

## **HOMOPHOBIA AND ‘UN-AMERICANNESSE’ AS RISING FACETS OF ISLAMOPHOBIA: AN ANALYSIS OF ORLANDO SHOOTING MEDIA TRANSCRIPTS**

Saad Boulahnane\*

### **Abstract**

The present article analyzes the rising discourses in the Orlando shooting discursive event, which took place on June 12, 2016 in the United States. Deemed constitutive of the American Muslim identity, the new rhetoric of estrangement emerging during the media coverage of the shooting is probed into using Critical Discourse Analysis. Ideological Square theory is adopted to shed light on the mental representations between the notion of the positive, in-group ‘Us’ and that of the negative, out-group ‘Them,’ hence an ideological split between Muslim and non-Muslim Americans. In addition to Van Dijk’s CDA-based tool, the study avails itself of Quantitative Content Analysis as an auxiliary approach to lay the numerical foundation, which consists in providing the occurrences of the statements imbued with the prevailing discourses. The data analyzed were collected from CNN and Fox News via LexisNexis Online Academic Database, and coded and analyzed using *Atlas.ti* Data Mining software program. The study has resulted in revealing discourses of estrangement subverting America’s proclaimed character *religious pluralism* and the constitutional ground on which the country is erected. The results and implications can be viewed in the discussed frames serving as a discursive extension of what is labeled ‘war on terror,’ of which the American Muslim community is the major recipient. The analysis is also done against the backdrop of religious pluralism and its suggested notions of tolerance, respect, and integration.

**Keywords:** Islamophobia, homophobia, un-Americanness, estrangement, religious pluralism, Orlando shooting

### **Introduction**

#### ***The General Context of the Discursive Event***

On June 12<sup>th</sup> 2016, a man—reportedly having ties to Isis—was involved in the murdering of 50 people and left 53 others with severe injuries in a club associated with LGBT people in Orlando, Florida. According to the media, the shooting had been marked as the most terrifying attack in the United States of America since the 2001 attacks (by 2016).<sup>1</sup>

The attack was condemned by most majority-Muslim countries and Muslim advocacy groups and organizations based in and out of the United States. Following the shooting, media commentators and right-wing politicians lumped the murderer’s religion together with the attack, resulting in a massive wave of anti-Muslim rhetoric against people of the Muslim faith. Because the victims were a rising minority in the world—the LGBT—the *Islamophobic* discourse took the direction of homophobia, with the Muslim community being framed as homophobic.

The then-presidential candidate, Donald Trump, directed the spotlight towards the issue of immigration, regarding it as the establishing ground for America’s temporary problems. He went so far to hypothesize that there would have been no crime had the murderer’s parents not been allowed into the United States.<sup>2</sup> Further similar quotations will untangle the discourses surrounding the discursive event and the constructed frames.

#### ***Religious Pluralism***

The significance and relevance of studying Islamophobia from the perspective of the media emanate from the latter being an instance of an Ideological State Apparatus engaged in the defining and

---

\* Saad Boulahnane (Ph.D) (corresponding author), English Department, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Hassan II University, Casablanca, Morocco. Email : [saad.boulahnane@fulbrightmail.org](mailto:saad.boulahnane@fulbrightmail.org).

<sup>1</sup> CBS News (2016, June 12), “50 dead, Islamic terrorism tie eyed in Orlando gay bar shooting,” retrieved March 07, 2017, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/pulse-nightclub-shooting-orlando/>.

<sup>2</sup> Noah Bierman and Evan Halper (2016, June 13), “The Trump and Clinton responses to the Orlando shooting just reset the political norm,” retrieved May 07, 2017, <http://www.latimes.com/politics/la-na-pol-clinton-trump-orlando--20160613-snap-story.html>.

redefining processes of individuals in society. Exploring the role of the media provides insight into its unassailable contribution in the production and reproduction processes of anti-Muslim discourses and frames. The second significance of studying Islamophobia in the United States also takes into account its proclaimed character—religious pluralism.

The notion *religious pluralism* is not about the mere diversity of religions and ethnicities, and other cultural elements co-existing together and showing tolerance; it goes beyond tolerance in that it seeks active engagement and understanding among the various elements of society. According to Diana Eck, diversity is a given, constituted by a variety of cultural elements; pluralism is an achievement. The American public space has been characterized by a plurality of cultural and religious traditions in every part of the world today.<sup>3</sup> The United States of America is seen in that light. Researchers, such as Diana Eck, have hammered at the difference between plurality—or diversity—and pluralism and whether it is plurality or pluralism that characterizes the American public space. Thoughts on the existence of races, religions, languages, and cultures in the American space have varied—is it a mere heterogeneous mass of elements or an engagement creating a society from the elements provided by plurality? James Beckford and others suggest that *diversity* is the preferred term to describe the degree of homogeneity of what it describes (religions, cultures, ethnic groups, etc.). Others prefer the term plurality, in part because it is consistent with the word *pluralism*, which remains different, given the higher form of plurality (or diversity). It is understood as the social arrangement and the treatment of religions in society by law—whether equally or unequally.<sup>4</sup>

Researching the media and its instrumental role in constructing reality perception presupposes analysis of a central element to this construction of false reality: ideology. Perceptions of the issues existing in society are only the outcome of the work of institutions through their ideologies serving the ruling bloc, or hegemony, in a given society. An institution disciplines and controls subjects with their consent and its ability to tarnish and subvert their likeliness to question acts and practices, which it associates with common sense.<sup>5</sup>

## Methodology

### *Data collection and Sampling*

To analyze media discourses and frames, relevant CNN and Fox News TV broadcast transcripts pertaining to Orlando Shooting were collected from LexisNexis Online Academic Database during the period of June 12, 2016, and June 19, 2016. The Orlando shooting had a sampling frame of one week, given its long media coverage.

After logging onto the Academic Search Engine, Power Search was used, which is an advanced search mode, using the following keywords: *Orlando shooting OR Orlando AND Shooting*. The date between 12/06/2016 and 19/06/2016” was specified and option “By type: Broadcast Transcripts” was selected as Source. Then the search began. The results showed a total of 176 transcripts—News Transcripts>CNN Transcripts (n=152); Fox News Network Transcripts (n=24).

**Table 1. The Sampling**

Case Study	Keywords entered	Length of sampling frame	Unfiltered Results of transcripts	Filtered, relevant transcripts	Database
Orlando Shooting	Orlando Shooting OR Orlando Attack	June 12, 2016 –June 19, 2016	176	N = 176 Fox News: 24 CNN: 152	LexisNexis Academic

<sup>3</sup> Diana Eck, L. (2008), *On common ground: World religions in America*, Cambridge: The Pluralism Project.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Jackson (2013), *Rethinking Religious Education and Plurality: Issues in Diversity and Pedagogy*; Giuseppe Giordan and Enzo Pace (2014), *Religious Pluralism: Framing Religious Diversity in the Contemporary World*, Cham: Springer International Publishing, pp. 51-52.

<sup>5</sup> Louis Althusser, Etienne Balibar, Jacques Bidet, and G. M Goshgarian (2014), *On the Reproduction of Capitalism: Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*, London: Verso.

### **Data Coding and Analysis**

The coding of the collected data engaged word-by-word and statement-by-statement analysis using *Atlas.ti*—a qualitative data-mining program.<sup>6</sup> The coding consisted in identifying the repetitive meanings in the text and creating summative codes denoting the recurring semantic patterns.<sup>7</sup> The collected codes were selected for a further stage, which engages critical discourse analysis. Analysis of the text was informed by Critical Discourse Analysis theory, which represents the backdrop against which the selected codes are interpreted.

### **Justification for Targeting CNN and Fox News**

The selection of CNN and Fox News channels was based on the present networks being the most influential mainstream news media in the United States, according to a Brookings Institute study.<sup>8</sup> The study also shows that exposure to Fox News was found to correlate with misinformation on certain issues, leading to the public endorsing deviant opinions about Muslims and Islam. The two channels have shown constant interest in issues related to Muslims, Islam, and other forced Islam-associated issues, including *Sharia*, *Bin Laden*, *Hamas*, *Jihad*, *Al-Qaida*, etc. These factors indicate that misinformation or agenda-oriented coverage of Muslim news results in a large portion of the American public endorsing negative opinions about American Muslims. A further study, which also justifies the selection of the two networks, maintains that exposure to Fox News causes a rightward shift in the viewers' attitudes, which translates into the altering of the viewers' propensity to vote for Republican candidates.<sup>9</sup>

### **Theoretical framework**

#### **Critical Discourse Analysis**

Critical Discourse Analysis allows for a systematic investigation targeting the opaque relationships of determination and causality between texts, events, discursive practices, and the wider social and cultural structures within which events and texts exist.<sup>10</sup> As an approach, CDA is also capable of adopting other perspectives and methods of analyzing the relationship between language and social contexts.<sup>11</sup> It is a critical perspective taking social problems as its focus, particularly the role of discourse in a process, wherein power abuse and domination are produced and reproduced.<sup>12</sup>

#### **Ideological Square Theory**

Van Dijk's Ideological Square theory is ideology based and is used to sketch mental representations that are "articulated along *Us* versus *Them* dimensions, in which speakers of one group will generally tend to present themselves or their own group in positive terms, and other groups in negative terms."<sup>13</sup> Van Dijk (1995) notes that the idea of 'ideological square' draws upon a positive 'self-presentation' and a negative 'other-presentation.' These representations are observable through linguistic dimensions of a text. For example, the lexicon and syntactic structures of a text, as well as the sentences, their coherence and meanings, and the pragmatic side of the text are all relevant in the study of the 'ideological square' and pertain to the 'us' vs. 'them' ideological construction. Richardson points out the existing hidden meanings in discourse like "presuppositions, implicature and entailment."<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> Eugenio De Gregorio, Francesco Arcidiacono & Sheila Padiglia (2015), *Techniques D'analyse Qualitative: Le Logiciel Atlas.ti*, Saarbrücken: Editions universitaires européennes.

<sup>11</sup> Johnny Saldaña (2015), *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*, London: Sage Publications Ltd.

<sup>8</sup> Robert Jones; Daniel Cox; William Galston; and E J. Dionne (2011), "What It Means to Be American: Attitudes in an Increasingly Diverse America Ten Years After 9/11," *Brookings*, retrieved from <https://www.brookings.edu/events/what-it-means-to-be-american-new-poll-explores-attitudes-in-an-increasingly-diverse-america/>.

<sup>9</sup> Gregory J. Martin and Ali Yurukoglu (2017), "Bias in Cable News: Persuasion and Polarization," *American Economic Review*, Vol. 107, No. 9, pp. 2566-2568.

<sup>10</sup> Norman Fairclough (1993), "Critical Discourse Analysis and the Marketization of Public Discourse: The Universities," *Discourse & Society*, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 133-168; Norman Fairclough (2013), *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*, London: Routledge.

<sup>11</sup> Wei Wang (2006), "Newspaper Commentaries on Terrorism in China and Australia: A Contrastive Genre Study," in Ulla Connor, Ed Nagelhout and William V. Rozycki (eds.), *Contrastive Rhetoric: Reaching to Intercultural Rhetoric*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 169-190.

<sup>12</sup> T. A van Dijk (2001), "Multidisciplinary Cda: A Plea for Diversity," in Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, London: Sage, pp. 95-120.

<sup>13</sup> T. A Van Dijk (1995), "Discourse semantics and ideology," *Discourse & Society*, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 243-289.

<sup>14</sup> John Richardson, E. (2004), *(Mis)representing Islam: The racism and rhetoric of British broadsheet newspapers*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins Pub, p. 55.

## **Quantitative Content Analysis**

### ***Frequency Analysis of the Main Codes***

This part will provide a numerical representation of the findings to be subsequently analyzed and discussed. As explained in the previous case study, quantitative research is deemed instrumental in social research, given the empirical methods and empirical statements it expresses numerically.<sup>15</sup>

The transcripts represent text produced from the period from June 12, 2016, to June 19 of the same year. The one-week coverage of the shooting accounted for a number of 176 transcripts—CNN (n=152), Fox News (n= 24).

## **Findings and Discussions**

The table below consists of the 12 main codes found during the coding process. These codes are also themes representing lexical fields, hence discourses.

**Table 2. Codes and Frequencies in Orlando Shooting Transcripts (n=176)**

Codes	Fox News	CNN	Total	Frequency of code per FOX News Transcript (24)	Frequency of code per CNN Transcript n=152	Frequency of code per transcript (176)
Association to 9/11	45	137	182	1.87	0.9	1.03
Association to Al Qaeda	29	135	164	1.2	0.88	0.93
Ban on Muslims	11	66	77	0.45	0.43	0.43
Homophobia	23	43	66	0.95	0.28	0.37
Immigration as a problem	62	164	226	2.58	1.07	1.28
ISIS	341	1090	1431	14.2	7.17	8.13
Islamic terrorism	76	115	191	3.16	0.75	1.08
LGBT as self-representation	136	1073	1209	5.66	7.05	6.86
Mosques	20	123	143	0.83	0.8	0.81
Muslims	88	266	354	3.66	1.75	2.01
Sharia	24	4	28	1	0.02	0.15
US vs. THEM	12	5	17	0.5	0.03	0.09

<sup>15</sup> Louis Cohen, Lawrence Manion and Keith Morrison (1980), *Research Methods in Education*, London: Groom Helm Ltd.

## **The Prevailing Codes/Themes**

### ***Homophobia Code***

The theme *homophobia* arose during the coverage of the incident. The corresponding code *Homophobia* consists of the statements discussing the issue of anti-LGBT attitudes of the perpetrator in particular, and the Muslims in general. A number of 66 quotations were found, with Fox News showing an appearance of 23 quotations, of which the mean value is almost one appearance per transcript.

### ***Immigration as a Problem Code***

The code/theme *Immigration as a problem* recurred 266 times during the coverage of the incident. Similar to the code *Ban on Muslims*, *Immigration as a problem* was one of the heated reactions following the shooting. Fox News (n= 62) showed a mean value of more than two appearances (2.56) of the paragraphs discussing the immigration of Muslims as a problem. CNN has one reference to immigration per transcript.

Unlike the previous code, *Ban on Muslims* does not merely discuss immigration of Muslims and the corresponding measures to be taken but rather stresses the idea of a ban on the Muslims in America. A number of 66 appearances of statements express the idea of banning Muslims from entering the United States of America. The number suggests a mean of almost one statement in every two transcripts in total.

### ***LGBT as Self-Representation Code***

The present code consists of quotations in which the LGBT is seen as a violated in-group in the United States. Since the club where the shooting took place was mostly visited by the LGBT community, the coverage of the incident perceives the community as part of America and, therefore, the perpetrator is seen as anti-American. The quotations discussing the LGBT community and rights were abundant. CNN has 1073 statements expressing ideas related to the LGBT community and their rights as part of America. The mean value of appearances of the present code is expressed at seven appearances per CNN transcript (7.05) while Fox News has more than 5 appearances per transcript (5.66), averaging a number of more than six appearances per transcript in total.

### ***Us vs. Them Code***

The Orlando Shooting transcripts feature a total of 17 quotations setting the ideology-based differences between the United States, and its associations, and Muslims, of whom the murderer is seen as part.

## **Critical Discourse Analysis**

### ***Van Dijk's Ideological Square***

The idea of breaking the world into two dichotomous categories rises from De Saussure's structuralist view of language, wherein he views that the way languages are universally structured is by fitting them into a system of binary oppositions. Language is, therefore, regarded as a social construction formed by meanings associated with objects falling into binary relationships e.g. female vs. male, good vs. evil, etc.

He never lived in Afghanistan, but remembering his family lived in New York. He would have been 15 years old when the 9/11 terror attacks happened. Afghanistan, he would have been very aware of course that age of what was happening in Afghanistan of the Taliban at the time when the following invasion to get rid of Afghanistan and install a—install a different government.<sup>16</sup> (Nic Robertson, CNN International Diplomatic Editor)

He [about the perpetrator] has ties to Afghanistan. He claims to be the interim president of Afghanistan. He seems very crazy. The question would be how much can they go, how deep can they dig into father, even though they don't have a direct link yet?<sup>17</sup> (Eric Bolling)

<sup>16</sup> CNN (June 13, 2016), "Orlando Shooting Detailed; President Obama Speaks about Attack; Seeking a Motive for the Shooting," transcript, television broadcast, retrieved from [www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic](http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic).

<sup>17</sup> CNN (June 15, 2016), "Child Attacked by Alligator at Disney World; The Voice Singer Shot Dead after Friday Concert; Orlando Nightclub Shooting Detailed; South African Court Again Mulling Fate of Oscar Pistorius; French Security Officials Anxious about Fan Violence as Russia and Slovakia Meet in Euro 2016; Barack Obama Slams Trump Reaction to Orlando Shooting," transcript, television broadcast, retrieved from [www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic](http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic).

The quotation significantly emphasizes the ideological binary relationship between the acceptable 'us' and the 'other.' Having ties to Afghanistan does not seem to invoke diplomatic, intercultural relationships in this context but threatening ideas as if Afghanistan represented terrorism by default. It is usually having ties to a terrorist group, a murderer, or a drug dealer that sounds menacing and worth discussing. However, "even though they don't have a direct link yet" sounds like an FBI statement showing their on-guard position vis-à-vis a suspect, who is still not fully charged. Therefore, having ties to a country appears to be problematic to security and the overall feeling of the in-group.

Gorka: Right. This is when you have to bring Americans together. Those people weren't gay people, they were Americans!

Hannity: By the way, under sharia, radical Islamists, if it was a group of women dancing...

Gorka: Right!

Hannity: ... they would feel justified in doing this.

Gorka: Right, listening to music.

Hannity: Listening to music.

Gorka: The Taliban banned music in Afghanistan!<sup>18</sup>

(Sebastian Gorka, author, "Defeating Jihad," and Sean Hannity)

The conversation clearly draws upon the ideological split between the 'us' and the 'them' by being emphatic on including the gay community in America's celebrated 'Americanness.' It is this 'Americanness' that determines whether a group is in-group or out-group. Attacking the LGBT is equated with attacking the United States and radical Islamists are seen as the attackers of the in-group, hence they are seen as the outgroup—those who assault the constituents of the United States. The idea of dancing women also represents America's value of freedom expressed through forms of entertainment, such as dancing and music.

The "other," seen as the perpetrator's country of origin and other groups attached to it, directs its attacks towards America's values, such as joy, happiness, dancing, and therefore freedom. It is the idea of freedom that is placed in this conversation and that determines what makes the United States, as 'us,' different from the 'other' and the 'them.' Hannity's idea of the 'other' justifying the murdering of women dancing seeks to underscore the distorted and different logic the 'other' have from that of Americans, who are equated with the standard and the norm to which the deviant other is compared, and by which they are measured. Donald Trump once said: "The killer, whose name I will not use or ever say, was born in Afghan of Afghan parents who immigrated to the United States."<sup>19</sup> The quotation shows the dichotomous nature of the world in Donald Trump's perception; there is 'us' and there is 'them,' who are killers and who have to immigrate to the West with their conspicuous origin: Afghanistan.

Hs [sic] parents did emigrate from Afghanistan, but the killer himself was born in New York, which is why U.S. officials are calling it an act of homegrown terrorism. Still, regardless of the Orlando killer being American, the thrust of Trump's response to the attack is focused on concerns about immigrants. He drilled down on Hillary Clinton's plan to let Syrian refugees into the U.S.<sup>20</sup> (Dana Bash, CNN Chief Political Correspondent)

The following quotation also presents itself based on the difference between 'us' and the 'them' as the other that threatens the peace and stability of the standard 'us.' The quotation also shows the conflict rising on the basis of the dichotomy, in which two candidates oppose each other by leaning towards different poles, thereby going in different directions. Donald Trump has labeled the then Secretary of State Hillary Clinton as crooked and deviant. The idea is that supporting the 'other' is negative and unacceptable.

<sup>18</sup> CNN (June 15, 2016), "Grand Jury To Consider Charges Against Gunman's Wife; Investigation; Sources: Killer's Wife Went With Him To Buy Ammunition; Med. Examiner On Entering The Club: "Like Time Stopped"; When Love Was The Target of Hate; Dems Filibuster For Gun Control; FBI Issues Bulletins To Orlando Area Gay Clubs; Toddler's Body Recovered After Gator Attack," transcript, television broadcast, retrieved from [www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic](http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic).

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> CNN (June 14, 2016), "Gay Nightclub Targeted in Orlando Terror Attack; Trump and Clinton at Odds Over Orlando Terror; New Details in Orlando Attack; Fact-Checking Trump's Fiery Speech on Orlando Shooting; Orlando Openly Gay Mayor Talks Shooting, LGBTQ," transcript, television broadcast, retrieved from [www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic](http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic).

A 500 percent increase in Syrian refugees coming into our country. Tell me, tell me, how stupid is that? This could be a better, bigger, more horrible version than the legendary Trojan horse ever was.<sup>21</sup> (Donald Trump, presidential candidate)

The metaphor from the Greek mythology stresses the dichotomy of the people of Troy and the offender. The Trojan horse symbolizes the different threatening 'other' that wants to establish itself to the detriment of the 'us,' which is, even in the Greek story, an already established city. This symbolizes that the refugees are regarded as the threatening 'them' that seeks the established, civilized 'us.'

A December 2015 Pew Research poll of Muslims in 39 countries asked whether Muslims wanted Sharia Law. The—responses [sic] very greatly, 99 percent of them in Afghanistan, 91 percent in Iraq and 84 percent in Pakistan supported official Sharia Law. Pakistan and Iraq by the way ranked as the top two source countries for Muslim immigrating to the U.S. Pew found once here, Muslims are far more likely to lean Democrats 70% than Republican 11 percent.<sup>22</sup> (Doug Mckelway)

The statement is emphatic on the dichotomous nature of the relationship between the 'West' and the 'Orient.' Since Afghanistan is the perpetrator's country of Origin, it is referred to as the central and the most accepting of supposedly anti-American laws and values. Afghanistan is lumped together with other countries with the highest rate of immigration into America.

### ***LGBT as Self-Representation***

Well, you know, Barack Obama has painted himself into a corner regarding Islamic terrorism and Hillary Clinton frankly has leaped right over there with him. I mean, the reality is that they're both proposing in light of this horrible slaughter in Orlando of LGBT people by this Islamic terrorist, they're proposing a drastic acceleration of the immigration of people from a culture that frankly has a notable disdain toward gay people and often finds that slaughtering them or killing them is an effective way of dealing with their hatred of these family.<sup>23</sup> (David Wall, Trump Supporter)

The quotation shows the continuous political conflicts between Trump, and his supporters, and Democrats, and their supporters. The conflict swings between purportedly being easy on "Islamic terrorism" and being inconsiderate to the LGBT community by allowing immigrants into the United States. Allowing people from the 'Orient' is equated with disloyalty to the sense of in-group. Defending the LGBT and rejecting immigration is aligned with defending the notion of 'us.' The 'them' are those who slaughter, kill and, hate the 'West,' its people, and its freedom. The quotation, therefore, underscores the binary opposition between the presence of the LGBT community, as an indicator of Western freedom, and the killing and slaughtering of similar people. This binary relationship has triggered the emergency of a political split between Donald Trump, and those who support him, and the Democrats (Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama), and those who support them. This implies that these are not superficial differences, but disparate, fundamental grounds and ideologies.

So none of this is surprising that he had no sort of active involvement with ISIS, but remember you know as I said yesterday he is a guy who was buying hate and ISIS was selling it, but he was—you know, he wanted—he was getting hate from everyone, right, Al-Qaeda at one stage, Hezbollah at one stage. Obviously, his hatred of the LGBT, which may have something to do with his own personal background.<sup>24</sup> (Juliette Kayyem, CNN National Security Analyst)

---

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Fox News Network (June 17, 2016), "New Info on Growing Florida Terror Investigation; Legal Experts on Alleged Conflicting Accounts From Wife of Florida Terrorists; New Questions About Fed Investigations Into Mateen; Trump, Clinton Plans to Fight Terror Examined; Media Coverage of Orlando Shooting Discussed," transcript, television broadcast, retrieved from [www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic](http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic).

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> CNN (June 17, 2016), "New Information About The Troubled Past Of The Man; President Obama Ordered Flags Lowered At Federal Offices Nationwide; What To Do In An Active Shooter Situation; Remembering The Victims; GOP Grapples With Idea Of Trump; Trump Campaigns In Houston; Some Republicans Looking For Ways To Block Trump; GOP Split, Worried About Trump; Can Anti-Trump Republicans Thwart Nomination?; Fmr. Pres. G.W. Bush Steps In To Help GOP Senators, transcript, television broadcast, retrieved from [www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic](http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic).

Having been involved with Isis or not, the quotation still functions as an ideology-based split between 'us' and 'them.' While Isis, Al-Qaeda, and Hezbollah represent the threatening terrorist 'other' that seeks to overthrow the stability of the 'us,' the LGBT is seen in light of the hate coming from the threatening other. Therefore, standing up for the LGBT community is aligned with the idea of defending the American embraced in-group. The discussion about whether there are ties to Isis or not is marginal as long as the perpetrator is seen as an out-group.

The Clinton Foundation has accepted millions of dollars from countries who espouse executing people because they're gay. I mean, I just think that that is beyond—I mean, empathy? That's disgusting. Disgusting, and frankly—Give the money back. You ought to give it to the people in Orlando. Give it to the LGBT community in Orlando. For heaven's sakes, have some decency here.<sup>25</sup> (Jeffrey Lord Nick Valencia)

As mentioned earlier, the ideological split has also led to political conflicts between the right and the left, particularly between the presidential candidates prior to the elections. The present quote expresses how the Clinton Foundation leans towards the 'other,' thereby implying that the Clintons—who are Democrats—do not view the 'other' in a traditional fashion, which entails belittling, bashing, and hating. 'Being easy on the 'other'' countries that purportedly export terrorism implicates the Democrats, undermines their efforts as politicians and discourse makers, and subvert their sense of 'Americanness.' All this is articulated within a discourse based on the ideological square. On the other hand, spending money is also made to represent an action that is best done to the benefit of the 'us'—the LGBT community. It symbolizes a decent action to lean inwards and favor the in-group.

## Conclusion

Throughout history, there have been discursive shifts viewing the *other* from a particular discursive prism. In the 1950s, emphasis was on color; in 1960s, race; 1990s, ethnicity; the 2000s, religion.<sup>26</sup> This study contends that the West's *Othering* has changed into a new discursive shift with the idea of 'Americanness'—articulated in citizenship and individuals capable of embracing America's core values. The notion of 'Americanness' hammers at whether one is American or un-American, and therefore, whether a part of the in-group or the out-group. This perception of the 'American citizen' transcends the political label and excludes the immigrant—a notion that is of exclusionary nature. The concepts of homophobia and immigration delineated throughout the article have established a new status of the American Muslim—one that is hateful of America's core values of liberty and tolerance, and new to an environment wherein values such as tolerance, openness, and freedom are cultivated and encouraged.

The interpretations of this study can be tersely expressed in what Boulahnane (2018) states, "the American Muslim identity and its 'pending' status in the American public space [alludes] to an incomplete process of integration of the American Muslims as both Muslims and Americans."<sup>27</sup> This article has attempted to probe into the various facets of Islamophobia. Boulahnane adds: "Islamophobia poses a threat not only to American Muslims but also to America's celebrated character—religious pluralism, which calls for a redefinition to the concept in light of the intensified censorship on Islam and Muslims in the American public space."<sup>28</sup> The present article has discussed the rising discourses of homophobia and immigration, which represents the intruding 'other'—one that is un-American and hateful of America's 'us' values.

<sup>25</sup> CNN (June 19, 2016), "Memorial, Vigil Underway For Shooting Victims; Lynch: Calls Shed Light On Killer's Motive For Attack; Colorado Gov. Slams Trump's Response To Orlando; Trump: U.S. Should Consider Profiling Muslims; Scandal in Oakland Police Force; Thousands Gather for Memorial and Vigil in Orlando," transcript, television broadcast, retrieved from [www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic](http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic).

<sup>26</sup> Kristin Sziarto, Anna Mansson McGinty and Caroline Seymour-Jorn (2014), "Diverse Muslims in a Racialized Landscape: Race, Ethnicity and Islamophobia in the American City of Milwaukee, Wisconsin," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 34, No. 1, pp. 1-21.

<sup>27</sup> Saad Boulahnane (2018), "A two-stage Islamophobia: The American Muslim Image between Integration and public 'estrangement' in Chapel Hill reporting," *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol. 2, No. 1, p. 91.

<sup>28</sup> Saad Boulahnane. (2018). "Ground Zero mosque in the context of America's post-9/11 religious pluralism: CDA of mainstream news media's coverage of the discursive event". *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*. 8 (2): 274.



## References

- Althusser, L., Balibar, E., Bidet, J. and Goshgarian, G. M. (2014), *On the Reproduction of Capitalism: Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*, London: Verso.
- Bierman, N. and Halper, E. (2016, June 13). "The Trump and Clinton responses to the Orlando shooting just reset the political norm," retrieved May 07, 2017, <http://www.latimes.com/politics/la-na-pol-clinton-trump-orlando--20160613-snap-story.html>.
- Boulahnane, S. (2018), "A two-stage Islamophobia: The American Muslim Image between Integration and public 'estrangement' in Chapel Hill reporting," *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 81-93.
- Boulahnane, S. (2018). "Ground Zero mosque in the context of America's post-9/11 religious pluralism: CDA of mainstream news media's coverage of the discursive event," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 253-280.
- CNN (August 11, 2010), Opinion Research. Poll, retrieved from <http://i2.cdn.turner.com/cnn/2010/images/08/11/re111a1a.pdf>.
- CNN (August 15, 2010), "Ground Zero Mosque Controversy; Pakistan Flood Disaster Far from Over; Looking Ahead in Pakistan; National Guard Vets Battle to Find Jobs; Spectators Killed in Off-Road Race in California; Finding New Tech Gadgets for School," transcript, television broadcast, retrieved from [www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic](http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic).
- CNN (August 17, 2010), "Dr. Laura Calls It Quits; Where Has Gulf Oil Gone?; Firestorm Grows Over Islamic Center Near Ground Zero," transcript, television broadcast, retrieved from [www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic](http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic).
- CNN (June 14, 2016), "Gay Nightclub Targeted in Orlando Terror Attack; Trump and Clinton at Odds Over Orlando Terror; New Details in Orlando Attack; Fact-Checking Trump's Fiery Speech on Orlando Shooting; Orlando Openly Gay Mayor Talks Shooting, LGBTQ," transcript, television broadcast, retrieved from [www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic](http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic).
- CNN (June 15, 2016), "Grand Jury To Consider Charges Against Gunman's Wife; Investigation; Sources: Killer's Wife Went With Him To Buy Ammunition; Med. Examiner On Entering The Club: 'Like Time Stopped'; When Love Was The Target of Hate; Dems Filibuster For Gun Control; FBI Issues Bulletins To Orlando Area Gay Clubs; Toddler's Body Recovered After Gator Attack," transcript, television broadcast, retrieved from [www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic](http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic).
- CNN (June 19, 2016), "Memorial, Vigil Underway For Shooting Victims; Lynch: Calls Shed Light On Killer's Motive For Attack; Colorado Gov. Slams Trump's Response To Orlando; Trump: U.S. Should Consider Profiling Muslims; Scandal in Oakland Police Force; Thousands Gather for Memorial and Vigil in Orlando," transcript, television broadcast, retrieved from [www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic](http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic).
- Cohen, L., Manion, L. and Morrison, K. (1980), *Research Methods in Education*, London: Groom Helm Ltd.
- Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) (2013), "Legislating fear: Islamophobia and its impact in the United States," retrieved from <http://www.cair.com/images/islamophobia/Legislating- Fear.pdf>.
- De Gregorio, E., Arcidiacono, F. and Padiglia, S. (2015), *Techniques D'analyse Qualitative: Le Logiciel Atls.ti*, Saarbrücken: Editions universitaires européennes.
- Eck, D. (2008), *On Common Ground: World Religions in America*, Cambridge: The Pluralism Project.

Fairclough, N. (1993), "Critical Discourse Analysis and the Marketization of Public Discourse: The Universities," *Discourse & Society*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 133-168.

Fairclough, N. (2013), *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*, London: Routledge.

Fox News Network (August 13, 2010), "Opinion dynamics," retrieved from [https://www.foxnews.com/projects/pdf/081310\\_MosquePoll.pdf](https://www.foxnews.com/projects/pdf/081310_MosquePoll.pdf).

Fox News Network (August 27, 2010), "Top Story," retrieved from [www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic](http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic).

Fox News Network (June 17, 2016), "New Info on Growing Florida Terror Investigation; Legal Experts on Alleged Conflicting Accounts From Wife of Florida Terrorists; New Questions About Fed Investigations Into Mateen; Trump, Clinton Plans to Fight Terror Examined; Media Coverage of Orlando Shooting Discussed," transcript, television broadcast, retrieved from [www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic](http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic).

Fox News Network (September 7, 2010), "Church to Burn Korans on 9/11," transcript, television broadcast, retrieved from [www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic](http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic).

Giordan, G. and Pace, E. (2014), *Religious Pluralism: Framing Religious Diversity in the Contemporary World*, Cham: Springer International Publishing.

IslamCity (2016), "Muslim organizations condemn killings in Orlando," retrieved February 07, 2017, from <http://www.islamicity.org/10355/muslim-organizations-condemn-killings-orlando/>.

Jackson, R. (2013) *Rethinking Religious Education and Plurality: Issues in Diversity and Pedagogy*.

Jones, R., Cox, D., Galston, W. and Dionne, E. J. (2011), "What It Means to Be American: Attitudes in an Increasingly Diverse America Ten Years After 9/11," *Brookings*, retrieved from <https://www.brookings.edu/events/what-it-means-to-be-american-new-poll-explores-attitudes-in-an-increasingly-diverse-america/>.

Martin, G. J. and Yurukoglu, A. (2017), "Bias in Cable News: Persuasion and Polarization," *American Economic Review*, Vol. 107, No. 9, 2565-2599.

Richardson, J. E. (2004), *(Mis)representing Islam: The racism and rhetoric of British broadsheet newspapers*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins Pub.

Saldaña, J. (2015), *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*, London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Sziarto, K., Mansson, A. M. and Seymour-Jorn, C. (January 02, 2014). "Diverse Muslims in a Racialized Landscape: Race, Ethnicity and Islamophobia in the American City of Milwaukee, Wisconsin," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 34, No. 1, 1-21.

Van Dijk, T. A. (2001), "Multidisciplinary Cda: A Plea for Diversity," in Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, London: Sage.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1995), "Discourse semantics and ideology," *Discourse & Society*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 243–289.

Wang, W. (2006), "Newspaper Commentaries on Terrorism in China and Australia: A Contrastive Genre Study," in Ulla Connor, Ed Nagelhout and William V. Rozycki (eds.), *Contrastive Rhetoric: Reaching to Intercultural Rhetoric*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.