Ideological Representation of 'Self' and 'Other' in Post-9/11 Narrative Discourse in British Newspapers[1]

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ABSTRACT

The general aim of this article is to examine the ways in which British newspapers in their editorials represent 'self' and 'other' in the backdrop of the discourse on the 'war on terror'. The central argument of this paper is that *The Guardian* and *The Times* in their editorials on the 'war on terror' portray the 'other' in a highly stereotypical and negative manner and both portray the 'self' in a highly celebrated fashion, while retaining subtle nuances and differences. The findings show the creation of two 'others' by *The Guardian* (an American other and an Islamic other) and two 'selves' by *The Times* (a British self and an American self). Corpus-based critical discourse analysis (CL-based CDA) has been applied to analyse the data. The theoretical framework is derived from van Dijk's concept of the ideological square, which comprises semantic macro-strategies that provide binary features for positive self-presentation and negative other presentation. This approach accentuates a positive 'us' and de-emphasises a positive 'them'; likewise, it emphasises a negative 'them' and de-emphasises a negative 'us'. A special corpus was developed by retrieving all the leading articles/editorials/opinion-editorials about the 'war on terror' from two British broadsheets: *The Guardian* (*TG*-corpus) and *The Times* (*TT*-corpus), spreading over the time period from 11 September 2001 to 31 December 2011. The editorial texts were retrieved through 'ProQuest' and 'Lexis/Nexis' online repositories/databases. Corpus annotation and statistical analyses were conducted by using *WMatrix, Sketch Engine* and *Wordsmith Tools* software and web portals. Both corpora were tagged semantically and grammatically, using USAS and CLAWS from the University of Lancaster's platform.

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis, corpus linguistics, ideology, self, other, war on terror, media discourse

After the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon in New York and Washington, the United Kingdom articulated its steadfast sympathy towards the United States and vowed to support US initiative and military retaliation in the form of a 'war against terrorism' in every possible way. In his first speech after 9/11, Tony Blair, the then prime minister of Great Britain, expressed his conviction that "[T]his is not a battle between the United States of America and terrorism, but between the free and democratic world and terrorism. We, therefore, here in Britain stand shoulder to shoulder with our American friends in this hour of tragedy, and we, like them, will not rest until this evil is driven from our world". In his speech, Blair emphasised that the US was only one amongst many targets, "and therefore it is important for us, whilst this has happened in the United States of America, to remember that very basic fact—this is an attack on the free and democratic world as a whole". Knowledge-building enterprises, including the media, state machinery and academic institutions, found the courage to describe these events, and their resulting consequences, through language. They manipulated the language and constructed a discourse of 'war on terror' to justify and legitimise the assertive and aggressive acts of the ensuing chain of unending conflicts and wars. This discourse-constructing institutional machinery was primarily involved in painting the events through language, by using the media, academia and politics. This response triggered an exceptional use of language to disseminate a discourse of war, terror and the 'war on terror'.

Print media across the United Kingdom framed their main leads in ideologically significant ways. These leads ran: War on America[1], A declaration of war[2], Day that changed the world[3], Is this the end of the world[4]?, War on the world[5], Apocalypse[6], 10.02 am September 11, 2001[7], Declaration of War[8]. Surprisingly, the British newspapers' rhetoric with its chaotic imagery of war was full of apocalyptic descriptions: end times, terror, attack and declaration. The imagery primarily focused on a war, with images of outrage, devastation, collapse, doomsday, anguish, nightmare, death and apocalypse.

The *TG*-corpus comprises editorials published from 11 September 2001 to 31 December 2011 in *The Guardian* on the theme of 'war on terror'. This

[1.] *The Daily Telegraph*

[2.] *The Guardian*

[3.] *The Sun*

[4.] *Daily Star*

[5.] *The Mirror*

[6.] *Daily Mail*

[7.] *The Times*

[8.] *Daily Express*

corpus contains 486,279 words. In the same way, *TT*-Corpus comprises of all the editorials published from 11 September 2001 to 31 December 2011 in *The Times*. The overall content of *TT*-corpus is 659,711 words. Table 1 shows the frequency of editorials written on the 'war on terror' discourse, published over time from 9/11 to 31 December 2011, in two British broadsheets, *The Guardian* and *The Times*:

Table 1: The frequency of editorials written on the theme of the 'war on terror' in British newspapers.

	Newspaper/Year	Editorials Per Year											Total
		2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	
UK Newspapers	The Guardian	84	98	85	74	65	115	74	78	59	49	59	840
	The Times	127	141	107	126	130	112	85	74	52	49	81	1084
	Total	211	239	192	200	195	227	159	152	111	98	140	1,924

The above table shows that a comparatively higher number of editorials were published in 2001, right after 9/11, with an accumulative frequency of 211 editorials in less than four months. 84 editorials were published in *The Guardian* and 127 in *The Times*. The overall high frequency of the *TT* editorials can be noted. In 2002, the frequency of editorials in both newspapers reaches its maximum, 239 in total; and afterwards, the frequency fluctuates except in 2006, which maybe due to the 7/7 London bombings, and 2011, perhaps due to the death of Osama bin Laden in this year.
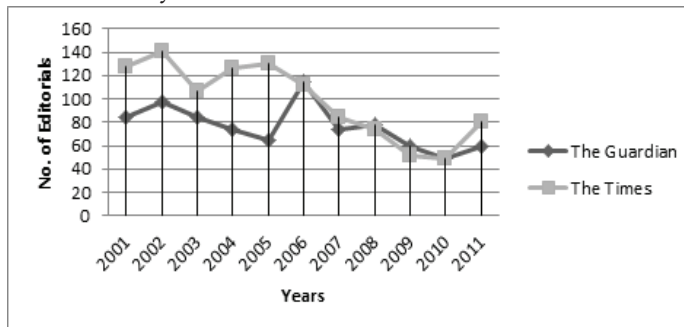

Figure1: The frequency of editorials over time in British newspapers.

The overall frequency of the editorials of *The Times* is higher than *The Guardian* until 2006. However, from 2008-10, the *TG* line intersects the *TT* line and the frequency of *TG* editorials on the 'war on terror' discourse increases during this period. From 2010 onwards, the *TT*'s frequency of editorials increases again.

The central argument of this paper is that *The Guardian* and *The Times*, in their editorials on the 'war on terror,' portray the 'other' in a highly stereotypical and negative manner and both portray the 'self' in a highly celebrated fashion;

however, the ways the two newspapers present and approach this discourse are quite different. Further, this paper argues that the Muslim countries in general, and the Middle East in particular, are placed in a post-9/11 British elite print media discourse in the same position as a breeding ground for terrorists. They are portrayed in opposition to the civilised West, in a binary opposition of 'self' and 'other'.

The theoretical framework employed is based on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which comprises semantic macro-strategies that provide binary features for positive self-presentation and negative other presentation (van Dijk 1996, 1998). Language provides a rigorous tool to build a critical understanding of the dimensions responsible for the establishment of power relations. CDA predominantly identifies and examines the analytics and mechanisms of power that affect people, groups and societies. Within the academic domain of critical discourse analysis, there is an ever-increasing body of literature produced on different aspects of CDA that encompaces discourse based ideological analysis, including ideological studies on immigration and racism (van Dijk 1993, 1995, 1998, 2008; Kress and Hodge 1979; van Leeuwen and Wodak 1989; Thompson J. 1984, 1990); media discourse (Fairclough 1989; Richardson 2007); political discourse (Chilton 2004; Wodak 1989); institutional discourse (Mayr 2008) and CDA-based corpus studies (Baker 2006, 2008, 2013).

I. Ideological Square: Positive Self-presentation

The most significant (right-hand) collocates of 'British' are derived from the *TG*-corpus, using *WordSmith Tools*, to find out how British newspapers represent the 'self' in their coverage of the discourses on the 'war on terror'. In the following table, the choice of lexical items shows that most of the right-hand collocates of the 'British' are around the lexis of foreign policy, politics, war, law and order, and community portraying the 'British' in a largely positive manner.

Table 2: Collocates of 'British' in *TG*-corpus

troops, government, Muslims, people, forces, prime, citizens, public, nuclear, state, soldiers, policy, foreign, governments, military, army, intelligence, politics, ministers, ambassador, support, bill, officials, passports, lawyers, law, society, politicians, commanders, authorities, nationals, Muslim, lives, diplomats, soldier, suspects, collusion, commandos, resident, security, soil, involvement, voters, politician, way, transport, press, spies, courts, companies, decision, history, diplomat, audience, casualties, commitment, citizen, hostage, media, man, men, policing, national, interests, institutions, Islam, life, justice

In Table 2, the collocates of 'British' show a diverse and broad range of lexical

news related to the domains of politics, war, law, security, authority, democracy, justice and religion. *TG*-corpus mainly focuses on discourses constituted around the themes of British troops, British Muslims and the British government.

The British broadsheets frequently present rhetoric of Western ideals of democracy, justice and liberty interwoven with the war discourse. The rhetoric of a celebration of the Western ideals fundamentally inspires media outlets to present the 'self' in a cultured and civilised way and the 'other' in an extremely negative, stereotypical way. The results show that the overall strategy of *The Guardian* is criticism and critique of the American celebration and glorification of its ideals of justice, freedom, democracy and liberty which are rhetoricised in the 'war on terror' discourse for its own specific political designs.

In *TG*-corpus, the debate moves around so called American 'democracy'. This is woven around the critical questioning of Mr Bush, then the president of the US, who is seen as 'playing soldiers' for political purposes in the 'war on terror' discourse and is accused of exploiting the ideal of national unity in the name of patriot games:

> If Mr Bush wants the support of Congress, and more importantly, the UN, then he must build a consensus at home rather than play soldiers for party political purposes. If he truly believes his own rhetoric, that the US is engaged in an epic battle for democracy, he must show that he understands what democracy really means. ("Patriot Games" n.p.)

TG argues that the 9/11 attacks "changed the terms on which modern life can be lived" ("Attack on America"). When Bush calls the attacks an assault "on the very notion of democracy", *TG* strongly opposes this claim and asserts that the "attackers did not in fact target democracy; they targeted American power" ("Attack on America"), which it had been indiscriminately exercising in the Middle East, where the Islamic world had developed a massive sense of injustice about the role of the United States. *TG* goes on to differentiate between the two, democracy and the American Power, and hence foresees an evolving new international situation on the political spectrum. On the remarks of Tony Blair, that the terrorists have no sense of humanity, mercy or justice, *TG* agrees with the first two concepts but differs strongly on the notion of 'justice' and suggests that Mr Blair needs to get his history and his principles right, in the light of the American role based on 'injustice' in history: "We must stand, as he said, 'shoulder to shoulder' with America in outrage at Tuesday's events. But to stand shoulder to shoulder with whatever America does next is contrary both to their interests and to ours" ("Attack on America").

The overall editorial policy of *TG* is a critique of the American war mongering and

glorification of its ideals of freedom, liberty, democracy and justice, rhetoricised in the 'war on terror' discourse for its own particular political purposes. On sending 'enormous American bombs' worth an extraordinary US$40bn to obliterate some 'adversary knifemen' in caves, *TG* raises a bottom-line question: what, in pragmatic not symbolic terms, is the US really trying to achieve? *TG* speculates the American dilemma in the following way:

> But America's dilemma, once the verbiage about "democracy's war" and "freedom's brightest beacon" is cut away, is that its military options, to the extent that they are currently understood, are largely unsuited to the task in hand. Indeed, much of what appears to be under contemplation will just make matters worse. For consider: any major air and/or ground attack mounted against Afghanistan in pursuit of prime suspect Osama bin Laden will certainly produce civilian casualties. It may not produce Bin Laden (who may not even be there). Such an attack would inflame Muslim opinion and hand the terrorists a second triumph: following Manhattan, here would be the "holy war" they have long sought to provoke. If the attacks were repeated, and spread, Pakistan's nuclear-armed military regime, destabilised and compromised in the eyes of its own people, could fall to its own Islamic fundamentalists. ("Penknife")

In the vein of American warmongering critique, *TG* explains President Bush's 'deaf to history' totalitarian doctrine, which sees the American tradition and ideals-seeking as lusting to move from superpower to hyperpower, as highly complacent, patronising, arrogant and startlingly presumptuous — it allows no opposition and tolerates no apparent threat: "an irresistible America, convinced of its rightness and its altruism" ("America's Way"). This kind of critique allows the British press to assert its own positive ideographs of democracy, liberty and freedom as contrasted against the similar American rhetoric.

The following table shows that the strongest collocates of 'British' in *TT*-corpus are closely analogous to the *TG*-corpus that depicts the ideographs of law and order, politics, war, foreign policy and community denoting the 'British' in an exceedingly positive fashion.

Table 3: Collocates of 'British' in *TT*-corpus

people, airways, soil, special, citizen, officials, national, justice, economy, embassy, interests, American, Muslim, police, security, men, courts, commanders, soldier, airports, mainstream, support, transport, armed, army, history, voters, policy, commercial, company, mosques, policing, political, politics, politicians, presence, streets, servicemen, politician, judges, court, values, tourists, sources, target, way, Russians, youth, press, targets, residents, consulate, cities, detainees, deaths, contingent, ambassador, aid, businesses, bankers, attempts, exporters, mission, marines, lives, officers, nuclear, incompetence, high, exports, life, legal, Islam

Table 3 shows the collocates of 'British' in a generally highly positive manner.

However, unlike *TG*-corpus, it mainly focuses on the British people/citizens, British soil and British infrastructure, along with a vocabulary of democracy, justice and liberty. Whereas, *TG* mainly focalises the discourses of British troops, British Muslims and British government.

Ideological modes of rationalisation and appropriation are manifest in *TT*-corpus that repeatedly refer to American ideals of democracy, civil liberties, freedom and justice as innate Western values throughout the 'war on terror' discourse. In the aftermath of the assaults of September 11, *The Times* presents the American ideals of freedom, justice and democracy and reminds the America's European allies of Nato's Article 5, under which they have an obligation, much more than a moral duty, to stand by it. *TT* asserts that it is now time to show allegiance and that they mean it. Solidarity to the American cause is picturised as something that cannot be mere rhetoric:

> Flags flutter at half-mast and in Russia's eleven separate time zones, a minute of silence yesterday honoured the dead. On the streets of Calcutta nuns have been leading prayers. In Nairobi Kenyans recall, shuddering, their own experience of terror at the hands of Osama bin Laden. Across the globe old rivalries have been buried, resentments of the sole superpower set aside and snide commentary abandoned. "We are all Americans", wrote Le Monde, in a tribute to the people "to whom we owe our freedom" from which all traces of habitual Parisian sniping were banished. Every Western leader has pronounced the appalling assaults on Washington and New York to be an attack upon [us] all. This cannot be mere rhetoric. ("Still the Enemy")

By defending Western democracy in an editorial 'Britain's terrorists', *TT* declares that society will not tolerate the spectacle of those who call for the destruction of Western democracy exploiting the Human Rights Act to avoid prosecution and, further, it will not tolerate 'the stream of hatred preached by a few fanatics,' including racial and religious hatred. Here, 'fanatics' and the 'religious hatred' are directed at the Muslim community who, according to *TT*, have made the Britain's capital as a terrorist haven ("Britain's Terrorists").

II. Ideological Square: Negative Other Presentation

The findings show that in both corpora, i.e. *The Times* and *The Guardian*, a highly stereotypical negative 'other' presentation revolves steadily and unanimously around rebels, terrorists, extremists, militants, fundamentalists and diverse militias. Interestingly, all these lexical items have strong semantic preferences and they collocate with Islam, Islamic and Islamists in both the *TG* and *TT* corpora.

In the wake of the September 11 attacks, the British press persistently represented Islam and Muslims in an extremely stigmatising and stereotypical fashion. The findings of INSTED Research suggest that the print media press

reportage and coverage related to Islam and Muslims in British national broadsheets increased by nearly 270% over the decade ("INSTED"), with a hyper momentum; 91% of that reportage covering was deemed highly negative ("INSTED"); 84% of the British print media coverage presented Islam and Muslims either as 'likely to cause damage or danger' or as 'operating in a time of intense difficulty or danger' ("INSTED"). Research by Cardiff University established that the print media press coverage of Islam and British Muslims increased incredibly and considerably since 2000, reaching a peak in 2006, and consistently remaining at elevated levels throughout 2007 and 2008 (Moore, Mason, and Lewis).

The Guardian and The Times in their editorials paint a desolate picture of Saddam Hussein, portraying him a monster, equating him with Stalin, Hitler and Pol Pot. The depictions of Saddam and his regime are very much analogous to representations of the terrorists. Similarly, the TT discourse, enunciates Saddam as a 'mass murderer' and 'genocidal butcher,' with his 'fascist' propaganda and his 'evil of axis' ruthless regime possessing 'evil terrorist power' ("Captured").

Paul Baker notes that the attitudes of the British press overall "towards Muslims in the United Kingdom have not been positive" (*Discourse* 1). The prejudiced, biased and subjective trend and tone of the British print media towards Muslims as individuals and communities can even be observed in his study of representations of Islam and Muslims in the British newspapers from a corpus-based perspective; in this research he identifies that "It was particularly difficult to make [a] distinction between the final four categories (Islamic political groups, terror/extremism, crime and conflict) as these concepts overlapped" (74).

Table 4 demonstrates the SemTag collocates (collocates with semantically tagged lexis) of 'Islamist' in *TG*-corpus. To get the SemTag collocates, Wmatrix corpus analysis and comparison web tool was used. The UCREL semantic analysis system (USAS) is a framework for undertaking the automatic semantic analysis of text (Rayson 2017). The topmost semantic collocate of 'Islamist' in the corpus (E3-) correlates Islamists with extremism and violence and portrays them as fuming angry people (S2). G1.2 assigns them the category of 'politics', highlighting the political aims of Muslim communities. The *TG* 'war on terror' discourse expresses a deep concern, of dislike and aversion (E2-) and describes them as a hindrance and obstacle (S8) to Western society, its values and civilisation. (S5+) depicts them as different 'group' affiliates, categorising and classifying them within the sphere of the ideological mode of 'fragmentation' (see Appendix-I for the semantic tagsets used in this paper).

Table 4:   SemTag collocates of 'Islamist' in *TG*-corpus

	Collocation	MI	T-score
Islamist	E3-/G1.2/S2	7.82	2.23
Islamist	S8-/E2-	5.3	1.69
Islamist	G3/S5+	4.89	1.67
Islamist	E3-/Q2.2	4.83	1.93
Islamist	G2.1-	4.73	3.19
Islamist	S1.1.3+	4.67	1.92
Islamist	S9/S2	4.66	1.66
Islamist	G2.1-/S2	4.51	2.34
Islamist	S5+	4.06	2.66
Islamist	S5+c	3.91	2.09
Islamist	E5-	3.62	1.84
Islamist	S9	3.23	1.79
Islamist	G1.2	3.01	2.15
Islamist	A2.2	2.36	1.8
Islamist	G3	2.28	1.94
Islamist	M6	1.93	1.95
Islamist	Z2	1.4	2.06

The SemTag (G3) relates them to the vocabulary and tools of warfare. Code (G2.1-) represents them as criminals involved in heinous crimes. Their religiosity in the discourse is highlighted with SemTag (S9), showing their affiliation to Islam. The word 'Islamist' is used 82 times in *TG*-corpus. The following table shows the nouns modified by the word 'Islamist':

Table 5:   Nouns modified by the adjective 'Islamist' in *TG*-corpus

terrorism, terrorists, militants, extremism, movement, parties, groups, terror, militias, opposition, fundamentalists, group, rebels, organization

Table 5 shows that, in *TG*-corpus, nouns modified by the adjective 'Islamist' are mainly related to terrorists, militants and fiundamentalists and are further classified into parties, groups and organisations.

The SemTag collocates of 'Islamist' in *TT*-corpus are shown in the following table. Here, the outcomes of the collocational analysis closely resemble those of *TG*-corpus, with (E3-/G1.2/S2) being the topmost collocates.

Table 6:   SemTag collocates of 'Islamist' in *TT*-corpus

Collocation		MI	T-score
Islamist	E3-/G1.2/S2	7.11	4.96
Islamist	E3-/G1.2	7.05	3.29
Islamist	X5.2+++/S2	6.64	2.8
Islamist	G1.2/S2	5.73	7.54
Islamists	A2.1-	5.58	1.7
Islamist	G2.1-	4.42	6.4
Islamist	G2.1-/S2	4.38	5.47
Islamist	S1.2.1-	4.17	1.89
Islamist	O4.6+	4.16	1.89
Islamist	G1.2	4.11	6.86
Islamist	S8-/E2-	4.09	2.1
Islamist	Q2.2/E2-	3.78	2.27
Islamists	S8-	3.66	1.84
Islamist	S5+	3.26	4.1
Islamist	G1.2/X7+	3.2	1.99
Islamist	E5-	3.12	2.8
Islamist	E3-/Q2.2	2.91	1.94
Islamist	A1.5.1	2.73	1.7
Islamist	S1.1.3+	2.7	1.69
Islamist	S5+c	2.67	2.8
Islamists	E3-	2.52	1.65
Islamist	B1	2.51	2.18
Islamists	A7+	1.88	1.78
Islamist	E3-	1.73	2.31

Code (X5.2+++/S2) signifies the 'Islamist' to the highest degree, with a superlative tone, and positions them as harmfully and negatively excited people. SemTag (A2.1-) portrays Muslims as conformist, orthodox and rigid beings. They are presented as un-friendly and alien to the Western ways of life in general and the British way of life in particular, as the SemTag (S1.2.1-) indicates. It is pertinent to note that (O4.6+) tag represents the 'Islamists' as 'on fire' with blistering imagery and blazing temperature metaphors. Codes (G1.2/X7+) confirm that they are portrayed as 'wanted' criminals and offenders. The findings sanction Islamists being included in lexis of 'shock' and 'fear,' as (E5-) shows (see Appendix-I for the semantic tagsets used in this paper).

In *TT*-corpus, 'Islamist' is used 329 times. The following table shows nouns modified by the adjective 'Islamist':

Table 7: Nouns modified by the adjective 'Islamist' in *TT*-corpus

extremism, extremists, terrorism, militants, terrorists, groups, militancy, terrorist, fanatics, terror, extremist, cells, ideology, movements, group, opposition, sympathisers, enemies, Arab-speaking, zealotry, zealots, elements, parties, clerics, government, fighters, denunciations, opponents, nationalists, dissidents

In Table 7, the negative lexicon of nouns modified by adjective 'Islamist' in *TT*-corpus is broader as compared to *TG*-corpus that primarily focuses on the terrorists, militants and fiundamentalists classified into parties, groups and organisations. However, *The Times* further coorelates 'Islamists' with zealtory, dissidence, fanaticism and ideology.

The representation of 'Muslim' in the *TG* and *TT* corpora primarily hinges on their routine everyday social and religious lives. The top collocates of Islam[1] in *TT*-corpus are shown in the following table, along with significant statistical measures of T-score, mutual information (MI), MI3 and log likelihood. Mutual information (MI score) is a measure of how strongly two words seem to associate in a corpus, based on the independent relative frequency of two words. The T-score is the measure not of the strength of the association but the confidence with which we can assert that there is as association. While, Log Liklelihood is the statistical test of significance. If results are significant, we are reasonably certain (usually 95% certain, sometimes 99% certain) that these results are not due to chance. In Table 8, the statistics have been sorted according to the statistical measure of Log likelihood. Most of the collocates are highly negative:

Table 8: Top collocates of 'Islam*' in *TT*-corpus

Collocates	Freq.	T-score	MI	MI3	Log Likelihood
extremism	64	7.967	7.918	19.918	602.182
extremists	62	7.821	7.211	19.119	513.422
Jihad	36	5.991	9.454	19.794	457.789
militants	42	6.444	7.446	18.231	362.223
terrorism	61	7.646	5.575	17.437	359.568
Hamas	39	6.197	7.035	17.605	311.553
militant	19	4.34	7.817	16.313	174.697
Jemaah	13	3.601	9.569	16.97	172.633
groups	25	4.934	6.247	15.535	170.338
radical	18	4.221	7.631	15.971	160.05
terrorists	26	4.97	5.301	14.702	142.37
militancy	12	3.453	8.296	15.466	120.049
extremist	14	3.707	6.747	14.362	105.459
fanatics	13	3.576	6.912	14.313	101.106
group	14	3.696	6.354	13.969	97.396
threat	18	4.105	4.942	13.281	89.49

[1](means the word with all of its morphological inflections, i.e. Islam, Islamic, Islamist, Islamism etc.)

TT's intertwining of Muslims, Islam, Islamic, Islamist and Islamism with terrorism, extremism, fanaticism and fundamentalism is significant in the corpora, as can be seen in Table 8. The word 'Islamist' in the 'war on terror' discourse is noteworthy for number of reasons: First, *TT* has a long tradition and history of misrepresenting Islam and Muslims which has been highlighted by many critics, including Richardson (2007), Poole (2006) and Baker (2010). Second, *TT* propagates the views that the terrorists highjacked aeroplanes to attack icons of American global military and economic supremacy, the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon, essentially the Western way of life and civilisation, so Western ideology was threatened and attacked: "The terrorists made New York and Washington their target but their hatred is directed against the lives, livelihoods and values of all those, including Muslims, who do not share their fanatical bigotry or their murderous intentions" ("Another Front "). The war against 'militant Islam' is portrayed as an unending conflict that will endure and take many forms: "If the definition of victory is, as the White House has suggested, 'when freedom defeats fear,' that implies a confrontation that will be as prolonged as it is inevitably many-faceted" ("Another Front").

TT's stereotypical 'institutional racism' and an Islamophobic tendency is clear when it approves the idea of working on the assumption of focusing on 'certain categories of commuters as terrorist suspects' on London buses or the Underground, especially men with an Asian or African background aged between 18 and 30, by the constables of the British transport police to manage the 'racial profiling' of terror suspects

> It is understandable that Mr Johnston has concluded that his officers may focus on men from an Asian or African background aged between 18 and 30. This is rational, based on London's record with Islamist terrorism so far. It is not unimaginable, though, that an al-Qaeda cell might recruit a woman, or an older zealot (one of the alleged July 7 bombers was aged 30 and had a child) or a deranged Anglo Saxon. ("Stop and Think")

TT's interlinking of 'Islamist' and 'Israel' in the 'war on terror' discourse is ideologically significant. In rationalising and justifying an attack on Afghanistan, *TT* claims legitimisation in using "force against terrorists who operate against Israel too" ("Better Place"), with the ambition of ideologically exploiting the 'Islamist terrorism'. The findings emphasise the *TT*'s commitment to 'institutional racism' and an Islamophobic tendency that is explicit throughout the corpus. The repetitive rhetoric of 'Islamism' in *TT*-corpus with themes and issues related to social exclusion, immigrants, militants, extremists, drugs, and radicals can be seen in the following concordance:

1	by the President's moves against *militant*	*Islamism*	during the War on Terror; a small elite
2	become a global rallying cry for *militant*	*Islamism*	. But the world is not short of such recruiting
3	violent vision, the closest thing *militant*	*Islamism*	has to a concrete political goal, is explicitly
4	the terrorism and repression of *militant*	*Islamism*	. Many believers as well as agnostics share
5	up to the threat, and nowhere has *crude*	*Islamism*	triumphed. Another spectacular atrocity
6	part of the *ideological campaign against*	*Islamism*	. After this trial, there will be a natural
7	by values other than those of *apocalyptic*	*Islamism*	. This is Pakistan's fight, but there are
8	problems are not mitigated, then the *appeal of*	*Islamism*	might burgeon. So, in turn, would the problems
9	Western engagement in the region is to allow	*Islamism*	to return. Pakistan combines a weak civilian
10	compatibility between democracy and *moderate*	*Islamism*	. The Syrian uprising threatens Turkey in

Concordance1: Rhetoric of 'Islamism' in *TT*-corpus

The Guardian and *The Times* further characterise Iraq and other terrorism sponsoring nations as 'rogue states' and even 'states of concern' and also as an 'axis of evil' in the Bush style. *TT* uncovers the 'threat within' of 'Islamist terrorism,' in an editorial entitled 'Living with terror,' in a hegemonic framework within the tradition of British newspapers' coverage of Islam and Muslims (Poole & Richardson 2006; Richardson 2004; Poole 2002). By exaggerating the magnitude and frequency of the 'threat discourse,' *TT* moves on to recommend a crucial change in the Western and British way of life, before the 'Islamist terrorism' becomes a practical reality by slaughtering innocent people:

> The character of life will have to change, not necessarily dramatically but sufficiently to minimise risks and maximise the chance of terrorists being caught before they are able to slaughter innocent people … Politicians, the judiciary, the intelligence services, the police and the public will have to look at Islamist terrorism not as a theoretical concern whose extent might be debatable, but as a practical reality that can no longer be denied. ("Living with Terror")

TT even positions the terror discourse from a historical perspective, comparing it with the 1970s IRA's 'reign of the terror' in an attempt to correlate the latter with contemporary terrorist attacks and with Islam. The Britons' vulnerability and exposure to the IRA's bloody random bombings are compared to an 'Islamist psychopathy' that includes a desire to kill:

> Collective behaviour had to alter then, as it must in the face of an Islamist psychopathy that combines a desire to kill, which is at least as strong as that of the IRA at its most intense, with technology that advances the business of mass murder and heightens digital delusions of otherworldly paradise. ("Living with Terror")

TT shows some apprehensions that in Britain "a certificate of immunity appears unofficially to have been issued to Muslims and to Muslims alone, who publicly call for people to be murdered" ("Unholy Fools"). *TT* further, brands Muslims as 'undesirable aliens' and 'unholy fools'. Moreover, it suggests that the Britain should not house a "disturbingly large number of extremist Muslims" ("Unholy

Fools"). It criticises the British Home Office for being 'afraid' and 'unwilling' to take action against these 'undesirable aliens' and challenges its reputation, calling it 'as a harbourer of terrorists' ("Unholy Fools").

Like T T-Corpus, the top collocates of 'Islam'* in *TG*-corpus are also highly negative: terror, extremist, radical, militants, terrorism, threat, extremism, fundamentalists, groups, militant, movement, terrorists and tribal. The rhetoric of 'Islamism' under the pretext of immigrants, drugs, extremist, social exclusion, militant and radical can be observed in Concordance 2:

1	isolated immigrants. If this is suburban	*Islamism*	, it poses difficult questions about Britain
2	disorientated youth, vulnerable to drugs and	*Islamism*	. Organisations like the Muslim Council
3	notorious as a strident exponent of extremist	*Islamism*	, he was ousted as imam of London's Finsbury
4	standards hard in many countries. Whilst	*Islamism*	's high command may often be privileged
5	social exclusion. While the response to	*Islamism*	must cover many different bases, one essential
6	servicemen dead. What happened to militant	*Islamism*	in the intervening 13 years is instructive
7	nation than that posed today by militant	*Islamism*	, Winston Churchill remained clear that
8	shadow darker than any cast by militant	*Islamism*	today - the then prime minister, Harold
9	document meticulously avoids conflating	*Islamism*	and terrorism. There is recognition that
10	terrorism. There is recognition that militant	*Islamism*	is not an intellectual virus that comes
11	driven by exposure to manichean radical	*Islamism*	in Nigeria, Britain and, in particular,

Concordance 2: Rhetoric of 'Islamism' in *TG*-corpus

TG and *TT* further represent Iraq and other suspect nations as 'rogue states' on an 'axis of evil' and even 'states of concern' in popular Bush fashion. This ideological move present in practices of naming, such as 'rogues' and 'axis of evil' is actually an entry point into the discourse of terror to legitimise so-called actions taken in the name of justice, freedom and democracy. The hierarchical positioning of America in relation to these states, as subjects and objects in foreign-policy discourse, makes the names 'rogue,' 'axis of evil' and 'state of concern' rhetorically powerful and ideologically determined. The same rhetoric is adapted by the British media and is frequently found in *TT*-corpus and *TG*-corpus.

Just four days after the September 11 attacks, *TT*, in an editorial entitled 'Still a haven: Terrorists are still using London to plot evil overseas,' harps on with a rhetoric of 'Islamic extremism' and a disgraceful abuse of asylum and hospitality' which according to *TT* helped London become a safe haven for the terrorists to plot global terrorism. The overall representation of *TT*-corpus is entangled in themes of Islam, Muslims, Islamists and Islamism while representing the Muslim community in highly negative terms, declaring them fanatics, extremists, fundamentalists and terrorists. The evidence comes from a concordance analysis where Islamist is one of the few strongest collocates of terror* in *TT*-corpus. An allusion to history, during the reign of John Major, is presented to justify its ideological stance:

> The Home Secretary will remember how six years ago John Major told angry Arab ambassadors in London that Islamic extremists were "extremely unwelcome". Since then the Conservative and Labour Governments have tried to tighten the law, step up surveillance of known militants and stop London becoming a haven for those plotting global terrorism. Yet despite fine promises and emergency legislation Britain is still home to hundreds of extremists who have made this country one of the centres for the violent transnational networks that inspired and encouraged the barbarism in New York and Washington. For more than six years, we have been calling on British government to stop this disgraceful abuse of asylum and hospitality. ("Still a Haven")

In 'The road to Damascus,' admitting Syrian help to safeguard its own secular regime, in the American campaign against global terrorism, General Powell equates Al-Qaeda with Hamas and Islamic Jihad: "But America did not accept any distinction between al-Qaeda terrorism and what Syria claimed was the 'legitimate' resistance of Hamas and Islamic Jihad which would be treated as a prime target in the war on terror" ("Road to Damascus").

In Western fashion, *TT* aligns all the Islamic organisations working for their national or regional freedom world-wide as off-shoots of Al-Qaeda even the Kashmiri mujahideen become puppets of Al-Qaeda as part of their clan. Similarly, there is a strong tendency in *TT* to align the war on terror discourse with the Palestine-Israel conflict, as it is clear from the concordance analysis. Even its evidence comes from the first *TT* editorial after the 9/11 events, where the terrorist attacks are portrayed with a Manhattan-Tel Aviv equation: "The most devastating terrorist attack in history has put Manhattan and Foggy Bottom on a footing with Tel Aviv" ("Terror for All").

Tony Blair presents Iraq as a "crucible of global terrorism" in the wake of increased suicide bombings and hostage-takings; and *TT* again suspects Islamist terrorists are apparently responsible for certain crimes, commenting: "Their faith is not Islam but macho medievalism" ("The Crucible"). *TT* presents Yusuf al-Qaradawi, an Egyptian-born Muslim scholar, as having 'incendiary theories' making the 'most inflammatory statements' towards Israel and being a critical threat to the 'delicate social fabric' of British society in the age of international terrorism: "the Left's hardline critics of Israel and the Iraq war are using Britain's free-speech protections as a Trojan Horse for bigotry that presents a real risk of destabilising our delicate social fabric" ("Sufferance"). The British authorities' invitation to him to talk on 'inclusion and tolerance' is seen as if the authorities "unwittingly supporting dangerous and thoroughly illiberal extremists" ("Sufferance"). To justify its criticism, an ideological rhetoric of 'threat' and

'International terrorism' is presented to legitimise the stance.

To conclude, the findings show the creation of two 'others' by *The Guardian* (an American other and an Islamic other, both violent and misguided) and two 'selves' by *The Times* (a British self and an American self, both united in their idealisation of democracy). What both newspapers share, is the construction of Islam as an 'other'; but the ways the two newspapers present this discourse of self and other are quite different. The analysis further shows that the Muslim countries in general, and the Middle East in particular, are placed in post-9/11 British print media discourse in a relationship of complementarity to each other and to terrorism as a breeding ground for terrorists; and they are portrayed in opposition to the civilised West, highlighting a binary opposition of the 'self' and the 'other'.

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Appendix I
List of USAS Semantic Tags used in the study

Semantic Tag	Semantics
A1.5.1	Using
A2.1-	No change
A2.2	Affect: Cause/Connected
A7+	Probability: Likely
B1	Anatomy and physiology
E2-	Disliking
E3-	Violent/Angry
E5-	Fear/shock
G1.2	Politics
G2.1-	Crime
G3	Warfare, defence and the army; Weapons
M6	Location and direction
O4.6+	Temperature: Hot / on fire
Q2.2	Speech acts
S1.1.3+	Participating
S2	People
S1.2.1-	Formal/unfriendly
S5+	Groups and affiliation: Belonging to a group
S8-	Hindering
S9	Religion and the supernatural
X5.2+++	Interested/excited/energetic (superlative)
X7	Wanted
Z2	Geographical names