

**A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF FRASER ANNING'S  
STATEMENTS ON THE NEW ZEALAND MOSQUE SHOOTING**

**A GRADUATING PAPER**

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for Gaining the Bachelor  
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## FINAL PROJECT STATEMENT

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I certify that this thesis is definitely my own work. I am completely responsible for the content of this thesis. Other's writers opinion or findings included in the thesis are quoted or cited in accordance with ethical standards.

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# **A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF FRASER ANNING'S STATEMENTS ON THE NEW ZEALAND MOSQUE SHOOTING**

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## **ABSTRACT**

This study aims to determine the forms of discrimination and racism and will uncover the ideology adopted by Fraser Anning. Fraser Anning, a Queensland Senator, was one of the senators responding to the shootings at the two Christchurch mosques, in New Zealand. The statement issued by Fraser Anning focused not on the perpetrators of the shooting, but on the government that handled and caused the shooting. The researcher analyzes what is behind the text to find out the identity of Fraser Anning. The research method was carried out qualitatively-descriptively with a critical discourse analysis approach by Norman Fairclough model in order to explain the intent of linguistic components such as vocabulary, and grammar, so as to be able to reconstruct the discourse in the statement. Based on the results of the author's analysis, that a text is not static but a text has a relationship between one text and another and its context in society. The results of the study concluded that Fraser Anning is a right-wing politician who has racist, discriminatory, Islamophobic, and anti-migrant characteristics, especially Muslim migrants. These traits have a dialectical relationship with events that have occurred in Australian and New Zealand society from the past to the present.

**Keywords:** Fraser Anning, Islamophobia, racism, discrimination, right-wing.

# **ANALISIS WACANA KRITIS PADA PERNYATAAN FRASER ANNING TENTANG PENEMBAKAN MASJID DI SELANDIA BARU**

By: Ahmad Zainuri

## **ABSTRAK**

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui bentuk diskriminasi dan rasisme dan akan membongkar ideologi yang dianut oleh Fraser Anning. Fraser Anning merupakan seorang Senator Queensland merupakan salah satu senator yang menanggapi kasus penembakan di dua masjid Christchurch, New Zealand. Statement yang dikeluarkan oleh Fraser Anning dititikberatkan bukan pada pelaku penembakannya, akan tetapi pada pemerintah yang menangani dan penyebab terjadinya penembakan tersebut. Peneliti menganalisis apa yang ada di balik teks untuk mengetahui identitas Fraser Anning. Adapun metode penelitian dilakukan secara kualitatif-deskriptif dengan pendekatan analisis wacana kritis model Fairclough guna menjelaskan maksud dari komponen-komponen kebahasaan seperti, kosakata, dan gramatika, sehingga mampu merekonstruksi wacana yang ada pada statement tersebut. Berdasarkan dari hasil analisis penulis, bahwasanya sebuah teks itu tidak bersifat statis tetapi suatu teks memiliki hubungan antara teks satu dengan teks lainnya dan konteksnya di dalam masyarakat. Hasil penelitian menyimpulkan bahwa Fraser Anning merupakan politisi sayap kanan yang memiliki sifat rasis, diskriminatif, islamophobia, dan anti-migran, khususnya migran muslim. Sifat-sifat tersebut memiliki hubungan dialektis dengan peristiwa-peristiwa yang terjadi di masyarakat Australia dan New Zealand masa lalu hingga saat ini.

Kata Kunci: Fraser Anning, islamophobia, rasisme, diskriminasi, sayap-kanan.

## MOTTO

*“Everything will be okay in the end, if its not okay, its not the end.”*

**-Ahmad Zainuri**



## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this graduating paper to:

My beloved Father and Mother.

English Literature Department of UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta.





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Yogyakarta, 23 Juni 2022

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background of Study

Language is one of the most crucial aspects of human existence since it enables us to communicate. People are able to communicate with one another and establish their existence via the use of language, both verbal and nonverbal. Language has an important role in human life because language has a function as a tool of communication between humans. Just like walking and breathing, if you pay further attention, language has a very strong influence on human life, so it is not uncommon for disputes that occur in society or the symptoms that appear in human life to be caused by language. Language is not only a means of communication but also has many different functions, such as maintaining or distributing ideology. In addition, language can also represent a person's attitude in interaction. In interaction, there is power in language. Sometimes, language can be a cause of conflict when the language is used as a weapon to attack an ideology, discrimination, racism, and other things that are far from peaceful.

Language and Power examines how language functions to uphold and alter power relations in society, as well as how an awareness of these dynamics may empower individuals to challenge existing power structures and effect positive change. The power of language is the ability to maintain dominance in social law and racism. The power of language has a big impact on the unity of certain groups

and disputes. The power of language also has the potential to create and influence through words.

Language has the power to build perceptions in the mind of the public. People who have power in social shutter, in language, or in giving an expression will have an effect on the social environment because people who have power will more easily influence people because they are considered as role models or figures. Language can also play a role in conspiracy politics. Like the language used by a politician, they use language to build perceptions in the minds of the public. When a politician gives a response, it will certainly change many perceptions of the public. In order to achieve their interests, politicians often build a perception. Perception is built when political work requires a positive image so that the public always trusts political institutions and their actors. However, as a political actor, they should always give good speeches, so that cannot be a cause of conflict in the community because of the various perceptions of their speeches.(Fairclough, 1992b)

The language used by politicians actually shows their personal interests. Public opinion is also built based on the interests of politicians, regardless of whether they support the government and citizens or sometimes they oppose and become a controversial issue. As a social tool, language is always neutral and free of value. Language has become a cultural product that has the potential to change public perceptions and awareness. This is a character that must be ready to respond to various responses from the community, as the researcher will discuss in this research.

This research focuses on the statement made by the Queensland senator one year ago about the horrific shooting that took place at a mosque in Christchurch, New Zealand, on the afternoon of Friday, March 15, 2019, and was carried out by a guy called Brenton Tarrant. Who killed at least 49 Muslims there. After the incident, Senator for Queensland, Fraser Anning, gave a statement that caused many responses from world leaders who condemned this cruel action. Even Muslims and non-Muslims alike criticized the shooting. And assume that these actions include actions that cannot be forgiven and are not justified for any reason.

While the country's leaders were busy conveying their condolences and support to the victims of the incident in New Zealand, as the senator representing Queensland, Fraser Anning had a different approach than his colleagues. In his statement, Senator Fraser Anning blamed Muslims. In his statement, he said that they were the cause of this case. Which then received a lot of negative criticism from various parties, both the parliament itself and people around the world. The statement was first published by journalist Felicity Caldwell in the Brisbane Time. And it didn't take very long for Fraser to get the attention of influential people from all over the world with his words. Australian Prime Minister Scott Morrison also responded via Twitter. He said what Fraser described as "disgusting". He said Senator Fraser Anning's statements blaming deadly attacks by far-right extremist terrorists in New Zealand on immigration were disgusting. This is an unacceptable perspective to have in Australia. Not only from the Australian Parliament. The Australian Senate also officially released a condemnation of a lawmaker who

blamed Muslim migrants for the mosque attack in New Zealand. In an official statement, members of the Australian Senate across the political spectrum said Senator Fraser Anning's comments could ignite a fire and cause division. The statement stated that Anning's statement did not reflect the views of the Australian parliament or people. Also, Anning is thought to blame victims of terrible crimes and spread lies about people because of their religion.(BBC News Indonesia, 2019).

Instead of apologizing, the senator became even more inclined by submitting a follow-up statement. He said, "Does anyone still debate the relationship between Muslim immigration and violence?" Then that statement also received criticism from the public. More than 1.4 million people signed a petition urging Anning to resign after he made remarks regarding the attacks on two mosques in New Zealand. The reaction to Anning's statement was also shown by a teenager named Will Connolly, who threw an egg over Anning's head at a press conference. He is famous as 'Egg Boy'.

Research on frasser Anning's statement is interesting to study because the statement he delivered became controversial because it implied that Islam or Muslims are identical to terrorists, radicals, or separatists. As someone who has power, Anning's statement influenced many people. In one of his statements he said, "*Let us be clear, while Muslims have been the victims today, usually they are the perpetrators.*" *World-wide, Muslims are killing people in the name of their faith on an industrial scale* (Jim Sciutto [@jimsciutto], 2019). From that statement, it can be seen that Anning is a racist person who showed his

discrimination against the Muslim community. He tried to convey to the public that Islam is a religion that teaches violence and allows its followers to kill people other than their religion. So a negative aspect emerges towards Islam, which can lead to the emergence of Islamophobia there. That is excessive fear of Islam. That is why the researcher is interested in analyzing these statements because the researcher wanted to find out why Fraser Anning's response had a different approach from his colleagues. In his statement, Senator Fraser Anning blamed Muslims. Also, to find out what is behind the text to know the identity of Fraser Anning. The researcher will use critical discourse analysis (CDA) developed by Norman Fairclough in order to conduct an examination of the relationship that exists between texts and the context in society. Because language is a form of action that has relations with social structures, this analysis will focus on how the language in that statement is formed from social relations and social contexts. This is because language, in social and historical terms, is a form of action that can be related to particular social contexts. According to Fairclough (1989, pp. 109–111), critical discourse analysis has three dimensions that have to be analyzed. They are text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice.

## **1.2 Research Question**

The researcher decides to focus on the specific issues that are explained in the background of the study above.

1. Why is racism and discrimination discourse displayed in the text of Anning's statement in the New Zealand mosque shooting ?



### **1.3 Objective of Study**

Based on the research question above, the objective to be achieved through this research:

1. To describe the racism and discrimination on the statement made by Anning in the New Zealand mosque shooting.

### **1.4 Significances of Study**

It is expected that researchers and readers in general will find this study beneficial. It teaches readers things about CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) that they may not have known before. To put it another way, anybody who is interested in studies, particularly critical discourse analysis or anything else that is connected to the subjects that were covered in this study, can benefit from the findings of research.

In addition, in this study, the researcher wants to use CDA as a means of application in linguistic studies. That is a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of Norman Fairclough on Fraser Anning's statement about the mosque shooting in New Zealand.

## 1.5 Literature Review

In analyzing the object of research, researcher certainly need some other supporting literature review as a reference. Here are some research that use critical discourse analysis.

The first is a thesis by Arini Nurfadilah from State Islamic University of Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta entitled *A Critical Discourse Analysis of Teun van Dijk on The Jakarta Post's Editorials "New Year in Singkil" And "Banning Hate Speech"* in 2017. This research presents a critical discourse analysis of two articles that were published in the Jakarta Post online newspaper on a religious dispute between Muslims and Christians. The articles focused on text structure, social analysis, and social cognition. The research approach that was used was qualitative, and the method that was applied was descriptive analysis. The researcher investigates the many aspects of discourse construction that are distinct between the two pieces. As a result of the analysis, the writer is aware that each article has its own unique way of presenting the discourse material based on the writer's own style and words. In both articles, The Jakarta Post provides coverage of every aspect of van Dijk's idea of discourse analysis, such as text structure, social cognitive, and social analysis. According to the findings of this research, the presentation of the text in each newspaper takes on a unique form. The Jakarta Article looks at the schematization components view from the Jakarta Post's perspective. This study shows that CDA is capable of investigating the connections that exist between language and ideology. (Nurfadilah, 2017).

The second research is a thesis entitled *Critical Discourse Analysis on Queensland Senator Fraser Anning's Controversial Statment of Cristchruch Shooting* by Atika in 2019. This research provides details about Fraser Anning's statements regarding the shooting that took place in Christchurch on March 15, 2019. The researcher uses Fairclough Critical Discourse Analysis to analyze the text. In spite of it, she just describes the microstructure level and it results in four types of microstructure that were used by Fraser Anning in his statements. The microstructure is determined by the use of Fraser Anning's words, which indicate a kind of prejudice against Muslims. (Atika, 2019)

The last research is a journal entitled *Humanity in Public Service Advertisement "Sayyidi al Raīs" by Zain Group: Critical Discourse Analysis* written by Nurul Ulmi Mansur in 2020. This journal covered a variety of perspectives and attitudes towards advertising in care situations. This research made use of critical discourse analysis as developed by Fairclough in order to provide an explanation of the meaning of linguistic components such as vocabulary, modalities, and grammar in order to reconstruct the discourse that is found in advertising. According to the results of the author's analysis, a word is static, but a text has a connection between one text and another or in a person's life. The results of the study led the researcher to the conclusion that humanity, nationality, and isolation are still prevalent issues around the globe. Zain Group promotes or declares these findings. It has a dialectical relationship with things that occur in society, such as ideological differences and superpowers with other

nations, particularly those located in the Middle Eastern region. (Mansur, 2020, p. 84).

According to some of the literature above, the researcher has differences with his research. The first literature analysis of the text by van Dijk is critical discourse analysis. Even though the material object is the same, she just used the microstructural level. It means that the analysis is limited to text description and does not express more what actually happened behind the text, whereas the essence of CDA is to express the background, not only from the text but all the aspects of the writer or who said the words. The second research explains to us humanity from the advertisement video. Although it discusses humanity, discrimination, and racism by using Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, the material object is different. The third and last research uses van Dijk's theory, and both the objects are different too. Some literature uses van Dijk theory to analyze the text or hate speech to know what happened behind the text. As for this research, it analyses what occurs in Fraser Anning's statement based on critical discourse analysis by Norman Fairclough, and it is unique and interesting to analyze because Fraser Anning is a senator and has the power to change the mindset of society.

## **1.6 Theoretical Approach**

Critical discourse analysis is a study of discourse analysis that is associated with social and cultural relations. The researcher will use critical discourse analysis by Norman Fairclough to analyze the text of Fraser Anning's

statement about the mosque shooting in New Zealand. Norman Fairclough develops a model for social change that incorporates discourse analysis based on linguistics and social thinking. Therefore, the model proposed by Fairclough is often referred to as a model of social change. Fairclough uses language as a social practice, more than an individual activity to reflect on something. Fairclough also revealed that CDA has three stages of analysis: the description, interpretation, and explanation stages (Fairclough, 1989, p. 98).

The text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice are Fairclough's three dimensions of discourse analysis. The first dimension is the text, which will be analyzed linguistically in this section by looking at the vocabulary, semantics, and sentence structure of Anning's statement. It also has coherence and cohesion, which refer to the method in which words or phrases are integrated to produce a meaning. The analysis of each component helps to provide perspective on three distinct problems: ideational, relational, and identity. The representations of ideas that are found in a text are referred to as ideational. The aim of this form of analysis is to discover an ideology hidden inside a text. The term relations refers to an examination of how relationships between text and readers are constructed. How the content is presented, including whether or how it is conveyed in an informal or formal manner, And the last one is identity, which refers to a particular construction of the identity of both the journalist and the reader, as well as the manner in which this particular person and identity are meant to be presented.

According to Fairclough, the second dimension of critical discourse analysis is the practice of discourse. The production and consumption of text are two processes that are intimately connected to the theory of discourse practice. Text is created by a practice of discourse, which in turn determines how the text is produced. During this stage of the process, the researcher will conduct an analysis of how the text of Anning's statement was formed, as well as how the production of text is influenced by a variety of ideologies and meanings. And then the process of consumption, which refers to the act of consuming text, is individually carried out by readers whenever they consume a text. The consumption process can be different when the social context is different, so it will be seen how the readers consume the text.

And the last dimension is sociocultural practice. Sociological analysis is the kind of analysis that discusses social practices that take place outside of the media but nevertheless impact the discourse that is shown in the media. This sociocultural practice is not directly related to text production, but it determines how texts are produced and understood. Sociocultural practice is analyzed by Fairclough on three levels of analysis: the situational level, the institutional level, and the social level. Situational refers to the manner in which a text is created by paying attention to the situational component. This is the way in which a text is created under a certain setting, which allows for one text to be distinct from other texts. The institutional level investigates how different types of organizations have an impact on the development of discourse in its many forms. And at the social

level, society determines a developing discourse. The social aspect looks more at macro aspects such as political systems, economic systems, or cultural systems.

These three dimensions can be seen in the following figure:

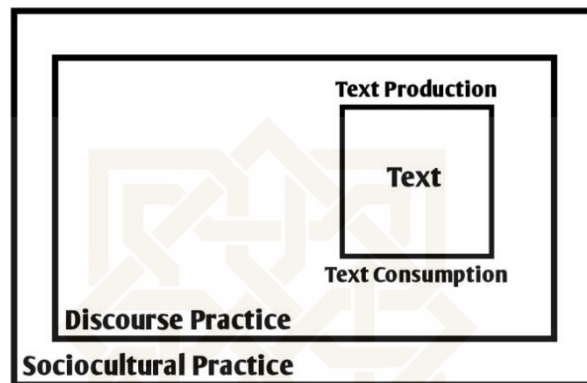


Figure 1: A framework for doing a critical discourse analysis of a communicative event

## 1.7 Method of Research

### 1.7.1 Type of Research

The qualitative descriptive method was used for this research, and descriptive-critical analysis was used to describe the data. The descriptive approach according to Sudaryanto is research that is only carried out based on existing facts or phenomena empirically on the speaker so that the resulting language is as it is (Muhammad, 2014, pp. 325–326). Descriptive is defined as providing a description and analysis of language. Language is explained how it works and is used by its speakers at a certain time, it can also be referred to as descriptive synchronicity (Alwasilah, 2011, p. 100). This research is named a descriptive because this research provides

information about Fraser Anning's background to reveal statements about the shootings at two Christchurch mosques. The description discussed in this case includes three dimensions, a description of the linguistic dimensions used by Fraser Anning in the text, the dimensions of production and consumption of the text or discourse dimension, and the sociocultural dimension which includes a description of the surrounding environment that shapes the character and representation of a Fraser Anning.

The purpose of qualitative research in this study is that the data collected is not in the form of percentage figures, but data derived from transcripts of Fraser Anning's statements, comments for and against readers, or transcripts from YouTube videos and other social media. As in its use that a qualitative method is used to develop an understanding of individuals and events by taking into account relevant contexts that aim to understand social phenomena holistically and explore deeper and more extensive understanding. Data is analyzed inductively by observing, analyzing, and drawing conclusions (Muhammad, 2014, pp. 19–23).

### **1.7.2 Data Sources**

The researcher divides the data into two sources in this research, primary and secondary. The primary data is "Fraser Anning Statement on Mosque Shooting in New Zealand," and then obtained the picture scripted text of Fraser Anning's speech following reports of a shooting in a mosque in New Zealand on March 15, 2019. That was published on Twitter by



@jimsciutto (Jim Sciutto [@jimsciutto], 2019). The statements selected as data are the sentences contained in the pictorial text and contain a representation of the ideology in it. The text data source will be presented in the text dimension. The other primary data sources come from a youtube video that discusses Fraser Anning's statement regarding the shooting at the Christchurch mosque, Fraser Anning's facebook account and Jim Sciutto's twitter account which consists of posted status and comments in it, and this source will be presented in the discourse dimension. In addition, books and journal articles that discuss racism, discrimination, Islamophobia, as well as right-left-wing political maps, especially in the Australian region, will be presented in the sociocultural dimension. Meanwhile, secondary data was taken and collected from books and journal articles that were in accordance with the discussion of Fraser Anning's statement and supported the primary data.

### **1.7.3 Data Collection Technique**

The data used in this study is Fraser Anning statement. In this research, there are a few processes involved in collecting data. There are three parts data of this research, text dimension, discourse dimension, and sociocultural dimension. The research uses listen method (metode simak) for all dimension. The listen method is a data collection method that carried out through the process of listening or observing on the use of the language under study. The term listen here is not only related to the use of spoken language such as speech and conversation between speakers of a

language, but also includes for written language, namely observing, reading, and understand written language in a written text such as story scripts, newspaper news, and written scripts other (Zaim, 2014, p. 89). And the steps taken are, 1) download the picture of Anning's statement about New Zealand mosque shooting from twitter, download the video on youtube about Fraser Anning statement, and download the picture on Fraser Anning's facebook account. 2) Transcribing the picture and video into writing sentences. 3) Read the text that has been transcribed and read the book or journal that contain a representation of the ideology of racism, discrimination, islamophobia, as well as right-left-wing political maps, especially in the Australian region in it and understanding by taking note method. 4) Classifying or categorized the data into text dimension, discourse dimension, and sociocultural dimension.

#### **1.7.4 Data Analyses Technique**

According to Sugiyono, (2018, p. 482) data analysis is the process of systematically searching and compiling data obtained from interviews, field notes, and documentation by organizing data into categories, breaking down into units, synthesizing, compiling into categories. In the pattern, choosing which data is important, and finally making conclusions so that they are easy to understand. Therefore, the data analysis technique in this study is an inductive data analysis technique, 1) collecting data and information in research based on the results of reading observations from various literatures that have been previously selected. 2) study the

available data and information relating to the environment on material objects. 3) describe the data by explaining it based on the theory used. 4) explain conclusions on the results of data analysis.

## **1.8 Paper Organization**

The research is provided in three separate chapters. The first chapter is an introduction to the research, including background of study, problem statements, objective, and significance of study, explanation of literature review, theoretical approach, and method of research, and paper organization. The second chapter of this research contains the data and analysis of the research. And the last chapter will give the conclusion of this research.



### **CHAPTER III**

#### **CONCLUSION**

Based on the data that was collected and the analysis that was detailed in chapter II, the results obtained show that acts of racism and discrimination are actions that harm a person and cause physical and psychological harm. Acts of racism and discrimination are the result of the ideology of Islamophobia, and this can lead to acts of terrorism. Terrorism is not only carried out by bombings or other acts of violence, but also by giving speeches, giving speeches, and spreading hate speech and threats, including in the realm of terrorism. What Fraser Anning did by issuing a statement after the shootings at two mosques in the Christchurch area was a racist and discriminatory act because it offended and differentiated between Muslims and Christians, or between right-wing and left-wing politicians. Also, the author's search for data showed that Fraser Anning is a right-wing politician who has a racist, radical, and anti-migrant philosophy in general, especially toward Muslim migrants. He is an Islamophobe because his background is similar to his sociocultural and historical environment with Australian life in the past in general.

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