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A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Image of Islam and Muslims in the American Press Post-9/11 Attacks

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for Master's Degree in English (Applied Linguistics)

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DECLARATION

We, hereby, declare that this dissertation, entitled “Critical Discourse Analysis of The Image of Islam and Muslims in The American Press Post-9/11 Attacks” has been undertaken by us for the requirements for Master’s Degree in English (Applied Linguistics) under the supervision of Mr. Farouk Khelil Cherfi. We also declare the materials of this research are the pure outcome of our investigation and do not incorporate any substances previously written or published by other researchers except those indicated in quotations, citations or in the references list.

We are duly informed that any person practicing plagiarism will be subject to disciplinary sanctions issued by the university authorities under the rules and regulations in force.

Date: 20024-06-23

Signed:

Aicha BENKORTBI.

Siham Lalla MERGHOUB.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this modest work to those who are dearest.

*To **my parents** and **my husband***

Who have been of a great inspiration, motivation and encouragement.

*I also like to express my sincere gratitude and love to **my sisters** and **brother**,*

***parents-in-law**, and **brothers-in-law**, **my family**, **friends**, and **teachers**.*

*And a special spot for my little angel **Baraa.***

I'd like to thank my entire family for always being proud of me.

I am also honored that I had the chance to work with my sweet and loving partner

Sihem MERGHOUB

Who has been a wonderful person and a great friend during the five years

Aicha BENKORTBI

DEDICATION

In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful

All praise to Allah, the Almighty, for giving me the strength and patience to complete this journey.

I dedicate this work to my loved ones.

*To my dear **parents**, for their endless love, encouragement and prayers, thank you for always being a source of strength.*

*To my sisters **Hanane**, **Salima**, and **Radia**, who have always believed in me, thank you for the love and support.*

*To my **grandmother**, whose prayers and blessings surround me everywhere.*

*In loving memory of my grandfather, **Yahia**, whose love for learning, passion for life and wisdom continue to inspire me, your absence is deeply felt.*

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*To my dear friend **Aicha BENKORTBI**, whose friendship made the past five years special.*

To everyone who has helped and encouraged me during my academic career, I'm grateful.

Sihem Lalla MERGHOUB

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In the name of ALLAH, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful.

All praise is for Allah, we praise Him, seek His aid, and ask His forgiveness.

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ABSTRACT

The media of all kinds play a major role in disseminating pictures and news rapidly, whether it is negative or positive. The media is a double-edged sword; it contributes to the promotion and consolidation of good values and habits. This research addresses the image of Islam and Muslims in the American media. It adopts a qualitative method and makes use of Critical Discourse Analysis to investigate the phenomenon of negative portrayal of Islam and Muslims in the American press. The study was carried out on seven newspaper articles. These newspaper articles were published within a decade after the 9/11 attacks. The research relies on Van Dijk's ideological square theory within the Critical Discourse Analysis. The study aims to examine the linguistic tools used in media coverage and investigate the power of media discourse in transmitting implicit messages.

Key terms: Media, Critical Discourse Analysis, Muslims, Islam.

الملخص

تؤدي المقالات الصحفية دورا هاما في نشر الصور والأخبار بأسرع ما يمكن وبأكبر قدر من الكفاءة.
يعالج هذا البحث منهجية تحليل الخطاب النقدي لصورة الإسلام والمسلمين في سائل الإعلام الأمريكية. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى تحليل بعض المقالات الصحفية بعد هجمات 11 سبتمبر. بالإضافة إلى التعرف على الأدوات اللغوية المستخدمة في التغطية الإعلامية. لهذا الغرض تعتمد هذه الدراسة على نظرية المربع الأيديولوجي لفان دايك ضمن نموذج تحليل الخطاب النقدي. ويعمل هذا البحث بشكل أساسي على تحليل سبع مقالات صحفية حول ظاهرة نشر الصورة السلبية للإسلام والمسلمين في أمريكا خلال عقد من الزمن من هجمات 11 سبتمبر.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الخطاب، تحليل الخطاب، المقالات الصحفية، نظرية المربع الأيديولوجي

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Figure 1: Ideological square proposed by Van Dijk (1998).

Figure 2: Describing/ attributing positive action (Van Dijk, 1995).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis.

DA: Discourse Analysis.

IDA: Ideological Discourse Analysis.

US: United States.

USA: United States of America.

PBUH: Peace Be Upon Him.

WTC: World Trade Center.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

General introduction

Introduction

This section is dedicated to the research background, problem statement, research question, besides its hypothesis, it also states the research objectives, significance of the study, and it ends with the thesis layout.

1. Research background

America has gone through several terrorists' attacks between 1970 and 2013, such as the Boston Marathon bombing (2013), the San Bernardino attack (2015), and the September 11, 2001 attacks, also known as the 9/11 events. As far as this research is concerned, the latter is the central focus. The 9/11 attacks are the deadliest attacks in the history of America; they left nearly 3,000 people dead. At the time, Americans watched in horror what was happening in their country, and the events filled the American and international newspapers and TV channels.

After these attacks, fingers were pointed at Muslims due to different factors: most of the 19 terrorists involved in the attacks come from a Middle Eastern background, predominantly Saudi Arabia, the prejudice and Islamophobia that existed even before the attacks of 9/11, and the media coverage that played a crucial role in creating that specific image about Islam and Muslims that shaped public opinion and led people to put the blame on Muslims.

The media plays a crucial role in shaping the image of certain minorities and spreading stereotypes about them; the quality of the articles, the language used, and the choice of words all have an influence on people's perspectives about things. Some American media used to report Muslims negatively, by relating Islam and Muslims to terrorism and extremism; "since 9/11, the use of terms such as Islamic or Muslim 'radicalization' has drastically increased, alongside a more general rise in anti-Muslim rhetoric." (White, 2020)

The media has the ability to manipulate a whole society; it can make them do things, normalize or accept some new concepts, and spread hate and biases about some minorities like Latinos, international migrants, Muslims, and so on. Van Dijk (2006) stated, "Obviously, in order to be able to manipulate many others through text and talk, one needs to have access to some form of public discourse, such as parliamentary debates, news, opinion articles, textbooks, scientific articles, novels, TV shows, advertising, the internet, and so on."

People nowadays are surrounded by several sources of information, and thus, it is necessary for people to understand and analyze this information to reveal the messages behind it. In this regard, media literacy is one of the crucial skills one should have nowadays; it is essential for understanding media discourse, uncovering biases, and fact-checking information in order for the reader to be selective in terms of the quality of the content being consumed and the sources from which the information is taken.

"CDA has been around since the 1990s as the three most influential researchers Teun van Dijk, Ruth Wodak, and Norman Fairclough have made contributions to this field via seminal work. Each of these influential researchers laid out their different approaches and theoretical frameworks which are distinct from the theories and methods of discourse analysis" (Ramanathan & Hoon, 2015). Concerning this research, critical discourse analysis (CDA) is to be applied on media discourse, as it is a powerful analytical tool to unveil hidden meaning and implicit messages behind various kinds of discourse and examine the impact of discourse on the social level. As Fairclough (1995) puts it "CDA aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes"

Media discourse refers to the language used in media messages such as newspapers, televisions, radio, etc. "it is a broad term which can refer to a totality of how reality is represented in broadcast and printed media from television to newspaper" (O'Keeffe, 2006). It is the primary tool to express ideologies and influence people's perspectives and opinions.

2. Problem statement

Media coverage can sometimes be more than just telling what is going on in the world, similarly; some journalists do not simply cover certain events, they generally use specific language or techniques in their coverage, which can deliver a lot of messages and create new ideologies. However, not everyone is aware of this fact, or they cannot unveil the intentions behind those words, which makes it easy for journalists to use their language manipulation. The media is ethically responsible for presenting accurate coverage, challenging stereotypes, and amplifying diverse voices. However, the American media's negative portrayal of Islam and Muslims is characterized by biases and stereotypes. It portrays Islam as the root of terrorism and Muslims as violent, intolerant, and suspicious. This can result in discrimination, hate crimes, and the fragmentation of diverse societies.

3. Research Questions

Based on the aforementioned parts, this research addresses the following questions:

1. How does the American media portray Islam and Muslims post 9/11 attacks?
2. What ideologies are being expressed in the American media while reporting about Islam and Muslims?
3. How language is manipulated to convey those ideologies?

4. Hypotheses

1. Islam and Muslims have been negatively portrayed in the American media after 9/11 attacks.
2. The ideologies expressed while reporting about Muslims are: islamophobia, stereotyping, and racism.
3. Language is manipulated through the use of specific words and language styles.

5. Research Objectives

The major concern of this research is to shed light on the linguistic tools used in the American media while tackling Islam and Muslims. Its aim is to analyze seven newspaper articles post 9/11 attacks with a special focus on language. This study also makes use of van Dijk's ideological square to delve into various discourse structures in order to investigate the power of media discourse in transmitting implicit messages.

6. Significance of the study

1. This research examines how the portrayal of Islam and Muslims in the American media has changed post 9/11.
2. The study relies on linguistic frameworks in analyzing media discourse critically, regarding the portrayal of Islam and Muslims in particular. It looks at how the way Muslims are portrayed in the media has transformed them into terrorists

7. Thesis layout

With regard to the structure, this study is divided into three parts: A general introduction, four chapters and a conclusion. The introduction provides the background of the research topic, research questions, hypothesis as well as research objectives. The first chapter is entitled "Literature Review". It deals with the theoretical framework and provides an overview of the topic's related concepts. The second chapter is labeled "Methods and Procedures", it delves into the practical part of the present study, it presents the methodology used, the research design, the

purpose of the study, and data collection procedure. The third chapter's title is "Data Analysis". It presents the analysis of the data collected using van Dijk's ideological Square. The fourth chapter comes under the title of" General discussion, Implications, Limitations, and further suggestions". It provides general discussion of the findings obtained from the analysis, the implications of the study, and the limitations, in addition to further suggestions. The dissertation ends with a general conclusion that sums up everything related to the study.

Chapter One:

Literature Review

Chapter One: Literature Review

Introduction

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Chapter One: Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter provides a literature review associated with discourse and discourse analysis (DA). It begins by introducing the context of the research, which is the 9/11 attacks, media portrayal of Muslim and related concepts. It also presents definitions of discourse, discourse analysis, media discourse, and critical discourse analysis. Finally, the chapter examines ideology, language and power, racism and Islamophobia. concluding with the previous studies.

1.1. The 9/11 attacks

Commonly known as the September 11, 2001 attacks. "Nineteen terrorists from al-Qaeda hijacked four commercial airplanes, deliberately crashing two of the planes into the upper floors of the North and South Towers of the World Trade Center complex and a third plane into the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia. The Twin Towers ultimately collapsed because of the damage sustained from the impacts and the resulting fires. After learning about the other attacks, passengers on the fourth hijacked plane, Flight 93, fought back, and the plane crashed into an empty field in western Pennsylvania about 20 minutes by air from Washington, D.C." (*9/11 FAQs | National September 11 Memorial & Museum*, n.d.).

On the morning of September 11, 2001 Flight 11, which was one of the hijacked planes slammed into the North World Trade Center Tower and several minutes' later flight 175 another civilian aircraft crashed into the South World Trade Center (WTC) (Scafetta, 2024). Dhobi (2024) argue that Al-Qaeda, which is led by Osama bin Laden, planned to hijack several civilian airplanes and crash them into multiple buildings on American soil. The tragedy was the apex of their clash as perceived in the history of human civilization.

The 9/11 attacks prompted significant changes in international security policies. including the US launching the War on Terror aimed at combating terrorism worldwide, military interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq, and a major overhaul of airport security protocols and increased surveillance measures to prevent future terrorist attacks. As for economic consequences, it caused significant economic impacts including damage to infrastructure. Scafetta (2024) states: "Despite the direct impacts that include fatalities, injuries, and property and infrastructure destruction, the terrorist attack was also an attack on the economy of New York City, and of the whole US". In addition to the Social and psychological effects; The trauma and grief experienced by those directly affected by the attacks, as well as the fear and

anxiety and sense of vulnerability shaped individuals' perspective and community dynamics and had a direct impact on people's mental health. Nadeem and Nadeem (2024) mentioned that the 9/11 attacks caused many disasters, including the collapse of the two towers, shock, sadness, depression, fear, and anger. These attacks inflicted psychological problems on Americans. But as horrible as the events of that day were, a majority of Americans said they couldn't stop watching news coverage of the attacks.

1.2. Muslims in America

America holds a big community of Muslims because of the growing number of immigrants from different countries and backgrounds. The Muslim population in the United States is estimated to be 3.45 million (Pew Research Center, 2017), making the Muslim community one of the fastest growing minorities in US. America is a nation that vigorously promotes multiculturalism However, Abdullah, (2015) points out that this minority started facing a lot of discrimination, profiling, and hate crimes after the attacks of 9/11, they were viewed either as terrorists or sympathetic to terrorism. He also argues that the media holds a big responsibility in shaping people's attitude towards Muslims by constantly associating them with terrorist activities. The 9/11 events are considered one of the most pivotal points in Muslims lives especially Muslim in America.

Muslims -men and women- are involved in various professions and industries in America, they contribute to American society by enriching its economy and participating in civic life. However, they often face discrimination and prejudice in different situations in their lives, such as workplaces, airports, security checks, and public spaces. This kind of treatment resulted from many factors, such as the idea of Muslims being inherently violent, oppressive, backwards, the lack of understanding or knowledge about Islam, and the way political figures speak about Islam and Muslims. These factors contribute in shaping people's image about that minority

Muslims can easily be recognized by their religious markers, through practices or customs associated with Islam such as praying in public, wearing traditional clothes like kameez, turban, hijab as well as growing beards. Subsequently, they face stereotypes and prejudice in different places and situations. These stereotypes are often delivered through mass media. Media drew in people's minds the image of terrorists as individuals with beards who wear kameez and a turban and can commit suicide bombing at any given moment. This

portrayal makes people anxious and frightened when encountering someone with that appearance.

1.3. Media

Media can be defined as different ways or channels that humans use to disseminate information. It serves as a primary source of news and events. Media is considered as the fourth authority; it is widely recognized for its significant global role and its communicative objectives with its various forms such as "news media and social media. The news media deliver news to the general public, or to targeted segments of that public. The news media, in turn, can be broken down into three types: print media (newspapers and magazines), broadcast media (Television and radio), and the Internet (online publications, news websites, etc.)" (De Abreu, 2019, p. 3)

Fairclough (1995) argues that "media texts do not merely 'mirror realities' as is sometimes naively assumed; they constitute versions of reality in ways which depends on the social positions and interests and objectives of those who produce them" (p.103). which means media can be sometimes selective in terms of the versions of reality they want to show to people depending on their interests and aims they want to attain.

1.3.1. Mass media

Mass media is defined in Oxford online dictionary (n.d.) as "a sources of information and news such as newspapers, magazines, radio, and television, that reach and influence large numbers of people". It includes also social media platforms (e.g., Facebook, twitter…etc.). Social media refers to different platforms that allow users to share information, ideas, interests with other users. Technology has widely developed in recent years, and so did the media in all its forms, from the integration of television and radio into the traditional media, to the turnout of social media led by the evolvement of the internet. These developments did not only change the way information is consumed but the way it is produced, shared, interpreted and interacted with.

Mass media are of a great importance regarding their impact on people's ideologies and values as they can use their power to manipulate populations through their discourse. They can also determine what issues become salient in public through repeating some narratives or focusing on certain cases. As Fairclough (1989) puts it "a single text on its own is quite insignificant: the effects of media power are cumulative, working through the repetition of

particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader, and so forth" (p. 54).

Media outlets are often owned and controlled by people of high leverage and powerful individuals in society; these entities have significant control over the information to be disseminated, which are a real challenge to media ethics. Herman and Chomsky (2008) put it "the same underlying power sources that own the media and fund them as advertisers, that serve as primary definers of the news, and that produce flak and proper-thinking experts, also play a key role in fixing basic principles and the dominant ideologies."

1.3.2. Media Literacy

Media literacy refers to the ability to access, evaluate, analyze, and understand media messages. It enables the individual to critically analyze and interpret the signs and thoughts being delivered through mass media rather than passively consuming information, so that he can act and react or choose what position to take in several matters. As Kellner & Share (2005) put it, "literacy involves gaining the skills and knowledge to read, interpret, and produce certain types of texts and artifacts and to gain the intellectual tools and capacities to fully participate in one's culture and society".

Media literacy is an essential skill one should have nowadays, especially in a world where people are surrounded by media of all kinds and where media plays a significant role in shaping public opinion. As Kellner (2014) puts it, "we are immersed from cradle to grave in a media and consumer society, and thus it is important to learn how to understand, interpret, and criticize its meanings and messages. The media are a profound and often misperceived source of cultural pedagogy: They contribute to educating us how to behave and what to think, feel, believe, fear, and desire" He also states, "learning how to read, criticize, and resist sociocultural manipulation can help one empower oneself in relation to dominant forms of media and culture" (p.7).

1.4. Discourse

Discourse has gained several definitions through different studies carried out by scholars in many fields. The word discourse is elastic in its usage, since it can be stretched to fit different contexts and disciplines. At its core, it refers to a unit of language longer than a single sentence; however, its subtleties depend on the context or the field of study in which it is used.

Etymologically, the word ‘discourse’ is derived from the Latin word ‘discursus’ which denotes ‘conversation’ (McArthur, 1996). It dates back to the 14th century. In its current usage, the term conveys different meanings for different purposes, but in each case, refers to language and describes it in some way.

The word discourse in Collins online dictionary (n.d.) is defined as follows: “(1) Discourse is spoken or written communication between people, especially serious discussion of a particular subject. (2) In linguistics, discourse is natural spoken or written language in context, especially when complete texts are being considered. (3) A discourse is a serious talk or piece of writing which is intended to teach or explain something.”

According to Brown and Yule (1983), refer to discourse as any form of ‘language in use’ or naturally occurring language, which means that any spoken or written speech can be considered as discourse. Carter (1993 as cited in Hermanola & Berliani, 2018) provides several denotations of the word 'discourse'. First, it refers to the topic or type of language used in a definite context, second, the word 'discourse' is sometimes used to defend what is spoken, whereas the word 'text' is used to indicate what is written. Thirdly, it is used to distinguish it from the traditional concept of 'sentence', the highest unit of language analysis: discourse refers to a sequence of naturally occurring languages.

While James Paul Gee broke the term discourse into “discourse” with small “d” and “Discourse” with a capital “D”. Gee (1999) stated “I will reserve the word “discourse,” with a little “d” to mean language-in-use or stretches of language (like conversations or stories). “Big D” Discourses are always language plus other stuff”. He stated also “discourses are ways of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking, and often reading and writing, that are accepted as instantiations of particular identities (or “types of people”) by specific groups” Gee (2007, p. 3)

“Discourse can also be used to refer to particular contexts of language use, and in this sense, it becomes similar to concepts like genre or text type. For example, we can conceptualize political discourse (the sort of language used in political contexts) or media discourse (language use in the media)” (Baker & Sibonile Ellece, 2013).

1.4.1. Media discourse

“As individuals we are all influenced, our opinions shaped, reinforced and altered by our exposure to the media” (Sánchez Macarro, 2002, p. 13), the mass media lately took a great

position in society, and people nowadays are being more exposed to media through different means thus, the understanding of media discourse is essential.

Media discourse refers to the language used in various media outlets while disseminating information to the public, according to O'Keeffe (2011) "media discourse refers to interactions that take place through a broadcast platform, whether spoken or written, in which the discourse is oriented to a non-present reader, listener or viewer" (p. 441).

Sometimes the informational content on the media outputs is ideologically shaped. (Tolson, 1991 as cited in Hassan, 2018). Media outlets play a significant role in shaping people's ideology through their discourse to an extent where they can create a whole new concept and integrate them to society thus, in a world where the information is disseminated rapidly and consumed by different audience, it is important to understand the message being conveyed through media text, this involves scrutinizing the underlying meaning and assumptions presented in media discourse.

CDA is generally applied on media discourse to fulfill the aforementioned aims. O'Keeffe (2011) states, "one important strand of research into media discourse is preoccupied with taking a critical stance, namely critical discourse analysis (CDA). It is important that we continually appraise the messages that we consume from our manufactured mass media"

1.5. Discourse analysis

Just as the term discourse has various definitions, there are equally several definitions of discourse analysis; therefore, it is used in different fields. Brown and Yule (1983) state that "the term 'discourse analysis' has come to be used with a wide range of meanings which cover a wide range of activities. It is used to describe activities at the intersection of disciplines as diverse as sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, philosophical linguistics and computational linguistics. Scholars working centrally in these different disciplines tend to concentrate on different aspects of discourse"

Additionally, Schmitt (2013) states "the discourse analyst studies texts, whether spoken or written, whether long or short, and is interested in the relationship between texts and the contexts in which they arise and operate." Some scholars make distinction between the analysis of spoken discourse and written discourse by referring to the analysis of spoken discourse as discourse analysis, whereas the analysis of written discourse is referred to as text linguistics.

Paltridge (2006) highlights the key aspects of discourse analysis and summarizes its properties as follows:

> "Discourse analysis focuses on knowledge about language beyond the word, clause, phrase and sentence that is needed for successful communication. It looks at patterns of language across texts and considers the relationship between language and the social and cultural context in which it is used. Discourse analysis also considers the ways that the use of language presents different views of the world and different understandings. It examines how the use of language is influenced by relationships between participants as well as the effects the use of language has upon social identities and relations. It also considers how views of the world and identities, are constructed through the use of discourse. Discourse analysis examines both spoken and written texts." (p.2).

1.6. Critical discourse analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) stands as a specialized and interdisciplinary approach within the broader field of discourse analysis. van Dijk (2005) defined Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as "a discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social-power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimated, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (p. 466). It studies how language reflects power and how language helps certain people keep and resist power. It deals with the relationship between discourse and power and it focuses on how dominance is enacted through socio- political discourse. Two main leading scholars among others can be mentioned in CDA, van Dijk whose framework is based on the cognitive analysis of the text, and Norman Fairclough who relies on the analysis of social, cultural, and linguistic aspects of the text. Both scholars participate in developing CDA as a new field of study.

Fairclough et al. (1997) summarized the principles of CDA as follows: "CDA represents social problems and policies", "social relations of power", "Discourse is diverse representation of social practices.", "discourse is ideological", and "discourse is historical". (page1–14). van Dijk (2001) adds that these main principles of CDA studies require a more systematic theoretical analysis, while others require a general basis. Critical Discourse Analysis deals with the relationship between discourse and power and it focuses on how dominance is enacted through socio- political discourse.

This approach proposes a framework and methodology for analyzing news from a critical perspective, particularly the written discourse analysis of newspapers, to provide a comprehensive understanding of the news. Another scholar also adds that CDA is an interdisciplinary approach to studying discourse regarding language as a social practice. It is affected by critical semiotics, critical linguistics, and socio-politically aware perspectives, focusing on language, discourse, and communication in a socio-politically aware manner, the study explores the nature of opposition in language, discourse, and communication (Salma 2018). This means that there are many fields to study language and discourse, which makes it difficult to identify the necessary principles, theories, practices, and objectives of CDA.

There are several approaches to CDA, such as: the socio-cognitive model proposed by van Dijk, which "studies language manipulation within the triangular framework that links discourse, cognition, and society" (van Dijk, 2006). and Fairclough's three-dimensional model, which is an analytical framework that consists of three dimensions: text, discourse practice, sociocultural practice (Fairclough, 1995). These approaches offer a comprehensive analysis of the language used in different fields.

1.7. Ideology

The term "ideology" was first introduced by the French philosopher Destutt De Tracy at the end of the 18th century to "refer to science of ideas" (van Dijk, 2000). "Ideology" in Destutt de Tracy sense came as a minor refinement to the system already elaborated by Étienne Bonnot de Condillac which stressed the importance of human sensation in the formation of knowledge, Destutt de Tracy, however in his refinement emphasizes on the psychological nature of sensation. (The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, 1998). In general, the word ideology refers to a set of ideas, beliefs and philosophies, attributed to a group of people contributing in the formation of the basis of economic or political theory and policy.

Van Dijk (2000) argues that "ideologies have something to do with systems of ideas, and especially with the social, political or religious ideas shared by a social group or movement." Simpson (1993) sees that "An ideology therefore derives from the taken-for-granted assumptions, beliefs and value- systems which are shared collectively by social groups. And when an ideology is the ideology of a particularly powerful social group, it is said to be dominant." (p.5). While Thompson (1990) defines it as meaning in the service of power, as he puts it "the concept of ideology can be used to refer to the ways in which meaning serves, in particular circumstances, to establish and sustain relations of power which are systematically

asymmetrical, what I shall call relations of domination'. Ideology, broadly speaking, is meaning in the service of power." (p.7). It can be concluded from the previous definitions that ideology have a direct relationship with the way people share, perceive, and interpret ideas within a society, it can also be understood that ideologies are often dominant and have power over societies.

1.7.1. Ideological discourse analysis

"One of the crucial social practices influenced by ideologies are language use and discourse, which in turn also influence how we acquire, learn or change ideologies" (van Dijk, 2000). van Dijk (1995) argues that ideologies are gradually acquired by members of a society, through long-term socialization process. In this regard, Thompson (1990) finds it essential to study and investigate the ways in which meaning is constructed and conveyed by symbolic forms of various kinds, starting from everyday conversations to complex images and texts. This kind of study is called Ideological discourse analysis (IDA), it is a tool used generally on political or media discourse to reveal the ideologies that political figures and institutions seek to integrate into society.

In his paper about Ideological discourse analysis. Van Dijk summarizes some theoretical assumptions in discourse and ideology and discusses some specific issues that have been ignored in the practice of ideological discourse analysis. Ideological analysis of language and discourse is widely practiced in the humanities and the social sciences. Van Dijk (1995) states that "the presupposition of such analyses is that ideologies of speakers or writers may be uncovered by close reading, understanding or systematic analysis, if language users explicitly or unwittingly express their ideologies through language and communication" (p. 135).

However, "despite these widespread practices and assumptions, the theory that relates discourse and these underlying ideologies is far from being explicit. Indeed, in discourse studies, as well as in cognitive and social psychology or the social science, we do not know much about how exactly ideologies are either developed by or through discourse, on the one hand, or how they control or otherwise influence text and talk, on the other hand". (van Dijk 1995, p.135)

He emphasizes that "IDA should be seen as one specific type of socio-political analysis of discourse. Such an analysis attempts to link structures of discourse with structures of society" (van Dijk 1995, p. 136). He also sees that "the point of ideological discourse analysis is not

merely to discover. underlying ideologies, but to systematically link structures of discourse. with structures of ideologies" (p.143).

1.7.2. Language and Power

Power is a central notion in most critical works on discourse, van Dijk (2005) links social power to control, he states "groups have (more or less) power if they are able to (more or less) control the acts and minds of (members of) other groups" (p.355). He argues that people's actions may indirectly be controlled and manipulated by influencing their minds such as their knowledge or opinions. Van Dijk (2005) finds that "access to specific forms of discourse– for example, those of politics, the media, education, or science– is itself a power resource. (p.355).

According to Fairclough (1989) power in language is exercised in two different ways: power in discourse and power behind discourse. "Power in discourse is to do with powerful participants controlling and constraining the contributions of non-powerful participant." (p.46) Whereas "the idea of power behind discourse is that the whole social order of discourse is put together and held together as a hidden effect of power" (p.55)

One of the main tenets of CDA is that power relations are produced, exercised, and reproduced through discourse; hence, CDA aims to examine how discourse is involved in dominance (power abuse) and in the production and reproduction of social inequality. Van Dijk (2005) argues that power is not limited to the abusive acts of dominant group members, but it can be exercised implicitly in the taken for granted actions of everyday life.

1.7.3. Ideological power

"The construction of meaning towards reality through language, both in terms of meaning about the world, social relations, and social identity, is ideological because it pretends to establish relations of domination in society" (Nalenan et al., 2023, p. 327). "Political scientists name four central characteristics of ideology: Ideology is more important than cognitions, it is capable of guiding individuals' evaluations, it provides guidance through action, and it must be logically coherent" (Wodak, 2014, p. 306).

Fairclough (1989) states "institutional practices which people draw upon without thinking often embody assumptions which directly or indirectly legitimize existing power relations. Practice which appears to be universal and common sensical can often be shown to originate in the dominant class or the dominant bloc, and to have become naturalized. Where

types of practices and in many cases types of discourse, function in this way to sustain unequal power relations, I shall say they are functioning ideologically." (p.33). He defines Ideological power as "the power to project one's practices as universal and 'common sense', is a significant complement to economic and political power (p.33). He further adds that there are two ways in which those who have power can exercise it and keep it: through coercion and consent.

According to Van Dijk (2006) "ideologies are gradually acquired and (sometimes) changed through life or a life period. One does not become a pacifist, feminist, racist or socialist overnight, nor does one change one's basic ideological outlook in a few days". He further claims that "ideologies become shared so widely that they seem to have become part of the generally accepted attitudes of an entire community, as obvious beliefs or opinion, or common sense. In that sense, and by definition, these beliefs thus lose their ideological nature as soon as they become part of the Common Ground" (p.117). in light of this, the power of ideology is presented in its ability to gradually spread in societies until it loses its ideological trace conversely, it becomes a common sense.

1.8. Racism

Racism, also known as racialism, is a deep social issue, it is the belief in the superiority of one race over another, which often results in discrimination and prejudice towards people based on their race or ethnicity, Miles (1982) defines racism as "an ideology which ascribes negatively evaluated characteristic in a deterministic manner to a group which is additionally identified as being in some biologically distinct" (p.78). ward (2002) defines racism as "as invidious discrimination among differing social groups" he argues that racism is based on beliefs that social characteristics are unchangeable, they are genetically transmitted, and capable of hierarchical ranking, which leads to superiority and inferiority

"The concept has been used to describe various social phenomena, including systemic inequality, institutional discrimination, internalized stereotypes, and racial attitudes. Some researchers argue that the inconsistent use of "racism"" has meant that the term now "weakens rather than enhances arguments concerning race" (Wilson, 1987).

According to Youth and Budapest (2004), there is a general agreement that racism is an unacceptable form of human rights violation anywhere. They take multiple forms nowadays, often different from "race" or racism. And they are concerning because of their persistence, their consequences and also their trivialization. It is also clear that they have recently taken a

particular religious and civilizational connotation after terrorist attacks by groups claiming Islam to justify their acts.

Racism is a common experience for Muslims in America. It is chronically experienced across the lifespan and is linked to various adverse outcomes, including negative social experiences, loss of resources, risk of arrest, assault, and death.

1.9. Islamophobia

"Islamophobia has existed in the Anglophonic lexicon since the early 1980s" (Bhatti, 2021). It came into common usage after the September 11th attacks in WTC America in 2001.

Islamophobia can be defined as hate, fear, prejudice against Muslim individuals and communities, as well as against anything associated with Islamic religion, such as the Holy Quran, Mosques, Hijab, Halal food, men with beard, Islamic centers (FOURTEENTH OIC REPORT ON ISLAMOPHOBIA, 2020), and the Arabic words (Allah Akbar, Bismillah, Salam alaikum…). It involves various forms, including verbal abuse, hate speech, xenophobia and racism, media influence, and physical violence against Muslims or Islamic institutions (Enes Bayrakli & Farid Hafez, 2016).

Azeez and Jimoh (2023) sates that:

> "The spread of Islamophobia, both in terms of the phenomenon's momentum and outreach, is particularly alarming these days, for it has emerged as a new form of racism characterized by xenophobia, negative profiling and stereotyping of Muslims. The rise in hate crimes against Muslims both offline and online, as well as discriminations in education, employment, housing and healthcare sector, among others are well documented. They also argued that islamophobia in the form of prejudice and discrimination against Muslims had been on the rise in the U.S. since 9/11 terrorist attacks in 2001. It continued until today and had even been worsening over the years due to some factors such as the negative portrayal of Muslims in the media, the spread of anti-Islam rhetoric, as well as lack of understanding of the religion itself."

The abovementioned statement explains the phenomenon of islamophobia and its alarming spread characterizing it as a new form of racism against Muslims, who face hate crimes, discriminations in education, employment, housing and healthcare sector. This

phenomenon has spread since the 9/11 attacks and it still exists till now due to different factors such as the negative media portrayal of Muslims, the spread of anti-Islam rhetoric, and the lack of background knowledge about the religion.

According to Herrmann et al. (n.d.) the words "Islam" and "phobia" combine to form the word "Islamophobia. The word Islam stands for the monotheistic religious faith teaching that there is only one God (Allah) in the universe, and Muhammed (PBUH) is the prophet of God, it is described literally as meaning “submission”, “surrender”, “peace” and “safety”. With more than 1.8 billion adherents worldwide. Islam is considered the second most popular religion globally (History.com Editors, 2018). In contrast, phobia is an irrational fear of something. In other words, Islamophobia describes the illogical fear, anxiety, and bias that people hold against Muslims and the Islamic faith.

Anti-Muslims sentiment has increased after the 9/11 events where Muslims have witnessed Islamophobic acts such as hate crimes, violence, prejudice, and stereotypes, in their workplaces and almost everywhere. Accordingly, media has played a significant role in spreading islamophobia in America by integrating Muslims in their discourse while covering about the attacks.

1.10. Previous studies

Media has a crucial role in disseminating information that contribute in shaping public opinion, spreading ideologies, as well as manipulating societies through their discourse. In light of this, the analysis of media discourse on minorities around the world, more specifically, Muslims and Islam has, captured the attention and interests of several scholars. Focusing on the rhetoric and language used while reporting on those minorities, as well as the representation of the ‘others’ in their reports, Van Dijk (1988) mentioned that in his earlier works on everyday talk about ethnic minority groups in society, he found that stereotypical or biased ethnic attitudes go hand in hand with strategically enacted discourse forms.

Yenigun (2004) have published a paper discussing the representation of Muslims in the American media post 9/11 attacks, the researcher uses a post-colonial analysis to examine the shift in the representation of Muslims by the American media. In his paper, the researcher discusses also the idea of Muslims speaking of themselves. The primary source of information of this paper was the mainstream media. Sources like PBS, MSNBC, CNN, the New York Times, and the Washington Post were scrutinized during the first few weeks after 9/11 to

examine how the mainstream media covered these specific moments. In addition to the web sites of leading Muslim organizations particularly to www.islamon-line.net, in order to hear Muslim voices. The main finding of this research is that there was a shift, in the form of a differentiation between moderates and fundamentalists, additionally, the same tropes used to represent Muslims in the colonial discourse were employed to the fundamentalist "Other.

Ahmed (2007) has conducted research that examines and evaluates the New York Times framing of Islam and Muslims pre- and post-9/11 attacks. The study used qualitative and quantitative content analysis to evaluate articles published 30- days before and after 9/11 events. The study revealed that pre-9/11 articles framed the keywords Muslim and Islam with an emphasis on the Israeli and Palestinian conflict in Jerusalem. Whereas, post-9/11 articles showed different frameworks for Islam and Muslim, with Islam often associated with violence and Muslim with a reconciliatory and patriotic frame.

Tariq et al. (2021), a group of researchers published an article that aims at exploring how the US media constructs the image of Islam and the Muslims for the viewers, as well as analyzing the perspective of the US writers about Islam and the Muslims. The paper analyzes 2,523 articles, descriptive of Islam and the Muslims and published in the US press from January to March 2017. It explores and describes the level to which the negative words and metaphors are used in the leading articles. The study revealed the emergence and evolution of patterns of representations of Islam as a political and cultural phenomenon, which are constitutive of a threat image

Fajri (2019) has published an article that aims to analyze the linguistic representation of Indonesian Muslims and Islam in two corpora of American newspapers published in two different five-year periods (2002-2006 and 2012-2016). The study used a corpus-assisted discourse analysis framework. Keyword, collocation and concordance analyses were employed to reveal dominant discourses of Indonesian Muslims. It was also enriched by critical discourse studies' commitment to analyzing social and political contexts. The researcher found out that the dominant discourses around Islam and Muslims are related to terrorism, fundamentalism, conflict and violence. this study also brings forward additional information including a shift in the discourse.

Al-Qattan and Abuemira (2020) introduced a research paper which explores the negative portrayal of Muslims in the media in the United States and other countries, using the COCA corpus to analyze their representation. The findings demonstrate that Muslims are highly

associated with negative portrayals compared to Christians or Jews and that the media contributes considerably in portraying Muslims negatively in various contexts.

As it can be seen from the literature above, several studies investigated the representation of Muslims and Islam in the American press. The present research is different from the aforementioned researches, as the articles selected fall in a broader timeframe, whereas the previous studies selected a short timeframe. In addition, this research uses CDA as a tool for the analysis of the data collected, more specifically van Dijk's ideological square.

Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the main concepts and theories related to the present research which examines media, discourse, CDA, ideology, language and power, islamophobia and racism. It focused on media written discourse, which are newspaper articles, and CDA which is the central focus of this research. The next chapter extends to discuss the instruments, tools, and the methodology used in this study.

Chapter Two:

Methods and Procedures

Chapter Two: Methods and Procedures

Introduction

2.1. Research purpose

2.2. Research design

2.3. Qualitative approach

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2.7. Data analysis

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Chapter Two: Methods and Procedures

Introduction

After fulfilling the theoretical framework of the current study in the previous chapter, this chapter is shift to the practical view. The aim of this chapter is to sort the procedures of the research. It presents the purpose of the study, the research design, and the samples from which data are collected. It also addresses the approach used to examine Islam and Muslim representations in the American newspapers post 9/11 events. Finally, this chapter highlights the techniques of data collection and their application.

2.1. Research purpose

This research aims to investigate the negative portrayal of Muslims and Islam in the American press in order to examine how media representations shape public perception and attitudes towards the Muslim community by focusing on the language used in newspaper articles using Critical Discourse Analysis.

This study seeks to uncover prevalent biases, stereotypes, and verbal abuse, against Muslims and Islam. In addition, it aims at exploring the negative impact of the media on the image of Muslims and Islam. This study relies on linguistic frameworks in analyzing media discourse critically, regarding the portrayal of Muslims in media and transforming them into terrorists. While also this research aims to analyze some American newspaper articles, post 9/11 attacks. By focusing on Critical Discourse Analysis, this study investigates the power of media discourse in transmitting implicit messages.

2.2. Research design

This research falls within the framework of qualitative research because CDA is the central focus. As Hammarberg et al. (2016) note, “qualitative’ methods are used to answer questions about experience, meaning and perspective”. They added, “these data are usually not amenable to counting or measuring”. Qualitative research techniques include ‘small-group discussions’ for investigating beliefs, attitudes and concepts of normative behavior; event from a personal perspective; and ‘analysis of texts and documents’, such as government reports, media articles, websites or diaries, to learn about distributed or private knowledge”, Which is the case in this research, it relies on the analysis of text and documents, namely media articles.

The reason behind choosing this approach, is because the study examines the way language is used and manipulated in American newspapers, and it attempts to unveil the underlying ideologies toward Islam and Muslims. Matthes (2009) in his paper stated that "a number of studies try to identify frames with a text-based, non- quantitative analysis. Rooted in the qualitative paradigm, these studies are based on relatively small samples that should mirror discourse. Typically, frames are described in-depth, with detailed quotes, but with- out quantification" (p.351) that is researchers when attempting to examine framing within text they rely on methods that do not involve quantification, relying instead on textual analysis and interpretations. As far as this research is concerned, qualitative research as a research design studies the American newspapers framing of Islam and Muslims, the latter is described in-depth using textual analysis and interpretations.

The motive behind selecting the methodology of this research is primarily based on its subject, as well as the needs and purposes it tries to fulfill. Therefore, the subject of this work tends to analyze some selected American newspaper articles published post 9/11 attacks, for the sake of exploring how the elements of language are exploited to construct the image of Islam and Muslims, this research follows the descriptive research type, because it can demonstrate how the image of a certain minority can be built through language manipulation. In this regard, it is essential to have a closer look at the method used to conduct this research, as well as describing the sample used, how data were collected and analyzed.

2.3. Qualitative Approach

"Qualitative methods have become important tools within this broader approach to applied research, in large part because they provide valuable insights into the local perspectives of study populations" (Mack et al., 2005). There are some different approaches within qualitative research such as phenomenology, ethnography, narrative inquiry, grounded theory and case study. Mullet (2018) argued that Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a qualitative analytical approach that critically examines and explains how discourses construct maintain and legitimize social inequalities. She adds "CDA takes a number of different approaches and incorporates a variety of methods that depends on research goals and theoretical perspectives."

The emphasis through this approach in the present research is on observations and analysis of some texts, namely, newspaper articles that address Islam and Muslims, since qualitative research goes deeper into the meanings, reasons, and contexts behind behaviors and opinion making. Though the word "text" has several definitions in qualitative research, in this

research, it includes seven newspaper articles about Islam and Muslims selected from American newspapers.

2.4. Van Dijk's ideological square

This section will introduce how exactly this study will make use of CDA on media discourse that is American newspaper articles as a data for this research. It is essential to clarify that CDA sheds light on the ways language is shaped to carry the producer's power, dominance, and ideology, as Asghar (2014) puts it "the power of CDA is appreciated in its capacity to look beyond the superficial meaning of discourses and to uncover hidden ideologies behind the superficial meanings of texts". Many scholars in the filed such as Fairclough, Van Leeuwen, and Van Dijk have made significant contributions through their approaches, principles, and tools that help in the critical analysis of discourse. As far as this research is concerned, the selected media texts are studied using CDA, namely van Dijk's ideological square.

Van Dijk developed a new notion of ideology that serves as the interface between social structure and social cognition. Van Dijk (1995) defines social cognition as "the system of mental representations and processes of group members". According to the latter scholar, the theory of ideology is articulated within a conceptual triangle that connects society, discourse, and social cognition in the framework of critical discourse analysis. Discourse is at the micro level of analysis including communication, verbal interaction, and language use, while society is at the macro level which is concerned with the phenomena of social order, power, inequality, dominance among the different participants of the interaction, meanwhile, cognition refers to the process of believing, understanding, thinking, interpreting that take place in the mind of the individual, in this regard cognition links discourse as a language with social situations and social structures, therefore the relation between discourse and society are cognitively mediated (Van Dijk, 2014). In light of this, "ideologies are the basic frameworks for organizing the social cognitions shared by members of social groups, organizations or institutions, that is ideologies are both cognitive and social, this conception of ideology allows us to establish the crucial link between macrolevel analyses of groups, social formations and social structure, and microlevel studies of situated, individual interaction and discourse" (Van Dijk, 1995, p.18). As part of the socio cognitive approach, van Dijk introduced the concept of the ideological square as a framework through which language can be analyzed to unveil hidden ideologies.

According to Van Dijk (2006) "many ideologies are relevant in situations of competition, conflict, domination, and resistance between groups, that is, as part of a social struggle." Based

on this fact van Dijk formulates four principles as a polarization between (us) and (them), in which the positive and negative features of in-group (Us) and out-group (Them) are (de)emphasize, van Dijk (2000) characterizes these four principles as follows:

- Emphasize positive things about Us.
- Emphasize negative things about Them.
- De-emphasize negative things about Us.
- De-emphasize positive things about Them.

Overall strategy	Groups	Features	
		Emphasis	De-emphasis
Positive self-representation	In-group (us)	Positive	Negative
Negative other-representation	Out-group (them)	Negative	Positive

Figure 1: Ideological Square Proposed by van Dijk (1998)

These four maxims play an essential role in the ideological strategies of self-positive representation and other negative representation. Van Dijk (2006) argues "that positive self-presentation or in-group favoritism is a semantic macro-strategy used for the purpose of 'face keeping' or 'impression management' such as saying positive things about Us and saying negative things about them. Negative other presentation is another semantic macro strategy regarding in-groups and out groups, that is, their division between 'good' and 'bad', superior and inferior, us and them"

Discourse producers while trying to deliver a certain ideology, tend to be selective in terms of the words they use in their discourse, as Van Dijk (1995) puts it "The ideological semantics underlying such lexical selection follows a rather clear strategic pattern, viz., that in general ingroups and their members, as well as friends, allies, or supporters, tend to be described in positive terms, whereas outgroups, enemies or opponents are described in negative terms." (p.143). He further adds "If the overall strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation is a well-known way to exhibit ideological structures in discourse, we may predict that the following structures and strategies of text and talk may typically be ideologically

relevant, depending on topic, context, speech acts and communicative goals, for ingroups and outgroups respectively:

Ingroup	*Outgroup*
Emphasis	De-emphasis
Assertion	Denial
Hyperbole	Understatement
Topicalization	De-topicalization
-sentential (micro)	
-textual (macro)	
High, prominent position	Low, non-prominent position
Headlining, summarizing	Marginalization
Detailed description	Vague, overall description
Attribution to personality	Attribution to context
Explicit	Implicit
Direct	Indirect
Narrative illustration	No storytelling
Argumentative support	No argumentative support
Impression management	No impression management

Figure 2: Describing/attributing positive action (van Dijk, 1995).

The analysis carried out in this study relies on van Dijk's ideological square in the analysis of the data collected, this model helps the researcher better unveil the ideologies behind media discourse represented in newspaper articles.

2.5. Data collection procedures

The upcoming section presents the methods that were used in collecting the relevant data for this study. Since the present study focuses on the representation of Muslims and Islam in the American press post 9/11, the data collected are primarily based on newspaper articles as a corpus for this study.

The present study relies on seven American newspaper articles talking about Muslims and Islam, the seven articles were published in different newspapers around the USA. These data were collected using Google Archives to search for newspaper articles published after 9/11 events, the data selected fall in a limited timeframe, thereby the selected newspaper articles were published within a decade after the attacks. The reason behind limiting the timeframe to a decade after the attacks, is because that period was so critical, and media outlets kept writing about those events many years after.

For the sake of finding relevant data, this research used some specific terms in the searching processes. In this regard, keywords such as: 9/11 attacks, Muslim, Islam, and terrorism were written in the search bar in the data collection processes, these terms have a direct relationship to the topic of the present study.

2.6. Newspaper articles

To collect the necessary data needed to answer the research question, the researcher used seven newspaper articles from different American newspapers talking about Muslims and Islam after the 9/11 attacks, and making use of CDA to scrutinize the selected newspaper articles. After the event, Muslims were blamed for committing the attacks, given that the terrorists involved in the attacks came from a Middle Eastern background. The purpose of this study is to investigate the media coverage of the negative portrayal of Muslims and Islam in America after the 9/11 attacks. America was selected on the basis of holding a large Muslim population. As well as, Muslims are involved in different activities and contribute to civic life in America.

2.6.1. Datum 1: EDITORIAL: Terrorists hiding in hijabs

This article entitled 'EDITORIAL: Terrorists hiding in hijabs, Muslims seek special treatment to elude TSA groping' was published by the Washington Times on November 17th, 2010.

2.6.2. Datum 2: Islam as it exists, must be considered a terrorist organization.

This research selected this article entitled 'Islam as it exists, should be considered as a terrorist organization' published on August 4th, 2005 in The Item newspaper

2.6.3. Datum 3: The tragedy of Islam's acceptance of terrorism.

This article entitled 'The tragedy of Islam's acceptance of terrorism' was published in the Item newspaper on August 6th, 2006.

2.6.4. Datum 4: The terrorists' motivation: Islam.

This article labeled 'The terrorists' motivation: Islam was published by Boca Raton News newspaper on February 21st, 2006

2.6.5. Datum 5: Islamic terrorists leave a bloody wake

The Prescott Valley Tribune newspaper published on June 18th, 2003 an article entitled 'Islamic terrorists leave a bloody wake'.

2.6.6. Datum 6: Truth about terrorism

This article entitled 'Truth about terrorism' was published by Gettysburg times newspaper on September 10th, 2004.

2.6.7. Datum 7: Islam's unholy war on innocents

'Islam's unholy war on innocents' is an article published in Times daily newspaper on September 12th, 2004

2.7. Data analysis

This research makes use of qualitative method, surrounding the negative portrayal of Muslims and Islam in the American press using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and as this research adapts CDA as a research tool, Van Dijk's ideological square is applied in the analysis of the data collected to investigate the negative portrayal of Muslims and Islam in the American press.

Conclusion

This chapter introduced the instruments of the methodology presented in this research, covering various aspects, such as research purpose, and research design. It tackled the method used which is the qualitative method, as well as it presented the theory used in the analysis of the data collected namely Van Dijk's ideological Square. Additionally, it presented the data that are going to be analyzed, data collection procedures, and data analysis.

Chapter Three:

Data Analysis

Chapter Three: Data Analysis

Introduction

3.1. Data Analysis

- 3.1.1. Datum 1: EDITORIAL: Terrorists hiding in hijabs
- 3.1.2. Datum 2: Islam as it exists, must be considered a terrorist organization
- 3.1.3. Datum 3: The tragedy of Islam's acceptance of terrorism
- 3.1.4. Datum 4: The terrorists' motivation: Islam
- 3.1.5. Datum 5: Islamic terrorists leave a bloody wake
- 3.1.6. Datum 6: Truth about terrorism
- 3.1.7. Datum 7: Islam's unholy war on innocents

Conclusion.

Chapter Three: Data Analysis

Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to the analysis of the data collected; the latter includes eight American newspaper articles. They are analyzed using Van Dijk's model namely the ideological square. The presented model helps in scrutinizing the language used in the selected newspaper articles in order to investigate the negative portrayal of Muslims and Islam in the American press.

3.1. Data Analysis

The image of Muslims is increasingly stigmatized in the American media. They often find themselves negatively impacted in several ways, like facing islamophobia, stereotypes, and racism. The view of Muslims and Islam in the era of mass media comprises both factual and subjective realities (Said, 1997). A number of data are discussed and analyzed in this chapter using Van Dijk's ideological square; this model helps the researcher to show up ideologies behind media discourse represented in American newspaper articles.

3.1.1. Datum 1: EDITORIAL: Terrorists hiding in hijabs

The first article to be analyzed is an editorial published on November 17th, 2010, in The Washington Times entitled 'terrorists hiding in hijabs' (Appendix 3). This article was published nine years after the attacks of 9/11, in which the author criticizes the Department of Homeland Security's enhanced pat-down policy that gives a special exemption to Muslim women wearing the hijab.

The language and style used in this article clearly contribute to the negative stereotypes and unfair portrayal of Muslims. Starting from the headline: 'terrorists hiding in hijabs', this statement is problematic since it makes the reader infer that wearing a hijab is associated with terrorism, Van Dijk (1988) indicates that "headlines are more than just the boldly printed first sentence on top of news reports. He emphasizes that research in mass communication and psychology has shown that headlines play a special role in information processing."

The journalist states in the beginning of this article, "Muslims seek special treatment." According to the CDA model adopted in this research, this statement contains traces of the 'us' and 'them' dichotomy. Such a statement creates a division between Muslims and the supposed

other groups that do not seek such treatment. As a result, identifying Muslims as an outgroup (Figure 1), the statement also implies that Muslims are trying to avoid security measures.

The author of this article also raises concerns about the Homeland Security Advisory Council member Mohamed Elibiary, as he is one of the disciples of Sayyid Qutb. He states, "most alarmingly, Mr. Elibiary is an admirer of the work of Sayyid Qutb." The use of "most alarmingly" suggests that there is something troubling and concerning about Elibiary, which contributes to positioning the latter in a negative light, thus negative others' representation on the one hand (Figure 1) and positive self-representation on the other hand, as the journalist presents himself and his group as vigilant and alert to potential danger. Note that Qutb in western countries is seen as the spiritual godfather of modern jihadism and an inspiration to al-Qaeda. For this reason, the journalist explicitly questions Elibiary's suitability as an advisor at the Homeland Security Council. The author also argues that the enhanced pat down policy that gives exemption to Muslim women may be the brainchild of Elibiary

3.1.2. Datum 2: Islam as it exists, must be considered as a terrorist organization.

This article, entitled 'Islam as it exists, must be considered as a terrorist organization' (Appendix 6), was written by Michael Graham and published in the Item newspaper on August 4th, 2005, in which the journalist provides a strong assertion that Islam is a terrorist organization (Figure 2), and to defend his opinion, the journalist provides arguments that contribute to the disfiguration of the image of Islam and Muslims (Figure 2). The writer starts the article by presenting his opinion that Islam is a terror organization, referring to it as the plain truth. This statement gives a clear bias against Islam; it paints it as a monolithic entity synonymous with terrorism. The article generalizes the actions of extremists to the entire Muslim population, ignoring the vast majority of peaceful Muslims around the world.

The language used in this article is inflammatory and loaded with bias against Islam and Muslims. These elements can be analyzed using Van Dijk's model adopted in this research. First, the article clearly establishes the 'us' and 'them' dichotomy. 'Us' is presented as innocent victims who are concerned about their safety; the journalist states, "I care about living in a world where terrorism and murder/suicide bombings are rejected by all." However, Muslims are presented as 'Them' (Figure 1), portraying them as a threat to innocent people and as supporters of terrorism; he states, "Another fact about the state of Islam is that the majority of Muslims in countries like Jordan continue to believe that suicide bombings are legitimate." Stating such

ideas also contributes to emphasizing negative things about the outgroup and de-emphasizing their positive aspects (Figure 1).

The journalist in this article also states: “Today, Islam has entire sects and grand mosques that preach terror. Its theology is used as a source of inspiration by terrorist murderers. Millions of Islam's members give these killers support and comfort.” This statement carries a direct and explicit accusation against Islam of spreading and supporting terrorism (Figure 2). The writer is depicting Islam as an inspiration to terrorists and Muslims as terrorism supporters.

In the following statement, the writer uses scare quotes to express skepticism and to attribute a negative aspect to Muslims (Figure 2):

> Certainly not the group of "moderate" Muslim clerics and imams who gathered in London last week to issue a statement on terrorism and their faith. When asked, "Are suicide bombings always a violation of Islam?" they did not answer, "Yes. Always." Instead, these "moderate British Muslims" replied, "It depends.".

By placing the word “moderate” between quotation marks, the journalist presents a doubt about the true moderation of the Muslim clerics and imams. This questions whether these imams genuinely represent moderation, especially regarding their response to the question addressed to them. As a result, he places their response between quotation marks as well: “it depends.” This means that the journalist considers the imams’ answer as unsatisfactory or a way to avoid condemning suicide bombing.

3.1.3. Datum 3: the tragedy of Islam’s acceptance of terrorism.

One year later, on August 6th, 2006, the same journalist who wrote the previous article published another one in the same newspaper under the headline ‘The tragedy of Islam’s acceptance of terrorism’ (Appendix 5). In which he expresses the same opinion that Islam is a source of terror and Muslims are supporters of terrorism, providing argumentative support to defend his viewpoint (Figure 2).

The journalist Micheal Graham employs the same inflammatory style of language as in the previous article. First, the headline contains a clear and direct bias against Islam; it makes the reader presupposes that Islam normalizes and accepts terrorism. The journalist reinforces this idea in his article by stating:

> "Any organization that allows terrorists to operate freely in its "name; whose ideology is, rightly or wrongly, used to justify and promote terrorism; and whose membership includes, according to every international poll, hundreds of millions of devotees who support suicide bombing, that organization has a unique problem with terrorism."

Second, the article contains traces of the 'us' and 'them' dichotomy (Figure 1). The statement, "The extremist violence in the name of Islam continues. And so does the deafening silence from the wider Muslim world" illustrates this dichotomy. Muslims are positioned as 'Them' by constantly linking "extremist violence" with "Islam", depicting them as a threat to the rest of society (the 'us' group or non-Muslims). The statement also argues that the wider Muslim world is silent about the terrorist acts committed in the name of their religion, presupposing that Muslims are complicit with terrorists.

The journalist in the article provides statistics as an argumentative support (Figure 2), that shows that about one in four British Muslims supports suicide bombings, and think that 7/7 attacks in London were justified. Then he adds" those are Muslims in Britain. Not Baghdad, not Bangladesh, but living in the heart of the modern, western world." The argument expresses concern and surprise about the number of British Muslims supporting suicide bombings which contribute to depict them as a threat to the western world.

3.1.4. Datum 4: The terrorist's motivation: Islam.

This article under the headline "The terrorists' motivation: Islam" (Appendix 4). was published by Boca Raton News on February 21st, 2006. In which the journalist provides his biased opinion against Islam, he claims that the motivation of terrorists is Islam and its premises. He employs a negative tone, biased language, and argumentative supports to defend his opinion (Figure2). He starts his article by raising a question -according to him- asked by many after several attacks in the west, which is: What is the motivation of the terrorists? The journalist used this question as a starting point to introduce his opinion.

The journalist criticizes the silence of commentators regarding the true motivation of terrorists. According to him, there are two reasons behind this silence: multiculturalism and religion; he states, "Multiculturalism asserts that all cultures are equal and therefore none may criticize another, Intellectuals and politicians are therefore reluctant to declare the obvious superiority of Western culture to Islamic culture." The writer's statement implies that western

culture is better than Islamic culture, as a way to establish the ‘us’ and ‘them’ dichotomy, the statement also carries positive self-representation and negative-other representation (Figure 1)

The journalist in this article provides an overview of Islam. First, he defines it as submission; he sees that according to this definition, the individual is not supposed to think independently but selflessly devote himself to the dictates of his religion. He compares this definition to the dark ages, where religion had immense power over society and the churches prevented people from independent thinking, which resulted in intellectual stagnation. By making such a comparison, the writer is trying to emphasize that Islam is oppressive and prevents people from independent thinking while depicting Islam and Muslims as backwards (Figure 2).

Second, the writer claims that Islam calls for taking up arms in its name. And in order to defend this claim, he uses a rhetorical discursive strategy namely, an authoritative figure, as a support by citing a verse from the Quran that says, “Night and slay the Pagans wherever you find them... those who reject our signs we shall soon cast into the fire... those who disbelieve, garments of fire will be cut out for them; boiling fluid will be poured down on their heads... as to the deviators, they are the fuel of hell.”. He chose to integrate it to serve his aim and came to the conclusion that Islam promotes violence against non-believers and suggests Islamic fanaticism; he states, “these ideas lead easily to fanaticism” without considering the context in which that verse was uttered.

The writer in this article mentions that many Muslims who live in the west reject religious fanaticism, but this is because they have accepted some western values, including respect for reason, a belief in individual rights, and the need for separation between church and state.” He adds, “it is only to the extent that they depart from their religion and from a society that imposes it that they achieve prosperity, freedom, and peace.” In these statements, the author is trying to express two ideas. First, he is positively self-representing his in-group, namely the western world; he is depicting them as a source of freedom and peace. Second, he is negatively representing the out-group, namely Muslims. By implying that Muslims would not achieve prosperity if they did not integrate into western societies and trying to emphasize that western values have a big impact on the Muslim world, these are clear traces of the ‘us’ and ‘them’ dichotomy explained in Van Dijk’s ideological Square. (Figure 1)

3.1.5. Datum 5: Islamic terrorists leave a bloody wake

The Prescott Valley Tribune newspaper published an article entitled ‘Islamic terrorists leave a bloody wake’ (Appendix 1) on June 18th, 2003. The article discussed the actions committed by Islamic terrorists, and counted the number of crimes against Israel between 1993 and 1999 and the bad impacts they left behind during that period. The author considers the Arab and Islamic countries as terrorist supporters and as being responsible for the crimes committed in Israel. As a result, he calls the United States to stop immigration from those countries. Through this, he presupposes that Islamic countries are terrorists’ supporters and depicts Israel as a victim and in need of protection.

According to the CDA model adopted in this research, this article creates a clear ‘us’ and ‘them’ dichotomy in several ways, making a division between different groups (Figure1), particularly between ‘us’, who are the United States, Israel, and the non-supporters of terrorism. This represents the emphasis on the in-group (Figure 2) as well as the exclusion of Muslims, as it is mentioned: “The United States should halt all immigration from Arab or Islamic countries supporting terrorism. This immigration ban should remain in effect until all terrorist activities against our ally Israel cease”; the writer adds, “we must not tolerate Islamic terrorism”,” we will reopen immigration from their countries”. “Them” refers to the Arab or Islamic countries that are portrayed as supporters of terrorism (Figure 1), as it is mentioned “when they start policing their own terrorists and eradicating their terrorist organizations, instead of supporting them.” For instance, the out-group is addressed negatively in this article. This dichotomy of “us” and “them” emphasizes the sense of conflict between the Islamic countries and Israel and the United States.

3.1.6. Datum 6: truth about terrorism.

This article entitled ‘Truth about Terrorism’ (Appendix 7) was published by the Gettysburg Times newspaper on September 10, 2004. The article emphasizes the link between terrorism and so-called radical Islamists, particularly in the aftermath of the Beslan massacre in Russia, where predominantly Muslims were accused of murdering hundreds of people, including many children. It defends self-reflection in Muslim communities and criticizes the media for not acknowledging the religious motivations behind acts. It also raises concerns about the spread of radical ideologies, particularly Wahhabism, funded by Saudi Arabia. It calls for a departure from political correctness and the recognition of radical Islamism as the true enemy rather than vague concepts like "terrorism."

The author argues that major American media outlets prefer to use words like "militants" or "extremists" when referring to terrorists working in the name of Islam instead of identifying the religious motivation behind their acts. He criticizes the reluctance to downplay the religious motivations behind acts of terrorism or to acknowledge the reality of the situation. He also suggests that some journalists may be influenced by political correctness or biases that prevent open discussion about the role of radical Islamism in terrorism.

The author is de-emphasizing the positive aspect of Muslims by bringing the statements of Omar Bakri Mohammed to validate his argument against Islam and Muslims (Figure 1); through this, he presupposes that Muslims tolerate terrorism, as he mentioned:

> "If an Iraqi Muslim carried out an attack like the Russian massacre in Britain, it would be justified because Britain has carried out acts of terrorism in Iraq."

He employed a direct and explicit statement to accuse Muslims (Figure 2), by mentioning several attacks in different places, subsequently, he arrived at the conclusion that all the perpetrators of these attacks are Muslims, he said:

> It's about time somebody spoke the truth. From Russia to Iraq, from the Sudan to the Philippines, and from Madrid, Bali, and Kenya to the World Trade Center in New York, a field in Pennsylvania, and the Pentagon in Washington, one characteristic describes all of the killers: They are Muslims.

This article delineates between "us" (Western countries) and "them" (Muslims) (Figure 1), depicting Muslims as the perpetrators of terrorism. It emphasizes the religious identity of terrorists and political correctness and advocates for identifying the enemy as "radical Islamists who commit terror in the perverted name of their god." Additionally, he expresses skepticism in the phrase, "Moderate? Peaceful? Where is the evidence?" (Figure 2), this statement implies doubt about the moderation and peacefulness of Islam, without mentioning that most Muslims worldwide practice peaceful faith and reject extremism.

3.1.7. Datum 7: Islam's unholy war on innocents

'Islam's unholy war on innocents' (Appendix 2). is an article published in the Times daily newspaper on September 12th, 2004. The article discusses the global threat of terrorism from radicalized Islamist factions, highlighting recent attacks on civilians that targeted

individuals from various backgrounds, including Christians, Jews, and Hindus, alongside moderate Muslims. It calls for condemnation and action against extremism, emphasizing the need for unity and discrediting extremist ideologies.

Critically speaking, the article includes some divisions of Van Dijk's ideological square. The author states, "As we approach the third anniversary of 9/11, adherents of a radically and rabidly politicized version of Islam are not discriminating-they are attacking innocents of all races, creeds, and colors." By stating this, the author is applying the strategy of positive self-representation and negative other-representation and the division of the in-group and out-group (Figure 1); the author presents Westerners and other countries affected by terrorists' attacks positively by depicting them as innocents, victims, and vulnerable, thus positioning them as the in-group. In contrast, in the aforementioned statement, the author creates a link between Islam and radicalism, which positions Islam and Muslims in a negative light and excludes them from the in-group.

The journalists brought two voices from the Muslim world where they condemned the acts committed by terrorist organizations under the name of Islam, and then he emphasized that "such voices are still a minority." In the latter statement, the author is making the reader infer a negative point about Muslims, which is that the majority of Muslims do not condemn terrorism (Figure 1). He also stated that "many leaders in the Arab and Muslim worlds avoid taking positions that might anger radicals." Through this statement, he is making an assumption about Muslims and Arab leaders being supporters of terrorism and avoiding taking positions against radicals.

Conclusion

This chapter analyzed and discussed the findings that were obtained from the collected data. The analysis involved Van Dijk's ideological square to scrutinize the language used in the newspaper articles while reporting about Islam and Muslims. The next chapter will present further discussion of the findings.

Chapter Four:

General Discussion, Implication, and Limitations

Chapter Four: General Discussion, Implication, and Limitations

Introduction

4.1. General Discussion

4.2. Implications

4.3. Limitations

4.4. Recommendations

Conclusion

Chapter Four: General Discussion, Implication, and Limitations

Introduction

This chapter will answer the research question of the present study by providing a discussion of the finding obtained from the analysis of seven American newspaper articles talking about Islam and Muslims post the 9/11 events, it also provides the implications and limitations of the present research.

4.1. General Discussion

The data proposes that the analyzed newspaper articles using Van Dijk's ideological square carry an ideological dimension. This was clearly explained in the previous chapter. The latter part of the thesis delves into various discourse structures such as assertion, explicitness, directness, argumentative support, and others, which are commonly associated with attributing positive or negative action.

The selected newspaper articles used discriminatory language in their coverage of Islam and Muslims. This discrimination took different shapes. First, all the headlines that the selected newspaper articles came under use words and language styles that contribute to staining the image of Islam and Muslims, such as: The terrorist's motivation: Islam Terrorists hiding in Hijabs, Islam's unholy war on innocents, etc. Such headlines link Islam and Muslims to terrorism; they also depict them as a threat to the rest of the world.

The previous articles linked various topics to Muslims and Islam, including terrorism, extremism, and radical Islamism. The American media used these terms to tarnish their image and perpetuate stereotypes about Islam and Muslims, which contributes to the stigmatization and marginalization of Muslim communities. Moreover, in some instances, the article "Islamic terrorists leave a bloody wake" stated the results of terrorist attacks against Israel between 1993 and 1999 with numbers and statistics. Islam was referred to using different connotations, such as submission and the terrorist's motivation. Then added that Muslims are terrorists. In addition, the writer interpreted the Quran depending on the purpose he wanted to attain.

Muslims are addressed under different labels across the samples of newspaper articles, such as terrorists, radical Islamists, militants or extremists, the true enemy, and Islamic terrorists. Such labels are important because they contribute to shaping people's perception of Muslims, linking them to terrorism and extremism, and ignoring the fact that terrorism can be carried out by non-Muslims as well. There could be several reasons behind this complex

phenomenon. The writer may lack understanding of Islam and the diversity within the Muslim community, or it could be due to following a certain agenda that involves staining the image of Islam and Muslims in the eyes of the public, thereby leading to biases or prejudices against Muslims and contributing to the spread of stereotypes. It is essential to highlight that using these negative labels for Islam and Muslims can have dangerous results, such as Islamophobia and racism.

The analysis of the seven newspaper articles answers the research question and validates the hypothesis of the present study. The findings showed that the American media does indeed spread a negative image about Islam and Muslims by selecting specific words and expressions in their discourse and exploiting language elements to spread certain ideologies. In light of this, the main ideologies being spread about Islam and Muslims revolve around Islam being the root of terrorism and Muslims being supporters of terrorism. such claims lead to Islamophobia and racism.

4.2. Implications

"Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimated, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality" (Van Dijk, 2005, p. 466). According to Fairclough (1989) "discourse is the favored vehicle of ideology." (p.34). It can be understood from the abovementioned statements that language and ideology are inseparable notions when talking about mass media and critical discourse analysis. Based on these theoretical foundations, the analysis of the selected newspaper articles required the study of the language used and highlight any kind of discourse carrying ideologies. Consequently, the adoption of van Dijk's ideological model was necessary since it is used to explain language manipulation; the latter was a key theory to extract the ideologies from the selected newspaper article.

The present research, through data analysis, was able to find traces of language manipulation, which are sometimes not explicitly stated or not apparent to readers. This was achieved by applying CDA on American newspaper articles after 9/11 events. As a result, the researcher triggers the reader's critical sense by raising his awareness about language manipulation manifested in media discourse, leading him to evaluate, analyze, and fact-check the information provided in media coverage.

4.3. Limitations

Every study, including this one, has certain limitations that should be taken into consideration while making future contributions. The first limitation of this research is that the researcher analyzed only seven American newspaper articles that tackle Islam and Muslims after the 9/11 events. In addition, research data are restricted to a limited time frame; the selected newspaper articles were published within a decade after the events.

Moreover, the researchers faced several obstacles while conducting this research, which made the realization of this work a significant challenge. These obstacles include the limited access to data resources, specifically, there was limited access to newspaper archives, which made it hard for researchers to find relevant newspaper articles as data for their study. For this reason, researchers were obliged to find another alternative to collect data.

There is also the problem of time constraints. The topic of this research is a complicated one, which requires it to be conducted over a longer period of time to allow the researchers to analyze the data collected thoroughly and deeply. However, due to time constraints, researchers were obliged to complete the work within a limited timeframe, which in return limited the depth of the analysis.

4.4. Recommendation

This research shows that the negative portrayal of Islam and Muslims is a significant issue, involving implicit messages that require immediate attention and further study. The present research is meant as a contribution to the field of CDA.

Thus, future research might conduct a comparative study of media representations of Islam and Muslims post 9/11 events in the American press with those in other Western countries, such as the UK, Germany, or France. Such a study can investigate the media discourse of different countries while reporting about the events.

Moreover, further research might also examine the representation of Islam and Muslims in the aftermath of October 7th, 2023, namely, “Al Aqsa Flood” using critical discourse analysis. it is interesting to investigate how lexical choice can determine which side media outlets stand with, or what position they take in such cases

The present research made use of Van Dijk's ideological square to scrutinize the seven selected newspaper articles. Future research may use Fairclough’s three-dimensional modal as an analytical tool for its data.

Conclusion

This chapter presented a general discussion of the data analysis. It has also highlighted some implications of the study and the method used. Besides, several limitations that the researcher came across while conducting this research. Finally, the last section of this chapter provides recommendations for future researchers in the same field.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

General conclusion

The attacks of 9/11 are one of the pivotal points in the history of America. The changes it brought to its economy, its international security policies, and society are significant. On the societal level, the attacks initiated a widespread sense of fear and anxiety among Americans toward Muslims; the latter minority was blamed for committing the attacks and the American newspapers were filled with articles that question the innocence of Muslims in this matter

This dissertation focused on the negative portrayal of Muslims and Islam in the American press post 9/11 attacks. The language used and the choice of words in media coverage while tackling topics that involve Islam and Muslims became significantly biased and inflammatory after the attacks, in a way that tarnishes their image and depict them as terrorists. For the sake of answering the research questions of the present study, the research analyzed seven American newspaper articles that turn around Islam and Muslims post 9/11 events, making use of CDA namely, van Dijk`s ideological square to scrutinize the selected newspaper articles.

The adoption of van Dijk's model revealed that the discourse used contains stances of the 'us' and 'them' polarization and the writers adopted the strategy of positive self-representation and negative other-representation. These strategies are manifested in discourse through lexical choice such as assertion, explicitness, directness, argumentative support, and others, which are commonly associated with attributing positive or negative action.

The study has shown that the selected newspaper articles contain a sort of bias against Islam and Muslims. The language used and the chosen words while tackling Islam and Muslims clearly reflect the bias of the writers. Delivering such discourse to the public can contribute to tarnishing the image of Islam and Muslims, subsequently, spreading racism and Islamophobia in society.

Great emphasis is placed on issues of terrorism and extremism, which reinforces negative stereotypes of Muslims as a threat. In addition, the American media often ignores the positive, cultural and social aspects of Muslims, and instead focuses on negative events and controversial news, building a distorted and unbalanced image. There is a distinct lack of positive representation of Muslims, with Muslim character rarely presented in a positive way or central to media stories, reinforcing negative stereotypes. The media also tends to simplify and

generalize Islamic identity, ignoring the cultural and religious diversity within the Muslim community.

The portrayal of Islam and Muslims is a significant issue; involving implicit messages that needs to be addressed comprehensively. Excessive focus on negative issues without showing the positive aspects contributes to distorting the image of Muslims and instilling fear and doubt in the hearts of the public. In this regard, the media must take greater responsibility in providing balanced and fair coverage that reflects the true diversity of Muslim communities.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Islamic terrorists leave a bloody wake

By: The Prescott Valley Tribune

Published: June 18, 2003

Editor:

Since June 1, 2003, Islamic terrorists, acting as suicide bombers, have murdered at least 40 Israelis and wounded close to 100. The United States should halt all immigration from Arab or Islamic countries supporting terrorism. This immigration ban should remain in effect until all terrorist activities against our ally Israel cease.

Terrorist attacks against Israel between Sept. 13, 1993, and Aug. 11, 1999, resulted in the following:

- 52 IDF soldiers killed
- 1,036 IDF soldiers wounded
- 48 Israeli civilians killed
- 653 Israeli civilians wounded
- 2,499 Molotov Cocktails used
- 758 shootings
- 115 cases of arson
- 338 explosive devices
- 120 fragmentation grenades
- 498 stabbings

*Sources: U.S. Department of States Global Report on Terrorism - www.state.gov/www/global/terrorism/ Also, Jewish Virtual Library, 222-www.us-israel.org/jsource/terrorism/terrortoc.html

From Aug. 11, 1999, until September 2000, Islamic terrorists killed an additional 156 Israelis. From September 2000 until June 11, 2003, Islamic terrorists murdered approximately 850 Israelis and wounded approximately 5,000 more.

It is time to apply pressure to countries that support or harbor terrorists. We must not tolerate Islamic terrorism in any form, at any location, or under any circumstance. When they

start policing their own terrorists and eradicating their terrorist organizations, instead of supporting them, we will reopen immigration from their countries to the United States. Stewart White

APPENDIX 2

Islam’s unholy war on innocents

By: Times Daily

Published: September 12, 2004

Christians slaughtered by terrorists in Beslan, Russia. Nepalese Hindus butchered by terrorists in Iraq, Jews suicide-bombed in Beer-Sheba, Israel.

As we approach the third anniversary of 9-11, adherents of a radically and rabidly politicized version of Islam are not discriminating-they are attacking innocents of all races, creeds and colors.

But the hopeful news is that within the Muslim world voices are beginning to speak out against the terrorists, the nihilist barbarians who-if not stopped - will damage both the causes they claim to cham- pion and Islam itself.

"We cannot tolerate in our midst those who abduct journalists, murder civilians, explode buses," wrote Abdel Rahman al-Rashed, the general manager of Al-Arabiya news channel. "We cannot accept them as related to us, whatever the sufferings they claim to justify their criminal deeds."

He added: "These are the people who have smeared Islam and stained its image. We cannot clear our names unless we own up to the shameful fact that terrorism has become an Islamic enterprise; an almost exclusive monopoly, implemented by Muslim men and women."

Such courageous responses are long overdue-as Nonie Darwish, self-described "daughter of an Arab warrior," has noted. "The world has been seeing Arab radical terrorism growing without much international outcry for half a century," she wrote. "Many thought it is only against Israel and its interests and ignored it."

True, such voices are still a minority. Many leaders in the Arab and Muslim worlds avoid taking positions that might anger radicals. And there are still those who defend terrorism.

Known as "the spiritual leader" of the Al-Muhajiroun sect, Omar Bakri Mohammed lives near Lon- don, where last weekend he told an interviewer that he would not condemn the massacre of hundreds of Russian children. On the contrary, he would support similar attacks elsewhere-including in Britain, where he has been granted asylum.

"If an Iraqi Muslim carried out an attack like that in Britain, it would be justified," he declared, "because Britain has carried out acts of terrorism in Iraq."

This weekend, Mohammed noted, he will be appearing at a 9-11 event-to commemorate not the victims, but the perpetrators.

Of course, it is not just Islamists who condone terrorism. Darwish observes that "many in the West and the U.N. are still finding excuses for terrorism." Take Michael Kinsley, one of America's leading public intellectuals. He has written: "An illegitimate lac tic used in a legitimate cause, as part of a conflict with legitimate and illegitimate tactics and aspirations on both sides, is different from an illegitimate tactic used for purposes that are utterly crazed and malevolent." How is that different from Omar Bakri Mohamed's view? Similarly, editors at the Reuters news agency long ago pronounced that "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter." They will not judge whether those who murder children in classrooms, decapitate hostages and blow-up buses are any worse than, say, George Washington or Mahatma Gandhi.

By contrast, Egypt's Grand Sheik Mohammed Sayed Tantawi has accused the killers in Russia of "taking Islam as a cover-and it is a deceptive cover, those who carry out the kidnappings are criminals, not Muslims."

Certainly, some terrorists have legitimate grievances and the causes they claim to represent may be just. The plight of the Chechens falls into such a category.

Chechnya, a mostly Muslim land, resisted Czarist Russian conquest until the middle of the 19th century. During World War II, Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin exiled hundreds of thousands of Chechens to Siberia, believing them to be likely Nazi allies.

In 1991, as the Soviet Union was collapsing, Chechnya briefly achieved independence. But Boris Yeltsin, Russia's first post-Soviet president, used an iron fist to restore Kremlin rule. Vladimir Putin, Russia's current leader, has been equally brutal. Since 1994, more than 80,000 Chechens have been killed. Still, nothing suggests that most Chechens support the Beslan atrocities. Exiled Chechen president Aslan Maskhadov does not condone the mass murder of children. His London spokesman said the terrorists are harming the cause of Chechen independence. "But, of course, their demands have all to do with Chechnya," he acknowledged, "so whatever has happened the Chechens will be held responsible. That's what I'm afraid of."

Chechen terrorist leader Shamil Basayev seeks more than an independent Chechnya. Like his al-Qaida allies, he wants a new Islamic caliphate that would expand well beyond Chechnya's borders.

Hamas, the Palestinian organization that claimed responsibility for the Beersheba bombing, has sim- lar ambitions. Reuters is reluctant to tell you what Hamas wants: Not an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel, but an Islamist state in place of Israel, one that would kill or ethnically cleanse its non-Muslim population.

As for the butchering of the Nepalese in Iraq, that was carried out by Ansar al Islam, an al-Qaida affiliate that was based in northeastern Iraq while Sad- lam Hussein was in power. For Ansar, the question is not, "Why kill minimum-wage workers from Nepal?" but, "Why not?" On the third anniversary of 9-11, self-proclaimed jihadis - "holy warriors"- are engaged in a world war against Christians, Jews, Hindus, Buddhists and, not least, moderate Muslims.

"Islamist terrorism represents one of the most lethal threats to the stability of the civilized world," Said Kanal Nawash, the Palestinian leading the Free Muslim Coalition Against Terrorism. "Democracy Cannot succeed unless terrorism is defeated and Islamic extremism is discredited."

It helps that more people like him are joining the battle.

Clifford D. May, a former New York Times foreign correspondent, is the president of the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, a policy institute focusing on terrorism,

APPENDIX 3

EDITORIAL: Terrorists hiding in hijabs

Muslims seek special treatment to elude TSA groping

By: The Washington Times

Published: Wednesday, November 17, 2010

Note to terrorists: Next time, wear a hijab. The Department of Homeland Security reportedly is giving special exemptions to their "enhanced pat-down" policy to Muslim women wearing the hijab or other form-concealing garments.

Last week, the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) issued a "travel advisory" noting that women who are patted down "should remind the TSA officer that they are only supposed to pat down the area in question, in this scenario, your head and neck. They SHOULD NOT subject you to a full-body or partial-body pat-down." It's unclear why CAIR believes TSA frisking must be Shariah-compliant. Homeland Security Secretary Janet Napolitano refused to deny that such exemptions existed when CNS News asked her about them on Monday, saying instead that "adjustments will be made where they need to be made" and that "there will be more to come" on this issue.

A fatwa issued in February by Islamic scholars at the Fiqh Council of North America forbad observant Muslims from going through full-body scanners. The council stated, "It is a violation of clear Islamic teachings that men or women be seen naked by other men and women. Islam highly emphasizes modesty and considers it part of faith. The Quran has commanded the believers, both men and women, to cover their private parts." The alternative to the highly revealing and intrusive body scanners is the similarly invasive pat-down, which is objectionable to everyone regardless of religion. Reports of TSA officers placing their hands inside peoples' pants and conducting full skin-to-skin frisks have only heightened the general sense of disgust at this unprecedented government intrusion.

Exemptions for Muslim women wearing traditional garb may be the brainchild of Mohamed Elibiary, who recently was made a member of the Homeland Security Advisory Council. Mr. Elibiary is president and chief executive officer of the Texas-based Freedom and Justice Foundation and a self-styled "de-radicalization expert" whose star has risen during the Obama presidency. He previously was appointed to Homeland Security's Countering Violent

Extremism Working Group and has testified before Congress as an expert on Muslim radicalism - a topic he seems to know well.

In December 2004, Mr. Elibiary spoke at a conference honoring the life and works of the "great Islamic visionary," Iran's Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. In 2008, Mr. Elibiary denounced the conviction of Hamas-connected members of the Holy Land Foundation for material support of terrorism. Most alarmingly, Mr. Elibiary is an admirer of the work of Sayyid Qutb, the intellectual and spiritual godfather of modern jihadism. Mr. Elibiary argues that Qutb is greatly misunderstood. "Many Westerners who've read Qutb's and many others' work," Mr. Elibiary wrote, "see the potential for a strong spiritual rebirth that's truly ecumenical allowing all faiths practiced in America to enrich us and motivate us to serve God better by serving our fellow man more."

No one who has read Qutb's work can mistake it for anything but an all-out assault on the American way of life and a call for a global Islamic takeover. The 9/11 Commission noted Qutb's role as an inspiration to al Qaeda and concluded that, "No middle ground exists in what Qutb conceived as a struggle between God and Satan. All Muslims - as he defined them - therefore must take up arms in this fight. Any Muslim who rejects his ideas is just one more nonbeliever worthy of destruction." Qutb - who lived in the United States as a student in the late 1940s - developed a comprehensive anti-American ideology that's widely cited as the basis for the contemporary violent Islamic extremism with which America is at war.

Qutb promoted violent, predatory Islamic internationalism with a clear voice. If Mr. Elibiary is one of his disciples, he has no business being anywhere in government, let alone as an adviser at the uppermost reaches of an agency that purports to protect the homeland.

APPENDIX 4

The terrorists' motivation: Islam

By: Boca Raton News

Published: February 21, 2006

The continued attacks by Islamic terrorists against the West-most recently, the horrific suicide bombings in London have led many to ask, what is the motivation of the terrorists? Commentators are eager to offer a bevy of pseudo-explanations poverty, the Israeli- Palestinian conflict, etc. while ignoring the motivation the terrorists themselves openly proclaim: Islam. - The near silence about the true role of Islam in motivating Islamic terrorists has two main causes: multiculturalism and religion. Multiculturalism asserts that all cultures are equal and therefore none may criticize another; Intellectuals and politicians are therefore reluctant to declare the obvious superiority of Western culture to Islamic culture. And the strong commitment to religion of many Americans, especially conservatives, makes them reluctant to indict a religion as the cause of a massive evil. But if we are to identify the funda- mental cause of the terrorists' actions, we must understand at least two fundamental premises of the religion they kill for. First, Islam, like all religions, rejects reason as a means of gaining knowledge and guiding action; it holds that all important truths are grasped by faith in supernatural beings and sacred texts. The Koran explicitly states that knowledge comes from revelation, not thinking. (Christianity in pure form entails a similar rejection of reason, but it has been heavily diluted and secularized since the Renaissance.) Islam advocates the subordination of every sphere of life to religious dogma, including the legal system, politics, economics, and family life: the word "Islam" means literally: submission. The Individual is not supposed to think independently but to selflessly subordinate himself to the dictates of his religion and its theocratic representatives. We have seen this before In the West-It was called the Dark Ages. Second, as with any religion that seeks converts, a derivative tenet of Islam is that it should be imposed by force (you cannot convince someone of the non-rational). The Koran is replete with calls to take up arms in its name: "night and slay the Pagans wherever you find them... those who reject our signs we shall soon cast into the fire... those who disbelieve, garments of fire will be cut out for them; boiling fluid will be poured down on their heads... as to the deviators, they are the fuel of hell." These Ideas easily lead to fanaticism and terrorism. In fact, what is often referred to as the "fanaticism" of many Muslims is explicitly endorsed by their religion. Consider the following characteristics of religious fanatics. The fanatic demands unquestioning obedience to religious dogma so does

Islam. The fanatic cannot be reasoned with, because he rejects reason - so does Islam. The fanatic eagerly, embraces any call to impose his dogma by force on those who will not adopt it voluntarily-so does Islam. The terrorists are not "un- Islamic" bandits who have "hijacked a great religion;" they are consistent and serious followers of their religion. It is true that many Muslims who live in the West (like most Christians) reject religious fanaticism and are law-abiding and even loyal citizens, but this is because they have accepted some Western values, including respect for reason, a belief in Individual rights, and the need for a separation between church and state. It is only to the extent that they depart from their religion- and from a society that Imposes it that they achieve prosperity, freedom and peace. In the last year, there has been more and more of a call for a "War of Ideas" - an intellectual campaign to win the "hearts and minds" of the Arab world that will discourage and discredit Islamic terrorism. A true "War of Ideas" would be one in which we proclaim loudly and with moral certainty the secular values we stand for: reason, rights, freedom, material prosperity, and personal happiness on this earth.

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APPENDIX 5

The tragedy of Islam's acceptance of terrorism

By: The Item

Published: August 6, 2006

one year ago this week, I was fired from my talk radio job by ABC/Disney for saying on the air and in the pages of this newspaper that "Islam is a terrorist organization " My argument was very simple. Any organization that allows terrorists to operate freely in its "name; whose ideology is, rightly or wrongly, used to justify and promote terrorism; and whose membership includes, according to every international poll, hundreds of millions of devotees who sup- port suicide bombing - that organization has a unique problem with terrorism.

That's what I said. ABC ordered me to apologize for it. They insisted I perform community service as a form of penance for it. I told them I would never apologize for telling the truth, and they fired me. One year later, I'm back on the air and I haven't changed a bit. The problem is, neither has Islam.

One year ago, I reported in horror that approximately one in four British Muslims told pollsters that, if they knew about a terrorist plot targeting their fellow British citizens, they would not report it to the police. "Troubling," I said at the time, but not as bad as actually supporting terrorist at- tacks.

This week, a new poll shows that about one in four British Muslims supports suicide bombings, and thinks that the 7/7 attacks in London were justified. Nearly half of British Muslims today believe the 9/11 attacks on New York were a conspiracy involving the U.S. government and Israel. These are Muslims in Britain. Not Baghdad, not Bangladesh, but living in the heart of the modern, Western world.

One year ago, I mocked an anti-terrorism press conference by "moderate" London imams when the event came to an abrupt, em- "barrassing end because one imam pointed out that attacks against "Jews were, of course, still allowed.

Today, anti-Semitic terrorists fire rockets at Jewish neighborhoods in Israel, and not a single major Muslim leader in the world 'has condemned them. Hamas receives money from devout Muslims in Saudi Arabia. Hezbollah receives missiles and money from the clerics of Iran.

The leader of Hezbollah, Hassan Nasrallah, even gets a photo-op with the head of the United Nations - in between firing mortars at Israeli schoolchildren.

Kofi Annan had his picture taken with an Islamist terrorist, and he gets to keep his job at the U.N. I point out that the guy's terror- ism is inspired by his faith, and I get fired. Go figure.

In the 12 months since ABC fired me under threats from CAIR- 'the Council of Angry Islamic Radi... er, the "Council on American- Islamic Relations" - we've seen newspaper cartoonists driven into hiding for drawing pictures of Mohammed. We've seen Western politicians and media outlets pressured into abandoning free speech by threats of violence in the name of Islam. And of course, we've seen terrorist plots uncovered in Toronto and Miami, and Jews gunned down in a Seattle office building.

We've seen Muslim voters elect terrorists into office in Gaza and Lebanon. We've even seen pro-Hezbollah protests here in the U.S., greeted by courageous American politicians like Democratic congressman John Dingell with those rousing words in defense of freedom: "I don't take sides for or against Hezbollah."

OK, so it's not quite "Give me liberty or give me death..."

The tragedy of Islam is not that all Muslims are terrorists, or that one must support violence in order to be a good Muslim. Such notions are nonsense.

Rather, the tragedy is that, nearly five years after 9/11, Osama bin Laden is still a member in good standing of the Islamic faith. He has not been declared apostate. His theology has not been denounced as heresy. The Koranic verses used to inspire his murder have not "been reformed or reinterpreted. His supporters have not been cast "out of their local mosques.

The extremist violence in the name of Islam continues. And so does the deafening silence from the wider Muslim world.

It's not enough for the moderate Muslim majority to say "I don't agree with Osama," any more than it would be enough for South- ern Baptist churches to tell the KKK "Hey, you boys have to sit in the back of the church. And be sure to take your hoods off during the prayer." Islam, like Catholicism and Protestantism and Buddhism and every other "ism," has a duty to confront evil. To fight it, to oppose with both the force of ideas and, when necessary, the force of arms. Merely clearing one's throat and saying "Well, those terrorists aren't my kind of Muslim, harrumph" isn't enough. At least, it's not enough for me. Until a majority of Muslims agree, the tragedy of Islam will continue for another year.

APPENDIX 6

Islam as it exists, must be considered a terrorist organization

By: The Item

Published: August 04, 2005

I take no pleasure in saying it. It pains me to think it. I could very well lose my job in talk radio over admitting it. But it is the plain truth: Islam is a terror organization. For years, I've been trying to give the world's Muslim community the benefit of the doubt, along with the benefit of my typical-American's complete disinterest in their faith. Before 9/11, I knew nothing about Islam except the greeting "a salaam alaikum," taught to me by a Pakistani friend in Chicago. Immediately after 9/11, I nodded in ignorant agreement as President Bush assured me that "Islam is a religion of peace." But nearly four years later, nobody can defend that statement. And I mean "nobody."

Certainly not the group of "moderate" Muslim clerics and imams who gathered in London last week to issue a statement on terrorism and their faith. When asked, "Are suicide bombings always a violation of Islam?" they did not answer, "Yes. Al- ways." Instead, these "moderate British Muslims" replied, "It depends."

Precisely what it depends on, news reports did not say. Sadly, given our new knowledge of Islam from the past four years, it probably depends on whether you're killing Jews. That is part of the state of modern Islam. Another fact about the state of Islam is that a majority of Muslims in countries like Jordan continue to believe that suicide bombings are legitimate. Still another is the poll reported by a left-leaning British paper that only 73 percent of British Muslims would tell police if they knew about a planned terrorist attack.

The other 27 percent? They are a part of modern Islam, too.

The Council on American-Islamic Relations is outraged that I would dare to connect the worldwide epidemic of terrorism with Islam. They put it down to bigotry, asserting that a lifetime of disinterest in Islam has suddenly become blind hatred. They couldn't be more wrong.

Not to be mean to the folks at CAIR, but I don't care, that is. I sim- ply don't care about Islam, its theology, its history. I have no interest in it at all. All I care about is not getting blown to smithereens when I board a bus or ride a plane. I care about living in a world where terror- ism and murder/suicide bombings are rejected by all. And the reason Islam itself has become a

terrorist organization is that it cannot address its own role in this violence. It cannot cast out the murderers from its members. I know it can't, because "moderate" Muslim imams keep telling me they can't.

"We have no control over these radical young men," one London imam moaned to the local papers. Can't kick 'em out of your faith? Can't excommunicate them? Apparently, Islam does not allow it.

Islam cannot say that terrorism is forbidden to Muslims. I know this because when the world's Muslim nations gathered after 9/11 to state their position on terrorism, they couldn't even agree on what it was. How could they, when the world's largest terror sponsors at the time were Iran and Saudi Arabia - both governed by Islamic law.

If the Boy Scouts of America had 1,000 scout troops, and 10 of them practiced suicide bombings, then the BSA would be considered a terrorist organization. If the BSA refused to kick out those 10 troops, that would make the case even stronger. If people defending terror and murder repeatedly turned to the Boy Scout handbook and found language justifying it and the scoutmasters simply said "Could be"- the Boy Scouts would have been driven out of America long ago.

Today, Islam has entire sects and grand mosques that preach terror. Its theology is used as a source of inspiration by terrorist murderers, Millions of Islam's members give these killers support and comfort.

The question isn't how dare I call Islam a terrorist organization, but rather why more people do not. As I've said many times, I have great sympathy for those Muslims of good will who want their faith to be a true "religion of peace." I believe that terrorism and murder do violate the sensibilities and inherent decency of the vast majority of the world's Muslims. I believe they want peace.

Sadly, the organization and fundamental theology of Islam as it is constituted today allows for hatreds most Muslims do not share to thrive, and for criminals they oppose to operate in the name of their faith.

Many Muslims, I believe, know this to be true and some are acting on it. Not the members of CAIR, unfortunately: As Middle East analyst and expert Daniel Pipes has reported, "Two of CAIR's associates (Ghassan Elashi, Randall Royer) have been convicted on terrorism

related charges, one (Bassem Khafegi) convicted on fraud charges, two (Rabih Haddad, Bassem Khafegi) have been deported, and one (Siraj Wahhaj) remains at large.

But Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf admits what CAIR will not. He's called for a jihad against the jihadists. He's putting his life on the line (Islamists have tried to assassinate him three times) in the battle to reclaim Islam and its fundamental decency.

He remembers, I'm sure, that at a time when Western, Christian civilization was on the verge of collapse, the Muslim world was a bastion of rationalism and tolerance. That was a great moment in the history of Islam, a moment that helped save the West.

Let's hope Islam can now find the strength to save itself.

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APPENDIX 7

The truth about terrorism

By: Gettysburg Times

Publisher: September 10, 2004

Following the massacre by mostly Muslim terrorists in Beslan, Russia, that killed, at last count, 338 people, including at least 156 children, and wounded hundreds of others, a rare voice of reason was heard from an unlikely place. Abdulrahman al-Rashed, general man- ager of Al-Arabiya television in Dubai, wrote in a London Arabic newspaper, Asharq Al-Awsat, "Our terrorist sons are an end-product of our corrupted culture." Under the headline "The Painful Truth: All the World Terrorists Are Muslims!" he wrote, "Most perpetrators of suicide operations in buses, schools and residential buildings around the world for the past 10 years have been Muslims." He also wrote that if Muslims want to change their image, they must "admit the scandalous facts," rather than disparage critics or justify terrorists' behavior.

As a good Baptist would say, "Amen!" It's about time somebody spoke the truth. From Russia to Iraq, from the Sudan to the Philippines, and from Madrid, Bali and Kenya to the World Trade Center in New York, a field in Pennsylvania and the Pentagon in Washington, one characteristic describes all of the killers: They are Muslims. In the Russian killings, the news agency Itar-Tass reports that at least 10 of the 32 hostage terrorists were linked to al- Qaida or had ties to Arab nations. Despite these facts, major American media are going out of their way to cover up the obvious, preferring words such as "militants" and "extremists," and refusing in many cases to identify the religious motivation behind the killings. The U.S. government is promoting and "tolerance" "diversity" sessions led by Muslim organizations, some of which have questionable ties to groups that have either supported or condemned with disingenuous statements killings by Muslim extremists, or sought to justify them because of policies promoted by Israel or the United States. Repeatedly, these mandatory sessions tell. government employees that Islam is a peaceful religion, from which they have nothing to fear. If that is so, why aren't the "moderates" leading an army of their own and crushing the "infidels" who have supposedly "hijacked" this "peaceful religion"? "Moderate" Islamic clerics should defrock and denounce other clerics who preach hate and the destruction of Christians, Jews and all things Western. These diversity and sensitivity sessions should be held in countries that harbor and train terrorists and export terrorism as a religious mandate and a national policy. Instead, we hear

from Ali Abdullah, an Islamic scholar in Bahrain, who said of the massacre in Russia: "I have no doubt that this is the work of the Israelis who want to tarnish the image of Muslims and are working alongside Russians who have their own agenda against the Muslims in Chechnya." Omar Bakri Mohammed, the leader of the extremist sect al- Muhajiroun, told London's Sunday Telegraph (Sept 5), "If an Iraqi Muslim carried out an attack like (the Russian massacre) in Britain, it would be justified because Britain has carried out acts of terrorism in Iraq." It gives a whole new meaning to "women and children first." Mohammed's interview was in conjunction with a "celebratory" conference in London this weekend to commemorate the third anniversary of the September 1-1, attacks on the United States. It's long past time to ditch political correctness and identify the enemy, which is not disembodied "terrorism" but radical Islamists who commit terror in the per- verted name of their god. A report from The Institute of World Politics in Washington claims that Saudi Arabia has spent tens of millions of dol- lars on indoctrinating American soldiers and prison inmates in radical Islamic ide- ology and that its goal is to create insurgency cells in the United States devoted to the Wahhabi agenda. The Muslim vote may go to John Kerry this time (it mostly went for President Bush in 2000) because Kerry is perceived by some Muslim leaders as potentially more sympathetic to their objective of ending support for Israel and eliminating the Patriot Act, which has kept an eye on people and places known for Islamic extremist behavior and potential jihadists who want to kill us. We should be listening to the likes of Abdulrahman al-Rashed or, for a reality check, former Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad, who last October called on the world's 1.3 billion Muslim to unite against "a few million Jews," whom he said rule the world and get others to fight and die for them. Moderate? Peaceful? Where is the evidence?

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