau’ comment and defining the attack as “terrorism against Muslims and Canada”, some of them are portraying Muslims as “innocent Canadian Muslims who are just like us everyone here".
In conclusion, in covering the Parliament Hill shooting where Muslims are perpetrator, both national newspapers and regional newspapers portray Muslims as terrorists or extremists threatening national security and the whole society. When they are narrating the Quebec City Shooting, most of them represent Muslims as innocent victims who peacefully live in Canada like everybody else but have to confront with Islamophobia against them.

4.1.10. Description of attack

In previous section, discourse used in Muslims in six Canadian newspapers was examined. It is critical to investigate what kind of discourse media utilize when referring to Muslims and there is huge difference between “attacker”, “gunman”, “insurgent”, “extremist” and “terrorist”.

However, framing Muslims cannot be discussed without considering framework of terrorist attack because Muslims are deeply involved in such actions. The way Canadian newspapers represent Muslims is indirectly seen through framing these attacks.

Framing theory takes an essential position in field of communications. It looks at reflection and construction of the real world. Similar concepts includes “Pseudo-environment” proposed by Walter Lippmann in 1922. According to Erving Goffman, frame is a certain framework with which people use to learn and explain the world, and in which they conclude, construct and interpret their life experience.

For American sociologist Todd Alan Gitlin, news framing construct the world for both journalists and audience. (Gitlin, 2003) Yet, media does play a role of defining news framing via presenting chosen materials, picking certain terms, quoting news sources and demonstrating news pictures. News framing has huge impact on people’s recognition and understanding about the world, especially in those news events full of conflicts and confrontations. Terrorism coverage is an excellent example. Utilizing framing analysis on emergency events such as terrorism, as what Entman said, (Entman, 1993) would be helpful to present a clear picture of how media define the issue, explain the cause and illustrate moral comment on terrorism.
There are three main prevailing tracks of studying news framing on terrorism. The first track is to examine how terrorism and terrorist action are defined and reported. Second one is to scrutinize how terrorism coverage affects public cognition while the third one mingling the former two tracks.

This section will particularly traces down the first path and delves into how these two attacks have been described and framed in these six Canadian newspapers, principally viewing what discourse they apply to depict the attacks and whether they officially define them as “terrorism” or “act of terrorism”.

On coverage of the Parliament Hill shooting which happened in 2014, all six Canadian newspapers refer the event as “terrorism”. Yet, they have different focuses. Among national newspapers, National Post, The Globe and Main and Toronto Star mainly describe the shooting as “act of terrorism”, citing Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and Mayor of Quebec City Régis Labeaume’ public speech on the Parliament Hill shooting, with 41%, 37%, 53% of all articles respectively. Among regional newspapers, Ottawa Citizen and Montreal Gazette largely display it as terrorism as national newspapers do, yet they also demonstrate other discourse such as extremism. Vancouver Sun is the only one that mostly presents the shooting as “racism” or “act from an extremist” instead of terrorism.

![Vancouver Sun](image)

**Figure 4.** Discourse used to describe the Parliament Hill Shooting in *Vancouver Sun*
On the other hand, when they are narrating the mosque shooting in Quebec City, four out of the newspapers, The Globe and Mail, National Post, Ottawa Citizen and Montreal Gazette, demonstrate the shooting as a “random attack” which launched by extremist. In these four newspapers, terrorism comes as the minor discourse they use to identify the shooting.

Toronto Star mostly use “terrorism” as main discourse to describe the mosque shooting, having 36% of all articles defining it as act of terrorism. On the contrary, Vancouver Sun is the sole newspaper that has no article identify the shooting as terrorism; instead, it frames it as “genocide”, “murder” or “attack”.

Figure 5. Discourse used to describe the Parliament Hill Shooting in six Canadian newspapers

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4.2. Critical discourse analysis

The content analysis of six Canadian newspapers covering the Parliament Hill shooting in 2014 and the Quebec City mosque shooting in 2017 found that in representing Muslims, these Canadian newspapers to a large extent portray Muslims in a negative way in the Parliament Hill shooting. In these reports, the shooter is identified as a Canadian Muslim. In contrast, the Quebec City mosque shooting was presented in a positive way by describing Muslims as victims of violence. In general, these newspapers do not simply associate Muslims with terrorism; nonetheless, careful examination of the discourse of Muslims in these stories indicated that the term “Canadian Muslims” was employed in almost every newspaper. This is important because under Canadian context Muslims are not evicted from the country. As a matter of fact, most of reports emphasize Canadian nationality of Muslims in both attacks. The close attachment to Canadian nationality and Muslims refutes one of the arguments in literature review that Muslims are evicted from western countries.

What stands out in Fairclough’s critical discourse analysis theory is that it emphasizes relationship between use of language and relation of power and society. According to his theory, each choice of language carries proposition. As how Halliday (1994) puts discourse into a close connection with social structure:
By their everyday acts of meanings, people act out the social structure, affirming their own statuses and roles, and establishing and transmitting the shared systems of values amid of knowledge.

How media represent Muslims terrorist attacks, what language is used to describe them, and how the discourse impacted or impact the society will be analyzed.

In the coverage on the Parliament Hill shooting, the Muslim perpetrator is mainly portrayed in negative approach. He is not necessarily referred as terrorist, but mixed with terrorist and “radicalized Muslim” who is religiously radicalized.

From the perspective of representing Muslims, the Muslim perpetrator is closely connected to the terrorist group ISIS or the Islamic State. They show that religious influence from Islam and from ISIS is a decisive reason why Michael Zehaf-Bibeau behaves like that. To take an example, in an article titled “Fighting the ideological battle against Islamic State; Canadian Muslims have an important role to play in countering extremist poison” from Montreal Gazette, it starts the story in following lines:

Canada’s decision to join the coalition to combat ISIS or the Islamic State by force and aerial bombings is understandable. They are an extremely dangerous set of people bent upon eliminating everyone and anyone who does not bow his head to their fanatical ideology. In addition to a few foreign journalists and social welfare workers, they have massacred thousands of Arab and Kurd Muslims throughout Iraq and Syria.

According to Fairclough’s theory, there is always a proposition before language, especially with context. Under this circumstance, it looks irrelevant to introduce ISIS and Canada’s reaction or political stance on the issue, yet, it implicitly cultivates background knowledge that ISIS, or extreme Islamic religion is the soil of such action. Also, Muslims, especially new Muslims and Muslim youths, are portrayed as people who are vulnerable and susceptible religiously. “Radicalization”, here, is a critical discourse that Canadian newspapers apply to depict Muslim. In a comment article from Toronto Star, such comment appears: “an ideology cannot be beaten with guns, bullets and surveillance. We will need to counter that ideology with a powerful counter-narrative that disarms these ideas before they can take root.” On the surface, it is normally stating that Canada should realize and stand up to fight against “that ideology” which must be countered. However, it separates Canadian ideology and Muslim ideology clearly. As a matter of fact, it places them in a dichotomous relationship, creating a social atmosphere which indirectly encourages people to fight against “that ideology”.

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In theory of Critical Discourse Analysis, “knowledge base” includes social structure, situational types, language codes, norms of language use. (Fairclough, 1985) The knowledge base set up here would be usage of term “that ideology”, coded with thinking pattern that separates Canadian values and Muslim religion.

What is more interesting is a comment published by The Globe and Mail in which a paradoxical argument is presented. In this article, the Parliament Hill shooting is identified as an action not carried by “a radicalized terrorist”, starting with:

It's easy to overreact when someone with a gun storms your seat of government and opens fire – especially when you suspect he is a radicalized terrorist with an unknown number of accomplices. But we didn’t overreact. What I saw was an institutional response that was professional, quick, efficient and calm. Nobody panicked. I saw our police and security forces handle an unprecedented emergency with great competence and a minimum of fuss. They sprang into action within minutes, and didn't push innocent civilians around. I saw the media report the story with care and restraint. No premature conclusions. No scare talk.

It portrays the attack and the perpetrator as an extreme case from within, and the government and media have been reacting to it rationally. Yet, by the end of the article, the author gives a comment that “In spite of the terrible, nerve-rattling tragedies of the past few days, we are no more vulnerable to terrorism than any other Western nation, and probably (because of geography) somewhat less.” It seems that, along with the attack happened in Quebec City which also killed a Canadian soldier, the Parliament Hill shooting is just another tragedy in Canada. Yet, it is implicitly indicating that Canada is no longer vulnerable to terrorism by denying the attack is an act of terrorism.

This comment is also a epitome of representation of Muslims under Canadian context: whether identify the attack as terrorism clearly or not, Canadian newspapers tend to reiterate the religious background of the perpetrator, via either posing ISIS’s impact on Michael Zehaf-Bibeau or how he “naively images the East as a paradise where he can get rid of pain from drug addiction”. There are plentiful news articles introducing Michael Zehaf-Bibeau’s life experience through interviewing his ill mother and people who he encountered in different mosques when he was looking for a shelter: homeless, drug-addicted and intend to lead Libya which he considers as a place full of hope and happiness. His religious orientation is highlighted, and “the only way to do counter such ideology is to wage a massive awareness campaign exposing how far-
removed these radical jihadists are from the true teachings of Islam". (Toronto Star: Canadian Muslims must help fight the 'enemy within')

Canadian Muslim is dominant discourse these newspapers utilize represent Muslims. For coverage on the Parliament Hill shooting, emphasis in the discourse is "Muslim", introducing religious background and influence of the attacker in great length. It seems normal that media chase after story of perpetrator, especially when the perpetrator is a Muslim. Yet, overemphasis on religion would mislead readers into an impression that religion is a hidden reason why this tragedy happened. In Fairclough’s words, if a dominant discourse has been naturalized into “naturalized ideology or ideological practice”, “such naturalized ideologies” would become part of the “knowledge base”. The “knowledge base” actively affect the “orderliness” of interaction within the whole society, which brings out the social phenomenon resulted from such discourse.

According to Fairclough, what is critical in the critical discourse analysis is to grasp the connection between subjects through use of language, or discourse, and the social impact discourse has upon all interconnections within the society. Naturalization of a discourse can transfer into a dominant discourse of society, that “ideologies and ideological practices may become dissociated to a greater or lesser extent from the particular social base, and the particular interests, which generated them—that is, they may become to a greater or lesser extent “naturalized”, and hence be seen to be commonsensical and based in the nature of things or people, rather than in the interests of classes or other groupings.” (Fairclough, 1985)

Under such representation on Muslims in Canada, social atmosphere is prone to change. There are 3 articles reporting a recent vandalism happened in a mosque in Quebec City after the Parliament Hill shooting. Although they suggest the case is not identified as a “hate crime” on Muslims due to the previous attack in Ottawa, these reports to a great extent discloses a social atmosphere in which anti-Muslim sensation rises among the public. Narration from Muslims is exhibited: "You feel unsafe, you feel targeted, you feel terrorized in a way; Anytime there is a media report about Muslims negatively, whether from here or elsewhere, we are all put in a basket: 'Muslims are terrorists.' We feel always we are guilty by association, I shouldn't have to disassociate myself all the time from the actions of others to prove my allegiance." (Ottawa Citizen, Police investigate mosque vandalism)
To conclude, coverage on the Parliament Hill shooting generally represent the Muslim shooter Michael Zehaf-Bibeau as “Canadian Muslim” who mentally and physically suffered from drug addiction and is planning to leave for the East for happiness. While majority of reports referring the attack as act of terrorism, Canadian newspapers describe the Muslim as “radicalized” Muslim whose behavior influenced by radical transmission on religious belief. The discourse “radicalized Muslim” echoes to Kundnani’s book *Muslims are Coming* in which the author perceives that there is a “race principle at work that enables the separation of Muslims from the usual liberal norms of rights and citizenship” and “a kind of domestic totalitarianism provides a radicalized discourse of fear that constructs Muslims as a cultural threat to the liberal order”.

(Kundnani, 2014, P284)

If the social atmosphere of Islamophobia is concluded as a result from the Parliament Hill shooting conducted by a Canadian Muslim, then in the mosque shooting happened in Quebec City in 2014, Islamophobia has been portrayed as a covered reason of the attack. There is noticeable number of coverage from the six Canadian newspapers bringing up the term “Islamophobia” when they are narrating story of mosque shooting. To take an instance, in an article from *The Globe and Mail*, following lines come after telling how Canada should be the last country this kind of extremism would happen in compared to America and how Canadian Muslims now live in fear after the “massacre”:

> The hard thing we learned this week is that there are dangers from extremism on all sides. If Islamist fanatics can gun down Canadian soldiers in the name of God, then Muslim-haters can massacre Canadian Muslims at prayer. (The Globe and Mail: No one is safe from extremism.F9, 2017.02.09)

There are predominantly two perspectives from which the newspapers report Islamophobia: one is from background information of the attack and the attacker himself. They introduce a social Islamophobia sensation into the story when they are narrating the attack itself.

The second perspective is to narrate Islamophobia via Muslims’ experience or self-narration from Muslims who live through the mosque shooting. For example, an editorial from Ottawa Citizen titled “Islamophobia nothing new to this country; these
kilings weren’t random or inexplicable” starts with narration from the attacked mosque in Quebec City:

A weekend that began with U.S. President Donald Trump’s “Muslim ban” has ended with the killing of six Muslims, and injuring of many more, while they were praying at a mosque in Quebec City. “We were attacked because we are Muslim. Shot at point-blank range because we are Muslims. Dead because we are Muslim,” the Centre Cultural Islamique de Québec wrote on its Facebook page.

Social relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims here is depicted. Confirmed or not, Islamophobia reappears within Canada, or at least in Quebec City, after what happened in Parliament Hill and Quebec City in 2014 when two Canadian soldiers were killed. The media discourse employed in this attack also would result into some changes in social relationship in Quebec City.

Prevalently, six Canadian newspapers represent Muslims as “innocent victims” when they are covering the mosque tragedy in Quebec City. The dominant discourse is still “Canadian Muslims”, notwithstanding, the emphasis is on “Canadian” in this case, portraying Muslims as “Canadian who live in the country peacefully and respectfully as we all do”. Under this circumstance, what “Canadian Muslims” really stands for is “Muslim Canadians”, stressing on Canadians. Muslims are pictured as ordinary people and human beings “just like us”.

Life stories of the Muslim victims are told:

They were fathers, businessmen, a university professor and others who were killed while at evening prayers.

Azzeddine Soufiane, 57, a father of three, a grocer and a butcher, welcomed newcomers to Quebec, helped them integrate and was a brother to everyone, said a friend.

"He was a father to everyone, a brother to everyone - very tolerant, very respectful."

('Gentle,’ ‘beloved’ victims mourned, National Post the Canadian Press, A1, Front, 2017.01.31)

“This was a group of innocents, targeted for practicing their faith,” Trudeau said in the House of Commons Monday afternoon. ('A scene of unspeakable brutality', 2017.01.31, National Post, A2)
The discourse “Canadian Muslim” is also demonstrated by citing Prime Minister Justin Trudeau’s word referring the attack as “terrorism” towards Canadian Muslims and Canada. Terrorist attack on Canadian Muslims equals to terrorist attack on the country Canada, uniting Muslim victims and all Muslims with all Canadians. To take an example, there is an article named “An attack on Muslims, and Canada” from The Globe and Mail directly stating that “But we know who was attacked: Muslim Canadians. As such, the target was all Canadians, and Canada itself. Again.”

Also, they quote the comment made by Quebec Premier Philippe Couillard: "We are with you, you are at home. You are Quebecois."

In the coverage, Muslims are represented as “Muslim Canadians” who are Canadians whose religious belief is Islam. Most of the coverage from the Canadian newspapers are framing Muslims neutrally and positively, compared to the coverage on the Parliament Hill shooting in 2014.

In terms of description of the attack itself, media discourse is divided into two: prevailing definition of the mosque shooting is “act of terrorism” mainly brought up by quoting Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and Quebec Premier Philippe Couillard’s public statement on the attack. It can be seen that they all recognize it as an act of terrorism which is an attack on Canadian values as well. In these articles, comments such as "Canadian value being attacked" are recounted.

They must not succeed. On a day like today, it's worth remembering that Canada has no official religion, race or culture. That is what unites us. Every Canadian, regardless of faith or ethnic origin, is as Canadian as every other. An attack on any Canadian, simply for exercising their constitutional right to live according to the dictates of their conscience, or because they trace their ancestry to one part of the world and not another, is an attack on all Canadians. (An attack on Muslims, and Canada: The Globe and Mail; Toronto, Ont. [Toronto, Ont] 31 Jan 2017: A.12.)

This homegrown attack isn't "them" against "us." It's us against us - a Canadian is accused of killing fellow Canadians for the apparent sin of bowing their heads in prayer at their local mosque. (It is time to learn from history's lessons, Martin Regg Cohn, 20170131, The Toronto Star, A6)

The second preeminent definition of the attack from Canadian newspapers is “extremism”. For those articles conceiving the mosque shooting as an extreme case or "lone-wolf" action, life experience and religious and political background of the
perpetrator is narrated in detail. They present that the 27-year-old shooter Alexandre Bissonnette is just an extreme case from the society. Narrations from Bissonnette’s mother and his peers in university display the shooter as a young person who “does not like Muslims but has no trouble getting along with them”. Alexandre Bissonnette is depicted as: “a typical nerd, a bit of a freak”, “normal”, “seemed to have been brought up well”, “liked his protectionism, his nationalism”, “was proud of his heritage as a white Quebecker and opposed multiculturalism”. (At the end of the day, I didn’t know him’; Friend of Alleged Mosque Shooter Speaks Out over Crime That Shocked Country, Graeme Hamilton and Stewart Bell, Ottawa Citizen, Ottawa Citizen, N1 / Front, 20170202)

Compared to the description of Michael Zehaf-Bibeau, shooter of the Parliament Hill shooting, Alexandre Bissonnette is represented more like an extremist who is politically and religiously opposed to Islam and multiculturalism in Canada. There is even an article from Montreal Gazette illustrating why Alexandre Bissonnette is charged only with six first-degree murder instead of terrorism crime, claiming that there is not so much proof can be found to prove his action is politically motivated. What’s more, Alexandre Bissonnette seems to act alone instead of supported by a group or any organization, making this attack a “lone-wolf action rather than an act of terrorism”. It seems that discourse on the attack has nothing to do with representing Muslims. However, it uncovers a fact that when the attack is conducted by a non-Muslim, there will be discourse defending the attack as an extreme case compared to the attack carried out by a Muslim where the whole Muslim community and Islam as a religion is to be blamed.

Such discourse on the attack and shooter alludes to that in the Quebec City shooting happened in 2017, Canadian newspapers tend to represent Muslims as Muslim Canadians. Nonetheless, even under a case where Muslims are victims killed by violence, Islamophobia as a social sensation is introduced.
Chapter 5. Conclusion

After close and careful examination on terrorism coverage from six Canadian newspapers, several conclusions can be reached.

First of all, when Canadian newspapers are covering terrorism in Canada, they are more likely to focus their report on Muslims no matter they are the perpetrator or the victim in terrorism attack. In the parliament Hill shooting happened in Ottawa in 2014, the perpetrator is identified as a Muslim born in Canada. It is apparent that Canadian media predominantly focus on Muslims. There are a large number of reports narrating the perpetrator’s story, introducing his religious background in detail. On the other hand, when the mosque shooting happened in Quebec City in 2017 is covered by Canadian newspapers, Muslims are still focal point in media even compared to the white perpetrator. To take an example, Muslims who were dead from the shooting are mourned by the whole city and country. Their stories are narrated by their beloved families and friends. The whole Muslim community is involved by voicing their voice to the public. Media demonstrates their personal experience of leaving their home country and coming to Canada for a better life. Islamophobia is also introduced as a background of the tragedy.

Secondly, coverage on both the Parliament Hill shooting in 2014 and the Quebec City mosque shooting in 2017 emphasize religious background of the terrorist attacks and people involved. In coverage on the Parliament Hill shooting, the Muslim perpetrator Michael Zehaf-Bibeau is clearly and firstly identified as Muslim in most reports. In the personal life experience narrated by Michael Zehaf-Bibeau’s mother and other Muslim friends, his religious background is highlighted: he is a Muslim who has been seeking for a shelter in various countries and he had been kicked out of several mosques in Canada. Even though it is confirmed that he had nothing to do with ISIS, a lot of reports on ISIS are included. Michael Zehaf-Bibeau is depicted as a “radicalized Muslim” who holds extreme Islamic belief. On the other side, Islamophobia is the topic brought up with mostly even the Muslims are victims in this case.

Thirdly, the dominant media discourse being used in Canadian newspapers in both terrorist attacks is “Canadian Muslims”, with different emphasis. In the Parliament Hill shooting, the perpetrator is described as “a Muslim who was born in Canada”,

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emphasizing the Muslim background of him. All he did to that Canadian soldier is because of his Muslim identity. On the other hand, when these Canadian newspapers are covering the Quebec City mosque killing in 2017, the dominant discourse they utilize to represent Muslim is also “Canadian Muslims”, yet emphasizing the Canadian identity. In the mosque shooting, the shooter burst into the mosque where Muslims were doing their evening prayer peacefully and randomly shot at them, causing six Muslims died from fatal wound. These Muslim victims are presented as Canadians who live in the country as we all do. There is substantial number of coverage telling human-interest story of these Muslims. From this sense, the assertion from Kundnani’ Muslims are coming that Muslims are excluded from Western countries can be contradicted in Canadian context since most of them keep referring Muslims as Canadians, stressing their nationality.

Fourthly, multiculturalism and other Canadian values are constantly brought up with in terrorism coverage. On both coverage on the Parliament Hill shooting and one on the Quebec City mosque shooting, multiculturalism, as one of Canadian values, are mentioned multiple times. Also, there are copious stories proposing Canadian values: tolerance, openness, and diversity. The terrorism is on Canadian Muslims, is on all Canadians, and is on Canadian values.

Fifthly, it is more likely that media connect the terrorist attack with Muslim community and its religion while illustrating the white non-Muslim perpetrator as an extreme case instead of blaming Christianity. Sizable coverage is identified the attack as act of terrorism simply quoting official speech delivered by the government or other sources when they are narrating the Parliament Hill shooting where the shooter is a Muslim. On the contrary, while majority are also citing Prime Minister Justin Trudeau’s comment on the attack and defining officially as an act of terrorism, there is two articles actually explaining why the attack is a “lone-wolf” action conducted by an extremist and why Alexandra is not charged by terrorism crime but six first-degree murders by citing several experts on anti-terrorism from universities and officials involved in the court.

Lastly, Canadian newspapers demonstrate story of the white perpetrator in Quebec City mosque shooting with several human-interest stories. His ill mother is giving self-narration on her son: “he is not evil, he is my child”, describing him as a poor young people who suffered from drug addiction and eager to find happiness in the East.
His college friends are also telling their own story with Alexandre Bissonnette: nerd but not geek, brought up well, nationalism but not super white. He is depicted as a “troubled” young person in some of the coverage. Such description does not happen in Michael Zehaf-Bibeau.

To sum up, multiculturalism and other Canadian values are frequently embodied in coverage on both terrorism attacks by Canadian newspapers, however, when it comes to specific case, Canadian news media tend to blame the whole Muslim society if the perpetrator is identified as a Muslim while defining it as an extreme case in the society when the perpetrator is confirmed as a non-Muslim.
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