

SPECIAL ISSUE

VOLUME 9 ISSUE 1

2024

DR JAN A. ALI
Special Issue Editor

ZULEYHA KESKIN
Editor-in-Chief

SULEYMAN SERTKAYA
Managing Editor

DAVID DRENNAN
Assistant Editor



Published online: April 2024



[Submit](#) your article to this journal



[View](#) related and/or other articles in this issue

Analysing ‘Jihad’ Rhetoric in the Australian Context

Anum Sikandar

To cite this article:

Sikandar, Anum. “Analysing ‘Jihad’ Rhetoric in the Australian Context.” *Australian Journal of Islamic Studies* 9, no. 1 (2024): 122-143.

ANALYSING ‘JIHAD’ RHETORIC IN THE AUSTRALIAN CONTEXT

Anum Sikandar*

Abstract: This paper focuses on how *jihad* – a term synonymous with ‘struggle’ in Islam – has been associated with and used in entirely different meanings in Australian newspapers. Orientalism permeates Australian newspapers even today and different media outlets tend to follow an agenda when presenting news. The media is a powerful tool and has the capacity to influence people’s perceptions and outlook towards any phenomenon. Australian newspapers’ representation of jihad in a particular context solidifies its meaning as a ‘holy war’ whereas the Qur’ān has an entirely different meaning for this concept. Jihad is used in articles that focus on terrorist activities carried out by Muslims, issues related to Muslim immigration and even when presenting news regarding counterterrorism measures adopted by the Australian government. However, as demonstrated in this article, the representation of these issues varies extensively across newspapers, with *The Australian* being a much more biased newspaper than the *Sydney Morning Herald*.

Keywords: *Jihad, The Australian, Sydney Morning Herald, terrorism, refugees, Australian Muslims, counterterrorism*

INTRODUCTION

Edward Said’s theory of Orientalism¹ has been instrumental in understanding Western perceptions of the Eastern side of the world and especially Islam. By carefully analysing academic texts and literary works, Said established that the West created a perception about Muslims that was not grounded in reality. However, this perception has been repeated so many times throughout history that eventually it stopped becoming objectionable. Said concluded the repeated representation of Islam and Muslims in a specific frame have not only been established through literary works in the West but also through the media. While such stereotypes may be contradicted by historical facts, they arguably remain prevalent and are amplified even today.²

* Anum Sikandar is a PhD researcher in the School of Humanities and Communication Arts at Western Sydney University. This article is a combination of parts from the literature review, methodology, theory and analysis chapters of her PhD dissertation. She is currently working as a Human Research Ethics Officer.

¹ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1995).

² Ibid.

One of the most powerful communication tools available today is the media. It not only influences how we look at problems but also has the power to highlight or ignore certain issues. The news is generally not only presented but also created.³ Discourses surrounding Muslims and specifically jihad, which is the focus of this research, have existed for many years, which is why it is difficult to question why jihad is synonymous with a holy war when its meanings are quite different in the Qur'ān⁴ and Sunnah.⁵ Maulana Maududi⁶ defines jihad as “to exert one’s utmost endeavour in promoting a cause.”⁷ He elaborates this meaning in his exegesis of the Qur'ān and explains that jihad meant to employ one’s extreme energy for attainment of a goal. It is not a synonym for holy war but has a far wider and deeper meaning in Islam and covers every kind of effort. A *mujahid* (one who struggles on behalf of Islam) is one who is “always after the achievement of his ideal, plans for it, propagates it with his tongue and pen and struggles for it with his heart and body.”⁸

For example, Isakhan⁹ discovered that, as early as 1878, *The Argus* had published a newspaper article claiming a holy war between Islam and Christianity was inevitable. Similarly, when Jack Shaheen¹⁰ investigated more than 900 films and visual representations of Muslims and Arabs in Western media, he concluded that Muslims have been presented as barbaric, fundamentalists, greedy, rapists and uncivilised in more than 95% of the surveyed films and printed newspaper cartoons. This shows that the discourses prevalent in the media nowadays regarding Muslims being terrorists and fundamentalists is not a new marvel.

This research aims to look at how jihad has been used in the two major Australian newspapers – the *Sydney Morning Herald* (SMH) and *The Australian*. It is important to see how these newspapers present their news on jihad and whether there is a difference in their reporting, considering that *The Australian* is owned by News Corp and the SMH is owned by Fairfax Media.

METHODOLOGY

This research uses a content analysis method that investigates the occurrence of words, phrases and themes in data. The fundamental assumption in content analysis is that when words

³ Edward Said, *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World*, rev. ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1997).

⁴ Muslims’ holy book that was sent down by God to Prophet Muhammad (pbuh).

⁵ The words, actions and life of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh).

⁶ Maududi has been considered one of the most significant Islamic political scholars of the 21st century. John Esposito and Emad el-din Shahin, *The Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁷ Syed Abul-Ala Maududi, *Jihad in Islam* (Beirut: The Holy Koran Publishing House, 2006), 5.

⁸ Syed Abul-Ala Maududi, *The Meaning of the Quran* (Lahore: Islamic Publications, 2017), vol. 1, 160.

⁹ Benjamin Isakhan, “Orientalism and the Australian News Media: Origins and Questions,” in *Islam and the Australian News Media*, ed. Halim Rane, Jacque Ewart and Muhamad Abdalla (Carlton: Melbourne University Publishing, 2010).

¹⁰ Jack G. Shaheen, “Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 588, no. 1 (2003).

and phrases are classified into the same categories, they share the same meanings.¹¹ In a quantitative content analysis method, the researcher needs to be aware of the limitations surrounding their research so they can extract the concept from those limits. After that, numeric measurements, such as a word, number or frequency, is assigned. The researcher then observes and chooses a software tool or manual process to analyse their research. While quantitative measures can provide some insights, it is equally necessary to analyse the text in its own context to retain its meaning. This is a qualitative content analysis that focuses less on the numeric data and more on the meanings embedded within the data.¹²

This research uses content analysis as a quantitative and qualitative phenomenon. This article analyses the frequency and context of jihad in the newspaper articles. The researcher has used purposive sampling because it is significant to look at the representation of jihad within a certain timeframe. The period selected was May 2016 to December 2019. This timeframe was selected because of many domestic and international events that contributed to an increased usage of the term jihad during this time. The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) was creating havoc around the world at this time and Australia's security concerns regarding overseas and local terrorism were increasing significantly along with issues surrounding refugees and national border breaches.

While analysing the Australian newspaper representation of jihad, the researcher found that other important words like jihadism, jihadi, jihadis, jihadist and jihadists were prevalent in many articles. These words were also included in the content analysis as they are related to the use of the original word jihad and used in a similar manner.

The two Australian newspapers that were selected for the content analysis were *The Australian* and the SMH. These newspapers were selected because *The Australian* is the only national daily newspaper of Australia, read by about 4.4 million people, and the SMH has been one of the most widely read newspapers, read by about 8.4 million people.¹³ Another reason these newspapers were selected was that they are owned by different corporations and it is important to analyse whether there is a difference in news reporting.

Around 1,108 articles in *The Australian* from the specified timeframe use the words jihad, jihadism, jihadist, jihadists, jihadi and jihadis in various contexts. Around 26 of these articles use the word jihad as the name of a person, mainly the New South Wales senator Jihad Dib. These articles were excluded from the analysis and word count. All 'Letters to the Editor' were also excluded from the analysis on the basis that these pieces represent public opinion rather than being from the newspaper. However, the frequency of words like jihad used in these Letters to the Editor was included in the word count because it proves how word usage can be picked up by the public, who use it in a similar context as the newspaper. Apart from that, *The*

¹¹ Satu Elo and Helvi Kyngäs, "The Qualitative Content Analysis Process," *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 62, no 1 (2007): 108.

¹² Michael Neal, "Media Content Analysis: Qualitative Methods," in *The Oxford Handbook of Media Psychology*, ed. Karen Dill (Oxford University Press, 2012).

¹³ "News Readership: 97 Per Cent of Australians Continue to Consume News," Roy Morgan, November 21, 2022, accessed March 25, 2023, <https://www.roymorgan.com/findings/9121-thinknewsbrands-readership-september-2022>.

Australian used the word jihad around 516 times, jihadism 107 times, jihadi 217 times, jihadis 257 times, jihadist 631 times and jihadists 715 times. Overall, jihad or any of its equivalent terms were used a total of 2,470 times in 1,340 days of news. This demonstrates that, on average, these words were used two or more times every day.

Around 342 articles in the SMH from the specified timeframe use the words jihad, jihadism, jihadi, jihadis, jihadist and jihadists; 72 of these articles use the word as the name of a person, mainly Jihad Dib. One reason for the extensive advertisement of Jihad Dib could be that SMH is a New South Wales regional newspaper and he is a senator from New South Wales. All these articles were excluded from the analysis and word count. All 'Opinion - Letters' pieces were also excluded from the analysis on the basis that these represent public opinion rather than coming from the newspaper. However, the frequency of words like jihad used in these Opinion - Letters was included in the word count because it proves how word usage can be picked up by the public, who use it in a similar manner as the newspaper. The word jihad was used 107 times, jihadism was used 20 times, jihadi was used 47 times, jihadis was used 42 times, jihadist 113 times and jihadists 129 times. On a cursory look, this demonstrates that jihad was not used as extensively in the SMH as it had been in *The Australian*.

CONTEXT OF THE WORD JIHAD IN AUSTRALIAN NEWSPAPERS

After the initial frequency analysis, the next step was to investigate the themes surrounding these articles. These articles were analysed in Microsoft Excel. Initially, the articles were analysed according to the frequency of words like jihad, jihadi, jihadis, jihadist, jihadists and jihadism. Once the frequency of these words was found, the next step was to look at the articles' content to determine their context. Most of the articles focus on immigration, terrorism (local and international), open border policies and the refugee crisis, security and counterterrorism policies, and the physical and social characteristics of jihadists living in Australia and overseas. Most of these themes are also overlapping, i.e., most of the articles had content related to more than one theme. This paper focuses mainly on articles that were targeted towards the Muslims living in Australia directly, i.e., local Muslim terrorists, the refugee crisis and counterterrorism policies. This research does not analyse how issues of refugees, terrorism and security have been discussed in Australian newspapers generally; rather, the analysis focuses on how jihad is used in Australian newspapers. Nevertheless, ironically, almost all the articles analysed used jihad in the frames of terrorism, border breaches, refugee crisis and the government's responsive counterterrorism strategies.

The SMH and *The Australian* were also analysed separately to investigate whether there was a difference in reporting. It was observed that both newspapers use jihad in similar frames but the overall number of articles in the SMH was significantly lower than *The Australian*. It was also observed that many incidents that were extensively covered by *The Australian* were not given much coverage in the SMH. The SMH also tended to present news in a more neutral tone than *The Australian*. It has been noted that, even when news regarding Muslims is presented in a neutral or positive frame, jihad is exclusively used in the context of terrorism.

The articles focusing on local Muslim terrorists, the refugee crisis and the government's counterterrorism policies are discussed next.

LOCAL JIHADISTS

Those Muslims who were either convicted of terrorism or caught by security agencies because of their questionable actions are mostly referred to as jihadists in the newspapers. It was also observed that these people are usually mentioned along with their family and immigration background and the reader is also often informed about the suburbs where they live. *The Australian* published around 276 articles focusing on local Muslim terrorists in a jihad context and around 303 articles focus on their social settings, i.e., their families, lives, schools, places of work, etc. However, only 59 articles focus on local Muslim terrorists in a jihad context and 104 focus on their social settings in the SMH. Most of the time, their places of worship are mentioned along with a reference to religion. The reader is also generally reminded of the overseas terrorism cases in these articles to make a connection between the international and local incidents. At the same time, most articles also remind the readers of the problems with open border policies and the refugee influx. A few of the cases describing the jihadists living in Australia have been analysed below.

The Australian

Special reference was made to where these terrorists resided, including mention of their families, their country of origin and the importance of closing Australian borders to terrorists. For example, when a 16-year-old boy was discovered by security as being an ISIS recruit, the reader was also informed that he boxed at Auburn Gallipoli Mosque.¹⁴

Similarly, when Farhad Jabbar's sister was killed in a US air strike while she was serving ISIS, the newspaper applauded the fact that her death means "one less terrorist in the world."¹⁵ Because ISIS was gaining momentum during this time and actively recruiting, the jihadist feelings of regret were also presented as significant news, which reminded the public of the consequences of siding with the terrorists.¹⁶

Hamid Al-Qudsi's trial was covered by *The Australian*. He was a disability pensioner residing in Sydney's south-west and was caught organising to send seven men to Syria to allegedly join ISIS.¹⁷ The newspaper also reported that the accused had two wives.¹⁸ There were continuous references to how Islamic clerics are responsible for radicalising young Muslims in Australia and overseas. "Teen plotter 'corrupted by mad clerics'" focuses on how the teenaged ANZAC day terrorist plotter who wanted to behead a police officer was inspired by radical sermons.¹⁹ These articles present a damning image of not only Muslim clerics but

¹⁴ Rushton Gina, "No Bail for Anzac Day Suspect," *The Australian*, May 6, 2016.

¹⁵ Brendan Nicholson, "Jihadi Bride, No. 1 Terrorist 'Bombed into Oblivion,'" *The Australian*, May 6, 2016.

¹⁶ "Jihadi Cries Tears of Regret," *The Australian*, June 28, 2016.

¹⁷ "Accused Jihadi 'Wanted to Help,'" *The Australian*, July 8, 2016.

¹⁸ Simone Koob, "Six Years for Recruiter who sent Jihadis to Syria," *The Australian*, September 2, 2016.

¹⁹ Pia Akerman, "Teen Plotter 'Corrupted by Mad Clerics,'" *The Australian*, September 6, 2016.

also mosque, a place of worship in Islam, which was represented in opposition to the Western values of tolerance and democracy.

When two Muslim teenagers were caught by ASIO and the police for suspected terrorist activity, *The Australian* focused extensively on how difficult it was for ASIO “to keep us safe from terrorists because their number is increasing every day.”²⁰ The newspaper focused on how the teenagers were caught in Bankstown, how difficult it would be for their mother to assimilate back into society and how important it was for the radicalised families to be scrutinised by security agencies for the sake of security and safety of the general Australian population.²¹ All this information creates an image in the reader’s eyes about Muslim refugees, their backward social status, their radicalism and their love for jihad.

During May and June 2017, many terrorist attacks occurred in Europe with the most significant being the Manchester Arena Attack. *The Australian* constantly focused on the proximity of the jihadi threat at home. When a Chinese national was killed by a jihadist terrorist in Brighton on 6 June 2017, the reader was provided with great details about the terrorist. Yacub Khayre belonged to a refugee family from Somalia. He was addicted to drugs and had a significant violent criminal record. The reader was again reminded of the dangers of Muslim refugee immigration and open borders.²² The newspaper emphasised that Muslim communities need to do more to combat terrorism emerging from their religion and “apologise” for the actions of these terrorists. Around the same time, an article titled “We need to talk about theology” used the word jihad and its derivatives 30 times and focused extensively on how the jihadist movement was a religious movement and Islam was the source of all evil.²³

The rampage in Flinders Street, Melbourne, in December 2017 was also covered by *The Australian* within the ‘jihad’ framework. Articles like “Call it for what it is: An Islamist terror attack” elaborated on the connections between Islam and terrorism and the significance of a tighter border control policy.²⁴ *The Australian* regularly updated its readers regarding any terrorist activity occurring in the country even after ISIS started to diminish in power. When a Bangladeshi Muslim student stabbed her host in Melbourne, her intentions in carrying out the attack were also presented as a ‘jihad’ act.²⁵

In November 2018, Somali-born Hasan Khalif murdered a beloved café owner in Melbourne in broad daylight. Peter Dutton, from a state government position, asked the Muslim community to contribute and play their part in helping the security agencies find the ‘jihadi’ terrorist – “‘Dob in a jihadi’ call to Muslims.”²⁶ The Prime Minister also called this a ‘radical

²⁰ Paul Maley, “Cops get Teens Wielding Bayonets,” *The Australian*, October 13, 2016.

²¹ “Australian Values are Anathema to Teen Jihadists,” *The Australian*, October 15, 2016.

²² Chris Kenny, “It’s Time to tell the Truth on Radicalised Refugees,” *The Australian*, June 7, 2017.

²³ Jonathan Cole, “We need to Talk about Theology,” *The Australian*, June 10, 2017.

²⁴ Kenny Chris, “Call it for what it is: An Islamist Terror Attack,” *The Australian*, December 23, 2017.

²⁵ Mark Schliebs, John Ferguson and Amanda Hodge, “Middle-class Extremists Answer Call,” *The Australian*, February 17, 2018.

²⁶ John Ferguson and Samantha Hutchinson, “‘Dob in a Jihadi’ Call to Muslims,” *The Australian*, November 12, 2018.

Islamist' act: "PM right to call out violence of radical Islamists."²⁷ *The Australian* reminded its readers again that it was important for the country's officials to protect everyone from immigrants – "Jihadis must be tracked or deported or they'll kill."²⁸ In addition, the newspaper informed its readers that Hassan Ali lived in Meadow Heights in Melbourne, had ties with the Hume Islamic Youth Centre whose imam (prayer leader) regularly criticised Prime Minister Scott Morrison, had a 'radicalised' wife and had communications with Khalid Sharouf – another wanted Islamist terrorist.²⁹

All these articles published by *The Australian* follow a pattern in which any terrorist event uses the word jihad and its derivatives. Muslims are blamed for the incident, the community is asked to do more and the terrorist's personal, religious and social history are presented to show correlation between their actions and religious affairs. The audience is also informed about the dangers of opening the borders and the consequences of returning 'jihadis'. All these articles solidify the use of the word jihad as not only a negative concept but one that is linked with terrorists. All the above articles give the impression that Muslims should be feared and kept at a distance. They are an anomaly in our system who either do not understand or resist Western or liberal democratic values. Such discourses deeply impact Muslim communities who consider Australia their home. It also has a negative effect on interfaith relations, social cohesion and the overall wellbeing of the population in Australia. In a study concerned with finding solutions to radicalisation in Australia, Tahiri and Grossman also learnt that Muslims strongly disapprove of the mainstream news reporting on Islam and Muslims, which has created feelings of isolation, victimisation and frustration. The participants in the study believed that problematic news media coverage on Muslims living in Australia not only create social division but also lead to Islamophobia.³⁰

Sydney Morning Herald

Like *The Australian*, the SMH was also engaged with the issue of local terrorists who were responsible for disrupting and terrorising a peaceful society and belonged to Muslim origins. However, as has been mentioned above, jihad and its other associated terms were used around significantly lower numbers than they were used in *The Australian*. Nevertheless, the term was repeatedly used negatively and mostly associated with terrorism in SMH as well. This demonstrates that repeated usage of any term in a particular context creates an interpretation that is automatically accepted to be correct. The problem is not that what the newspapers are

²⁷ Kevin Donnelly, "PM Right to Call out Violence of Radical Islamists," *The Australian*, November 12, 2018.

²⁸ Jennifer Oriel, "Jihadis must be Tracked or Deported or they'll Kill," *The Australian*, November 12, 2018.

²⁹ "Islamist Terrorism must be Confronted, not Denied," *The Australian*, November 13, 2018; Greg Sheridan and Chip Le Grand, "Sheikh tells 'Bloody PM': 'Blame Police... not us,'" *The Australian*, November 13, 2018; John Ferguson, "Radicalised 'Wife' Refuses to Cooperate," *The Australian*, November 13, 2018.

³⁰ Michele Grossman and Hussein Tahiri, "Community Perceptions of Radicalisation and Violent Extremism: An Australian Perspective," *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism* 10, no. 1 (2015), <https://doi.org/10.1080/18335330.2015.1028773>.

saying about jihad is incorrect; the problem is that they are not trying to correct it. This section will delve into the SMH's reportage of so-called local 'jihadists.'

Like *The Australian*, the SMH updated its readers on murderer Farhad Jabbar, whose sister was killed in a US air strike: "Sister of Parramatta shooter killed in US strike."³¹ A piece on Neil Prakash – the Australian jihadist recruiter – soon followed: "Another jihadist will 'fill that void.'"³²

Similarly, when Hamid Al Qudsi was sentenced for his links with terrorism, the newspaper informed its readers about his job, address and religion. The reader was also informed that he was a disability pensioner living in Sydney's south-west and was facing at least six years of jail time for his actions.³³ The SMH also applauded the decision when he was jailed for six years in South Nowra jail.³⁴

The SMH covered the terrorist plot by Lebanese Muslim brothers to bomb an Etihad Airways flight, which was foiled by the police. The newspaper focused on how the Australian immigration department was working hard to ensure our safety, but it was concerning that a 'bomb tool kit' was parcelled from Turkey to Australia.³⁵ The foiled terrorist attack nevertheless proved the global reach of Islamic terrorism.

When a Melbourne teenager, Jake Bilardi, carried out a suicide attack in Iraq, the SMH informed its readers that he lived in Craigieburn, was a school dropout and was a convert to Islam,³⁶ reinforcing the by-now entrenched notion that Islam teaches and promotes violence. As the article stated, not only did Jake Bilardi change his name to Jihadi Jack but he then went to Iraq to carry out a suicide attack. This article typifies the newspaper's negative representation of the word jihad as well as of Islam.

The Bourke Street terrorist attack was also covered by the SMH and represented as a 'jihad' motivated incident. However, there is a difference in reporting of the incident. While *The Australian* focuses more on how the terrorist visited the local Hume Islamic Youth Centre, which was a mosque whose imam regularly criticised the government, the SMH focuses more on how the centre denied having any links with terrorism despite the perpetrator's visit to the place.³⁷ At the same time, articles like "As a Muslim, I refuse to carry the burden of the Bourke St violence" focus more on how Muslims have been defending themselves against terrorism for 17 years now. They are always told to 'combat radicalism' and 'take responsibility' for the

³¹ David Wroe, "Sister of Parramatta Shooter Killed in US Air Strike," *Sydney Morning Herald*, May 5, 2016.

³² Wroe David, "Another Jihadist will 'Fill that Void,'" *Sydney Morning Herald*, May 7, 2016.

³³ Melaine Kembrey, "Terror Supporter Faces at least 6 Years in Jail," *Sydney Morning Herald*, September 2, 2016.

³⁴ Angus Thompson, "IS Recruiter charged over Sydney Plot," *Sydney Morning Herald*, November 13, 2019.

³⁵ David Wroe, "Tentacles of Terror," *Sydney Morning Herald*, August 5, 2017; David Wroe, "Border Forces 'Soul Searching' over Bomb Parcel that was Mailed from Turkey," *Sydney Morning Herald*, August 5, 2017.

³⁶ Tammy Mills, "Australian Teenager Lured by American," *Sydney Morning Herald*, November 3, 2017.

³⁷ Liam Mannix and Erin Pearson, "Divide between Government and Youth Centre," *Sydney Morning Herald*, November 14, 2018.

sake of national security.³⁸ These types of articles focus more on how important it is not to blame the entire Muslim community just because of the actions of one. Muslims in Australia are repeatedly asked to prove their allegiance and loyalty as most of their positive contributions are seldom highlighted by the mass media.³⁹

However, other articles like “Research paints a chilling portrait of what average jihadist is like” focus on how around 173 Australian residents have been charged with terrorism and they are usually from Lebanon, employed with a blue-collar job and have no mental health issues.⁴⁰ These types of articles reinforce the image of Muslims as deviant and dangerous beings who are a potential threat to peaceful Australian society.

Even though some of the articles in the SMH mention Muslims in a positive framework and criticise those who blame the general Muslim population for the acts of the few, typically ‘jihad’ is used to demonstrate an act of the terrorist. The meanings of jihad as a terrorist’s action have been so deeply entrenched in the media’s narrative that no one questions its authenticity. While the frequency of this word is significantly lower than *The Australian*’s, the meaning and usage of the word remains similar.

MIGRATION, REFUGEES, JIHADI BRIDES AND OPEN BORDERS

From May 2016 to December 2019, many articles appeared in both newspapers that focused on issues with Muslim refugees entering and living in Australia. The wars and political crisis in the Middle East had forced many people to flee their homes and countries and newspapers like *The Australian* focused regularly on all the problems associated with letting in jihadi Muslims. It was also noted that articles surrounding issues with Muslim immigration increased manyfold after any terrorist activity around the world, such as the Nice attacks, the Orlando shooting or the Manchester Arena attacks.

Overall, around 229 articles focused on immigration and around 45 focused on jihadi brides in *The Australian*. The problems with Muslim refugees were also highlighted extensively after the fall of ISIS when the jihadi families tried to come back home and around 139 articles focused on jihadi kids and the fate of the returning jihadis. The SMH also focused on these issues, but again, its frequency was much lower than that of *The Australian*. Around 36 articles focused on immigration issues, 15 focused on jihadi brides and 28 focused on returning jihadi families and the jihadi kids. Some of these articles are explained below.

³⁸ Randa Abdel-Fateh, “As a Muslim I Refuse to carry the Burden of Bourke St Violence,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, November 16, 2018.

³⁹ Halim Rane, Jacqui Ewart and Mohamad Abdallah, *Islam and the Australian News Media* (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 2010).

⁴⁰ Nick O’Malley, “Research Paints Chilling Portrait of what Average Jihadist is like,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, November 21, 2019.

The Australian

The Australian focused on the refugee crisis and problem with Muslim immigration extensively after the Nice attacks in Paris, France. It regularly published articles like “Multiculturalism has not worked in Europe, and it’s not Islamophobic to discuss it.”⁴¹ This article argued that Muslim immigrants were a nuisance to the European world as they would never accept Western values of democracy, freedom and tolerance. *The Australian* reminded its readers that around “2000 refugees have arrived from Syria”⁴² and the security agencies of Australia were taking all measures to ensure terrorism did not occur within its borders. It has generally been noted that *The Australian* presents news in national security frames, especially after a terrorist attack carried out by ISIS. The notions of Muslims being deviant and dangerous terrorists who do not understand the modern Western values of democracy and tolerance are continuously reinforced in all the articles published in the newspaper. These notions are notoriously like the Orientalist notions of the past where Muslims were considered exotic, strange and threatening others who were a menace to Christianity and the West.⁴³

Muslim jihadists were routinely referred to about their immigration status and social backgrounds. For example, an article published on 13 September 2016, titled “Terror threat persists from twin towers to the suburbs,” did not only focus on the stabbing attack in Melbourne but also focused on the personal details of Ahsas Khan, a 22-year-old Australian - born alleged terrorist of Bangladeshi descent and how he oddly never appeared on the counterterrorism radar.⁴⁴

As ISIS began to decline, the issue of Muslims escaping war ridden countries became a severe problem. Even though Europe shouldered much of the migration crisis, *The Australian* regularly reminded its readers of the consequences of accepting Muslim refugees, such as increased terrorism, the threat of jihadists and jihadism, and Muslim resistance to assimilation in a liberal Australian society.⁴⁵ An article titled “‘Refujihad’ here as traitors return with plans to kill us”⁴⁶ reported that the only aim of jihadists was to come to countries like Australia to kill innocent civilians. The newspaper not only focused on the return of the jihadis to Australia but also to countries close to Australia such as Indonesia and Malaysia. Catchy headlines like “Security risks are stranded overseas,”⁴⁷ which revolve around the immigration department’s cancellation of the passports of around 210 potential jihadists, are common. *The Australian* is also critical of the United Nations Global Compact for Migration campaign. In addition to

⁴¹ Gerard Henderson, “Multiculturalism has not Worked in Europe, and it’s not Islamophobic to Discuss it,” *The Australian*, July 30, 2016.

⁴² Chip Le Grand, “Terror Checks behind Slow Syrian Intake,” *The Australian*, August 13, 2016.

⁴³ Saïd, *Orientalism*.

⁴⁴ “Terror Threat Persists from Twin Towers to the Suburbs,” *The Australian*, September 13, 2016.

⁴⁵ “Stopping Terror at the Border,” *The Australian*, January 17, 2017.

⁴⁶ Jennifer Oriel, “‘Refujihad’ here as Traitors Return with Plans to Kill Us,” *The Australian*, May 15, 2017.

⁴⁷ Paul Maley, “Security Risks are Stranded Overseas,” *The Australian*, October 17, 2017.

regularly updating its readers about the dangers of open borders, it also asks Australians to stand firm against the Compact – “Why Australia needs to stand firm and protect its borders.”⁴⁸

The high-profile case of Shamima Begum – a jihadi bride – was presented by *The Australian* as an example of the problem of returning jihadis in the broader immigration debate. The paper informs readers that, even though she had an infant with her, Begum had no remorse about the barbaric acts of ISIS and the beheadings.⁴⁹ The newspaper applauds the British government’s decision to ban her from returning while the Australian Department of Home Affairs proposed a bill that would also ban female jihadis from returning.⁵⁰

The number of terrorist attacks by ISIS diminished greatly in 2019 compared to the previous years; however, the concern for the returning jihadis and especially their children increased significantly. *The Australian* informs its readers there were about 70 Australian women and children stranded overseas because of their connections with the terrorists and, even though the US was working towards bringing the jihadi children back, the Australian government was concerned about their return. In “Integrating caliphate children,”⁵¹ the paper expresses concern about the difficulty of reintegration into Australian society faced by the ‘jihadi kids.’ When the Law Council of Australia recommended that the jihadi children be returned to the country, the newspaper is extremely critical – “If you reject our values then this isn’t your home.”⁵²

Reportage on the problem of jihadi brides and returning jihadis intensified after the death of ISIS leader Baghdadi. *The Australian* was adamant that Australians must not pity any person, adult or child who had any connection with ISIS. Articles like “Jihadi families going ‘home’ just part of the ISIS plan” portray the refugee families of ISIS as potential jihadists and how the families of ISIS jihadists played an important role in carrying out the ISIS agenda across the globe. They should not be pitied now that their leader is dead.⁵³

The newspaper’s rhetoric and agenda are clear when we analyse these articles. All these and other articles not only have an Orientalist theme attached but also focus on delivering a particular agenda, i.e., the Muslim threat needs to be contained and curtailed.

Sydney Morning Herald

Once again, the SMH is concerned about the phenomenon of returning jihadis but it was not a popular issue for the newspaper. The problem of Muslim immigration and migration is highlighted only in the context of an important international event such as the fall of Mosul, the Manchester Arena attack or the counterterrorism bill proposal. Nevertheless, this

⁴⁸ Douglas Murray, “Why Australia needs to Stand Firm and Protect its Borders,” *The Australian*, August 4, 2018.

⁴⁹ Jaccquelin Magnay, “Jihadi Bride banned from Returning Home,” *The Australian*, February 21, 2019.

⁵⁰ Mark Schliebs, “West gets Tough on Women of Terror,” *The Australian*, February 21, 2019.

⁵¹ “Integrating Caliphate Children,” *The Australian*, June 26, 2019.

⁵² Thomas Jason, “If you Reject our Values then this isn’t your Home,” *The Australian*, July 17, 2019.

⁵³ Carroll Jacinta, “Jihadi Families going ‘Home’ just part of the ISIS Plan,” *The Australian*, October 29, 2019.

newspaper regularly represents jihad in the framework of terrorism and ISIS. These meanings are repeated so often in the media that no one dares to question their authenticity.

As the situation in Mosul deteriorated, the SMH raised the threat represented by the returning jihadis. The article “High alert for foreign fighter threat as Islamic State starts to crumble in Mosul” states that the Australian jihadists who were fighting in Mosul were also a security concern for Australia. They present the phenomenon of the returning ‘jihadists’ as a grave concern for the country, given how difficult it would be for them to assimilate back into society with their mindset.⁵⁴ When the counterterrorism bill was proposed in the country, the newspaper reminded its readers that, even though there is a proposition that the ‘jihadist’ would be stripped of their citizenship if acquitted, this would only happen if the accused was a dual national. Otherwise, Australia would have no other option than to permit their return.⁵⁵

Shamima Begum’s case was also covered by this newspaper with a ‘jihadi bride’ theme. Articles like “Don’t excuse women as victims on the jihadi frontline” provide a detailed explanation of why the jihadi brides should not be trusted and why terrorists should not be allowed to return.⁵⁶ Other articles like “Bring my family home: IS recruit”⁵⁷ and “What should Australia do with the children of Islamic State?”⁵⁸ focus on how the ‘jihadists’ now craved that their kids and families be allowed to return to Australia.

Even though the frequency of these issues is significantly low, the use of jihad as a term synonymous with terrorism, radicalism and extremism is prevalent. This exclusive representation of jihad in a terrorism frame is problematic as it solidifies the argument that jihad is an act that is practised by the terrorists. However, as has been mentioned above, jihad in Islam is related to struggle and is a much deeper concept than an action that permits Muslims to kill and slaughter infidels. A few examples of jihad include hard work to achieve one’s goals, struggle for noble causes like establishing charity organisations or orphanages, promoting peace and harmony through teachings and writings, and helping and being kind to others. The religious reasoning made for jihad to spread Islam is closely related to a Muslim’s duty to not only spread the word of God but also to establish a just society.⁵⁹

DOMESTIC COUNTERTERRORISM POLICIES

Apart from presenting all the news on terrorism and jihadi Muslims, both newspapers also regularly updated their audiences regarding the steps taken by the government to ensure

⁵⁴ Daniel Flitton and Deborah Snow, “High Alert for Foreign Fighter Threat as Islamic State starts to Crumbles in Mosul,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, October 22, 2016.

⁵⁵ David Wroe, “Unwanted Man: Citizenship Case Exposes Flaws,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, January 5, 2019.

⁵⁶ Lydia Khalil, “Don’t Excuse Women as Victims on Jihadi Frontline,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, February 23, 2019.

⁵⁷ David Wroe, “Other Various Articles like ‘Bring my Family Home: IS Recruit,’” *Sydney Morning Herald*, Apr 1, 2019.

⁵⁸ Erin Pearson, David Wroe and Josh Dye, “What should Australia do with the Children of Islamic State?” *Sydney Morning Herald*, April 5, 2019.

⁵⁹ John Esposito, “Islam and Political Violence,” *Religions* 6, no. 3 (2014), <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel6031067>.

Australia is kept safe from the terrorism menace. Again, it was noted that their frequency increased after any terrorist incident to satisfy their readers that the government is doing its part in keeping the country safe and peaceful. There were around 159 articles in the SMH that focused on domestic politics and the counterterrorism policies of the government. However, *The Australian* had around 659 such articles. All these articles use jihad or other similar terminologies in a terrorist frame. A few of these articles from both newspapers are analysed below.

The Australian

The news related to counterterrorism was varied in *The Australian*. Sometimes they were applauded while other times agencies like ASIO were asked to do more to strengthen their security policies. If any high-ranking official was ‘soft on terrorism’ they were ridiculed and scorned.⁶⁰ As mentioned above, news related to counterterrorism measures and policies became more frequent, especially in the event of a terrorist incident overseas. Articles like “Coalition vows no release for jihadis”⁶¹ focus on the concerns of Australian law enforcement about home-grown radicals in the wake of the Orlando shooting. Another article “ANZAC day plotter claims he has renounced jihad” describes the sad journey of a teenager living in Sydney who had plotted to behead a police officer and reiterates the proximity of the threat and the significance of Australia’s security policies.⁶²

The Australian’s regular reference to local terrorist incidents like the Lindt Café Siege served to keep the memory fresh among its readers. Articles like “Are we better prepared for future terror attacks?” analyses also the Lindt Café Siege and reminds readers that jihadists are living among us.⁶³ Various articles praise the security policies implemented by ASIO and their secret operations against the jihadists, which had “thwarted 11 terror attacks in the past two and a half years”⁶⁴ and how the security policies should be evolved along with the advancement of terrorism techniques.⁶⁵ Another similar article “Jihadi wannabes stopped at airports” informs the reader that more than a dozen Australians were stopped at airports because they wanted to travel to high-risk countries like Syria to advance their jihadist agendas.⁶⁶ Such articles reassure readers of the innovative techniques adopted by the New South Wales Police to combat terrorism and terrorists in the region.

Articles like “Enlightenment is of little interest to most Muslims” reinforce the newspaper’s rhetoric that Muslims are connected with terrorism, terrorism is synonymous with jihadism and the solution to all this menace is stricter security protocols in the country and tighter

⁶⁰ “Brandis goes over the Top,” *The Australian*, May 17, 2016.

⁶¹ Paul Maley, “Coalition Vows no Release for Jihadis,” *The Australian*, June 14, 2016.

⁶² Pia Akerman, “ANZAC Day Plotter Claims he has Renounced Jihad,” *The Australian*, August 2, 2016.

⁶³ “Are we better Prepared for Future Terror Attacks?” *The Australian*, August 19, 2016.

⁶⁴ Caroline Overington, “West Introduces Iron-fist Security as Terrorists Target Christmas,” *The Australian*, December 22, 2016.

⁶⁵ Jason Thomas, “Counter Measures and the Evolution of DIY Terrorism,” *The Australian*, December 23, 2016.

⁶⁶ Paul Maley, “Jihadi Wannabes Stopped at Airports,” *The Australian*, September 13, 2017.

immigration laws.⁶⁷ As the ISIS threat began to diminish around the world, the newspaper informed its audience more about the threat of the returning ‘jihadis’ and the need for the Australian government and security agencies to tighten border protection to ensure that no ‘jihadi’ terrorist sets foot in this country. “Slam the door shut on returning jihadis” (1 February 2018) focuses on the success of Australia’s border protection policies.⁶⁸ Other articles inform the reader that the federal budget has allocated 40 million dollars to the Australian Secret Service to help it monitor the terrorists in Malaysia and Indonesia, as these countries are close to home.⁶⁹

In December 2018, Donald Trump decided to bring the American troops back home from Syria. This was widely regarded as unwise and immoral as the terrorism menace had not subsided there. Even though Australian security agencies were trying their best to keep us safe, they will have to step up, considering America’s withdrawal.⁷⁰ The newspaper also reminds its readers about the complex modern technology used by the terrorists and Al Qaeda’s plan to use commercial jets for terrorism. All these matters were a major security concern for Australia.⁷¹

In March 2019, *The Australian* lauded the contributions of the Australian Signals Directorate in fighting ISIS and curtailing the menace of jihadism through its innovative cyber security technologies.⁷² The newspaper also supported the bill proposed by Peter Dutton that banned Australian overseas ‘jihadis’ from returning to the country for two years. The newspaper reinstated its rhetoric that Australia’s tough immigration and security policies are vital to keep the country safe.⁷³ Even though the Labor party, the Greens and the Law Council of Australia opposed the bill, Dutton was strongly supported by the Morrison government.⁷⁴ However, the director of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute – Justin Bassi – recommended keeping terrorists away from Australia, so they can spread their hate message overseas, was even more dangerous.⁷⁵ The Lowy Institute’s analysis was also covered by *The Australian*. As per the analysis of 173 Australian terrorists convicted of terrorism, the “Jihadi recruits were ‘sane, settled and not sorry.’”⁷⁶

All these articles reinforce the idea that Australia is under constant threat from the jihadists and the security agencies would need to step up and stay up to date with the ever-evolving strategies of the terrorists. The sheer repetitiveness of these articles, similar stories with

⁶⁷ Jennifer Oriel, “Enlightenment is of Little Interest to Most Muslims,” *The Australian*, January 1, 2018.

⁶⁸ Tony Abbott, “Slam the Door Shut on Returning Jihadis,” *The Australian*, February 1, 2018.

⁶⁹ Paul Maley, “\$40m ASIS Boost to get Spies’ Eyes on Jihadis - Federal Budget: Defence/National Security,” *The Australian*, May 9, 2018.

⁷⁰ Jason Thomas, “Trump Reminds us that it is Time to Rethink our Role,” *The Australian*, December 24, 2018.

⁷¹ Ben Packhan, “We are Ready for Fresh Al Qaeda Threat: PM,” *The Australian*, December 24, 2018.

⁷² Paul Maley, “How Aussie Spies won the Cyber War against ISIS,” *The Australian*, March 25, 2019.

⁷³ Jennifer Oriel, “We still need to Decide who comes Here, and How,” *The Australian*, July 22, 2019.

⁷⁴ Rachel Baxendale, “Laws to Stop Fighters Returning Home down to the Wire,” *The Australian*, July 24, 2019.

⁷⁵ Olivia Caisley, “Citizenship Laws ‘Won’t Turn Jihadis from Terror,’” *The Australian*, August 3, 2019.

⁷⁶ Paul Maley, “Jihadi Recruits were ‘Sane, Settled and not Sorry,’” *The Australian*, November 21, 2019.

different names, of the proximity of the jihadist threat serve to create a climate of fear among its readers.

Sydney Morning Herald

When ISIS asked jihadists to “shoot, poison and run over” Australians located at famous landmarks such as Bondi and the MCG⁷⁷ (“Jihadists threaten to target Bondi, the SCG” – 7 September 2016), the newspaper informed its readers about the security challenges faced by the country because of terrorism and cyber spying.⁷⁸ The SMH also reminded its readers of the Hyde Park riots that had occurred in 2012 where indoctrinated 12- and 14-year-olds made statements about “beheading those who insult the Prophet.” For the newspaper, the actions of these children was enough evidence of an extremist mindset and it was possible they were now killers and murderers.⁷⁹

The SMH was particularly concerned about the Australian defence forces fighting overseas. It reported that around 780 Australian fighters were risking their lives to keep our country safe from terrorists. However, 110 Australians had also joined the ISIS jihad.⁸⁰

In March 2017, the newspaper reported that Abdul Karim – a Muslim who fled a war-torn Lebanon when he was 14 – became a Sydney magistrate. He did not even know English at the time he moved to Australia.⁸¹ Even though ‘jihad’ is used negatively, the article overall focuses on the positive achievements of Muslims in Australia. This article conveys a message that Muslims are not a deviant group, but in fact, play a positive role in the community. Even though time and again the SMH tries to present news in favour of the Muslim community, this depiction is less frequent compared to the news where Muslims are described as radicals, terrorists and deviant fundamentalists.

An article, “Beyond Hanson’s stunt the real issue is of women’s rights: the burqa does oppress,” describes Pauline Hanson’s burqa stunt and focuses on how Muslim women are oppressed because of the veil, forced to wear it by groups like ISIS and entire countries like Saudi Arabia.⁸² Moreover, this article focuses on jihad (fighting) as a duty of every Muslim referring to the taking of slaves as part of the jihad struggle. Here, an out of context pairing of jihad with the oppression of women served to project an image of a backward and barbaric Islam.

After the Bourke Street terrorist attack in November 2017, articles like “Watching for lone wolves” were published in the SMH, which focus on the important steps that the government

⁷⁷ David Wroe, “Jihadists Threaten to Target Bondi, the SCG,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, July 7, 2016.

⁷⁸ David Wroe, “New Threats Prompt Intelligence Overhaul,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, September 19, 2016.

⁷⁹ Rachel Olding, “Protesting at 12, Allegedly Ready to Die at 16,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, October 15, 2016.

⁸⁰ Michael Bachelard and Kate Geraghty, “The Punishments,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, March 4, 2017.

⁸¹ Michaela Whitbourn, “From Civil War to Sydney Magistrate: Prosecutor joins Bench,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, March 14, 2017.

⁸² Elham Mania, “Beyond Hanson’s Stunt the Real Issue is of Women’s Rights: The Burqa does Oppress,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, August 28, 2017.

should take to stop such extremist attacks.⁸³ The SMH also updated its readers that Peter Dutton and subsequently the Australian government were committed to keeping the ‘jihadi’ terrorists as far away from Australia as possible.⁸⁴

The Morrison government was placed under considerable pressure when a video of three known Australian ‘jihadists’ was aired by the SDF (Kurdish media outlet) as the Kurds demanded the Australian government should be responsible for their ‘homegrown jihadists’ and threatened to leak important Australian intelligence information.⁸⁵ At the same time, when Trump decided to move US troops out of Syria and Iraq, this became a security concern for the Australian government and its defence forces as well. Articles like “Trump is right to pull out of ‘stupid endless wars’” elaborated how the wars in Iraq had created more ‘jihadists’ around the world and how ISIS and Al Qaeda had made terrorism/‘jihad’ a global phenomenon.⁸⁶

Negative newspaper representation of Muslims has detrimental effects on Australia’s social cohesion and harmony. A survey report published in *The Guardian* by Michael Safi and Nick Evershed discovered that around 75% of Muslims living in Australia alleged that the anti-terror laws approved by the Australian government were unfair towards Muslims. They were of the view that the terrorist groups distorted the image of Islam and Islam is not what these terrorists tend to follow. After the enforcement of the counterterror laws, many Muslims had to alter their clothing, place of worship and routes to work to avoid the scrutiny of the police. The actions of the few jeopardised most of the community. Around 60% of the Muslims believed that jihad does not permit violence and more than 90% disagreed that jihad refers to a militarised struggle by individuals as opposed to an image presented in the media. Less than one-third of the Muslims surveyed regarded the media to be fair when presenting news about Islam but most of them felt they had been treated fairly by authorities and in schools.⁸⁷

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This paper focused on a few of the themes that emerged from the extensive content analysis of two major Australian newspapers. Media plays a significant role in creating, circulating and sustaining particular philosophies, discourses and societal knowledge, which not only influence our perceptions and understanding regarding ourselves but also the society around us. It has generally been observed that the media tends to uphold political and societal discourses, which

⁸³ Jewel Topsfield and David Wroe, “Watching for Lone Wolves,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, November 17, 2018.

⁸⁴ David Wroe, “Kurdish Fighters: Take Back your Jihadists,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, March 5, 2019.

⁸⁵ Natassia Chrysanthos, “Kurdish Media bid to Pressure Australia on Home-grown Jihadists,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, September 9, 2019.

⁸⁶ Tom Switzer, “Trump is Right to Pull Out of ‘Stupid Endless Wars,’” *Sydney Morning Herald*, October 12, 2019.

⁸⁷ Micheal Shafi and Nick Evershed, “Three-Quarters of Muslim Australians Feel they are Unfairly Targeted by Terror Laws, Study Reveals,” *The Guardian*, March 16, 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/16/three-quarters-of-muslim-australians-feel-they-are-unfairly-targeted-by-terror-laws-study-reveals>.

then constructs images and perceptions in the society around us.⁸⁸ It has been noted that journalists can create and maintain a perception of a specific issue/topic. The repeated use of terms given a specific meaning becomes etched in people's minds, which is then not only difficult to eradicate but also difficult to change.

The two Australian newspapers that have been analysed extensively in this article reveal some significant findings. News regarding jihad has been framed in a particular context and this context is mostly negative. Even when there were a few news articles in the SMH that presented Muslims in a positive light, jihad was nevertheless mentioned as a term associated with terrorists, terrorism and radicalisation.

Said's Orientalism thesis plays an instrumental role in helping us analyse how and why jihad has been framed in a particular context in the Australian newspapers. His extensive analysis of history proved that Islam has always been understood in a certain framework and a particular context. Hence, the representation of Muslims and Arabs that we see in the news today is not a recent phenomenon. It has centuries of history behind it, which cannot be ignored.⁸⁹ Muslims of yesterday were considered to be uncivilised, barbaric and a threat to Christianity but the Muslims of today have been transformed into terrorists who are a threat to the liberal democratic West.⁹⁰ Analysing the representations of jihad validates that Muslims have been almost exclusively represented not only as terrorists but also a threat to democracy and liberalism in *The Australian*. While the SMH managed to present Muslims neutrally at times, jihad was always represented as an action of terrorists. This extensive negative representation of jihad in the media validates that repeated usage of any phenomenon in a certain framework creates an everlasting image that is neither questioned nor doubted. The media plays a powerful role in shaping perceptions and perpetuating specific narratives. The repeated association of jihad in negative contexts can have long-lasting effects on public understanding and contribute to the construction of certain images and stereotypes. It emphasises the need for critical evaluation of media representations and the potential impact they have on broader societal attitudes and beliefs.

⁸⁸ Salma Umer and Muhammad Junaid Ghauri, "Representation of Islam and Muslims in the Australian Newspapers: Exploring the Predominant Discourses," *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization* 10, no. 2 (2020).

⁸⁹ Said, *Orientalism*.

⁹⁰ Salim Karbuoa, "From Orientalism to Neo-Orientalism: Early and Contemporary Constructions of Islam and the Muslim World," *Intellectual Discourse* 24, no. 1 (2016).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abdel-Fateh, Randa. "As a Muslim I Refuse to carry the Burden of Bourke St Violence." *Sydney Morning Herald*, Nov 16, 2018.
- Abott, Tony. "Slam the Door Shut on Returning Jihadis." *The Australian*, February 1, 2018.
- "Accused Jihadi 'Wanted to Help.'" *The Australian*, July 8, 2016.
- Akerman, Pia. "ANZAC Day Plotter Claims he has Renounced Jihad." *The Australian*, August 2, 2016.
- Akerman, Pia. "Teen Plotter 'Corrupted by Mad Clerics.'" *The Australian*, September 6, 2016.
- "Are we better Prepared for Future Terror Attacks?" *The Australian*, August 19, 2016.
- "Australian Values are Anathema to Teen Jihadists." *The Australian*, October 15, 2016.
- Bachelard, Michael, and Kate Geraghty. "The Punishments." *Sydney Morning Herald*, March 4, 2017.
- Baxendale, Rachel. "Laws to Stop Fighters Returning Home down to the Wire." *The Australian*, July 24, 2019.
- "Brandis goes over the Top." *The Australian*, May 17, 2016.
- Caisley, Olivia. "Citizenship Laws 'Won't Turn Jihadis from Terror.'" *The Australian*, August 3, 2019.
- Carroll, Jacinta. "Jihadi Families going 'Home' just part of the ISIS Plan." *The Australian*, October 29, 2019.
- Chrysanthos, Natassia. "Kurdish Media bid to Pressure Australia on Home-grown Jihadists." *Sydney Morning Herald*, September 9, 2019.
- Cole, Jonathan. "We need to Talk about Theology." *The Australian*, June 10, 2017.
- Donnelly, Kevin. "PM Right to Call out Violence of Radical Islamists." *The Australian*, November 12, 2018.
- Elo, Satu, and Helvi Kyngäs. "The Qualitative Content Analysis Process." *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 62, no 1 (2007): 107-115.
- Esposito, John. "Islam and Political Violence." *Religions* 6, no. 3 (2015): 1067-1081. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel6031067>.
- Esposito, John, and Emad el-din Shahin. *The Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Ferguson, John. "Radicalised 'Wife' Refuses to Cooperate." *The Australian*, November 13, 2018.
- Ferguson, John, and Samantha Hutchinson. "'Dob in a Jihadi' Call to Muslims." *The Australian*, November 12, 2018.

- Flitton, Daniel, and Deborah Snow. "High Alert for Foreign Fighter Threat as Islamic State starts to Crumbles in Mosul." *Sydney Morning Herald*, October 22, 2016.
- Grossman, Michele, and Hussein Tahiri. "Community Perceptions of Radicalisation and Violent Extremism: An Australian Perspective." *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism* 10, no. 1 (2015): 14-24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/18335330.2015.1028773>.
- Henderson, Gerard. "Multiculturalism has not Worked in Europe, and it's not Islamophobic to Discuss it." *The Australian*, July 30, 2016.
- "Integrating Caliphate Children." *The Australian*, June 26, 2019.
- Isakhan, Benjamin. "Orientalism and the Australian News Media: Origins and Questions." In *Islam and the Australian News Media*, edited by Halim Rane, Jacque Ewart and Muhamad Abdalla, 3-25. Carlton: Melbourne University Publishing, 2010.
- "Islamist Terrorism must be Confronted, not Denied." *The Australian*, November 13, 2018.
- "Jihadi Cries Tears of Regret." *The Australian*, June 28, 2016.
- Kembrey, Melaine. "Terror Supporter Faces at least 6 Years in Jail." *Sydney Morning Herald*, September 2, 2016.
- Kenny, Chris. "Call it for what it is: An Islamist Terror Attack." *The Australian*, December 23, 2017.
- Kenny, Chris. "It's Time to tell the Truth on Radicalised Refugees." *The Australian*, June 7, 2017.
- Khalil, Lydia. "Don't Excuse Women as Victims on Jihadi Frontline." *Sydney Morning Herald*, February 23, 2019.
- Koob, Simone. "Six Years for a Recruiter who sent Jihadis to Syria." *The Australian*, September 2, 2016.
- Le Grand, Chip. "Terror Checks behind Slow Syrian Intake." *The Australian*, August 13, 2016.
- Magnay, Jaccquelin. "Jihadi Bride banned from Returning Home." *The Australian*, February 21, 2019.
- Maley, Paul. "\$40m ASIS Boost to get Spies' Eyes on Jihadis - Federal Budget: Defence/National Security." *The Australian*, May 9, 2018.
- Maley, Paul. "Coalition Vows no Release for Jihadis." *The Australian*, June 14, 2016.
- Maley, Paul. "Cops get Teens Wielding Bayonets." *The Australian*, October 13, 2016.
- Maley Paul, "How Aussie Spies won the Cyber War against ISIS," *The Australian*, March 25, 2019.
- Maley, Paul. "Jihadi Recruits were 'Sane, Settled and not Sorry.'" *The Australian*, November 21, 2019.

- Maley, Paul. "Jihadi Wannabes Stopped at Airports." *The Australian*, September 13, 2017.
- Maley, Paul. "Security Risks are Stranded Overseas." *The Australian*, October 17, 2017.
- Mania, Elham. "Beyond Hanson's Stunt the Real Issue is of Women's Rights: The Burqa does Oppress." *Sydney Morning Herald*, August 28, 2017.
- Mannix, Liam, and Erin Pearson. "Divide between Government and Youth Centre." *Sydney Morning Herald*, November 14, 2018.
- Maududi, Syed Abul-Ala. *Jihad in Islam*. Beirut: The Holy Koran Publishing House, 2006
- Maududi, Syed Abul-Ala. *The Meaning of the Qur'an*. Lahore: Islamic Publications, 2017.
- Mills, Tammy. "Australian Teenager Lured by American." *Sydney Morning Herald*, November 3, 2017.
- Murray, Douglas. "Why Australia needs to Stand Firm and Protect its Borders." *The Australian*, August 4, 2018.
- Neal, Michael. "Media Content Analysis: Qualitative Methods." In *The Oxford Handbook of Media Psychology*, edited by Karen Dill, 513-533. Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Nicholson, Brendan. "Jihadi Bride, No. 1 Terrorist 'Bombed into Oblivion.'" *The Australian*, May 6, 2016.
- O'Malley, Nick. "Research Paints Chilling Portrait of what Average Jihadist is like." *Sydney Morning Herald*, November 21, 2019.
- Olding, Rachel. "Protesting at 12, Allegedly Ready to Die at 16." *Sydney Morning Herald*, October 15, 2016.
- Oriel, Jennifer. "Enlightenment is of Little Interest to Most Muslims." *The Australian*, January 1, 2018.
- Oriel, Jennifer. "Jihadis must be Tracked or Deported or they'll Kill." *The Australian*, November 12, 2018.
- Oriel, Jennifer. "'Refujihad' here as Traitors Return with Plans to Kill Us." *The Australian*, May 15, 2017.
- Oriel, Jennifer. "We still need to Decide who comes Here, and How." *The Australian*, July 22, 2019.
- Overington, Caroline. "West Introduces Iron-fist Security as Terrorists Target Christmas." *The Australian*, December 22, 2016.
- Packhan, Ben. "We are Ready for Fresh Al Qaeda Threat: PM." *The Australian*, December 24, 2018.
- Pearson, Erin, David Wroe and Josh Dye. "What should Australia do with the Children of Islamic State?" *Sydney Morning Herald*, April 5, 2019.

- Rane, Halim, Jacqui Ewart and Mohamad Abdallah. *Islam and the Australian News Media*. Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 2010.
- Roy Morgan. "News Readership: 97 Per Cent of Australians Continue to Consume News." November 21, 2022. Accessed March 25, 2023. <https://www.roymorgan.com/findings/9121-thinknewsbrands-readership-september-2022>.
- Rushton, Gina. "No Bail for Anzac Day Suspect." *The Australian*, May 6, 2016.
- Said, Edward. *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World*, rev. ed. New York: Vintage Books, 1997.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin, 1995.
- Karbuoa, Salim. "From Orientalism to Neo-Orientalism: Early and Contemporary Constructions of Islam and the Muslim World." *Intellectual Discourse* 24, no. 1 (2016): 7-35.
- Schliebs, Mark. "West gets Tough on Women of Terror." *The Australian*, February 21, 2019.
- Schliebs, Mark, John Ferguson and Amanda Hodge. "Middle-class Extremists Answer Call." *The Australian*, February 17, 2018.
- Shafi, Micheal, and Nick Evershed. "Three-Quarters of Muslim Australians Feel they are Unfairly Targeted by Terror Laws, Study Reveals." *The Guardian*, March 16, 2015. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/16/three-quarters-of-muslim-australians-feel-they-are-unfairly-targeted-by-terror-laws-study-reveals>.
- Shaheen, Jack G. "Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 588, no. 1 (2003): 171-93.
- Sheridan, Greg, and Chip Le Grand. "Sheikh tells 'Bloody PM': 'Blame Police... not us.'" *The Australian*, November 13, 2018.
- "Stopping Terror at the Border." *The Australian*, January 17, 2017.
- Switzer, Tom. "Trump is Right to Pull Out of 'Stupid Endless Wars.'" *Sydney Morning Herald*, October 12, 2019.
- "Terror Threat Persists from Twin Towers to the Suburbs." *The Australian*, September 13, 2016.
- Thomas, Jason. "Counter Measures and the Evolution of DIY Terrorism." *The Australian*, December 23, 2016.
- Thomas, Jason. "If you Reject our Values then this isn't your Home." *The Australian*, July 17, 2019.
- Thomas, Jason. "Trump Reminds us that it is Time to Rethink our Role." *The Australian*, December 24, 2018.
- Thompson, Angus. "IS Recruiter charged over Sydney Plot." *Sydney Morning Herald*, November 13, 2019.

- Topsfield, Jewel, and David Wroe. "Watching for Lone Wolves." *Sydney Morning Herald*, November 17, 2018.
- Umber, Salma, and Muhammad Junaid Ghauri. "Representation of Islam and Muslims in the Australian Newspapers: Exploring the Predominant Discourses." *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization* 10, no. 2 (2020): 128-146.
- Whitbourn, Michaela. "From Civil War to Sydney Magistrate: Prosecutor joins Bench." *Sydney Morning Herald*, March 14, 2017.
- Wroe, David. "Another Jihadist will 'Fill that Void.'" *Sydney Morning Herald*, May 7, 2016.
- Wroe, David. "Border Forces 'Soul Searching' over Bomb Parcel that was Mailed from Turkey." *Sydney Morning Herald*, August 5, 2017.
- Wroe, David. "Jihadists Threaten to Target Bondi, the SCG." *Sydney Morning Herald*, July 7, 2016.
- Wroe, David. "Kurdish Fighters: Take Back your Jihadists." *Sydney Morning Herald*, March 5, 2019.
- Wroe, David. "New Threats Prompt Intelligence Overhaul." *Sydney Morning Herald*, September 19, 2016.
- Wroe, David. "Other Various Articles like 'Bring my Family Home: IS Recruit.'" *Sydney Morning Herald*, April 1, 2019.
- Wroe, David. "Sister of Parramatta Shooter Killed in US Air Strike." *Sydney Morning Herald*, May 5, 2016.
- Wroe, David. "Tentacles of Terror." *Sydney Morning Herald*, August 5, 2017.
- Wroe, David. "Unwanted Man: Citizenship Case Exposes Flaws." *Sydney Morning Herald*, January 5, 2019.