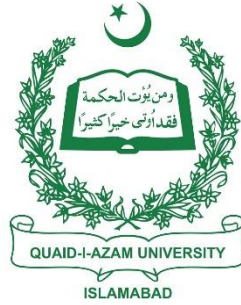The Politics of Text: A Media Discourse Analysis of Pre- and Post-9/11 *New York Times* News Articles about Muslims

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Philosophy in American Studies

by

Qurat-ul-Ain

(Registration No: 02261613005)

Area Study Centre for Africa, North and South America,

Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.

(2016-2018)

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9/11 *New York Times* News Articles about Muslims

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ISLAMABAD

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TO

My Parents, for instilling in me the values

I would forever treasure.

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Acknowledgements

Abstract

Language, being the foremost medium of communication, can be useful as well as damaging because it is through the use of words, phrases, and discourses that ideologies are fabricated. These ideologies reach the public through print media, among others, as one of the fastest channels. It plays an essential role in our lives because it helps form public opinion on every single matter starting from day-to-day discussions to global issues. This thesis examines how the journalists of *The New York Times* played their role in framing ideologies and representing Muslims before and after the 9/11 incident. Socio-Cognitive theory by Teun A. van Dijk has been selected to carry out an analysis of the manipulative discourses of the print media through an evaluation of the ten selected news articles. The study includes an in-depth analysis of five news articles published during the year before 9/11, that is, 2000-2001 and five articles from the post-9/11 period, published during the year following the incident, that is, 2001-2002. The theoretical assumption that language can mediate public discourse is a common feature in the selected news articles. The study concludes that while bias against Muslims is present in the pre- as well as post-9/11 news articles, it is more prominent in the post-9/11 period in view of the spatial and temporal context of the publication of these articles.

Chapter 1   Introduction

1.1 Research Topic

The Politics of Text: A Media Discourse Analysis of Pre- and Post-9/11 *New York Times* News Articles about Muslims.

1.2 Introduction

This thesis uses Critical Discourse Analysis theory (henceforth CDA) to conduct a media discourse analysis of the selected news articles of *The New York Times* about Muslims in the year that preceded the 9/11 attacks and the year that followed it. The analysis employs van Dijk's theory of Socio-Cognitive Discourse Analysis. The aim of this study is twofold. Firstly, it is to examine the language used in the selected news articles of *The New York Times* in order to see if the bias against Muslims existed in the pre-9/11 context, and how the representation of Muslims changed after 9/11. Secondly, it is to study the link between the micro-level of discourse, the language, with the macro-level of social order, dominance and inequality, and how this association reproduces these patterns to impact the cognition of the readers. This chapter will introduce how the problem of terrorism is associated with the September-11 attacks on the World Trade Center, how Muslims became a part of this conflict, and how it led to the 9/11 incident. This chapter will also acquaint the readers with the theoretical assumptions for this thesis. Furthermore, it will include hypothesis, research objectives, research questions, statement of the problem, and significance of the study.

Terrorism is a widely used term as well as a widespread phenomenon in the present century. From an internationally occurring discourse to everyday written or spoken communication, it is a hot debate everywhere. Its extensive usage can be seen in political

debates, talk shows, newspaper articles, research journals as well as books. The term generally refers to the use of violence against civilians by a certain group to pressurize the government in order to meet their demands, be they political, religious, or ideological. However, terrorism itself is hard to define which is why different groups can have different definitions. This problem was resolved by the Council of European Union in a framework decision taken to combat terrorism. They defined it as "offences under national law, which, given their nature or context, may seriously damage a country or an international organization" (qtd. in Ewi 142).

Terrorism is as old as human history, but what brought it to the forefront in world politics was a very destructive and historic incident of the 21st century which shook the world—when the Twin Towers in the heart of the United States of America were attacked on September 11, 2001, now commonly referred to as 9/11. These Twin Towers, the World Trade Center, were the emblem of the U.S. economic strength as well as its power and influence over the rest of the world. On September 11, 2001 four airplanes were hijacked by Al-Qaeda of which two hit the Twin Towers of New York, claiming the lives of nearly three thousand people. It perplexed the U.S. government because this was by far one of the most tragic incidents in the history of the U.S.

This attack was said to be made by terrorists. Thus, the collapse of the World Trade Center gave rise to the fundamental question: Who are these terrorists? The very first ethnic minority which was targeted and made accountable for this horrific event was the Muslim community because of the religious affiliation of the 9/11 terrorists. The question is why Muslims took the centre stage in this particular incident occurring in the U.S.? Its answer takes us to the mountainous ranges of Afghanistan, a country whose "geo-strategic location on the crossroads between Iran, the Arabian Sea and India and between Central Asia and South Asia has given its territory and mountain passes a [lot of] significance" (Rashid 7). This country has

been invaded countless times and hence houses a number of mixed races which inadvertently gives rise to unavoidable conflicts between different tribes. Over the course of the history, the political power in Afghanistan has passed from Arabs to Persian Saminid, from Ghaznavid to Mongols, from Taimur to Turkic Timurids, from Mogul dynasty to Uzbeks and Pashtuns (Rashid 9-10). In 1975, when royalty in Afghanistan was overthrown, Sardar Mohammed Daud was elected as president. He was "helped by leftist officers . . . to crush a nascent Islamic fundamentalist movement" (12). The leaders of this movement "Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, Burhanuddin Rabbani and Ahmad Shah Masud . . . [who] later [led] the Mujahideen" took asylum in Pakistan and were supported by the Pakistani government to train their *madrassa* students to fight Russian troops (12).

During the Cold War, that created a bipolar world order, Russia and the U.S. were bent upon defining their spheres of influence. Russia needed Afghanistan in order to create a buffer zone, hence Russia gave "a total of US$1.26 billion in economic aid and US$1.25 billion in military aid [to Afghanistan]," whereas, "US gave Afghanistan US$533 million in total aid" (Rashid 13). Though Afghanistan became the centre point of the Cold War and its government became one of the biggest aid takers in the world at that time, "for the Afghans the Soviet invasion was yet another attempt by outsiders to subdue them and replace their time-honoured religion and society with an alien ideology and social system" (13). During this time, among the allies of the U.S. was Pakistan that was to help the U.S. to drive Russian forces out of Afghanistan. In order to achieve this goal, the U.S. along with the Pakistani government created Mujahedeens, "the guerrilla fighters who battled the Soviet army from 1979–1989, when the Soviets withdrew in defeat," under the supervision of Hikmatyar, Rabbani and Shah Masud (Zalman). Mujahedeen were used as "U.S. backed, anti-Soviet shock troops" that broke the momentum of the Cold War (Rashid 13). These Mujahedeen, Sunni Islamic fundamentalists, whose second generation came to be called the Taliban in Afghanistan (13), disappeared after

the war only to reemerge mysteriously during the winter of 1994 to conquer Kandahar and move to the North in 1996 to capture Kabul (2-3). These Taliban indulged in numerous human rights violations, ranging from whipping the immodestly dressed women to public executions, because they implemented an extreme interpretation of the Islamic Sharia law. To suppress their human rights violations, the U.S. allied with Pakistan to fight against the Taliban as these terrorists were hiding in the border areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan. These terrorists were against the U.S. support of Israel and the U.S. rule inside the Middle Eastern countries. Hence, they planned an organized attack in order to shock the U.S. government that they can hit them inside their own country. That is why they attacked the trade hub, the World Trade Centre, located in the heartland of Lower Manhattan, New York.

Since these Taliban were Muslims, following the incident of 9/11, the Muslim community was targeted as the first alleged culprit, which deteriorated their status in the U.S. The U.S. policies as well as the public sentiment became harsh toward them. FBI released its annual Hate Crimes Statistics report on November 25, 2002 (Federal Bureau of Investigation), which "found that incidents targeting people, institutions and businesses identified with the Islamic faith increased from 28 in 2000 to 481 in 2001—a jump of 1,600 percent" (Anderson). Though Muslims may have experienced prejudice, they were still among the least targeted communities prior to this incident. But in the aftermath of the September-11 attacks, Muslims in the U.S. faced an increased influx of negative stereotypes by American society. They were blamed for the 9/11 attacks even before official inquiries and investigations took place. As Alsultany notes:

In just the first weeks and months after 9/11, Amnesty International, the Council on American-Islamic Relations, the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, and other organizations documented hundreds of violent incidents experienced by Arab and

Muslim Americans and people mistaken for Arabs or Muslim Americans, including several murders. Dozens of airline passengers perceived to be Arab or Muslim were removed from flights. Hundreds of Arab and Muslim Americans reported discrimination at work, receiving hate mail, physical assaults, and their property, mosques, and community centers vandalized or set on fire. (Alsultany 4)

Apart from this aggression, the rate of negative stereotypes against Muslims reported in the media was at its peak, with numerous prejudiced news articles published by various newsgroups in the U.S.

This overall scenario needs to be critically looked at in order to trace the bias against Muslims, the misrepresentation of a diverse Muslim community, and the conflicts that further escalated this rivalry. The existing scholarship on this issue overlooks the cognitive aspect of the media discourse which pertains to the impact of the power group's ideology on the production as well as the consumption of the text by the general public. In this context, CDA appears to be an appropriate framework as the primary objective of this research is to analyze the discourse created by the media and find association between the ideologies of the dominant groups in the society, the language used to represent Muslims, and its impacts on the cognition of the consumers of the discourse. In addition to CDA, this study is also influenced by Edward Said's theory of Orientalism that outlines the West's fabrication of a certain stereotypical and exotic image of the East, which is retained, reproduced, and distorted in their writings. According to Said, "one aspect of the electronic, postmodern world is that there has been a reinforcement of the stereotypes by which the Orient is viewed . . . and all the media's resources have forced information into more and more standardized molds" (Said, *Orientalism* 26). As a result, "both the electronic and print media have been awash with demeaning stereotypes that lump together Islam and terrorism, or Arabs and violence, or the Orient and tyranny" (347).

This research will thus focus on such representation of Muslims in the western print media, with *The New York Times* as the study sample, in the context of 9/11 through the selected news articles.

1.3 Hypothesis

The selected news articles of *The New York Times* use biased language, with some exceptions, to represent Muslims in the pre- and post-9/11 periods.

1.4 Statement of the Problem

The world has been carved into two dichotomous halves on the basis of existing hierarchical power relations in the society. On the one hand, exists the power group; the people who accumulate and exploit power by any means. On the other hand, we have the general public on the receiving end. Power groups include media, politicians, government officials, army personnel, multinational businessmen, etc. They are the discourse creators. Their public addresses, in the case of politicians, or news articles, in the case of media, do not exist independently of their spatial and temporal surroundings. The inception of their discourses is highly complex and is based on clandestine ideologies in order to achieve the desired conditioning of a certain class, usually in regard to minority ethnic groups.

The problem that this thesis studies started when media exploited its power to make Muslims the focal point of the "war against terrorism" in the bewildering situation of 9/11. Media, *The New York Times* in the present context, started ethnic coverage following the crashing of the planes into the World Trade Center and Pentagon. This prejudiced mindset was projected onto the minds of the public through the use of highly sharp, crisp, and biased

language. It is the objective of this research to trace those language patterns which were used for the mental conditioning of masses against Muslims and led to their exploitation.

1.5 Research Objectives

- To study the use of biased language in the works of the selected journalists of *The New York Times*.

- To delineate the change in the representation of Muslims in the selected pre- and post-9/11 *The New York Times* news articles.

- To study the impact of the social power of dominant groups in controlling public discourse.

1.6 Research Questions

- How did the works of the selected journalists of *The New York Times* make use of biased language in their representation of Muslims in the pre- and post-9/11 periods?

- How did the representation of Muslims alter in the post-9/11 news articles of *The New York Times* compared to the pre-9/11 ones?

- How do media or power groups exercise their social power to control public discourse?

1.7 Significance of the Study

Although it occurred almost 17 years ago, the tragic event of 9/11 still persists in the hearts and minds of American people, making them prejudiced against Muslims. The treatment that Muslims are receiving at present is linked to the media representation of Muslims around the incident of 9/11, which shaped public opinion. Not only people, the U.S. government still maintains a list of over 700,000 Muslims living inside the U.S. who pose a threat to their peace and security (Roberson). These people, whether or not linked with terrorism, are held at airports

for double search, kept under surveillance at all times, and called for investigation for any incident that includes some sort of weapon. Keeping in view the existing bias against Muslims, it is important to trace the manipulation of this event by one of the most prominent media outlets, *The New York Times*—a locally produced U.S. newspaper with an international outreach, in the context of a very significant historical event in the U.S.

Chapter 2   Literature Review

Language is the most observable component of a culture which is used for communication at every scale. "The ability to accurately exploit the appropriate linguistic resources in accordance with the specific requirements of each communicative situation is in fact a most valuable asset in achieving personal or public objectives" (López 2). Language does not exist independent of spatial and time-bound references that make up its context. Human beings are known as social animals that cannot exist without communication, meanwhile "language . . . [serves as] a means of communication . . . [which] almost always takes place within some sort of social context . . . [hence] effective communication requires an understanding and recognition of the connections between a language and the people who use it" (Amberg and Vause 2). Language, hence, cannot be interpreted out of its social context that includes the study of concepts like where the communication is taking place and learning about the people who are involved in communication, known as the interpersonal function of the language.

Here comes the hierarchy present between the people who are involved in a communicative act: there are those on the higher end and those on the lower end. The people who are on the higher pedestal of communication, the power groups, are the discourse creators. This autocracy can best be understood and interpreted within the confines of its socio-cultural context. Moreover, language is a source of bridging gaps between people which makes it, as Tom Bartlett puts it, "a social act and the making of contexts" (5). Once we have learned about the participants taking part in a communicative act, next comes the question of authenticity of information which passes from the speaker to listeners or from the writer to readers. The question of authenticity and bias is directly proportional to the manipulation and

misrepresentation of the target group. Manipulation can be the result of conscious agendas or, at times, it can be an unconscious activity as well.

Dr. Akopova Asya has outlined two distinct forms of manipulation: intentional and unintentional. In intentional linguistic manipulation, "the subject aims at a definite result on the part of the object of manipulation . . . [Whereas] [n]on-intentional linguistic manipulation is exercised involuntary[ily], as the subject does not aim at achieving results from the listener" (Asya 80). Here, subject represents the manipulator of the terms and the exerciser of power, and object represents the receptor of information. This manipulative nature of language brings us back to it being a social act, which requires a channel to reach the public. It is done through different types of texts, which can either be oral or written. Written texts constitute editorials, journals, articles, news reports, etc., whereas spoken acts of communication include stretches of talk, debates, speeches, etc. Hence, text is a unified whole which exploits linguistic items, lexical features, and discourse markers in order to attain its expected goals and reach the targeted audience.

Bartlett defines texts in the following terms: "texts are the records of spoken or written language and are . . . a gateway into discourse analysis" (3). In his definition of the text, the word discourse is important. Discourse is a piece of conversation whether formal or informal, but when it comes from a powerful source, it takes on various other dimensions. In a political context, discourse plays a pivotal role to garner public support for politicians' hidden agendas. Discourse is thus an exploitative tool which requires critical analysis from linguists. To understand discourse critically, certain critical theories are used in the field of linguistics, CDA is one of them.

Many linguists have attempted to define CDA, and few have succeeded in narrowing it down, van Dijk being one of them. He defines CDA as "discourse analytical research that

primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (van Dijk, "Critical Discourse Analysis" 352). Discourse makers are aware of this fact which is why they channelize their ideologies in news articles. van Dijk characterizes ideology in the following terms: ideologies are "misguided beliefs inculcated by the ruling class in order to legitimate the status quo" (*Ideology and discourse* 7). The element that sets his theoretical approach to CDA apart from other linguists includes his focus on the cognitive aspect of a discourse, which stretches both ways. He studies the way cognition plays its part in the production of the text in terms of the power group's ideology as well as the impact it casts on the minds of the audience.

van Dijk's "Power and the News Media," in particular, is significant as it looks at the broader impact of media, specifically print media, thus eliminating electronic media of all sorts, on "social, cultural, political, or economic structures of society" ("Power and the News Media" 9). It goes beyond the limited aspect of media's power and studies how "the remarkable parallel [exists] between the political, corporate, and media elite positions on international affairs and North-South relations, as it was for gender, race, and class" (28). In the context of 9/11, a similar parallel was established between the West and the East, where the former constituted the white Americans as well as the Europeans, and the latter included the Muslims.

Apart from van Dijk, a major name in the field of linguistics, social, and political activism, Noam Chomsky, also penned down a book on the manipulative strategies employed by democratic governments and media to achieve the desired conditioning of the target audience. In his book, *Media Control: The Spectacular Achievements of Propaganda*, Chomsky observes that in the so-called democracy of the U.S., public relations industry alongside media treats the public as a "bewildered herd" (Lippmann xx). Thus, the public lacks direction and is devoid of any decision making power, so the media needs to manipulate and

control their minds in order for them to function as responsible and loyal citizens of the democratic state. Nawaz et al.'s "Media Discourse and their Implicit Ideologies" (Nawaz et al. 328), applies the model of CDA to study how lexical choices are a product of hidden ideologies on part of the speaker in the socio-cultural context. Their research also studies the falsely claimed neutrality of media.

Furthermore, Suzan Ismael Wadi and Dr. AsmaaAwad Ahmed also studied the manipulation of language by two different media groups, *Al Jazeera Online* and *International Herald Tribune* newspaper in their research paper titled "Language Manipulation in Media", while reporting the same incident in which a Palestinian woman was killed by Israeli Army (Wadi and AsmaaAwand 16). According to them, media cannot be presented as the mirror image of the world, rather it shapes the world through the way the events are reported. Moreover, keeping in view the manipulative nature of media, Michael Franke and Robert van Rooij worked on the psychological and social impact of media on the psychology of masses in their research titled, "Strategies of persuasion, manipulation and propaganda: psychological and social aspects" (Franke and van Rooij 255). They presented the media with an effective and efficient model to influence the public, whereby the media should spend its energies on influential targets if it wants long-term effects, and if it has limited time span it should focus on influence-able individuals (285).

Plenty of ink has been spilled over the question of representation of Islam and Muslims in the international media (Fawal 4). It has been a topic of considerable debate and discussion, particularly in recent times (Törnberg and Törnberg 133). A substantial body of literature and research have illustrated that on the bigger spectrum, "the images, representations and discourses relating to Islam/Muslims in mainstream Western media tend to be negative and hostile" (qtd. in Saeed 444). Through the production of the hegemonic ideological stance, the

media can assert and adapt ideas about particular groups in society. Hence it leads to marginalization, intolerance, and fanaticism. The aptitude of representing others in a certain stereotypical light, emphasizing their differences, creates conflicts. It brands the targeted group with certain racist and stereotypical images.

Racism is insidious in nature which depicts the minority groups as inferior solely on the basis of the difference in their culture, color, and religious practices. It creates a dichotomy of "us" versus "them." Thus, it is essential to understand dominant ideologies reflected in representation, which is also the rationale behind this research. In their research titled, "Language at War: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Speeches of Bush and Obama on Terrorism," Emmanuel Sarfo and Ewuresi Agyeiwaa Krampa studied the representation of Muslims in the post-9/11 speeches by two U.S. presidents, George W. Bush and Barack Obama. Their study evaluated that these presidents employed lexical items to "project terrorism and anti-terrorism . . . [which] were dominantly verbs and nouns," fortifying van Dijk's theory of CDA by concluding that, "language can be used to construct an ideology, or establish a power relation of imbalance between two groups of people" (Sarfo and Krampa 388).

All the above works carry their own significance in the field of media discourse analysis, but one study that is specifically closer to this research is Sara J. Ahmed's "Evaluating *the New York Times'* Framing of Islam and Muslims Pre- & Post-9/11" (Ahmed iii). Ahmed carried out her research following qualitative and quantitative content analysis in which she presented the statistics about the prejudiced lexical items used to frame Muslims and Islam in the pre- and post-9/11 periods. Her research focuses on drawing conclusions on the basis of how many times a word has been used in pre- and post-9/11 *New York Times* news articles. This shows a gap in the existing scholarship about media discourse analysis because this mode of research leaves a lot of room for the researchers using qualitative method of analysis, which

does not focus on numbers only. Kerlinger defined content analysis, be it qualitative or quantitative, as "a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables" (Kerlinger 348). Qualitative analysis, in particular, is considered suitable for gaining an in-depth understanding of the underlying reasons and motivations of the study problem. Hence, the current thesis will use qualitative analysis to find a link between the use of language to represent Muslims in print media and social power, and how it is used to dominate the public discourse.

Chapter 3   Research Methodology

This study focuses on the ideological implications in the selected articles of *The New York Times* in the context of 9/11. The research focuses on the use of language by the selected journalists in their news articles, which reflects their ideologies, through van Dijk's theory of Socio-Cognitive Discourse Analysis. The qualitative research method presents a perfect framework for this thesis because it is appropriate "to understand the context that affects the social practices and meanings that are socially constructed by participants and institutions" (qtd. in Liu 119). Hence, the study will first trace the context of the discourse: the background of the conflict, moving on to the categorization and analysis of the groups involved in the conflict as well as the power relations. One major aspect of van Dijk's CDA theory is its identification of the groups into "us" versus "them." Thus, the groups involved in the conflict will be divided into two groups. Furthermore, the research will study "language use, discourse, verbal interaction and communication [which] belong to the micro-level of social order . . . [and how language usage establishes] power, dominance, and inequality between social groups which are typically terms that belong to a macro-level of analysis" (van Dijk, "Critical Discourse Analysis" 354). In the end, the thesis will attempt to study presupposed and implied meanings of the language used in the news articles that are based on the implicit ideologies of the power groups which result in the conditioning of the public discourse.

The New York Times is chosen because it is voted the topmost national newspaper in the U.S. which has won 144 Pulitzer prizes, more than any other newspaper in the world. The news agency, *The New York Times*, claims to be "winning at journalism. Of all the challenges facing a media company in the digital age, producing great journalism is the hardest . . . and we've got a huge lead over the competition" (*The New York Times*, *Innovation* 3). The outlet goes on to claim that their "core mission remains producing the world's best journalism" (3).

Columbia Journalism Review conducted a survey of a hundred newspapers about their integrity, accuracy, and their influence on broader journalist community, with *The New York Times* being voted as the topmost newspaper (Vivian). It is known to be the best newspaper for its elite status in influencing the other media resources. Specific authors of *The New York Times* have been chosen for this research on the basis of their experience in the field on journalism, and for most of the authors on the numbers of articles they have published in *The New York Times* which reflects on their position as the representatives of the newsgroup. In CDA, the background of the author carries a lot of importance. But, the religious affiliations of the nine authors out of eleven are unknown. The two authors who have openly talked about their religious affiliations are Yossi Klein Halevi and Salman Rushdie. Halevi is a self-proclaimed Jew while Rushdie calls himself a product of Islamic culture, yet claims to be a "hard-line atheist" (Moyers).

Among the pre-9/11 journalists, Benjamin Weiser "has long covered the criminal justice system, both as a beat and investigative reporter . . . [H]e received the George Polk Award . . . the Livingston Award . . . [and] has been a finalist . . . for the Pulitzer Prize three times" (*The New York Times*, "Benjamin"). The newspaper's archive shows that the author has published 2082 news articles in *The New York Times* so far, which reflects his position as a representative of the newsgroup. Sarah Kershaw "covered local news until her promotion to bureau chief in Seattle" (Robles). *The New York* Times' archive shows that Kershaw published 893 news articles in this newspaper until her death in 2016. Dean E. Murphy is currently working as Associate Editor at *The New York Times*. He previously worked as a business editor, deputy business editor, deputy national editor, and bureau chief of San Francisco, Johannesburg, Warsaw, Bonn. Murphy has published 583 news articles in *The New York Times* thus far.

Yossi Klein Halevi "is a senior fellow at the Shalom Hartman Institute in Jerusalem and the author of "Letters to My Palestinian Neighbor"" (Halevi). He has also written a book on three revealed religions: Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. According to the archive of the newspaper, Halevi has published 12 articles in *The New York Times* so far. Karl F. Inderfurth, a U.S. diplomat, "is currently an adjunct professor of international relations at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) and George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs (ESIA)" (National Democratic Institute). Inderfurth occasionally writes for *The New York Times* and has published 10 articles in this newspaper so far.

Among the post-9/11 journalists, Laurie Goodstein has worked as a journalist for three decades. Currently, she "is a national religion correspondent for The New York Times" (*The New York Times*, "Laurie"). *The New York Times* archive shows that since joining the newspaper, Goodstein has published 1,165 news articles to date which reflects her position as a representative of the enterprise. Douglas Jehl currently serves as a foreign editor for the *Washington Post*. Previously, he worked for *The New York Times* for "16 years as a correspondent, Middle East bureau chief and editor at the New York Times, where he was deputy Washington bureau chief" (The *Washington Post*). In honor of his services as an author, he has received two Pulitzer Prizes, Rhodes Scholar award, and Gerald R. Ford Prize. Jehl has published 1,585 news articles in *The New York Times*.

Daniel J. Wakin is currently working as "an editor in the Obituaries department" at *The New York Times* (*The New York Times*, "Daniel"). In the past, he served as the deputy to the editorial director for the same newspaper. Wakin has published 2,494 articles in *The New York Times* to date and he continues to write for the paper. Charlie Leduff is a Pulitzer Prize winning author who wrote for *The New York Times*, and "is [also] the author of *The New York*

Times best seller [non-fiction books] *Detroit: An American Autopsy; US Guys* and *Work and Other Sins*" (Leduff). Leduff has written 759 articles for *The New York Times.* The next author, Salman Rushdie is a renowned novelist who has won Booker Prize, James Joyce Award, St. Louis Literary Award, Prix du Meilleur Livre Étranger, etc. He occasionally writes news articles for *The New York Times* which conform to the ideology of the newspaper. The last post-9/11 journalist of *The New York Times* chosen for this research is Thom Shanker. He "is an assistant . . . editor for the *Times*, joining the editing ranks in 2014 after serving for 13 years as a correspondent" for *The New York Times* covering the issues like national security and combat operation of military (*The New York Times*, "Thom"). Shanker has published 1,981 news articles in *The New York Times* to date. In a nutshell, most of the selected journalists have published over 500 news articles in *The New York Times*. Such extensive space provided by this media outlet to these authors shows a correspondence between their works and the ideology of the newsgroup, and reflects their position as representatives of the newsgroup.

In order to maintain objectivity, the "search" function on *The New York Times* website was used to filter the results by day, month, year, and keywords. The keywords used for this research were "Muslims" and "Islam." Five news articles were chosen from the pre-9/11 period and five from the post-9/11 time. The specific dates for the pre-9/11 era were specified to one year prior to the incident: September 10, 2000, to September 10, 2001. The first news article written by Benjamin Weiser, published on September 13, 2000 is titled "Prosecutors Deny Hounding Muslims in Terrorism Case." This news article is chosen because it presents a neutral picture of Muslims before 9/11. The second news article "Queens to Detroit: A Bangladeshi Passage," by Sarah Kershaw, published March 8, 2001, is selected because it narrates the story of Bangladeshi immigrants who moved from Queens to Detroit in order to have a sustainable income. It sheds light on the peaceful life of Muslims before 9/11. The third news article "Two Unlikely Allies Come Together in Fight against Muslims," by Dean E. Murphy, published June

2, 2001, is chosen because it talks about the other two "us" groups, Jews and Hindus, with reference to Muslims. It highlights the presence of contention between these groups prior to the incident of 9/11. The fourth news article "An Islam Much Forgotten," by Yossi Klein Halevi, published August 10, 2001, is chosen because it centres upon the condition of Muslims inside Jerusalem before 9/11. The fifth news article is named, "Teaching the Taliban about Human Rights," by Karl F. Inderfurth, published on August 29, 2001. The whole narrative of Muslim terrorists started from Afghanistan, which is why this article has been chosen for the current research.

The particular dates for the post-9/11 times were specified to one year after the incident: September 12, 2001 to September 12, 2002. The first news article written by Laurie Goodstein, published on September 12, 2001 is titled "A day of terror: The ties; In U.S., Echoes of Rift of Muslims and Jews." This news article is chosen because it mainly focuses on the treatment that Muslims in the U.S. received at the hands of some Americans after the incident of 9/11. The second news article "A Nation Challenged: The Muslims; More Extremists Find Basis for Rebellion in Islam," by Douglas Jehl, published on September 22, 2001, is selected because it focuses on the specific verses in the Qur'an which focus on fighting against non-Muslims. The third news article is titled "A Nation Challenged: Muslims; Among New York Muslims, Support for U.S. Strikes," by Daniel J. Wakin and Charlie Leduff, published on October 8, 2001. This article is selected for this research because the authors try to legitimize support among the Muslim immigrants for the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan. The fourth news article chosen for this research, "Yes, This Is About Islam," by Salman Rushdie, published November 2, 2001, is selected because it provides a counter-narrative to the widespread Muslim discourse which disputes that Islam is behind terrorism. The last article chosen for analysis in this thesis, "Senior Pentagon Official Urges Links with Moderate Muslims," by Thom Shanker, published on August 15, 2002, is selected because it highlights the attempts made by the U.S. Defence

Department to rehabilitate and improve their relations with moderate Muslim regimes. This article carries significance in the present context because it brings into limelight the positive efforts of the U.S. government after 9/11. The selected news articles present a blend of narratives from a wide range of perspectives, both positive and negative, in order to keep the sample as neutral as possible.

Chapter 4　　　　Theoretical Framework

The current chapter begins by tracing the origin of discourse, moving on to the discussion of how critical discourse analysis evolved in the field of linguistics, and how it set the precursor for CDA. It further incorporates the journey of CDA from critical theory to its present-day use in political rhetoric. After setting the background, this chapter sheds light on the works of some major linguists who have contributed to the field of CDA. Furthermore, it focuses on the postulates of the Socio-Cognitive Discourse Analysis theory selected to analyze *The New York Times* news articles. It also discusses in detail the steps which will be followed to carry out the analysis.

Discourse analysis is a fairly modern discipline having its origin in antiquity, as "the word 'discourse' can be traced back to the cultural background of Greek dialectical communication practiced and learned by the public speakers" (Haase 1). Discourse encompasses the formal and informal array of conversations whose meaning and importance vary according to the status of the producer and the receiver of the information. Discourse analysis is a very diverse field and it has acquired a number of usages over the past few decades. Meriel Bloor and Thomas Bloor elaborate on the various uses of the term in their book *The Practice of Critical Discourse Analysis: An Introduction*:

> 'Discourse' refers to all the phenomena of symbolic interaction and communication between people, usually through spoken or written language or visual representation . . . [which] can involve matters like context, background information or knowledge shared between a speaker and hearer . . . [It] is frequently used to refer to the general communication that takes place in specific institutional context [e.g. discourse of law

or medicine] *. . . Multi-modal discourse* refers to discourse which relies on more than one mode of communication. (Bloor and Bloor 7)

Considering this vast array of usages, one can say that discourse encompasses the entire communicative act, be it spoken, written, verbal, or non-verbal; however, more emphasis is put on the spoken aspect of communication in discourse analysis across the board. This diversity can be attributed to three distinct schools of thought in discourse analysis. German and Central European schools of thought distinguish "between 'text' and 'discourse', relating to the tradition in text linguistics as well as to rhetoric" (Wodak and Meyer 6). Then comes the Anglo-American school of thought which uses discourse "both for written and oral texts" (6). The third and final school of thought is the Foucauldian strand whose idea of discourse is broader than the previous two. Foucauldian description of discourse goes beyond concrete forms of knowledge and incorporates abstract forms as well "including not only cognitions but also emotions" (Jäger and Maier 58).

The discourses that originate from a powerful source carry implicit manipulative ideologies within them that act as a vehicle to carry their agendas and project them onto the minds of a particular audience. In this instance, discourse analysis takes on the form of CDA which is practiced as a social theory. To study the evolution of CDA, it is essential to trace the development of discourse analysis theory as it serves as a precedent to CDA. The history of "discourse analysis can be traced [back] to classical rhetoric . . . More than 2,000 years ago, rhetoricians like Aristotle specified the various structures of discourse and indicated their effectiveness in processes of persuasion in public contexts" (van Dijk, *News as Discourse* 18). Even in ancient times, there were two strands which dealt with language. First strand "*grammatica*, the historical antecedent of linguistics, was concerned with the normative rules of correct language use, [whereas the second strand] *. . . rhetorica* dealt with the precepts for

the planning, organization, specific operations, and performance of public speech in political and legal settings" (van Dijk, *Handbook of Discourse Analysis* 1). The latter strand *rhetorica* set the precedent for discourse analysis thousands of years ago.

Nonetheless, the importance of rhetoric dwindled in the school curriculum and academic research as the world went through drastic changes in science as well as religion and rationality through the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. This field was replaced by the emergence of historical and comparative linguistics in the 19th century and structural linguistics in the 20th century where rhetoric survived "only in school textbooks of speech and communication, on one hand, and in stylistics or the study of literary language, on the other" (van Dijk, *Handbook of Discourse Analysis* 1). When rhetoric faced downfall as an autonomous academic field in the mid-20th century, new developments underwent which were "closely tied to the emergence of structuralism . . . [The] first branch of this structuralist enterprise grew from anthropology, linguistics, and literary studies, later often unified under the label of semiotics" (van Dijk, *News as Discourse* 18). One of the most important books in linguistics, *Morphology of the Folktale* by Vladimir Propp laid the foundation for discourse analysis as it contained morphological and phonological analysis of Russian folktale, "which provided the main impetus for a first systematic analysis of narrative discourse after the translation of his book three decades later [in the year 1952]" (18). In the 1960s, the decade which bears the title of the birth of modern discourse analysis, further developments took place which came under the umbrella term of semiotics.

A significant contribution to the evolution of discourse is the work of the social theorist Michel Foucault. According to the Foucauldian idea of discourse, discourses are "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault 54), which refers to the fact that discourses can create objects entirely on their own on the basis of who is creating that

specific discourse and at what particular moment in history. In his book *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, published in 1972, Foucault presented an alternative approach to looking at history by going beyond the accumulation of mere facts, shedding the preconceived notions about history, and studying history in itself as a free-standing discourse in relation to power. His contribution to the discourse analytical research revolves around the power relations in society which are established through language and the influence of the ineluctable, co-occurring socio-cultural and socio-political factors, which apply in the case of history as well.

CDA is a transdisciplinary field as opposed to an interdisciplinary field (Fairclough, "Critical Discourse Analysis" 1), on account of the fact that it transgresses any single discipline and strives to study language as a social act in various fields. Therefore, one cannot pinpoint the origins of critical discourse theory as that of discourse analysis. Different strands within CDA approach this theory from different vantage points. On the one hand, CDA is considered to be an outgrowth of discourse analysis, while on the other, it is naturally grounded in the critical theory which is influenced by the Frankfurt School and Jürgen Habermas, one of the leading contemporary critical social theorists. The concept of CDA existed in the form of the critical theory given by Frankfurt School of Social Research even before the Second World War (van Dijk, "Critical Discourse Analysis" 352). "The Frankfurt School [founded in 1923], known more appropriately as Critical Theory, is a philosophical and sociological movement . . . [which focused on] the critique of modernity and capitalist society, the definition of social emancipation, as well as the detection of the pathologies of society" (Corradetti). Their notion of critical theory is mainly based on an essay written by Max Horkheimer in 1937, who propounded the idea that "social theory should be oriented towards critiquing and changing society as a whole, in contrast to traditional theory oriented solely to understanding or explaining it" (Wodak and Meyer 6).

While studying the evolution of critical discourse theory it is unlikely to overlook the importance of critical linguistics. It was introduced in the field of linguistics by The East Anglia School, "whose early work drew on George Orwell for inspiration, Bakhtin and to a lesser extent Habermas and to an even lesser extent Foucault for its social theory" (Chilton 20). The two terms "critical linguistics" and "critical discourse analysis" are often used interchangeably by the linguists (Wodak and Meyer 1). Critical linguistics draws heavily upon Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) given by Michael Halliday which revolves around the idea of "importance of social context (the context of culture and context of situation) in the production and development of language" (Ahmadvand 83).[1] In the SFL analysis, different linguists interpret the same reality differently. For instance, "same historically occurring event can be described as a riot, a demonstration or a protest; and social actors can be presented as agents or victims by selection of grammatical coding" (Tenorio 193). Similarly, the CDA researchers also tend to make their "positions and interests explicit while retaining their respective scientific methodologies and while remaining self-reflective of their own research process" (Wodak and Meyer 3). These researchers tend to depend on the interpretist approach because their research is limited to the data that is mainly collected by themselves.

Some CDA theorists also take influence broadly from Althusser's theory of ideology which revolves around Ideological and Repressive State Apparatuses, and particularly from his idea of *interpellation* which suggests that ideology functions in such a way that it designates individuals among the masses and transforms them as its propagators. He goes on to write that "all ideology hails or interpellates concrete individuals as concrete subjects" (Althusser 173).

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[1] SFL is opposed to Chomskiyan Transformational Generative Grammar because it mainly deals with the pre-set rules of a given language that are used to make grammatically correct sentences time and again.

He makes a clear distinction between concrete individuals and concrete subjects, whereby ideology grabs the attention of concrete subjects by addressing their needs. For instance, a political party designs its manifesto which is a representation of their ideology, but focuses specifically on the needs of the public to get their vote.

Critical discourse theory also contains some attributes of Gramsci's idea of *hegemony* which maintains that control can be exercised not only by the use of coercive force by the State, but also through non-violent ways which include the persuasive function of discourse that helps in materializing "the proletariat's hegemony over the peasantry" (Gramsci 123). This idea reciprocates with the theory of cultural Marxism which is employed in the cultural studies by scholars. It critiques the capitalists' propagandist approach to mass-produce the profitable aspects of culture. It is also done through a non-coercive approach to create hegemony, such as the propagation of the ideas like the life on earth is a result of evolution rather than creation. This seemingly innocent idea actually negates a higher purpose of life on earth, and makes the human beings adopt a more materialistic approach to life which, in turn, benefits the capitalist class. Same is the case with critical discourse theory; it analyzes how power groups propagate their ideologies through peaceful ways in order to gain their desired outcome.

CDA entered a phase of rapid development in the late 1980s when several books surfaced revolving around the idea of critical discourse theory written by famous linguists who later formed CDA group and laid the foundation of CDA a decade later. These books included *Prejudice in Discourse* (1984) by van Dijk in which he focuses on ethnic attitudes and prejudice among white supremacists and also deals with "cognitive social psychology about (ethnic and other) stereotypes, group schemata, and biased information processing about minority groups" (van Dijk, *Prejudice in Discourse* 3). *Language, Power and Ideology* (1989) by Wodak argues that "political groups need their own language . . . [T]hey define their territory by means of

their language; they signal their ideology through certain slogans and stereotypes" (Wodak 137). And, *Language and Power* (1989) by Fairclough which holds that the ultimate aim of CDA is to sensitize the public with the exploitation caused by social relations (Fairclough, *Language and Power* 4).

Many prominent linguists, collectively known as the CDA group, including Norman Fairclough, Teun A. van Dijk, Ruth Wodak, Gunther Kress, and Theo van Leeuwen joined together in Amsterdam, in January 1991, to discuss theories and methods in the field of discourse analysis, specifically CDA. This meeting "made it possible to confront with each other the very distinct and different approaches, which have, of course, changed significantly since 1991 but remain relevant, in many respects" (Wodak and Meyer 3). These linguists discussed the similarities and differences which are found in the different approaches of CDA in terms of theory and methodology. Later on, some of these linguists altered their course of action in the field of linguistics and distanced themselves from CDA (3), but Fairclough, van Dijk, and Wodak remained committed to this field and made considerable contributions in the field of "critical linguistics" which has recently come to be known more commonly "as critical discourse analysis." The above mentioned CDA group formed a formal CDA network which was introduced in the field of linguistics when van Dijk launched his journal titled *Discourse and Society* in 1990 (3).

Through the works of Fairclough, van Dijk, and Wodak along with Paul Chilton, Theo van Leeuwen, Michael Meyer, etc., CDA continues to progress incorporating more fields such as political rhetoric, psychology, sociology, etc. In the twenty-first century, critical discourse theory is most commonly used to analyze the ideologies that drive the political debates and the collaborative role of media, be it electronic or print. van Dijk is one of the main proponents of the study of power in the news media, where "power is not restricted to the influence of the

media on their audiences, but also involves the role of the media within the broader framework of the social, cultural, political, or economic power structures of society" (van Dijk, "Power and the News Media" 9).

As mentioned earlier, there are multiple strands within the broader network of CDA which approach this theory from different standpoints, for instance:

> Fairclough takes sociology, social semiotics, and SFL as the theoretical and linguistic foundation of his studies; Ruth Wodak . . . develops CDA from the historical perspective as his [her] historical-discourse analysis approach; van Dijk . . . concentrates on analyzing discourses in a social cognitive approach; Paul Chilton's critical discourse analytical approach is rooted in developmental psychology and cognitive science. (Liu and Guo 1077)

All the above-mentioned linguists proceed toward CDA from different vantage points, but their focus remains the same which is to study the skilful use of language in a discourse in order to maintain power relations in a society.

Fairclough sees CDA as a form of critical social research which begins with questions such as: "[H]ow do existing societies provide people with the possibilities and resources for rich and fulfilling lives, how on the other hand do they deny people these possibilities and resources? . . . What possibilities are there for social change which would reduce these problems and enhance the quality of the lives of the human beings?" (Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse* 202). When he calls CDA a form of critical social research, it becomes the aim of CDA to address these questions of the society which lead to such social problems by tracing the ideologies of the dominant bloc of the society. While doing textual analysis, his stratagem to critically look at the social issues does not operate at the semantic level, rather it analyzes how words function in a text. Furthermore, the study of discursive practices unfolds the

production and consumption of the text which is done by examining the encoding and decoding of a text. Lastly, social practice studies what a certain communicative act says about the society, how it will impact the society, and "will it help to continue inequalities and other undesirable social practices, or will it help to break them down?" (Richardson 42).

Ruth Wodak, an Austrian linguist who was also a part of the CDA group, also contributed profusely to the field of CDA. She discusses in her book *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, that CDA is "subject to a hugely proliferating number of usages in the social sciences" (Wodak and Meyer 2). But in CDA the object does not need to be negative in itself or have negative connotations just because the title bears the term "critical." Almost every "social phenomenon lends itself to critical investigation, to be challenged and not taken for granted" (2). She also propounds the idea that theories and methods of analysis in CDA are multifaceted because it is not confined to any single field of study. CDA draws methodologies of data analysis from various disciplines including social science, conversation analysis, pragmatics, sociolinguistics, psychology, philosophy, and so on. Thus it is continuously subjected to debates and is continually evolving stretching across more fields.

This thesis employs van Dijk's socio-cognitive theory in media discourse analysis in order to study how the journalists of *The New York Times* created a prejudiced image of Muslims in the post-9/11 news articles, and how they established a stereotypical image of a particular ethnic minority by the use of biased language. This theory also provides a perfect framework to study the representation of Muslims in the pre-9/11 period in order to draw a comparison between the pre- and post-9/11 news articles. For this reason, the CDA theory given by van Dijk has been chosen as it focuses on micro and macro levels of social order, which together deal with language manipulation in a particular discourse, media in the present context, and through critical analysis studies that discourse establishes dominance, inequality,

and power politics. It cannot be explained as a definite theory confined by fixed boundaries because it is more of a direction which helps in analyzing the meanings based on the ideological background of a discourse, hence it is "not interested in investigating a linguistic unit per se but in studying social phenomena which are necessarily complex and thus require a multidisciplinary and multi-methodical approach" (Wodak and Meyer 2).

van Dijk's theory also explores how this manufactured discourse leads to the conditioning of the general public by bombarding them with biased words, which caused a number of violent incidents ranging from verbal abuse to death threats in the case of the calamitous incident of 9/11. van Dijk's theory of Socio-Cognitive Discourse Analysis is selected over the CDA theory given by Fairclough which also studies the enactment of power, ideology, and discourse. This theory proves to be a strong contender for this thesis, but due to its limited focus on language and the ideological background of the producer of the text, which pertains to the socio-cognitive element of the text, van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive approach to CDA was selected for this research.

van Dijk's CDA theory mainly focuses on the influence of social actors on the human cognition, which then implicitly or explicitly dictates the creation of discourse, hence his CDA theory is termed as Socio-Cognitive Discourse Analysis. His "approach to CDA is characterized by the Discourse-Cognition-Society triangle" (van Dijk, "Critical Discourse Studies" 64). All the other approaches to CDA examine the relationship between discourse and society meanwhile overlooking a very important aspect that is cognition, although nearly all the aspects of society are mediated through it. According to van Dijk, "[d]iscourse structures and social structures are of a different nature, and can only be related through the mental representations of language users as individuals and as social members" (64). His triangular socio-cognitive approach to CDA, first of all, "deals with the many structures of racist text and

talk, such as specific topics, negative descriptions of minorities or immigrants, disclaimers, the lexicon and other grammatical structures, topoi, argumentation or metaphors, among many other structures of ideological polarization between 'Us' and 'Them'" (64).

Secondly, the cognitive aspect of "such discourse structures [is] interpreted and explained in terms of underlying, socially shared ethnic prejudices and racist ideologies and the ways they influence the mental models of individual language users" (van Dijk, "Critical Discourse Studies" 64). Mental models refer to the working memory/short-term memory and long-term memory of an individual. Long-term memory is itself divided into episodic memory and semantic memory. Our personal, subjective, autobiographical experiences become a part of our episodic memory, but these personal experiences are a building standing on the foundation of semantic memory which stores the socially shared knowledge, beliefs as well as fundamental ideologies. "Hence, unique, personal mental models may be more or less similar to those of other members of the same community or group" (67). As the members of a group experience same incidents, it conditions their mental models in a similar manner. Such similar encounters make "these crucial features of human cognition [to] allow cooperation, interaction and communication, and hence discourse" (67). The cognitive aspect of the discourse is studied by focusing one's energies on the study of underlying ideologies of the discourse and the context in which the discourse is produced.

Thirdly, the social aspect of this triangular model studies how this ethnic domination is maintained and reproduced by "white dominant groups" in the society (van Dijk, "Critical Discourse Studies" 64). Such ethnically prejudiced discourses "are controlled by powerful symbolic elites and organizations, e.g. those of politics, mass media and education, who have privileged access to public discourse" (64). For this purpose, he advocated the analysis of powerful public discourses and that is also the reason why he usually focuses on the analysis

of formal texts such as power play in the news media and political debates. His theory took root in "formal text linguistics and subsequently incorporated elements of the standard psychological model of memory, together with the idea of frame taken from cognitive science" (Tenorio 190). He reinforced the idea of *social representation* given by Serge Moscovici who affirmed that "we perceive the world, such as it is, and all our perceptions, ideas and attributions are responses to stimuli from the physical or quasi-physical environment in which we live" (Moscovici 19). His theory mainly deals with the prejudiced representation of ethnic minorities in political and media discourse, for instance, racism, which is shaped and reproduced in texts through the use of stereotypes.

By employing van Dijk's theory, first of all, the study will attempt to trace the background of the conflict that is 9/11. Secondly, the study will focus on analyzing the groups ensnared in the conflict as well as the hierarchy of power relations since the divide between different ethnicities widened after 9/11. AS Shahshahani and Guilloud point out: "Muslims in America have seen a rise in preemptive prosecutions [as following the incident] the FBI began to target Muslims and convict them of conspiracy and material support . . . [and the] government further prosecuted targets for non-terrorism-related crimes that they would have otherwise not prioritized" (Shahshahani and Guilloud). Such treatment of Muslims on the part of the security forces further created a rift between the people of the U.S. following the incident of 9/11. The present thesis explores the micro level of social order by analyzing the language, in order to examine how it is used to reproduce the patterns of dominance and inequality in the discourse that is the macro level of social order. This association present between micro and macro levels of social order is used to mediate the social cognition of the audience by impacting their semantic and episodic memories.

The succeeding steps of van Dijk's theory further help us to explore the language used in these news articles by designating the groups into "us" versus "them," and analyzing the literal as well as connotative implications of the language used to represent both of them in order to reinforce the existing hierarchical relations in the society. In van Dijk's CDA theory, "us" versus "them" aspect carries rather more importance, as according to him:

> White racists . . . represent society basically in terms of a conflict between whites and non-whites, in which the identity, goals, values, positions and resources of whites are seen to be threatened by the Others. They do so by representing the relations between themselves and the Others essentially in terms of us versus them, in which we are associated with positive properties and they are associated with bad properties. (van Dijk, "Discourse Analysis as Ideology Analysis" 18)

Therefore, thirdly, the thesis will identify the groups involved in the conflict into "us" and "them" groups in order to emphasize or (de)emphasize the polarized opinions articulated by the groups in the news articles. It will assist this research to draw a better picture of the bias present in the news articles. The ideologies are constructed in a way that "such representations are often articulated along an us versus them dimension, in which speakers of one group will generally tend to present themselves or their own group in positive terms, and other groups in negative terms" (van Dijk, "Discourse Analysis as Ideology Analysis" 22). This dichotomy of "us" versus "them" creates a strong binary opposition between the two groups that may have much in common beyond race or religion.

van Dijk is of the opinion that "media discourses in general, and news articles in particular, should also be accounted for in their own right, e.g., as particular types of language use or text and as specific kinds of sociocultural practice." (*News Analysis* 2). Therefore, fourthly, the research will examine "formal structure: lexical choice and syntactic structure, in

a way that helps to (de)emphasize polarized group opinions" (Sheyholislami 5). Typically CDA only revolves around the study of linguistic items with cursory focus on "more complex, higher-level properties, such as coherence relations between sentences, overall topics, and schematic forms, as well as stylistic and rhetorical dimensions" (*News Analysis* 2). But, for van Dijk, these aspects of CDA are equally important. Hence, in order to break down the language used in the news articles, this thesis will attempt to identify the formal organization of the news articles in terms of the syntactic structure of the sentences weaved together through the use of coherence techniques, the thematic organization of the story, and the use of biased words.

Finally, this thesis will try to unravel the presupposed and implied meanings in the news articles because media, especially newspapers whose scope is limited to play on words, uses the tactics such as implied meanings. Such use of words is one way of impacting the social cognition of the public, along with the use of several other linguistic devices such as flashback technique, making "them" group the mouthpiece of journalists' opinions, etc. Journalists operate within the prescribed boundaries of newsgroup, hence, they do not directly reveal their ideologies rather they implicitly weave them in their articles. It reciprocates Althusser's notion of *interpellation* which suggests that ideologies recruit individuals among the general public as their advocators to propagate their beliefs in order to increase their following. In other words, the implied meanings are based on hidden ideologies of the power groups, which lead to the mind control and mental conditioning of people. The tenets of the CDA theory employed to analyze the language put into perspective the micro level of social order and how it connects itself with the bigger social realities that constitute the macro level of social order.

Politicians as well as other influential groups of the society make use of public forums, such as electronic and print media, to get their message across to their target audience. The political agendas of power groups frame the ideologies, which need to be propagated in order

to achieve the mental conditioning of the masses. For the general public, the most accessible means of getting information is media, which publicize the information in no time. Moscovici sheds light on the position of the common people in society without the existence of the scientific instruments at their disposal, he says:

> Without the benefit of scientific instruments, we tend to consider and analyse the world in a very similar way; especially as the world with which we deal is social through and through, which means that we are never provided with any information which has not been distorted by representations 'superimposed' on objects and on persons which give them a certain vagueness and make them partially inaccessible. (Moscovici 21)

Given the importance of mass media, newspapers are considered to be "instrumental tools for communicating information, especially in times of crisis and uncertainty" (Ahmed 5). People sitting at their homes rely on whatever is shown to them on news channels and what they get to read in newspapers. Thus effective communication is not a unidimensional process where only the speakers or writers convey a message in the form of an oral or written speech; rather it is a two-way process where the decoding of the message carries equal weight.

After global incidents such as 9/11, media employs its power to give rise to a certain type of discourse in public which reciprocates with the ideology of the power groups in the society. People expect authentic coverage of the event and look forward to reading about the reality of the catastrophic event. A void of information is created between what actually happens and what the public knows. This gap needs to be filled, so media comes to the rescue, but under veiled words propounding their ideologies as it happened in the case of the tragic incident of 9/11. Media tends to conceal the truth by focusing their energies on ethnic minorities as "it is common for the media to present simplistic unidimensional analyses of conflict, where ethnic difference is in itself given as a cause of conflict" (The Australian Psychological Society

4). As Edward Said observed in his book, *Covering Islam*, "a corps of "experts" on the Islamic world has grown to prominence, and during a crisis, they are brought out to pontificate on formulaic ideas about Islam on news programs or talk shows" (*Covering Islam* xi). In the case of the historic event of September 11, 2001, the exploitative nature of media came into effect. Western media provided people with a whole range of biased words about the causative forces in the event targeting the Muslims. Bush, in his speech, said, "terrorists are wicked Islamists, religious fundamentalists and fanatics, who commit unspeakable acts of mass murder and mayhem against innocent civilians" (Ivie 233). After the incident of 9/11, the Western media wove a "web of racism, [fraught with] cultural stereotypes, [which ensued] political imperialism, [and] dehumanizing ideology[ies]" (Said, *Orientalism* 27).

Thus, the aim of this research is to provide an understanding of how language works to express power relations and ideologies in texts. Through the study of the selected news articles of *The New York Times*, the research will examine how particular linguistic features are used to persuade, manipulate, and convey social, racial, or sexist ideological views. van Dijk is of the opinion that "media power is generally symbolic and persuasive, in the sense that the media primarily have the potential to control to some extent the minds of readers or viewers" ("Power and the News Media" 10). The offshoots of media try to build a positive image of their own community while misrepresenting the other targeted communities. As it happened in the aftermath of 9/11, Muslims were targeted and misrepresented in the media.

The CDA theory in media allows us to analyze the language used by the selected journalists of *The New York Times* by critically analyzing the words and phrases by distinguishing them into "us" and "them" groups. Then moving on to the comparison between their lexical connotations on the basis of the ideological background of the power groups. This is the reason why CDA provides a perfect framework to study the news articles because we

need to find out if the representation of Muslims altered in the post-9/11 time, how this change came about, and whether media made a considerable contribution, among a multitude of other factors that brought about a tilt in the public mind-set about Muslims and Islam. This theory helps to explore the social stratification of society into different groups on the basis of political or economic power. So, it is necessary to trace the language patterns, using CDA with a focus on van Dijk's theory, which lead to the manipulation of the media discourse about Muslims and Islam. It can be called a minor attempt to understand the bigger picture as news articles constitute only but one component in the multiple factors which lead to the generalization of the religion Islam and the objectification of its adherents in the post-9/11 times. Said points out, that it has "become the last acceptable form of denigration of foreign culture in the West; what is said about the Muslim mind, or character, or religion, or culture as a whole cannot now be said in mainstream discussion about Africans, Jews, other Orientals, or Asians" (Said, *Covering Islam* xii).

Chapter 5 Analysis

This chapter focuses on an in-depth study of the ten selected news articles of *The New York Times* that betray both explicit and implicit ideologies of the power groups. The subsequent analysis will follow the CDA theory in order to address three essential tenets of van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive theory in the selected news articles of *The New York Times*. The analysis will begin by laying out the background of 9/11 along with the context of the newsgroup. Moving on to the groups involved in the conflict, the study will then classify them into "us" versus "them" groups on the basis of power. Then on the basis of this background, the language used in the selected news articles will be examined for its positive self-representation and negative representation of the other while also exploring the implied meanings that run through these news articles.

5.1 Background of 9/11

It is true that for some countries, their location shapes their history, politics, and the nature of their people (Rashid 7). For a country whose "geo-strategic location on the crossroads between Iran, the Arabian Sea and India and between Central Asia and South Asia has given its territory and mountain passes a significance" (7), Afghanistan has been under the rule of several invaders. That is why this country is a complex mix of different races and ethnicities who largely live in the form of tribes. On the basis of these differences, these tribes do not get along. Hence, tribal wars are very common inside Afghanistan to date. In the last century, when Sardar Mohammed Daud overthrew King Zahir Shah, he was "helped by [the] leftist officers [under the leadership of Babrak Kamal] . . . to crush a nascent Islamic fundamentalist movement" (12). The leaders of this movement "Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, Burhanuddin Rabbani and Ahmad Shah Masud . . . [who] later . . . [led] the Mujahideen" took refuge in Pakistan (12).

These leaders along with Pakistani government trained Mujahedeen in Pakistani *madrassas* to rid Afghanistan of communist Russia during the Cold War, only to make way for the new Taliban rulers.

In 1989, the Soviet Union withdrew its forces from Afghanistan putting an end to the Cold War that lasted over 44 years in the form of proxy wars in the Third World Countries in a bipolar world order between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The rising bipolarity in the world during the Cold War took its last blow in Afghanistan. It was entirely due to the strategic location of the country. Hence, the Afghan victims saw "the Soviet invasion . . . [as] yet another attempt by outsiders to subdue them and replace their time-honoured religion and society with an alien ideology and social system" (Rashid 13). During this time, Pakistan assisted the U.S. in ridding Afghanistan of the Russian troops by the help of Mujahedeen who were used as "U.S. backed, anti-Soviet shock troops" to defeat Russia (13). This withdrawal marked the end of the Cold War, but Mujahedeen (a militia army created by the U.S. and the Pakistani government to evict Russian communist forces out of Afghanistan) were left in Afghanistan by themselves. They disappeared after the Cold War in the mountain ranges of Pakistan and Afghanistan. These Mujahedeen were the predecessors of the Taliban, and according to Ahmed Rashid, in 1994, they mysteriously "emerged [first] to conquer Kandahar and then swept north to capture Kabul in September 1996" (2-3). The Taliban initially settled in Bamiyan, a town on the outskirts of Himalayan Mountains in Afghanistan and a previous Buddhist monastery, to destroy the two giant Buddha statues built as a tourist attraction.

On a bigger scale the Taliban's plan was to build "an Afghan state and society that resembled in culture, government and religious practice the idea they had of a perfect Pashtun village" (Burke 5). This plan might have seemed far-fetched, "but it was very real to them, and

so was the political project of creating it" (5). When we take the ground reality into consideration, the Taliban did not have any solution of how to tackle the failing political and social situation of the country. Nevertheless, they used violence in order to overtake the cities of Afghanistan and declared their rule in 1996 under their sovereign Mullah Omar. At that time, a number of extremist organizations with their distinct religious and political ideologies operated within Afghanistan. Al-Qaeda, an international extremist organization under the leadership of Osama bin Laden stood out among them. It "was established by Osama Bin Laden, scion of an immensely rich Saudi family of Yemeni origins, and Abdullah Yusef Azzam, a Palestinian Sunni scholar and an architect of international jihad" in Pakistan's city of Peshawar in the year 1988 during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (Rosenau and Powell 9). They followed the teachings of Azzam, who "conceptualized 'Al-Qaeda' in Al-Jihad, a journal of the Afghan Arabs" (Bakker and Boer 26).

In 1991, bin Laden settled in Sudan upon the request of "Hassan al Turabi, an Islamist leader and a key figure in the National Islamic Front regime in Sudan" to train terrorists (Rosenau and Powell 9). They assisted their comrades in "East Asia, Africa, the former Soviet Union, and the Balkans through front organizations . . . which supported embattled Muslims and foreign fighters in Bosnia and Herzegovina" (10). The U.S. was well aware of bin Laden's involvement in these regions. Hence, it put "pressure on Sudan [which finally] led to Bin Laden's expulsion in 1996 and a return to Afghanistan" (10). In Afghanistan, he became increasingly close to Mullah Omar, leader of the Taliban. While the Taliban had a more domestic approach considering their goal of creating an "ideal" Afghanistan, Al-Qaeda had more international outreach which is evident from their attacks on the two U.S. embassies in East Africa in 1998. They wanted to weaken the economic and political infrastructure of their enemies which bin Laden had clearly stated were the apostate regimes of the Gulf countries and the U.S. for which purpose they set numerous training camps all across Afghanistan.

The Taliban established their rule based on "an extreme interpretation of the Sharia or Islamic law that appalled many Afghans and the Muslim world" (Rashid 2). Their system of governance cannot be confined to a single definition. On the one hand, the Taliban's government system followed the Islamic Sharia law, while on the other, it was influenced by the policies of Iron Amir (1880-1901). Amir Abdul Rehman was known for being the initiator of ethnic tensions and "created Afghanistan's first brutal secret police force, a precursor to the communist Khad in the 1980s" (12). His other policies that had an indirect impact on the Taliban were "isolation of Afghanistan from Western or modernizing influences including education, his emphasis on Islam by enhancing the powers of the Pashtun mullahs and introducing the concept of a divine right to rule rather than the traditional concept of election by the Loya Jirga" (12).

The Taliban structured their government following Islamic form of administration and divided it into different shuras, advisory councils. "In Taliban's system, shuras are representative organs and commissions, departments and offices are executive ones" with "Amir al Muminin (supposedly Mullah Omar until 2015)" at the top (Giustozzi 5). According to the Taliban's implementation of the Sharia law, almost no compensation was paid to the guilty even though Islam forgives the person who "repents after his wrongdoing and reforms" (*Al Qur'an*, 5:39). But the Taliban made it a compulsion to publicly amputate the person who stole. Moreover, they took to whipping immodestly dressed women and also men whose beards did not meet the prescribed length in Islam. They publicly prosecuted so-called sinners, people who did not conform to their version of Islam, in football grounds before or in the halftime of matches and buried them on the spot. Keeping this scenario in view, "the word that featured most frequently in conversations with ordinary Afghans in the years before 9/11 was *mushkil*, difficult" (Burke 8) because the people lived in a continuous fear for their lives under the Taliban rule. Despite "around half a million" people still living in Kabul, the city' streets

remained deserted because the political, social, educational, economic, and recreational life was almost non-existent in these conditions (8).

Though the Taliban were more concerned about creating the Islamic State of Afghanistan, they trained together with Al-Qaeda in camps. For Al-Qaeda their "primary targets . . . [were] the regimes of the Middle East, particularly those ruling in their native lands, or, as they announced in a series of public statements, America" on the basis of "theological differences" in order to provoke a war between the U.S. and Muslims (Burke 12). That is why the U.S. government became the biggest nemesis for Al-Qaeda. It led bin Laden to plan and execute the 9/11 attacks. A number of inferred motives for the 9/11 attacks have come forth. Bin Laden, however, expressed his motives after the 9/11 attacks through various sources like letters, public statements, video recordings, etc. In 2002, in a letter titled "Letter to America," he said:

> The creation and continuation of Israel is one of the greatest crimes, and you are the leaders of its criminals. And of course there is no need to explain and prove the degree of American support for Israel. The creation of Israel is a crime which must be erased. Each and every person whose hands have become polluted in the contribution towards this crime must pay its price, and pay for it heavily. (*The Guardian*)

Among other reasons behind the attacks, bin Laden also issued a fatwa on the U.S. sanctions against Iraq in 1998 in which he clearly declared that "in compliance with Allah's order, we issue the following fatwa to all Muslims: The ruling to kill the Americans and their allies — civilians and military — is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it" (World Islamic Front Statement). In addition, bin Laden was also against the presence of the U.S. military inside Saudi Arabia, the dependence of Saudi Arabia on the U.S. forces during the Gulf War, and presumed western "immorality."

Thus, in the year 2000, bin Laden, along with his accomplice, Aymen al-Zawahiri, chose the individuals from various backgrounds as hijackers, specifically those who could speak English fluently. These hijackers needed a visa to enter the country "and it was the State Department that supplied the hijackers with those visas: 15 in Saudi Arabia, 2 in the United Arab Emirates, and 2 in Germany" (Eldridge et al. 116). The State Department received criticism for immediate issuance of the visas and "for approving incomplete applications, particularly for the 15 Saudi hijackers" (116). The hijackers arrived in the U.S. shortly before the attacks. Finally, on the morning of September 11, 2001, four airplanes were hijacked by Al-Qaeda, two of which hit the World Trade Center in the New York City. One of the remaining two hit the Pentagon in Washington D.C. and the last plane originally aiming for Capitol Hill in Washington D.C. never reached its target as the passengers took over the hijackers and the plane crashed into a field in Pennsylvania. "According to reports, the death toll was 2750 persons—mostly civilian nationals of 90 countries—at the World Trade Center, 125 persons at the Pentagon, and 265 passengers and crew on the four planes" (Masud 1). John Scarlett, chairman Joint Intelligence Committee in the UK, "pointed out that the strike was 'less about technology and more about skill and nerve'" (Burke 25). This incident toppled Muslims' standing in the U.S. as well as in other countries because they were made suspects in the very next hours following the incident, though the attack came as an organized crime from a specific religious extremist organization.

5.2 Groups Involved in the 9/11 Conflict

There were indeed many groups who were involved in the 9/11 conflict, some of whom were directly linked with the events that occurred in the case of 9/11 such as the U.S. government and the Muslims. Although ordinary Muslim citizens living in the U.S. had no direct link to the 9/11 attacks, they were still at the receiving end of the indignation from the

U.S. government. The white Americans also channeled their agony and contempt against Muslims by turning against their longstanding Muslim acquaintances and confrères, and by verbally or physically harassing anonymous Muslims on the streets commonly recognized by headscarves or beards. These people had pent up anger because the attacks, though meant to shock the U.S. government, were directed at the common citizens, as contrary to military deaths that the Americans had seen in the case of the Vietnam War. The Vietnam War had the exact opposite effect inside the U.S. because people wanted the U.S. government to withdraw its forces from South Vietnam because they caused many human rights violations.

In the current chain of events, the U.S. constituted the "us" group of the discourse whereby relegating the Muslims as the "them" group in the conflict. However, these two groups were not the only ones who became a part of the 9/11 conflict. Israel, India, and Russia also became a part of the politics as designated in-groups in the power structure of the 9/11 conflict. The support from Israel to the U.S. was a reciprocal gesture as it receives billions in aid from the U.S. every year, and the U.S. "has the most pro-Israel foreign policy in the world" because ever "since the Cold War, Israel has been the linchpin of American Middle East strategy" (Beauchamp). NATO unanimously implemented article five of the North Atlantic Treaty within hours after the attacks, which stated that "an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all" (Washington D.C. 1). It was also one of the many reasons that the governments of the above-mentioned countries, along with the rulers of the Muslim countries, showed their support to the U.S. Also, these countries had been fighting against Muslims for decades with no substantial support from the international community, but the 9/11 attacks assured them of "the shift that would now come in the perception of any conflict that could be said to involve Islamic militants" (Burke 28). As evident in Samuel Huntington's argument, the future conflicts were not to be economic or ideological, but rather cultural. These governments sensed that any event that would include

Islamic militants would be looked upon from an entirely new perspective from now on. Therefore, they were much careful in their actions and statements after 9/11.

5.3 Context of the Newsgroup—*The New York Times*

The New York Times is rated as one of the top newspapers in the U.S. The newspaper staff believes that their greatest strength is the authority and reputation of their newspaper, and that they "must do nothing that would undermine or dilute it and everything possible to enhance it" (*The New York Times*, *Guidelines on Our Integrity*). The newsgroup claims:

> The goal of the *New York Times* is to cover the news as impartially as possible — "without fear or favor,". . . The reputation of the *Times* rests upon such perceptions, and so do the professional reputations of its staff members. Thus the *Times* and members of its news department and editorial page staff share an interest in avoiding conflicts of interest or an appearance of a conflict. (*The New York Times*, *Ethical Journalism* 3)

Following the incident of 9/11, "The New York Times saw their average daily circulation go up by 130,000 readers, reflecting an increase in the demand for information during times of uncertainty" (qtd. in Ahmed 1). *The New York Times* remains one of the top newspapers circulated within the U.S. on the basis of its impartiality, but there was a striking difference between the ratios of the prejudiced Muslim coverage in media before and after the September 11 attacks. "Prior to 9/11, 25% of all sources in the news publications (*New York Times, New York Post*, and *New York Daily News*) were identified as Muslim or Arab U.S. citizens or residents versus 41% in the six months following the 9/11 attacks" (Ahmed 1). The newspaper has also been part of a number of controversies against its biased news reports and articles. One of the controversies revolved around its bias for American Jews. Columbia Journalism

Review went on to the extent of calling *The New York Times* "the hometown paper of American Jewry," mainly because "it is published in the city and region with the nation's greatest collection and concentration of Jews" (Lewis).

5.4 Pre-9/11 News Articles

News articles from the pre-9/11 period have been taken from a year before the incident, dated September 10, 2000 to September 10, 2001.

5.4.1 News Article 1

The first news article chosen for this thesis is "Prosecutors Deny Hounding Muslims in Terrorism Case" written by Benjamin Weiser. This news article was published exactly one year before the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center. It talks about the statement issued by the Attorney General office against a former taxi driver, Ihab M. Ali, a Muslim, who refused to testify before a grand jury for being an alleged supporter of bin Laden. During the pre-9/11 period, Muslims, though representing the second largest religion in the world, remained the least-targeted ethnic minority inside the U.S. This news article has been chosen because it highlights that even if the U.S. intelligence agencies received information from whistleblowers and journalists reporting from war-torn countries on alleged terrorists who attacked their embassies in Africa, their investigation was targeted at specific individuals who were a part of Al-Qaeda and did not curb the rights of immigrant Muslims living inside the U.S.

According to van Dijk, "discourses also have more complex, higher-level properties, such as coherence relations between sentences, overall topics, and schematic forms . . . stylistic and rhetorical dimensions . . . as well as the style, ordering, and thematic organization of such media stories" (*News Analysis* 2). Therefore, looking at the title of the news article,

"Prosecutors Deny Hounding Muslims in Terrorism Case," the journalist employed the verb "hounding" which means persecuting in this context, but this word also means harassing, pressurizing, and tormenting. Thus, connotatively, it implies the possible inconvenience that it caused Muslims prior to 9/11. It also hints at the hundreds of suspected detainees after 9/11 as "the Transportation Security Administration, founded after 9/11, now has a watch list of over 700,000 names of people who they say may pose a flight safety risk" (Roberson). But in the current article, Ali was alleged subpoena witness and the grand jury has the authority to use the testimony of the witnesses against them in a later prosecution unless they are given immunity. Later on, Ali himself confessed that though he was one of the accomplices of bin Laden, he did not indulge in the killing of innocent people. Since this news article was published before 9/11, it carries certain precautionary limitations to "never tarnish Muslims as a group with the sins of a select few" (Weiser) and not to violate their civil and political rights.

Another important aspect of van Dijk's approach to CDA is the thematic organization of the news article. In the current article, first, the author builds a very antagonizing image of the Muslims by using phrases such as, "Mr. Ali, a naturalized American citizen, as a sworn member of al Qaeda . . . responsible for the deaths of hundreds of innocent people" (Weiser). And, by the end of the news article, the author confirms that Ali is just a suspect in this investigation at this point which foreshadows the treatment that Muslims will be subjected to after 9/11. This article is structured like a dialogue where a statement by a U.S. government representative is mentioned first, such as: "'there are 1.2 billion people in the world who practice the Islamic faith,' he continued. 'The grand jury has indicted but 17 individuals for their roles in al Qaeda'" (Weiser). Later on, the author gives a statement by a Muslim lawyer, which implicitly serves as a response to the previous statement: "Prosecutors were 'banking on the ignorance of the general public' by asserting that only 17 Muslims were being prosecuted besides his client" (Weiser). Conversation mode of syntax is used in order to fill in the gaps of

information in the minds of the readers. When the readers read the first dialogue by the writer, they receive one part of the information, instead of letting them assume the other half of it, the discourse provides them with a specific piece of information to achieve the desired conditioning of the audience. The journalists have the leverage to manipulate a situation by employing different language techniques, such as dialogue structure, flashback techniques, hyperboles, irony, metaphors, monologue, etc. because language is not only descriptive; it is generative as well.

As it has been highlighted above, prior to the incident of 9/11, the investigation process by the U.S. intelligence agency was very meticulous. Ali himself came forward in the year 2015 and testified before the court that he was one of the very first accomplices of bin Laden in his fight against the U.S. When he trained in 1994 in Oklahoma, it was indeed for the sake of Al-Qaeda, and bin Laden asked him to use a plane as a weapon and to fly it directly into the plane of the Egyptian president in mid-air in the year 1995 (Neumeister). This mode of inquiry conforms to the U.S. policies on human rights. Keeping in view van Dijk's stance on CDA theory, the authors are required to follow the newsgroup's policies. In the current news article, though hints of bias are visible from the careful selection of words in the title and simultaneous corresponding statements from two groups, on the broader spectrum, we see a very neutral picture of the case. The author neither inclines towards the U.S. government nor the Muslims.

5.4.2 News Article 2

The second news article chosen for media discourse analysis is, "Queens to Detroit: A Bangladeshi Passage," written by Sarah Kershaw and published on March 8, 2001. This article recounts the stories of various Bangladeshi immigrants, including Ahmed Kamal and Mashud Ahmed Chowdhury, who moved to the U.S. for the fulfillment of their American Dream two decades ago. They were content with living in Queens until they were confronted with the

inflation in the stock market. Consequently, due to the escalating real estate market in New York, these immigrants who were not much educated were forced to move to Detroit in search of manual labor. Thus, this article also touches upon the hardships that the immigrants face living on a tight budget in the rising economy of the New York City.

The process of conducting CDA of a text involves analyzing the word choices and grammar that together form a discourse. In other words, they "create . . . links within the text and outside to broader discourses and shared understandings" (Ainsworth et al. 4). If we analyze the word choices in this news article, they range from very impartial words to highly charged words, with religious connotations. Kershaw honors the concept of *halal* meat that exists in Islam, and while mentioning the meat of a baby goat, she places the adjective "blessed" before the noun phrase "baby goat" (Kershaw). Moving on to the words of moderate intensity, while talking about the migrations of Muslim immigrants within the U.S. she employs the adjectives "quiet and quirky" for them. "Quiet" reflects the illegal migrations within the U.S. which are done in a very secretive way in order to avoid the police, and "quirky" means unconventional which also refers towards the same.

The U.S. is a mix of different ethnicities from various nations, starting from the ones who came to the area on Queen Elizabeth I's orders and took over the Native Americans. Particularly, New York City is a blend of so many cultures that different neighborhoods represent different cultures, such as Flushing Queens and Ditmars Steinway, where you seldom hear people speak English. But the U.S. nation is growing intolerant of the new immigrants, especially Muslims, coming from various countries either for fulfilling their American Dream or fleeing from an oppressive ruler. In the current article, the author's tone grows increasingly uncomfortable while talking about Bangladeshi Muslims. She says these migrations are "forever altering the country's face" (Kershaw). In CDA, "modality, that is, the tone of the text

is set with the use of specific words to convey the degree of certainty and authority" (qtd. in Mogashoa 110). In the same lieu, we come across the highly charged vocabulary used by the journalist. While referring to the migrations from Queens to Detroit, Kershaw calls it "mini-exodus" twice. Denotatively, the term exodus has come to refer to the mass departure of people. But it has deep religious connotations when paired with the article "the," it takes on a whole new meaning. It is used to refer to the slavery and hardships that befell the Jews in Egypt, and they were forced to migrate.

Furthermore, Kershaw also mentions the "survival of the fittest" theory in order to paint a picture of the present-day New York, which is a fast paced city with skyscrapers and electronic billboards. In the present context, Darwin's theory of evolution is used in a social context where people are in a constant struggle for survival. In such a city, where prices are sky-rocketing, only those people can survive who are the "fittest" which means they earn above a certain pay scale. In such circumstances, it is very difficult for Bangladeshi immigrants to earn a sustainable living in Queens. These people are not much educated and they depend on manual labor to earn a living. With technological innovations overtaking the country, it became very difficult for these immigrants to acquire work in the New York City. Therefore, they are forced to leave behind their "secure and reliable niche" and tightly-knit Bangladeshi community in the Queens. They were able to settle in Detroit because the market crashed a few times and real estate prices were quite low. It further sheds light on their day-to-day struggles to survive in such situations.

In a nutshell, this news article is but one example out of many that present an untainted image of the Muslims before 9/11, and how they are surviving in this accelerating march toward progress. The author's vocabulary touched both spectrums of the scale. It ranges from very mild words honoring Muslims' religious beliefs to strictly religious terms which remind the

readers of similar incidents in theology. Overall this article portrays an unbiased image of a community which was referred to as one of the peaceful communities living in the U.S. prior to the attacks. Even in the post-9/11 context, when they were relegated to the fringe of the society, "Muslim and Arab leaders in the New York area . . . urged their colleagues to donate blood, and their doctors to volunteer at the site" to show their peaceful and humanitarian inclinations (Goodstein). These actions were also necessary in order to show solidarity with their fellow Americans. The religious affiliation of the author of this news article is unknown, hence, we cannot link her bias toward Muslims to her religion. Nevertheless, this article portrays a quite impartial image of the Muslim community living inside the U.S. with a few exceptions of her choice of words and her tone used for Muslims.

5.4.3 News Article 3

The third news article chosen for media discourse analysis is, "Two Unlikely Allies Come Together in Fight against Muslims," written by Dean E. Murphy and published on June 2, 2001. This news article brings the other two in-groups into the discussion, Jews and Hindus, and how they were brought together in a distant land through a single motive. It revolves around the growing mutual ties between Jews and Hindus while narrating different instances in which both groups supported and rescued each other from different situations related to religious extremism. Even though this news article was published three months before 9/11, it carries clear references to the bilateral relationships between Jews and Hindus. These ethnic groups came forward as two of the biggest sympathizers of the U.S post-9/11 in order to gain confidentiality of the U.S. government and milk it to their own advantage, as it is evident from the post-9/11 news article written by Laurie Goodstein.

Unlike Fairclough's approach to CDA where minimal importance is given to denotative or connotative associations of the words, van Dijk emphasizes the need to analyze the lexicon

used in the news articles. Words such as "militant" and "radical" are usually collocated with Muslims and Islam, but, in this news article, these adjectives are used for Hindus and Jews, respectively, which shows the impartial attitude of the journalist. Although the news agencies control the discourse, it is done while working within the prescribed limits of the journalistic standards. As Richardson explains in his book *Analysing Newspapers: An Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis* that "while operating within structurally determined limits, journalists – both individually and institutionally – still have the ability to act as autonomous human agents" (Richardson 115). Murphy also attempted to strike a balance between the different approaches toward the representation of Muslims, Jews, and Hindus.

These Hindus and Jews have entirely different "religious philosophies," but living thousands of miles away from their homelands, "elbow-to-elbow in the ethnic mix of New York, the small groups have discovered that sharing a distant enemy is sufficient basis for friendship" (Murphy). This friendship came into the limelight when an extremist Hindu militant site was flagged and shut down by its service provider for advocating "hatred and violence toward Muslims" (Murphy). But after a few days, the site was back on the internet with the help of some radical Jews. The new service provider, who was already planning on converting to Judaism, said their relation in the ethnic melting pot of New York was very practical since both of them were suffering at the hands of Muslims in the Middle East and South Asia. Contrarily, when we look at the history it unfolds an alternative story: "from the outbreak of the second Intifada in September 2000 up to April 2013 . . . [estimated] one Palestinian child was killed by Israel every 3 days for almost 13 years" (Danny).

One more survey shows that "since 2005, 23 out of every 24 conflict deaths have been Palestinian" (Fisher). These figures are from the year 2014, since then the atrocities have escalated even more. The journalists' emphasis on the Muslim-Jew conflicts happening

thousands of miles away from the U.S reminisces of van Dijk's CDA theory's socio-cognitive aspect because it formulated a certain picture of Muslims in the minds of the American readers. Such discourses become a part of the semantic memory of the readers which stays at the back of their minds, and when the brain receives a signal from "physical or quasi physical environment," it retrieves the similar verbal or visual imagery from the memory (Moscovici 19). Then the brain creates links between the two incidents on the basis of the common factors even if the two occurrences are remotely similar. This technique worked in the post-9/11 context because the Americans reacted in a very negative and hostile manner toward Muslims.

This news article makes use of the third person plural pronoun "them" in the following sentence: "Whether you call them Palestinians, Afghans or Pakistanis, the root of the problem for Hindus and Jews is Islam" (Murphy). Here, this part of speech is not employed as a pronoun. It is used without introducing the noun "Muslims" in the preceding sentence. In such cases, the use of the pronoun "them" is taken as impolite because it reduces the individuality of the people belonging to a specific ethnic group to a generalized vague abstraction. It is used as a proper device in the so-called Orientalist texts to objectify and reduce the status of an entire ethnic community. It instantiates the forms of language "such as deleting agency, using passives and turning processes into entities" (Billig 783). It is employed in order to generalize the Muslims as a group, which deprives the individuals of having distinct personalities. Such vague generalization dehumanizes a human being to a mere object with which a person can associate all sorts of negative attributes in order to establish "them" as the ultimate Other and sketch a positive image of the "us" group. Terry Locke argues that CDA allows the binaries present in a text to be exposed as well as contested (Locke 25). Americans have always been confronted with an opponent as early as they set foot in the New World and came across the Native Americans. As the time passed, they came across more antithetic groups that differed in race, colour, or ideology, such as Africans, queer, transgender, Mexicans, which makes the

Muslims as the newest and the most threatening in the long list of adversaries (Brooks). Though the seed of contention between the U.S. and the Muslims was sown during the Gulf War, it aggravated in the context of 9/11 (Brooks).

Apparently this news article presents an unbiased story of two religions who have come together because of a common enemy, but when we analyze the article on the basis of its journalistic merit, we find that the author ends up painting a stereotypical image of Muslims as a hostile group, lumped together despite being from entirely different backgrounds. The author others Muslims as a group by repeatedly employing third person plural pronouns like "exterminate and banish them." Such negative portrayal is used as a tool for "conventional propagandist technique used during the pre-invasion propaganda campaign . . . to reduce options and possibilities to an 'either/or' position" (Richardson 178-179). In a conflict, this limits the available options for the audience of the discourse. Where, on the one hand, journalists use the power of their writing to bereft people of equal status, on the other, the use of the words such as "militant" and "radical" for the designated in-groups, Jews and Hindus, depicts that they are not biased at all times.

5.4.4 News Article 4

The title of the fourth news article is "An Islam much Forgotten," written by Yossi Klein Halevi and published on August 10, 2001. Halevi is also the author of *At the Entrance to the Garden of Eden: A Jew's Search for God with Christians and Muslims in the Holy Land*. Writing a book definitely requires strenuous background research and the fact that Halevi was in the process of writing about three revealed religions Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, when he published this news article in *The New York Times*, reinforces his credibility. In his article, the subject of discussion are two groups, Jews and Muslims, residing in Palestine. The main storyline revolves around Halevi's visit to a Muslim neighborhood in Israel before Al-Aqsa

Intifada in search of "a common language of devotion and transform religion into an instrument of peace rather than hold war" (Halevi). Keeping in view the fact that the author is recounting the details of his personal itinerary with the readers leaves more room for subjectivity, which depends upon the perspective from which the story is retold. This article also sheds light on the so-called destitute state of Jews and their exploitation at the hands of Muslims.

Even though the author is a proclaimed Jew, he believes in the good that is present in Muslims and Islam. Though overpowered by innocuous imagery associated with Jews due to the author's personal religious affiliations, the news article also highlights the author's belief that "Jews and Muslims can share wisdom, if not doctrine." And despite the mayhem of suicide bombings and attacks, he refuses to believe that these people cannot unite and put an end to war. Despite the fact that this article seems more inclined towards Jews, Halevi also quotes positive instances from Islam like stating that one Sheikh was of the view that the Palestinian land did not belong to either side, but God. But the author simultaneously comments that Sheikh's view seems to be "echoing rabbinic teaching," which entails that nothing good can naturally come from Muslims. Concurrently, this idea also connects both of the religious philosophies as accepting God as the highest authority. According to van Dijk, such play on words is a common technique used in order to conceal the ideology of the newsgroup.

CDA argues that texts supplement hidden agendas of the groups that are in power in hiding the negative side of "us" and the positive side of "them." "Propositions may be conveyed whose truth value is taken for granted and unchallenged" (van Dijk, *Ideology and Discourse* 82). A layperson cannot comprehend the complexities of news articles, editorials or journals. They take the meaning as it is represented to them. They generally overlook the connotative meanings while basing their judgements on denotative meanings. In the current article, the author also makes use of words and phrases to imply and associate certain attributes with

Muslims. The use of the phrases such as "suicide bombing" has been associated with Muslims. The writer explicitly says that the latest suicide attacks were made by Muslims for the "glory of God and Islam" (Halevi). It depicts Muslims as having an obligation for causing such attacks at non-Muslims simply for the exaltation of their status in religion. At the same time, he shows Jews as the very "victims" of these bombings. As Moosavinia et al. put them in these words, "Orient is imposed as everything that the West is not, exotic, alien, dangerous, unreliable, to be tamed, exhibited, a threat to the West" (105). The author's use of such instances paints a very stereotypical image of the East as violent and dangerous.

Moreover, the author claims that only when he himself showed respect towards Islam, he was able to elicit "reciprocal gestures" from other Muslims, though still only "some" of them. He establishes himself as the peacemaker, and thus he states that there are some Muslims on his side, but they are "sadly marginal" and have been "intimidated into silence" (Halevi). It implies another idea that there remain very few good Muslims who, unfortunately, have also chosen to remain silent. They feel shame, not indignation when their faith is being sullied and placed under suspicion, etching the panoramic view of Islam as violent, negative, and oppressive. This lack of willpower to even raise voice against the atrocities in the ongoing war between Jews and Muslims prognosticates what we come across in a post-9/11 news article written by Daniel J. Wakin and Charlie Leduff[2] selected for the present study.

The author builds his credibility by mentioning his services "as a reservist soldier" in the land of Muslims, Gaza. During his service, he was invited to a little Sufi mosque, which "was so forlorn that it lacked a minaret" (Halevi). The association of such language with Islam

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[2] In this post-9/11 article, the authors quote statements from Afghan, Yemeni, and Pakistani Muslims who expressed uncertainty in terms of the solution of the so-called newly originated problem of religious terrorism in order to legitimize the governmental actions taken against Muslims in Afghanistan.

shows loneliness of the religion as the othered group of the society. But the positioning of the phrases together with the syntactic structure of the above mentioned sentence subtly backfires at the Jews and represents the present state of Muslims in their own homeland. He calls this forlorn mosque "the heartland of Islamic extremism," where he was "hit in the head with a rock" (Halevi). If we trace the etymology of the word Islam, it is a verbal noun which literally means "surrender or submission." When we take the religious connotation of the word Islam into account, it means "voluntary submission to the will of Allah," but this news article gives a negative connotation to the place of worship of Muslims and divorces it from its actual purpose, which is to unite people under the same roof.

Furthermore, Halevi depicts the Islamic call to prayer, *Adhan*, as a reminder of "violence and murder" for Jews. On the contrary, the call to prayer simply calls Muslims to bow before God and to "hurry to success" (Huda). The words "Allah-o-Akbar" associated with suicide bombing are indeed the opening phrase of *Adhan*. According to van Dijk's socio-cognitive discourse analytical theory, such parallelization is commonly done in order to leave a mark on the cognition of the readers. Thus, when they receive a stimulus from their physical surroundings in the form of these words, they associate it with suicide bombing because suicide bombers say the same words before exploding themselves. It reminds the Jews of the violent acts done by terrorists. Such associations hinder the episodic memory of the readers and stop them from forming a new opinion about a certain individual or group based on their personal experiences.

Halevi, as the conciliator, says that his initial attempts into his endeavour at reconciliation are mere fantasies now, viewing the present extremist orientation of Islam. He declares that "Islam has once again become untouchable, pervasive and elusive as air" (Halevi). The choice of words carries a lot of importance in CDA. In the above sentence, the noun

"untouchable" refers to the lowest class of the social strata that are side-lined as the dirt of the society. Islam is titled as "untouchable" and "unidentifiable" along with adverb "once again," which means that even before Jewish attempts at peace-making, Islam was still an inferior extremist religion which has also been indicated in the first pre-9/11 news article by Benjamin Weiser. This image of Muslims paved the way for their negative representation in the post-9/11 scenario. They are established as the ultimate others. "Othering codifies and fixes the self as the true human, and the other as other than human" (Moosavinia et al. 105). Hence in the post-9/11 scenario, it became much obvious that Muslims as the targeted group would face humiliation and suffer at the hands of dominant groups. This negative representation of Muslims is also evident in the selected post-9/11 news articles in this thesis.

Although Muslims were generally represented in an unbiased manner before 9/11, Halevi moves between positive and negative representations of Muslims. His choice of words and syntactic structure depict his tilt toward Jews while he portrays Muslims in a negative light through expressions such as "Islamic extremism," "processions of martyrdom," "suicide bombers," etc. prior to 9/11 (Halevi). As Nohrstedt et al. observe, a "typical pattern for war propaganda is that it describes the actual conflict in a radically polarized way — as a struggle between the 'good guys and the bad guys' and in black and white" (Nohrstedt et al. 384). Such depiction of the Muslims in the international media paved way for the upcoming problems in the aftermath of 9/11.

5.4.5 News Article 5

The last news article chosen from the pre-9/11 collection is "Teaching the Taliban about Human Rights," written by Karl F. Inderfurth and published on August 29, 2001. The premise of this news article is to preach humanism to the Afghan Taliban. According to the author, these Taliban have no consideration of their name whose literal meaning is "religious student."

They have in fact "declared war on religion" (Inderfurth). In this context, the noun "religion" is used in broader terms, which incorporates other faiths as well, including Christianity, Hinduism, and Shiite Muslims, though the Taliban excluded Shiites from the list of acceptable religious groups calling them "little better than infidels." Inderfurth states that the Taliban are Sunni Muslims, which entails that they must be more considerate of their own sect, however, that is far from true.

According to van Dijk's method of CDA, the title or the main topic of the story is one of the most important aspects of the analysis. Since life is fast paced in the U.S., a vast majority of the readers only get a chance to look at the title or the headline of the article. It is synonymous with the "first impression" theory in psychology, which is defined "as the initial perception and formation of thoughts about another . . . [be it] a person, a face, or an object from the environment" (Rule and Ambady 35). The title of the current news article is ironic since no effort has been actually made to teach the Taliban about human rights. Topicalisation is a technique used in CDA in which "by choosing what to put in the topic position, the writer creates a perspective or slant that influences the reader's perception" (qtd. in Mogashoa 110). The title of this article sarcastically refers to the Taliban who detained 24 aid workers on the charges of spreading Christianity among Afghans. These workers were merely working to provide medical assistance and food to the disaster-stricken internally displaced people.

These Taliban not only exercised control over the Christian volunteers, but also prescribed certain rules for Hindu population of Afghanistan. Inderfurth states that they were required to wear yellow identification badges in order to distinguish themselves from the rest. This action was brought under discussion on international forums, thus the Taliban backed down and said only ID cards would suffice. Though negative correlations were made with this action of the Taliban in the news article under scrutiny, it also had positive connotations which

were highlighted in another article published by *The New York Times* two months after the current one. In that article, a spokesperson of the Afghan government said that "Hindus should not look like Muslims, for their own protection, so that they are not bothered by the religious police" (Bearak). One approach that is used in CDA is "leaving certain things out completely, counting on if it is not mentioned, the average reader will not notice its absence, and thereby not scrutinise it" (Mogashoa 110). Journalists are one of the most informed people in our societies because they process a lot of information on a daily basis. The author's attempt at highlighting only the negative aspect of the incident points towards media strategy which is to present these things separately, since not every reader will pick up the newspaper to read about the incident that happened a few months back. In this fast paced whirlwind of media, every piece of exciting news stays in the limelight for a couple of days.

In the wake of 2001, one of the most important pieces of news that was taken up by media was the destruction of the pre-Islamic Buddha statues in Bamiyan by the Taliban on March 1-10, 2001. Different media outlets presented the story in different ways to stir the audience. For instance, television channels telecasted documentaries on these Buddhas' history filled with images of the statues and newspapers published stories on the birth of Buddhism in the valley of Bamiyan. The current news article approaches this topic from the point of view of different governments, ranging from Saudi Arabian and Pakistani to the U.S., and their leverage over the Taliban. The author claims that Islamic governments can be "the more logical persuaders" and necessarily alter the Taliban's course of action (Inderfurth). It ultimately necessitates that the Muslims and Islamic governments can persuade the Taliban, even though they were a wound created by the U.S. But the Taliban took these Buddhas in the context of "un-Islamic idols," overlooking their value as a tourist attraction and a religious emblem for the Buddhists. The demolition of the Bamiyan Buddhas, carved at the side of the mountains,

foreshadows the failure of Islamic as well as non-Muslim governments in dissuading the Taliban from their course of actions in the post-9/11 time as well.

This article narrates the 9/11 incident in a very straightforward manner, without indulging in any digressions. It presents a perfect amalgamation of unbiased imagery associated with the Taliban as well as the role of Muslim and non-Muslim countries. The only encumbrance in the discourse occurs when the actual reason behind the use of identity badges is concealed which were proposed for Hindus living in Afghanistan. Such techniques are used in order to reduce the opinions to an either/or position for the readers and to attenuate the presence of a grey area of options. Overall, this news article presents an unprejudiced picture of the entire incident which was very close to the hearts of the Buddhist community of the world.

In a nutshell, the pre-9/11 news articles selected for this thesis present a variety of topics as well as perspectives regarding the representation of Muslims before 9/11. On the basis of the analysis of the pre-9/11 articles, we can conclude that the journalists represented Muslims in an unbiased manner, with a few exceptions. Among others, Kershaw and Inderfurth stand out in their unprejudiced representation of Muslims, though they betrayed *The New York Times* ideology ever so slightly by the use of strong words and by concealing the motives behind the armband proposed for Hindus by the Taliban respectively. If we look into the biased portrayal of Muslims in the pre-9/11 context in the selected editorials, Halevi's name comes to mind. The language and syntactic structure of his article reflected his inclinations toward Jews because of his own religious affiliation as a proclaimed Jew. When we explore the micro level of analysis in these articles, the journalists employed certain linguistic techniques to imply different meanings. For instance, the use of third person pronoun, main title, syntactic structure, dialogue style, etc. to reproduce the patterns of dominance and power of dominant groups that

constitute the macro level of social order. CDA challenges us to view language as more than an abstract form of communication and makes us consider our words as having meaning in a particular social, political, and historical context (McGregor 2). Thus, the association between micro and macro tier of the social order creates a certain imagery in the minds of the readers, conditioning them to follow the ideology of the power groups in the society.

5.5 Post-9/11 News Articles

The post-9/11 news articles have been taken from one year after the incident, that is, between September 12, 2001 and September 12, 2002.

5.5.1 News Article 1

This news article is titled "A Day of Terror: The Ties; In U.S., Echoes of Rift of Muslims and Jews," written by Laurie Goodstein and published on September 12, 2001. In this news article published only a day after the horrific incident of 9/11, it is evident that Muslims started facing social, psychological, economic, and physical assaults right away by white Americans and other non-Muslim groups residing in the U.S. The writer Laurie Goodstein narrates the first-hand experiences of Muslims who were living in different states in the U.S. and belonged to different countries: "Muslim women in headscarves were advised to stay indoors," mosques and Muslim schools in Los Angeles were shut down and Muslim reporters in states like "Michigan received even death threats" (Goodstein). The writer seems to be accepting the fact that it was very early to point a finger at any specific group for this terrorist activity, yet she shoulders the responsibility of letting the world know about the potential exponents of this grave incident. On the one hand, the writer says that "there was no definitive information yet about who was behind the terrorist attack" (Goodstein). Yet, on the other hand, Muslims and Arabs in the New York region and across the country immediately "braced for

the backlash." In the context of CDA, the use of verbal irony liquidates her own argument about portraying Muslims as the initiators of aggression and perpetrators of violence in the 9/11 setting.

In this particular news article, the writer makes a display of the positive attitude for Jews. She says that "Jews, meanwhile, could not help linking the victimization of Americans to that of Jews in Israel" (Goodstein), the same tactic which was also used by the Jewish journalist, Yossi Klein Halevi, in the pre-9/11 context while narrating his itinerary to Muslim areas in Israel before the al-Aqsa *Intifada*. It implicitly indicates that Muslims are the only perpetrators of violence, be it in Israel or the U.S. In Israel, Palestinians suffer at the hands of Jews and vice versa, but here the discourse seems to be propagating a biased opinion talking about the sufferings of Jews only. Such incidents depict the alteration in the attitude of Americans right after the incident towards the Muslim community that had been living in the U.S. for the most part of their lives. Some of these Muslims had been born and bred in the U.S. Therefore, they rightly claimed themselves to be American citizens. They condemned the terrorist attack as much as the Americans of other religious affiliations did. Muslims were more proactive in presenting a positive image of Islam because the 9/11 attacks denigrated the image of their religion while it was completely in disagreement with the principles of Islam, and they were stigmatized without any evidence.

This news article hints at the ideology of the dominant groups in the society by making Muslim citizens the mouthpiece of the discourse. McGregor argues that one approach used to analyze a text through CDA is by the use of selective voices to convey certain points of view as legitimate and reliable, concurrently excluding other voices (McGregor 5). Goodstein has reported in such a way that it looks as if Muslims themselves are admitting that they have carried out the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center. For instance, the reaction of a

Palestinian lady has been shown in the news article who criticizes American support of Israel for terrorism, and later says that the Americans ought to understand that if Muslims are going to get killed, the "Americans are going to get killed back." This may be seen as just a sentimental statement made by a lady in support of her religion, but bringing such examples into the limelight during such crucial times can add fuel to the fire.

"It is imperative to use a variety of strategies [in CDA] in order to attract attention in conversations or discussions" (qtd. in Mogashoa 110). Therefore, another critical discourse analytical technique that is employed in this article is the flashback technique in order to link the current circumstances to a previous incident of a similar nature. "Empirical studies have shown that temporal manipulation of discourse structure can produce different cognitive and emotional responses by influencing the reader's inferences and anticipation" (qtd. in Bae and Young 2). While the Muslims were facing so much humiliation, Goodstein says, it reminded them of the "Oklahoma City bombing" in 1995. Even at that time, Muslims were blamed as terrorists without any evidence, their places of worship were damaged, Muslim travellers were detained at airports, and their families were harassed at homes. Since the U.S. is among the first ones to defend human rights at international forums, display of such attitude towards its own citizens at such critical time is surprising.

This discourse employs very different and biased words for both of these communities. Goodstein dexterously knits the reaction of both Muslim and Jewish organizations that came forward in order to condemn the attack. For instance, while referring to the Jewish American and Arab American organizations that came to condemn the attack the writer uses words that seem ironic in the given context. Muslims "rushed to condemn the attack," she says, concurrently establishing a point that Jews were more sympathetic towards Americans as compared to Muslims because it was reminiscent of the suicide bombings that had "recently

paralyzed Israel" (Goodstein). In this news article, the othering of Muslims has been intensified as Jews added fuel to the fire by associating the 9/11 incident with Palestine-Israel conflict in order to sympathize with the U.S. government. At such a crucial moment, reminiscing Palestine-Israel conflict further complicates the situation and stigmatizes the Muslim community in the U.S. As a matter of fact, Jews are not the only group who are suffering in Palestine-Israel conflict. It is a two-way dispute. The writer has used specific linguistic items to recount the reaction of Jews such as: "dumbfounded" or the staff members "shrieked and burst into tears," etc. (Goodstein). Use of such vocabulary portrays Jews as extremely empathetic and sensible American citizens, qualities that Muslims are represented to be devoid of.

All in all, as this news article was published only a day after the 9/11 incident, it was inevitable for the author to not link the victimization of the U.S. to previous similar incidents which she did by the use of flashback technique. Goodstein also makes Muslims the mouthpiece of the dominant discourse, which betrays the ideology of the power groups, the symbolic elites, of the society. Though Muslim civilians experienced an influx of racist stereotypes which ranged from verbal harassment to death threats, the author is more inclined towards non-Muslim Americans. This news article sheds light on the reaction of the Jews and Muslims to the attacks as well as the condition of Muslims in the immediate post-9/11 context where they started facing objectification, assaults, racism, death threats, etc. the same day this tragedy occurred. But Goodstein is well aware of the lack of evidence against Muslims at this stage in the post-9/11 time, so she states at the very beginning of her news article that there was no "definitive information" about the attackers just yet.

5.5.2 News Article 2

The second news article chosen from the post-9/11 period is "A Nation Challenged: The Muslims; More Extremists Find Basis for Rebellion in Islam," written by Douglas Jehl. This news article was published 11 days after the incident, on September 22, 2001. It talks about how terrorists find support for their extremist motives in the Qur'an. The author begins by drawing a parallel between the three major revealed religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. He compares these religions on the basis of their inclination toward violence against other religions, among which he foregrounds Islam as the most violent one. Building his argument on these facts, Jehl continues by saying that 9/11 is the newest example in the history of religion being "hijacked by politics and rage" by the governments and nation-states in power politics (Jehl).

Jehl mentions that at the time of the World War II, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish religious ministers assured their fighters that "God was on their side and that their deaths would make them martyrs." This tactic of reward in the afterlife is used against Muslims in several post-9/11 novels including *Falling Man* (2007) by Don Delillo where "plastic keys to paradise" is used as a stereotype. This stereotype was materialized only through a book written by *The New York Times* journalist Elaine Sciolino titled *Persian Mirrors: The Elusive Face of Iran* in which she wrote that she saw the Iranian soldiers wearing golden keys around their necks. In reality, the young Muslim fighters in the Iran-Iraq war were presented with a prayer book titled Mafatih al-Janan by Shaikh Abbas Qumi which literally means "keys to paradise." In critical discourse analytical theory, stereotypes are used in order to reproduce a certain racist image of a particular class or race. According to van Dijk, "most work on prejudice is formulated in terms of stereotypes, that is, as wrong beliefs, faulty reasoning, or biased perception regarding

other groups or nations" (van Dijk, *Prejudice in Discourse* 13). These stereotypes are not false about a particular community, but they paint the entire community with a single brush stroke.

Half-way through the news article, the author shifts the focus and highlights the reasons that the U.S. public is made to believe that Muslims abhor the freedom of women in the U.S., the abundance of money, and the unscrupulous "consumption of alcohol and unrestrained sex" (Jehl). It is not implied that Muslims disapprove of these actions due to their religious constraints. Rather, it is explicitly stated that Muslims carry this animosity because they do not have any moderate regimes throughout the Middle East where they could find an outlet to channel their freedom through similar acts. Such media representations, be they in the form of visual images or words, affect the episodic memory of the audience which is based on our personal experiences. Media strategies are dictated through the existing political and social consciousness, which are already etched in the semantic memory of the people, thus combining to formulate a very repulsive and fearful image of a certain class or community, Muslims in this case.

Organization of certain ideas or "motifs that underpin the discursive structure of editorial and advance its position" is termed as thematic organization (qtd. in Mogashoa 109). In CDA, it carries significance because the author can establish his opinion by creating a hierarchy of ideas in discourse by giving one statement and then counteracting it with another. If we take into consideration the thematic organization of this news article, it presents a homogenous blend of examples from extremist and non-extremist Muslim scholars. Jehl quotes one example from a moderate religious scholar such as Sheik Tantawi who said, "attacking innocent people is not courageous . . . It is stupid and will be punished on the Day of Judgment . . . It is courageous to protect freedom . . . to defend oneself — and not to attack" (Jehl). Then he counters it with a Qur'anic verse which legitimates violence, the verse says: "fight in the

way of Allah . . . And slay them wherever ye find them, and drive them out of the places whence they drove you out, for persecution is worse than slaughter" (Jehl). He states that this verse was revealed in the context of self-defence, but religious extremists use it to legitimate violence against innocent civilians. It is essential to read such verses in the context in which they were revealed to get the whole gist of the divine orders. Although the author mentions its context, these verses can play an important role in informing the readers about the existence of such ideas in the religion.

Overall, this news article presents contrasting images of Christianity and Islam. It also plays with the psyche of the readers by incorporating such verses of the Qur'an into the discourse that supposedly preach violence. Meanwhile, it counteracts those verses with statements from Islamic scholars who are trying to portray a positive image of Islam and are highlighting the importance of the context of Qur'anic verses. In this news article, a blend of contrasting statements has been created that works to invoke fear in the audience at the name of Qur'an and Islam, which very much worked in the post-9/11 scenario. Since this news article came out only 11 days after 9/11, the subtle mention of such verses that are present in the Holy book of the Muslims can cast a negative image on the minds of the uninformed readers, thus putting the idea into their minds that extremists will target them since they are enjoying the U.S. freedom that Muslims hate.

5.5.3 News Article 3

The third news article chosen for this thesis is "A Nation Challenged: Muslims; Among New York Muslims, Support for U.S. Strikes," co-authored by Daniel J. Wakin and Charlie Leduff, published on October 8, 2001. This news article was published one day after the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan. The authors are attempting to legitimize support for the U.S. counter-strikes on Afghanistan in this article because "like modern warfare, war journalism is not only

made on the battleground but also on the fields of propaganda" (Nohrstedt et al. 384). Discourses that are produced before any war are used by the power groups in order to condition the minds of the public. Upon authors' questioning about the U.S. attacks on Afghanistan, a Pakistani American law student, Noera Ayaz, said that "Islam is against terrorism," so she favors the U.S. actions since it is a fight against terrorism, not civilians. Quoting such statements is a part of the propaganda campaign which is used to present the war in black and white to the readers, hence, limiting the number of options for them. Owing to the fact that these Muslims lived inside the U.S., they were inclined to show support for these strikes since the government almost immediately started detaining Muslims who fit the criterion of suspected hijackers.

Even if the Muslim majority did not agree with the U.S. actions, quoting examples of Muslim supporters tends to normalize this behavior for them. Since discourse has another very fundamental function which is a mediating role between mind and social practices, such pieces of information impact the episodic memory of the readers which houses their personal experiences. These subjective experiences are built upon the socially shared knowledge stored at the back of their minds in the semantic part of their long term memories. van Dijk pinpoints this aspect of socio-cognition by saying that the "processes of reproduction and relations of dominance not only involve text and talk, but also shared representations of the social mind of group members" (van Dijk, "Discourse and Cognition" 110). The current news article quotes statements of the Muslims living inside the U.S. in order to limit the backlash against the U.S. government's actions in Afghanistan.

When we take the general outlook of this news article into account, it is reflective of the pre-war propaganda campaign by the government, which narrows the circle of options and presents the conflict purely "as a struggle between the 'good guys and the bad guys' and in

black and white" (Nohrstedt et al. 384). Discourse is a form of public communication which can reproduce dominance and control like any other form of discriminatory discourse. This article presents a blanket argument by stating that Muslims ranging from Arabs and Pakistanis to Afghans are expressing "tentative" yet "anguished" support for the U.S. attacks, though they feared for the innocent men, women, and children inside Afghanistan. This article does not include any statements from people who did not agree with the U.S. government's actions, though non-Muslims marched alongside Muslims in order to stop the government from attacking Afghanistan. In terms of CDA, there is only one peculiar aspect of this article, which has been analyzed above that it targets the minds of the readers in order to legitimize support for the U.S. attacks.

5.5.4 News Article 4

The fourth news article chosen for the post-9/11 analysis is "Yes, This Is About Islam," which was written by Salman Rushdie and published on November 2, 2001. This news article is penned down by one of the most controversial writers in the Islamic world whose novel *The Satanic Verses* (1988) has been widely seen as a blasphemous book by Muslims around the world. As mentioned in the research methodology, the background of an author carries a lot of importance in CDA. In the current thesis, Rushdie is one of the only two authors who have publicly proclaimed his religious affiliations. Having an author who calls himself a product of Islamic culture, write against Islam heightens the legitimacy of the Western discourse, which is to disparage the wider discourse coming from the same religion he criticizes. It also leaves a lasting impact on the semantic memory of the non-clique readership because being a product of Islamic culture gives credibility to his writings since the readers assume that this author knows what he is writing about as he grew up in that culture.

In CDA, the title carries as much importance as the syntactic structure of any piece of writing. The title of this news article is in the form of a declarative statement which is an answer to the statements of Islamic scholars and governments, who are bent upon proving that "this isn't about Islam." Rushdie exclaims that "the trouble with this necessary disclaimer is that it isn't true" (Rushdie). Moving on from the title of the article, when we analyze its syntax, Rushdie adds a sentence in parenthesis and places an exclamation mark at its end, "oh, for the voices of Muslim women to be heard!" (Rushdie). The use of the exclamation mark at the end of a sentence emphasizes strong emotions. In the present context, the author's use of the exclamation mark mocks and criticizes the inferior status of women in Islamic countries. This sentence is also sarcastic in itself since the author exclaims about the status and voice of Muslim women in different organizations. Hence, it also highlights the double standards that are present in Islamic countries where Muslim scholars preach the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad, yet they confine their women to the four walls of the house.

The author argues that a vast majority of Muslims does not possess profound knowledge of the Qur'an, and for the most so-called believing Muslims, Islam is just "a cluster of customs, opinions and prejudices that include their dietary practices; the sequestration or near-sequestration of 'their' women; the sermons delivered by their mullahs of choice" (Rushdie). They are lured into thinking that if they do not fight against the loathsome practices of the West, their world will also become "Westoxicated – by the liberal Western-style way of life" (Rushdie). According to him, this mode of thinking has made these Muslims start political movements in order to save their world from the Western influence. He labels this version of Islam as "paranoid," whose believers blame "infidels" for the decrepit condition of Muslim countries. Emphasizing the presence of such Muslims presents only one side of the picture. We will see its alternate in the last post-9/11 news article by Thom Shanker, which shows that the U.S. government itself accepts and acknowledges the presence of moderate Muslim countries.

But Rushdie, in this article, does not mention some of the liberal Muslim countries around the world.

The presence of implied meanings is very important in CDA since the authors can conceal their personal affiliations as well as the ideologies of the newsgroups by employing a micro level of social order, the language. According to van Dijk, CDA "requires true multidisciplinarity, and an account of intricate relationships between text, talk, social cognition, power, society and culture" (van Dijk, "Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis" 153). Rushdie puts forward the idea that if Muslims do not blame the U.S. for their actions, they will have to take the responsibility for their own failings. To avoid blaming themselves, Muslims denigrate the U.S. which would have made more sense in the backdrop of the "geopolitics of the cold war and America's frequently damaging foreign policy 'tilts'" (Rushdie), but it does not have any persuasive rationale in the present context. He foregrounds the statements of the Muslim writers who have gone against this notion and taken the responsibility for their actions, quoting an Iraqi writer who says that "[t]he disease that is in us, is from us." To end this enigma of terrorism, the article suggests that we need to depoliticize Islam, and propounds the idea of "another Islam, their personal, private faith" which is based on "secularist-humanist principles" (Rushdie).

In terms of critical discourse analytical research, this news article skilfully weaves the ideologies of the power groups through the use of parenthetical addition of a phrase about women. It is done so in order to paint a stereotypical image in the minds of the readers. Harassment of women is a very common stereotype associated with Muslims and amalgamating it in the 9/11 discourse further reinforces their irrational and backward image that is common in the west. The current news article carries explicit bias against Muslims because the author has presented only one side of the argument that Muslims are wrong at

every step: from their faulty knowledge about religion to their inability to take responsibility for their actions, from their treatment of the fair sex to their close-mindedness about adopting humanitarian approach to life.

5.5.5 News Article 5

The last news article in this analysis, "Senior Pentagon Official Urges Links with Moderate Muslims," is written by Thom Shanker and published on August 15, 2002. This article was published 11 months after 9/11 and is based on a speech by the "Bush administration's leading hawk on Iraq" (Shanker). It has been selected for the current study because it presents an alternative outlook of the U.S. government's actions as well as a different face of media representation in the post-9/11 period. It was the time when news outlets in the U.S. did not encourage unbiased articles and did not give vast coverage to positive news about Muslims. But this news article focuses on a positive initiative from the U.S. Defence Department that is resolved to have better relations with moderate Muslim regimes as well as other groups of moderate Muslims in and out of the U.S. It was a turn from the populist discourse about Muslims in the post-9/11 period when the journalists painted all the Muslims with a single brush stroke, overlooking the presence of honorable and trustworthy people who were also Muslims.

To deviate from the mainstream critical discourse theory, "[d]econstructing discourse by means of counter-discourse is proposed as one method for critical discourse analysis" (Beaugrande 17). The current article presents an alternative discourse from the mainstream racist discourse that was widely accepted and promoted after the incident of 9/11. If we analyze the language of this news article, it employs phrases such as "strengthen ties," "support Muslims," and "debate about Muslim values" (Shanker). All of these noun phrases carry positive connotations promoting bilateral relations between the west and the Muslims. The

author, a government representative, had dealt with Muslims since he was the chief operator in Iraq mission. He observed that with an exception of few extremist Muslims, most of them were tolerant, trustworthy, and humane.

In the previous news article, we came across women's harassment in Islamic culture, but current discourse presents a different image of the same society. Shanker acknowledges the efforts of "moderate Islamic nations" as well as individuals who were "striving for democracy, women's rights and economic development" (Shanker). It is a far cry from the stereotypical portrayal of Muslims in the post-9/11 period, which was marred by negative attributes about Muslims. There are further instances where an entire counter discourse is presented by the author by admitting that, this war is primarily about terrorism, not Islam.

Flashback that is also "called 'analepsis' in critical discourse, typically provides the reader with information about the events that took place prior to the beginning of the narrative. The location and content of a flashback, however, will often affect the reader's perception of the events in the narrative present" (Reinholtz 86). Following the same pattern of writing as Goodstein, Shanker also employs flashback technique where he thinks about the Cold War in retrospect. Because just like Pentagon is honoring Muslims' efforts to further "religious tolerance" and "women's rights" after 9/11, similarly during the Cold War human rights agencies paid tribute to the victims of "Moscow's abuses" (Shanker). Such counter-discourses present an alternate reality before the readers at such uncertain times. They also work to show both sides of the story to the audience, along with positively affecting their cognition that there is another side of the truth, another aspect of the same reality.

From a critical discourse lens, this news article highlights two unique aspects of the post-9/11 discourse. Firstly, it presents that "[t]he gap between discourse and counter-discourse tends to exert some deconstructive leverage" upon the widespread racist discourse about a

certain community (Beaugrande 19). Secondly, it probes the minds of the readers by presenting them with a new side of the reality. It has a strong impact on the audience because the discourse (news article) is based upon the speech of an authoritative government official who has dealt with the subjects (Muslims) himself. It comes under the category of "persuasive rhetoric" that is used in CDA "to convey the impression that what an agent of power says carries more weight" (qtd. in Mogashoa 110).

To conclude, in the selected post-9/11 news articles, the discourse carries implicit as well as explicit prejudice against Muslims. After 9/11, the extent of biased representation of Muslims is more prevalent in the media discourse, yet authors like Shanker attempt to portray a positive image of the same ethnic minority. The discrimination against Muslims is more common in the news articles published immediately after 9/11, for instance, Goodstein's article. But six to eight months after the incident, the newspapers began to represent their audience with an alternative discourse because of the rising number of assaults against Muslims.

When we compare the pre- and post-9/11 selected news articles, we see that the journalists at *The New York Times* employed certain literary techniques in order to shape the contours of the discourse by hinting at similar incidents that occurred in the past. In order to place the current event into context, the journalists made use of the flashback technique in the post-9/11 news articles. The use of this technique plays with the minds of the readers as it awakens their subconscious memory by recalling their past experiences and urges them to connect the dots between the two incidents. The journalists retrospectively referred to certain incidents which led to the extrapolation that Muslims blew up the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, causing the loss of thousands of lives. Furthermore, Muslims have also been used as the mouthpiece of the dominant discourse in the pre-9/11 news article written by Halevi and

the post-9/11 news article written by Goodstein where they are shown admitting that they themselves are the agents involved in the 9/11 incident. This gives leverage to the wider discourse and legitimates it as the targeted group itself confesses, implicitly or explicitly, as being guilty of the offence. All in all, the conscious and unconscious use of language by *The New York Times* journalists played a crucial role in the formation of a biased discourse in the pre- as well as post-9/11 news articles.

Chapter 6   Conclusion

The chief objective of this thesis was to carry out a media discourse analysis of the ten selected news articles produced by *The New York Times* journalists dated from one year prior to the incident of 9/11 to one year following it. Muslims' representation during this time still carries its impact on white Americans' attitude and opinions toward Muslims. That is why it is worthwhile to see if these manipulative discourses were a result of conscious or unconscious efforts on the basis of their physical environment. Thus, the analysis was carried out following the qualitative method of research because it provides a perfect framework to study the contexts that reflect social constructs and practices mediated through the language in a discourse. Following the postulates of CDA theory, first of all, the history of 9/11 was explicated in order to substantiate the background of the discourse. Moving on to the description of the division of power, the different groups who were an integral part of this conflict were classified into "us" versus "them" groups. Then building upon this background, the language used in the news articles was examined along with their implied meanings.

The theory of Socio-Cognitive Discourse Analysis by van Dijk was selected in order to trace the bias against Muslims in the U.S. who came into the limelight in the context of the September-11 attacks. This theory follows a triangular approach which deals with the "structures of racist text and talk" in discourse (van Dijk, "Critical Discourse Studies" 64). Such racist discourses are a result of "socially shared ethnic prejudices and racist ideologies" and "underlying cognitions [that] are socially and politically functional in the (re)production of ethnic domination and inequality by white dominant groups against minority groups or immigrants" (64). These patterns of racist discourse against ethnic minorities persist in any society because they are reproduced and resisted via conscious or unconscious reiteration of prejudiced discourses.

After the analysis of five pre- and five post-9/11 news articles published by *The New York Times*, the study concludes that the selected articles use biased language, with some exceptions, to represent Muslims in the pre- and post-9/11 periods. We see that language used in a discourse plays a crucial role in manipulating any event, for instance, by targeting a specific group for the offence without any investigation. The actual agenda that is being propagated through discourse is concealed by language used in the selected articles. The study also deduces that different discourses can present the same incident in different ways based on the ideologies present in the mass media—one of the dominant groups of the society who has access to different kinds of public discourses. The writers of news articles shoulder the responsibility of their news agencies in portraying the incidents. Thus, the news come through the filter of the ideology of their respective newsgroups.

In the pre-9/11 news articles, the representation of Muslims was comparatively impartial. But there was a paradigm shift about Muslims in the post-9/11 scenario in which they were represented in an increasingly partial way by the journalists. This exploitative role of language is evident in the news articles chosen for this study. The words were manipulated in order to relegate the Muslims or "them" group to the fringe of the society while presenting the "us" group, the non-Muslims, as occupying the centre space. However, there are authors like, Murphy and Inderfurth, who remained true to their journalistic merit and quoted some unprejudiced occurrences as well.

Meanwhile, in the post-9/11 news articles, the scope of impartiality became limited for the authors since the deaths of nearly three thousand people were still fresh in their memories. The magnitude of the negative portrayal of Muslims was dominant over positive representation. Goodstein attempted to neutrally portray the incidents that Muslims started to face immediately after the attacks, but, being the representative of a locally produced U.S. newspaper, she ended up betraying her pro-American stance. The extent of bias varies between the pre- and post-9/11

news articles as well as within the post-9/11 news articles. Authors ranging from Goodstein to Shanker present an entirely different image of the same community and end up betraying the ideology of their newspaper. Since the ideology of *The New York Times* is, by and large, about maintaining objectivity, the language of the news articles can shape the discourse on the basis of the conscious as well as unconscious efforts of the authors.

The comparison between the language used for Muslims in the pre- and post-9/11 news articles has delineated that media representation has altered after the 9/11 incident in *The New York Times* news articles. Authors attempted to portray Muslims in a positive light prior to the incident of 9/11. Only in some instances, the authors subtly associated stereotypical imagery with Muslims. Even if negative attributes were associated with Muslims prior to the 9/11 attacks, the scope of this negativity remained limited since the journalists did not have any solid grounds to do so. They based their arguments against Muslims on the events happening outside their homeland, which attenuated the effects of their verbal bias against Muslims. Since the U.S. journalists were largely uninformed about the machinery of social and political fabric, it automatically liquidated the effects of their writings. But the situation back-pedalled in the wake of this tragedy, which struck their country leading to a complete transformation of their perception about the world and their safe haven, the U.S. It paved the way for journalists by providing them with a platform to depict Muslims in a prejudiced manner. In his essay, "The Spirit of Terrorism," Jean Baudrillard points out that the U.S. had had incidents of magnanimous amplitude in the past which received worldwide media coverage, but never a symbolic event, "the mother of all events," which reshaped the history of America and consequently of the world (Baudrillard 4). Such situation made it difficult for the newspapers to present Muslims in a positive light.

The proposition that the media discourse has a certain amount of power over human cognition that it can use to mediate the minds of the public to its advantage was validated in a number of news articles. As people do not exist independent of their physical surroundings and are rather a product of their society and culture, their mental models can be more or less akin. Halevi in his pre-9/11 news article refers to the Muezzin's call to prayer as the reminder of violence for Jews, which demonstrates that the author himself is equating the two things leaving a mark on the cognition of the readers that Allah-o-Akbar is parallel to violence. Similarly, in the post-9/11 news article by Wakin and Leduff, which was published one day after the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan, direct statements from Muslims have been quoted who agree with the U.S. actions. Iterating such examples coming from the same community leaves a mark on the episodic memory of the readers as it gives legitimacy to the government actions no matter how ruinous they may be.

According to CDA, one of the main aims of the media coverage of any event is to either provoke the public or slowly shape their opinions by depicting events through the filter of the ideologies of dominant groups: "Newspaper campaigns are therefore particularly instructive of the political position of newspapers in a social formation – that is, the relationship between a newspaper and its readership, and the relationships between a newspaper and the rest of the society" (Richardson 116). The media operates on the ideology of different dominant groups in the society, and through such timely coverage of the incident, they succeed in conditioning the public discourse. And according to Sánchez Macarro, "as individuals we are all influenced, our opinions shaped, reinforced and altered by our exposure to media" (Macarro 13). These power groups are the symbolic elites of our society who have a lot of discursive power in terms of their active role in the production and reproduction of the dominant discourses in the society. This idea is parallel with the third aspect of the van Dijk's triangular approach to socio-cognitive discourse analysis, whereby power groups implicitly inculcate their ideologies

through different means such as media and public forums in order to maintain the hierarchy in social stratification and to remain in power.

Furthermore, the research also elaborated on the role of journalists in the propagation of dominant discourses in the society. The study found out that though the journalists act as the drivers of the predominant discourse, they cannot be blamed as the sole propagators of such racist discourse. The reproduction of the prevalent discourses has less to do with individuals, and more with groups of people. These dominant groups of a society, politicians and mass media, have active access to the forms of public discourses that many of us do not possess. One particular function of public discourse is to produce and reproduce power in society, which is defined in terms of "control." These journalists are part of a system, thus, they indulge in "group thinking" psychology, whereby in-groups derogate and discriminate against out-groups through systematic production and reproduction of the dominant discourse. According to social psychology, group thinking can lead to very irrational and dysfunctional decision making, since people try to achieve harmony by conforming to their group's ideology. In the case of media discourse, this conformity is achieved by the reproduction of specific representation of Muslims through news articles in the 9/11 context.

To conclude, media plays an essential role in formulating opinions and beliefs in social contexts under the influence of symbolic elites. CDA works as a tool to analyze the dyadic role of ideology and language in the formation of a discourse and its manifestation in the public opinion. In the current study, CDA of the articles that were published right after 9/11 portrays a prejudiced image of Muslims. But after a few months, the newspapers started incorporating positive images of Muslims in some of the news articles as well. Though the extent of this unbiased coverage remained very limited, it was done to shed some stereotypes about Muslims, who were stigmatized greatly after the attacks. Such coverage also foregrounds that certain

newspapers, though acting on the ideologies of power groups in the society, do not remain biased at all times. Their portrayal of any story also depends upon the temporal and spatial context of the discourse as well as what the audience want to read at a particular time. But this study concludes that such racist discourses are reproduced more often than unprejudiced ones, particularly at uncertain times like 9/11.

While conducting a research, we come across various other dimensions and potential aspects that can be explored by future researchers. As this study was conducted within certain limitations, there is room for further research in this area. Firstly, the current thesis employs van Dijk's socio-cognitive discourse analysis, but the same issue can also be studied using Wodak's historical approach which focuses on the historical development of the issue. Secondly, this thesis draws comparison between pre- and post-9/11 news articles published by the same newspaper, *The New York Times*. But comparison can also be drawn between more than one newspapers. Thirdly, the current thesis focuses on print media, while the discourse created by electronic media can also be explored using CDA.

Fourthly, in this research the time span has been confined to one year prior to the incident and one year after it. But future researchers can also make a comparison of the 9/11 time period with more recent years to see how different aspects regarding this issues have evolved in almost two decades, for instance, Muslim representation in print media as well as public and governmental behaviour towards Muslim community at large. Lastly, future research in this area can also benefit from a more in-depth analysis of the psychological impacts of the media discourse on recipients, using Paul Chilton's discourse analytical approach which is rooted in development psychology and cognitive science.

Appendix A: Pre-9/11 News Articles

Date	Title	Author
1. September 13, 2000	Prosecutors Deny Hounding Muslims in Terrorism Case	Benjamin Weiser
2. March 8, 2001	Queens to Detroit: A Bangladeshi Passage	Sarah Kershaw
3. June 2, 2001	Two Unlikely Allies Come Together in Fight against Muslims	Dean E. Murphy
4. August 10, 2001	An Islam Much Forgotten	Yossi Klein Halevi
5. August 29, 2001	Teaching the Taliban about Human Rights	Karl F. Inderfurth

Appendix B: Post-9/11 News Articles

Date	Title	Author
1. September 12, 2001	A day of terror: The ties; In U.S., Echoes of Rift of Muslims and Jews	Laurie Goodstein
2. September 22, 2001	A Nation Challenged: The Muslims; More Extremists Find Basis for Rebellion in Islam	Douglas Jehl
3. October 8, 2001	A Nation Challenged: Muslims; Among New York Muslims, Support for U.S. Strikes	Daniel J. Wakin and Charlie Leduff
4. November 2, 2001	Yes, This Is About Islam	Salman Rushdie
5. August 15, 2002	Senior Pentagon Official Urges Links With Moderate Muslims	Thom Shanker

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