

The Ideological Representation of 'self' and 'other' in Post 9/11 Discourse in British Newspapers

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The objective of this study is to investigate linguistically the ways in which systems of meaning are constructed in British newspaper editorials to represent 'self' and 'other' through currently circulating discourse of 'war on terror' in ideology formation. The study explores the newspaper editorials' role in shaping stereotypical images and ideologies as a result of the events of September 11, 2001, which are still on their way in the form of 'war on terror' discourse. In this research, a corpus-based approach to critical discourse analysis, rather more specifically, corpus-based approach to ideological analysis is used for data analysis. The study employs Van Dijk's concept of ideological square (1993, 1995, 1998 and 2008) as its theoretical framework. The Ideological square, comprises the semantic macro strategies developed by Van Dijk which provides the features for positive self- presentation and negative other-presentation. This ideological square emphasises the positive 'Us' and de emphasises the positive 'Them'; similarly, it emphasises the negative 'Them' and de emphasises the negatives 'Us'.

The corpus of the research consists of retrieving all the editorials/opinion-editorials/leading articles about 'War on Terror', from two British newspapers 'The Guardian' (TG-corpus) and 'The Times' (TT-corpus) from September 11, 2001 to December 31, 2011. The editorials, chosen for analysis, have been carefully collected and sorted out to make sure that only editorials/leading articles are included from 'Lexis/Nexis' and 'ProQuest' databases. Wordsmith Tools (2015), Sketch Engine (2010, 2014) and WMatrix softwares (2009)/Web portals have been used for Corpus annotation. Both the corpora were tagged semantically and grammatically using USAS and CLAWS from Lancaster's platform.

Background

After the September 11 attacks in New York and Washington the United Kingdom expressed its sympathy towards the United States and pledged to assist in any way possible in the new 'war against terrorism'. The newspapers across the United Kingdom framed the main leads in significant ways.. The main leads of the elite national newspapers ran: War on America¹, A declaration of war², Day that changed the world³, Is this the end of the world?⁴, War on the world⁵, Apocalypse⁶, 10.02 am September 11 2001⁷, Declaration of War⁸.

Surprisingly, the British newspapers' rhetoric in the wake of September 11 attacks, constituted the chaotic imagery of war: war, terror, declaration, attack, End times and Apocalypse. Here, the imagery focused on the 'war' with images of collapse, devastation, anguish, outrage and nightmare; images of death, doomsday and apocalypse.

The frequency of editorials that present 'war on terror' discourse, published overtime from 9/11 to 31st of December, 2011 in The Guardian and The Times are shown in the following Table:

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

Table: The Frequency of editorials overtime in British Newspapers

UK Newspapers	Newspaper\Year	Editorials Per Year										Total	
		2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010		2011
	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 TG-corpus comprises of all the editorials that were published from 9/11, 2001 to December 31, 2011 in The Guardian on the theme of 'war on terror'. The overall frequency of TG-corpus is 486,279 words. The TT-Corpus comprises of all the editorials published from 9/11, 2001 to December 31, 2011 in The Times on the topic of 'war on terror'. The overall frequency of TT-corpus is 659,711 words.

Ideological Square: Positive Self Presentation

To find out how 'self' is represented in British newspapers the first right hand collocates/ semantic preferences are derived from the TG-corpus. In the following table, the most of the semantic preferences of the British revolve around the vocabulary of politics, law and order, foreign policy, war and community; presenting the 'British' in overall a positive manner.

Table: Semantic Preference/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
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The rhetoric of Western ideals of Justice, liberty, freedom and democracy is also frequently present in the British broadsheets. This rhetoric inspires these ideals to present the 'self' in a civilised way and the 'other' in highly negative way. The overall policy of TG is of a critique of the American war mongering and glorification of its ideals of freedom, liberty, democracy and justice. In the table below, the most of the semantic preferences of 'British' in TT-corpus are very much similar to TG-corpus presenting the 'British' in overall a positive manner.

Table: Semantic Preference/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, politics, Islam

TT-corpus frequently refers to American ideals of civil liberty, justice, freedom and democracy as the Western values throughout the discourse for its appropriation and rationalisation.

Ideological Square: Negative Other Presentation

The empirical findings show that in both The Times and The Guardian corpora the negative 'other' presentation is unanimously and consistently revolves around the terrorists, militants, extremists, militias, fundamentalists and rebels; and interestingly all these words are the strong collocates of Islam, Islamic and Islamists in the corpus.

The attitudes of British press overall "towards Muslims in the United Kingdom have not been positive" (Baker, 2013, p. 1). Even the biased trend of the British media can be witnessed in Paul Baker's study of the representation of Islam and Muslims in the British newspapers, where he notices that "It was

particularly difficult to make distinctions between the final four categories (Islamic political groups, terror/extremism, crime and conflict) as these concepts overlapped" (2013. p. 74).

Table below shows the SemTag collocates of Islamist in TG-corpus. The top collocate in the corpus (E3-) relates the Islamists to violence, extremism and show them in the state of being angry people (S2). G1.2 places them in the category of 'politics' signifying their political aims. The TG discourse voices a concern of dislike (E2-) and portrays them as a hindrance (S8) to the Western civilisation. (S5+) shows them as a member of 'group', classifying them in the ideological mode of 'fragmentation'.

Table: 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	Z2	1.4	2.06

In TG-corpus, word Islamist is used 82 times; the table below shows the nouns modified by 'Islamist':

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

terrorism, terrorists, militants, extremism, movement, parties, groups, terror, militias, opposition, fundamentalists, group, rebels, organisation
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The table below shows the SemTag collocates of Islamist in TT-corpus. Here, the results of the collocational analysis are almost similar to those of TG-corpus, (E3-/G1.2) being the top collocates.

Table: 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
Islamist	E3-	1.73	2.31

The (X5.2+++/S2) represents the 'Islamists' in the highest (superlative degree) terms as negatively excited, energetic and interested people. SemTag (A2.1-) shows them as orthodox unchanging folks. They are presented as un-friendly to the British way of life as the tag (S1.2.1-) shows. It is interesting to note that (O4.6+) SemTag portrays the Islamists as 'on fire' with a hot temperature metaphors. (G1.2/X7+) shows that they are sketched as 'wanted' political criminals. The Islamists are presented among the lexicon of 'fear' and 'shock' as (E5-) empirically shows. 'Islamist' is used 329 times in TT-corpus and table below shows the nouns modified by adjective 'Islamist' in TT-corpus:

Table: Nouns modified by 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
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However, the representation of 'Muslim' in TT-corpus is fundamentally constructed around their ordinary everyday religious life. Table below shows the top collocates of Islam* in TT-corpus. The most of the collocates are having negative semantic prosody:

Table: 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

TT's intertwining of Islam, Muslims, Islamic, Islamist and Islamism significantly 'Islamist' in the war on terror discourse is highly significant for number of reasons: Firstly, TT's reputation of presenting Islam in academia in highly negative manner is highlighted by many critics, like Poole (2002, 2006), Richardson (2004, 2007), and Baker (2013). Secondly, TT believes that though terrorists attacked World Trade Centre and Pentagon, the symbols of American global economic and military powers, but actually the Western lives with Western ideology was attacked.

TT's pre occupation with 'Islamist' and 'Israel' in the 'war on terror' discourse is ideologically significant. With the justification of the attack on Afghanistan, TT goes much further to claim legitimization of using "force against terrorists who operate against Israel too" (October 13, 2001) with an aim of thwarting 'Islamist terrorism'. TT's 'institutional racism' and an Islamophobe tendency is clear throughout the TT-corpus, as the empirical findings show. The rhetoric of 'Islamism' in TG-corpus with the pretext of immigrants, drugs, extremist, social exclusion, militant, and radical can be observed in the concordance below that is self-explanatory:

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

Concordance: Rhetoric of 'Islamism' in TG-corpus

TG and TT further represent Iraq and other suspect nations as 'rogue states' and as an 'axis of evil' and even 'states of concern' in the popular Bush fashion. Finally, the Muslim countries, especially the Middle Eastern ones, are positioned in post 9/11 British discourse in a relationship of complementarity and identity to each other and to terrorism as breeding grounds for terrorists, and in opposition to the civilised West.

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