

The Representation of American Muslims Before and After 9/11 in *The New York Times*

Martin Rädisch

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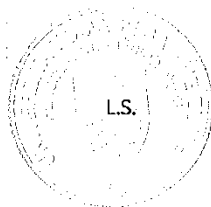
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doc. Ing. Aněžka Lengálová, Ph.D.
děkanka




PhDr. Katarína Nemčoková, Ph.D.
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ABSTRAKT

Práce se zabývá analýzou a srovnáváním novinových článků zaměřených na americké Muslimy v jedněch z nejčtenějších novin v USA *The New York Times*. Tato práce srovnává znázornění amerických Muslimů v novinách před a po incidentu, který se odehrál 11.září 2001. Vybrané články pochází z doby od roku 1999 po rok 2002. Cílem je vyvození závěru, zda se znázornění dané menšiny v novinových člancích *The New York Times* po této události změnil, či nikoliv.

Klíčová slova: diskurz, média, *The New York Times* , diskurzní analýza, 11.září 2001, američtí Muslimové

ABSTRACT

The bachelor's thesis deals with the analysis and comparison of the news articles focused on American Muslims in one of the most read newspapers in the USA – *The New York Times*. It compares the newspaper's representation of this minority before and immediately after the incident that took place on 11 September 2001. Selected articles were taken from the period of years 1999-2002. The aim of the bachelor's thesis is to draw a conclusion whether the representation of this minority has changed after the event 9/11.

Keywords: discourse, media, *The New York Times*, discourse analysis, 9/11, American Muslims

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INTRODUCTION

The use of language as people know today has gone through many changes during the history owing to new possible approaches such as science, linguistics, press and media. This thesis deals with the use of language in media especially in newspaper and the relations between the reporter and audience. The apprehension that audience gets from the articles can be influenced by the way how they are written. The newspapers use many different linguistic strategies in the reports in order to control the reader's mind (Van Dijk 2001, 358-59). The important fact is that audience might be not only influenced by the information they receive from the press but also by their own thoughts and ideology. Regarding American Muslims, there are many ways how to perceive this minority. For some people it is easier to understand their social identity and ideology due to their knowledge of the Muslim culture and historical background. These might be the elements decreasing the possibility of racism and prejudices that other people may have against this minority.

The impact of journalists' method on readers' perception of events led me to start my research in connection to one of the most memorable events that took place in 2001. Perhaps the whole world heard about the tragedy that happened on 11th September 2001 when more than 2,500 people died. It is likely that the tragedy contributed to the prejudices against the Muslims. The research in this theses will be focused on "American" Muslims with aim to compare the newspaper representations of the mentioned minority before and immediately after 11 September 2001. The essential question will be how much the representation of the American Muslims changed after the 9/11 and what could be the impact of the information that readers receive.

I. THEORY

1 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

1.1 Discourse

The definition of discourse is heterogeneous in linguistics due to different perceptions of the linguists who are concerned with the study of discourse. According to Gee the discourse mean, “language-in-use or stretches of stories (like conversations or stories)” (1999,17). Similarly, Cook points out that the discourse is “language in use, for communication” (1989, 6). Widdowson uses, the term discourse to refer to communication or connection between the producer of the text and its reader (2007, 7). As he points out, the term discourse refers to “what a text producer meant by a text and what text means to a receiver” (2007, 7).

Every text, simple or more complex, is created to transfer information, ideas or beliefs to its recipient for some reason. In other words, every text has communicative purpose. It is not easy to figure out the exact meaning from the text even if the reader may know the reference because he or she might not see the underlying purposes that are there. Considering the text forms such as guides, notices or instructions, they should not be difficult to be comprehended and reader might be able to easily reveal the intention of the producer. This is trickier in the case of broadsheet press and tabloids where the relation between intention and interpretation may be troublesome. Importantly, to comprehend the text as a discourse, readers must be able to make sense of it based on the textual features. Yet, the intended meaning of the addressor and the interpreted meaning of the addressee might differ (Widdowson 2007, 6-7).

1.2 Discourse analysis

Due to the existence of the variety of definition of the discourse, the definition of discourse analysis is also heterogeneous. According to Gee the discourse analysis is “the analysis of spoken and written language as it is used to enact social and cultural perspectives and identities” (1999, vii).

The Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), a subtype of discourse analysis, might be preferred for analyzing newspaper articles. CDA focuses on the relation of a text to ideology and social beliefs. The aim of the analysis is not just to interpret the social or political ideas and beliefs but also find another way how the text could have been made and what would be the result of these changes in the socio-political representation of the

world (Widdowson 2007, 71). Thus, critical analysts are not only concerned with the ideas and beliefs in the representation of world but also with alternate way of text construction. According to Widdowson “the task that CDA sets itself is to discover traces of ideological bias in the texts” (2007, 71). Similarly, Jeffries points out that the critical analysis of texts aims to reveal the underlying ideologies of texts, stating that all texts are ideological (2010, 6). The aim of the analysts subsists more in to find out those who have the power to enforce opinion to their avail. Therefore, the critical discourse analysts are not only analysts but also activists who search for the hidden features or elements in the texts that are intentionally omitted (Widdowson 2007, 71).

Jeffries points out that CDA is also concerned with the function of naturalization. The naturalization has function to convert the ideology to what particular members of the society can perceive as a ‘common sense’. As Jeffries states in her example, children from Victorian families used to work hard and for long hours in order to make a living for their families, which was considered as a natural thing in their society, but the same situation would be incomprehensible for today’s society, which believes that children should be looked after and not required to work so many hours in factories (2010, 9). This is the example where certain ideology became naturalized. Another example focuses on the ideal shape of the female body, where the large number of media in Western countries agrees that very thin women are more attractive and many people take it for granted (Jeffries 2010, 9).

Meaning and ideology of the analyzed text are the main points that are called into a question in this thesis. There could be many expressions underlying the text where the reader might not be aware of the impact of this expression variedness and even the producer who wrote the text with certain intention and purpose may not be aware of this. Thus, there is the necessity of using the CDA to uncover the producer unawareness of the other ideological perspectives in language use (Widdowson 2007, 71-72). Choosing CDA can effectively demonstrate the way how the language can be used to convince and control reader’s opinion. The use of this type of discourse analysis is suitable for the present research on newspaper articles due to its wide use of analyzing tools that is necessary to uncover ideological representations of minorities.

1.2.1 Media Discourse Analysis

As Van Dijk points out, the power of the media is an object of study for many language fields like linguistics, pragmatics, semiotics and discourse studies. Critical media

studies have uncovered a frequent appearance of the racist, stereotypical, sexist and biased content in text, illustrations and photos (2001, 359). Newspapers use these elements to influence readers, control their minds and present them their own point of view. For instance, the Us vs. Them method containing biased and partisan words in the earlier representation of communists was easily identified and analyzed (Van Dijk 2001, 359). This method is very often used in political speeches to encourage people for instance to strengthen the military support during the war. It might be a powerful weapon increasing the patriotic thoughts.

Many media studies are focused on transitivity to identify the agency, responsibility and perspective of participants. The semantic roles can vary by using passive structures and nominalization (Van Dijk 2001, 359). Transitivity is very often used in newspaper headlines where the author of the article can influence the perception of the reader. The author is able to switch the blame or responsibility of the participants for instance by using passive structure or omitting the agent. This is another method how to manipulate with recipient easily.

1.2.2 Semiotic analysis

Semiotic analysis is orientated on the analysis of texts as a crucial element of cultural analysis of media (Fairclough 1995, 24). It is adherent to CDA and media discourse in the way of dealing with ideological elements that appear in the texts. As Fairclough points out, “a focus typical of semiotic analysis is upon ideologically potent categories and classification which are implicit in news text, and upon alternative or competing categories which are absent, ‘suppressed’”(1995, 24). Through the use of relations between participants such as power relations and cultural values, text analysis is a part of the socio-cultural analysis of media (Fairclough 1995, 24). This practice can help to reveal the possible appearance of prejudices and racism in the press.

2 LANGUAGE IN THE NEWS

The language that is used in newspapers might not be as neutral as some people expect. In fact, there are lots of beliefs and values in press that can depreciate the objectivity of the content of the newspaper and cover the facts (Fowler 1991, 1). These are the elements that the reader unconsciously receives while he is interpreting the information from the newspaper text. Recipients can never see the whole picture of the event due to missing information that is intentionally or unintentionally erased from the text.

Linguistic studies are concerned not only with the study of the newspaper language, regarding the ideology in the press, but also with the further understanding of the social implication of this language (Conboy 2007, 2). As Conboy points out “the language in the news plays a major part in the construction of what Berger and Luckman have referred to as the ‘social construction of reality’(1986)” (2007, 5). Similarly to language, news is a form of communication that is socially constructed. It is also necessary to adapt the language of the newspaper to the social demands (Conboy 2007, 5). The language needs to go through the changes that are necessary, for instance, to meet the requirements on the use of appropriate expressions in new emergent science fields. The language in newspaper needs to follow the social and cultural progression in general.

2.1 News values and selection

Fowler points out that newspapers sort and present the events and incidents according to the criteria of newsworthiness. If incidents meet these criteria, they are more likely to be published. Examples of events that meet the criteria of newsworthiness include worldwide tragedies, disasters and other negatively affecting affairs (1991, 13). Newspapers are focused on events that are somehow catchy and interesting to the recipient. Even if some incidents have their signs of importance, if they do not meet the criteria, they do not get reported. There will probably never be the newspapers which will be able to cover all the affairs without consideration of these criteria because it would be confusing and demanding for the reader to orient in such news and, on the other hand, it would be unmanageable for the journalists.

2.1.1 Newsworthiness

Below there is a list of newsworthiness factors composed by Johan Galtung and Mari Ruge.

- (F₁) frequency
 - (F₂) threshold
 - (F_{2.1}) absolute intensity
 - (F_{2.2}) intensity increase
 - (F₃) unambiguity
 - (F₄) meaningfulness
 - (F_{4.1}) cultural proximity
 - (F_{4.2}) relevance
 - (F₅) consonance
 - (F_{5.1}) predictability
 - (F_{5.2}) demand
 - (F₆) unexpectedness
 - (F_{6.1}) unpredictability
 - (F_{6.2}) scarcity
 - (F₇) continuity
 - (F₈) composition
 - (F₉) reference to elite nations
 - (F₁₀) reference to elite people
 - (F₁₁) reference to persons
 - (F₁₂) reference to something negative
- (Fowler 1991, 13-14)

Frequency factor is about duration of the events. Newspapers prefer single events to the long-lasting ones (Harcup and O'Neill 2001, 263; Fowler 1991, 14). Threshold factor focuses on the 'size' or 'volume' of the event to make it newsworthy. Fowler gives an example of a car crash where he explains that the incident is more newsworthy when there are ten crashed cars rather than two (1991, 14). It is a strategy of newspapers where they want to attract more attention by using events for instance with large number of victims or destroyed buildings.

Factors such unambiguity, meaningfulness, cultural proximity, relevance and consonance are linked to the reader's facility in making sense of an event (Harcup and

O'Neill 2001, 263; Fowler 1991, 14). Even though the unambiguity is considered as self-explanatory, the inexplicit events are newsworthy in the same way as the explicit ones if they indicate signs of cultural stereotypes (Harcup and O'Neill 2001, 263; Fowler 1991, 14). This is relevant to the factor of cultural proximity. Newspapers, for instance, in the United States are more concerned with the events that are situated in their area and they prefer to report them rather than the events which take place in Europe or the Eastern countries. Still, there is possibility they will be interested in events that take place in the East due to particular or worldwide incidents that have impact on the Western world (Fowler 1991, 14). These are the events that are worthy to be reported because they often have negative and also dramatic elements that catch the reader's attention. The factor of consonance divided to predictability and demand refers to reader's expectations of the content of the news, for example that they will report on riots in the streets or the readers will want to hear about progression in medical treatment or effective cure for cancer (Fowler 1991, 14). The predictability and demand factors are related to reader's curiosity and thus they are essential parts of newsworthiness.

Even more newsworthy could be the factor of unexpectedness as Fowler demonstrates in the example of capsizing the car ferry *Herald of Free Enterprise* (1991, 14). This criterion refers to the events that are unusual and less likely to happen. Continuity factor deals especially with the worldwide events that hit the headlines and which are discussed in the newspapers for the long time despite of the lower amplitude (Harcup and O'Neill 2001, 263; Fowler 1991, 15). Continuity is the case of the issues that have large impact and consequences on the world. Composition factor of newsworthiness refers to the structure of the news events. Everything that can be included to the item influences its newsworthiness (Fowler 1991, 15).

According to Fowler the four remaining factors focus on cultural artifice as Galtung and Ruge stress that they are "culture-bound factors influencing the transition from events to news" (quoted in Fowler 1991, 15). The factor of 'reference to the elite nations' acknowledges 'superpowers' ideology of the world power countries such as North America, Japan, Russia and Europe in political and cultural affairs (Harcup and O'Neill 2001, 263; Fowler 1991, 15). The involvement of the countries in mentioned affairs is valuable source for the news and also interesting information source for the reader. The 'reference to elite people' factor shows the obsession of news towards the important people for instance the Princess of Wales (Fowler 1991, 15). People are interested in important people's lives, thus this is the opportunity for the newspapers to report newsworthy

information. The eleventh factor expressing ‘personalization’ is assigned to the social constructed value. Its purpose is to promote the feelings of identification or empathy and disapproval (Harcup and O’Neill 2001, 263; Fowler 1991, 15). However, Fowler states that the personalization can cover up serious information and the social and economic factors, which is effective aspect of ideology (1991, 16). It influences the interpretation of the reader where he can understand the content differently than if the personalization was not used. The last selection factor of ‘negativity’ is one of the main factors of newsworthiness (Harcup and O’Neill 2001, 263-4; Fowler 1991, 16). Events, such as tragedies or disasters, express negativity that is rare for journalists and thus are highly probable to be reported.

Fowler turns back to the fourth factor of ‘meaningfulness’, which involves a consensual model of society (1991, 16). The idea of this model is society that pulls together as a one nation, the nation who shares all its interests in common and without division. This is commented on in more detail in the following part.

2.1.2 Consensus

Media analysts identify consensus as “central to the ideological practice of newspapers” (Fowler 1991, 48). The ideology of the consensus is to unite people as one social group with the same interests, characteristics and beliefs that they hold in common. It means that every single person agrees with the principles of their community (Fowler 1991, 49). For instance the community perceives the alcohol as a bad thing and this is their shared value that everybody agrees with. Consensual values are used in political speeches and give people the sense of power, unity, hope and possible solutions for the problems that they face. As Fowler points out, despite the people’s agreement on acceptance of the positive values, the negative values exist as well not only as abstract possibilities, but the real events (1991, 52).

As Fowler points out, those who support consensus can solve the situation of existence of negatives in two ways. First solution is the adoption of tolerant pluralism which states that everyone can express his own idea but just in the case when the departures are not too extreme from the norm. In comparison with this idea of ‘we agree to differ’, the second possible solution is the ‘Us’ and ‘Them’ technique where the ones who do not share the agreed values are cast in the bad light and represented as ‘Them’ (1991, 52). Newspapers use consensual model to form consensual ‘we’ method that refers to the unity of people but even though it seems to be a beneficial method, it has the elements of ‘us’ and ‘them’ technique (Fowler 1991, 16). As Van Dijk states in his example, the white racist are the

social group that shares their values, identity, and goals which are threatened by ‘Others’, in this case the non-white social group. (1995, 18) Using ‘us’ and ‘them’ technique can be used for instance in comparison of the two social communities, where one side ‘us’ is emphasized and shown in the good way, and where ‘them’, is deemphasized and represented in the bad way (Fowler 1991, 16). It can refer to the Western and Eastern countries especially in war matters. Fowler sees the ideological concept there and claims that the re-analysis of the fourth factor of newsworthiness (factor of meaningfulness) can cause the effect of a prejudicial cultural stereotype (1991, 16). As Van Dijk points out, the racial and ethnic stories are newsworthy events that attract the attention of the news (1991, 3).

The social group represented as ‘Them’ is classified as a group of villains, dissidents, trouble-makers or deviants. Moreover, there are not just the criminals and villains in this group but also the groups of for instance teachers, trade unionists or foreigners that represent negative values against the shared cultural and economical values (Fowler 1991, 53). The issues of consensus are beneficial for the press by making the stories more newsworthy. Newspapers prefer negative and disturbing stories, for instance with rather foreign people of different race and religion than ordinary people. This is the reason why they publish the events focused on ‘Them’ with the content of murder, sex-violence, burglary or disasters rather than the events dealing with ordinary and common life illustrated as ‘Us’ (Fowler 1991, 53). The readers want to learn more about something that is not common in their everyday life. The events with the content of daily life issues might be not interesting for them because they are familiar with it, thus they want to experience something thrilling and dramatic.

2.2 Semantic Macrostructures

The semantic macrostructures are in other words the topics of the text that are compiled of the macro propositions. As Van Dijk points out, the macro propositions “are derived from the meaning (propositions) of the sentences of the text by way of macro-rules (1991, 72). By these rules it is possible to get to the main message of the sentence. As Van Dijk demonstrates in his example, the sequence of propositions can be summarized in the one macro proposition (1991, 72). It is the process where the several sub-actions are reduced as one. The following example will clarify this method:

'I collected my money', 'I stayed in the queue', 'I waited for the movie'... These three propositions can be summarized in one macro proposition, for instance *'I went to the cinema'*.

This method is commonly used in newspapers where the macro propositions are represented in the headlines or leads. Yet, the mentioned example can be further summarized, thus there is the possibility that it is not the highest level of the topic (van Dijk 1991, 72). For instance, the situation where was mentioned the macro proposition *'I went to the cinema'* can refer to the person's experience of his/her vacation in Prague.

There is a reason topics, especially in news reports, are assorted from the most important things to the detailed information. Newspapers sort topics according to their newsworthiness, relevance or importance (Van Dijk 1991, 73). This might also serve as the means that attract the reader's attention. Other reasons for this particular structure of the topics are to summarize the content and to make the text well-arranged (Van Dijk 1991, 72).

The author of the topic has to have a lot of information about the certain issue (van Dijk 1991, 73). For instance, there is a need to know the historical background, while the author refers to some cultural incident in order to take possible influences of the situation into the consideration. Concerning ethnic affairs Van Dijk points out that, the formation of the topics is subjective. He adds that there is a possibility that the readers or journalists may perceive some particular information as the most important, while the others may not (1991, 73). This is connected to the summary that reader gets from the topic. There is also a possibility that the summary of one reader will be different from the summary of another one. In fact this leads to the necessary bias of the headlines and leads of news reports (van Dijk 1991, 73).

2.3 Linguistic tools

This chapter deals with the linguistic means that are main part of CDA. The linguistic tools uncover the underlying ideologies and hidden elements in the text, thus they are necessary for the newspaper discourse analysis.

2.3.1 Transitivity

Transitivity model helps to distinguish different types of clauses. As Fowler defines, transitivity is "the way the clause is used to analyze events and situations as being of

certain type” (1991, 71). The most appropriate model is the Halliday’s transitivity system (Jeffries 2010, 38). The usage of transitivity relies on the verb division to transitive verb or intransitive verb (Jeffries 2010, 38). The following examples will demonstrate the structure of the clause with using transitive and intransitive verb:

- 1) *He gave him a toy.* The verb is transitive due to the presence of the object.
- 2) *The mother of three children fainted.* The verb is intransitive by the reason of missing object.

There exist verbs that can behave both as transitive and intransitive

- 3) *The temperature dropped.*
- 4) *The waiter dropped my soup.*

(Jeffries 2010, 38).

Fowler claims that besides the syntactic distinction of transitive and intransitive verbs there are many more meaning distinctions relevant to transitivity (1991, 71), as demonstrated in the following examples:

- 5) *John kicked the ball.*
- 6) *Peter meditates.*

In the fifth example the agent does certain activity, which Fowler marks as a physical process in comparison with the sixth example where the agent does not perform any action, but the mental process (1991, 71). According to Jeffries, “material actions are the most prototypical verbs, referring to something that is done or happens, often in a physical way, but also in more abstract way” (2010, 40). Material process is most common in clauses that involve more than one participant. Apart from material process that express the agent’s actions towards the Goal, there exist clauses with the mental process that does not refer to the agent’s actions but his or her experience (Fowler 1991, 74). According to Jeffries, “the mental process usually refers to what happens within human beings, and they divide into three types” (2010, 42). Each type refers to different human senses, feeling or perception that are part of mental process. Concerning the human’s thinking, understanding or meditation, it is related to the first type named Mental Cognition. The second type of the mental process named Mental reaction refers to the human emotions like ‘hate’ or ‘love’. The last type named Mental Perception deals with the human senses such seeing, hearing or tasting (Jeffries 2010, 42-43). The following examples will show the use and difference between those three types of mental process:

- 7) I WAS THINKING ABOUT THE ISSUE (MC)

8) I HATE MATHS (MR)

9) I SEE STARS (MP)

(Jeffries 2010, 43).

The reason for paying the attention to these processes is that it is important for the recipient to realize the options of how the process can be portrayed and how it can unconsciously control his mind. Transitivity is highly valuable technique for the newspapers owing to the wide range of its ideological forms (Fowler 1991, 71).

The variation of the clauses depends on the semantic roles of the participants. In the case of the newspapers, the headlines are the first object of transitivity because they are usually written in bold and they might be the first thing that reader notices. The following example will show the structure of the headline from the view of the semantic roles:

10) THE MURDERER KILLED TWO YOUNG GIRLS

The subject “the murderer” here in the headline is the Agent that performs a material process that is somehow affecting or has an impact on the object. The semantic role of the mentioned object is named Patient or Goal and it refers to the participant that is affected by material process, in this case the verb “kill” (Jeffries 2010, 40). As Fowler points out, the ‘Agent’ is a performer of the action and it affects the ‘Patient’ that is called ‘affected Patient’ (1991, 75).

There are two types of transformation that are related to the syntactic variation: the passive and nominal transformation (Fowler 1991, 77). The noun phrases are switched in the clause when the passive structure is used. The use of passive transformation can serve to hide the agent’s responsibility in comparison to the use of active structure where the responsibility is obviously performed by agent.

In example (10) it is clearly shown who is responsible for the attack on the Patient due to the use of the active structure. Agent performs the material process that affects the Goal. The use of passive transformation in example (11) can omit the agent, thus the responsibility is hidden in this clause and the death of the girls can be foregrounded. (Fowler 1991, 78)

11) TWO YOUNG GIRLS WERE KILLED (BY THE MURDERER)

Newspapers also often use passive structure in the headlines to save space and establish the topics. The passive can be used when the agency is unnecessary or unknown (1991, 78).

The significant ideological variations can be used via the second syntactic variation. Nominalization covers sort of information in the clause that is merely expressed in the full clause. This syntactic transformation allows the omission of the participants and the verb, thus there is unknown responsibility, no tense and also no modality (Fowler 1991, 80).

2.3.2 Persuasion and Metaphors

Persuasion is the part of rhetoric. According to Jowett and O'Donnel "persuasion is an interactive communicative process in which a message sender aims to influence the beliefs, attitudes and behavior of the message receiver" (1992, 21-26, quoted in Charteris-Black 2005, 9). As Nash points out, the rhetoric is the ability of the producer to speak well in public and the more the speech is persuasive the more rhetorically effective it is (1989, quoted in Charteris-Black 2005, 9).

There is a distinction of the two roles that appear in the communicative process. The first one is the active role of the sender that is defined by the well-considered intentions, thus persuasion occurs because of the sender's purpose and not by the chance (Charteris-Black 2005, 9). The intention is the important and essential part of the persuasion. According to Jamieson, "it is the selective device, selecting and image to be raised into consciousness from a range of alternatives" (1985, 49). The author adds that there is no prominence when there is no intention, thus there is a need to intend when one imagines (1985, 49). The second role is named the 'receivers' role, which is rather passive. Yet, the message needs to meet the want, needs or desires of the receiver in order to be successful. Charteris-Black claims, that there are two ways how to persuade the receiver, either to confirm or to challenge the existing beliefs, attitudes and behaviors (2005, 10). Nevertheless, both ways are dealing with people's existing beliefs, values and attitudes rather than new ones. In fact, as Jowett and O'Donell state, people do not usually want to accept change, thus the persuader has to refer to their existing beliefs, ideas and attitudes in order to convince them about the change. This technique is called an 'anchor' and it allows creating new attitudes and behaviors via the receiver's already accepted ideas and beliefs. An anchor is considered as a first step to change due to its representation of something that has been already widely accepted by the potential receivers. (1992, 25-26 quoted in Charteris-Black 2005, 10)

Charteris-Black points out, that metaphors have a particular discourse function of persuasion as they mediate between cognitive (conscious) and emotional (unconscious) means of persuasion in order to create a moral perspective on life. Metaphors have a large impact on people's attitudes, beliefs and values via language that causes unconscious emotional associations and they have an effect on the value that recipients put on their ideas and beliefs in the rate of the goodness and badness (2005, 13). In other words, the meaning of metaphor is based on the sort of connotations caused by the words in normal use that bear no metaphorical elements. According to Aristotle, metaphor is "giving the thing a name that belongs to something else" (quoted in Ross 1952, 1457b). Therefore, metaphor includes transfer of meaning.. Metaphors affect people because they are able to change and influence the way of people's perception and feelings about the world (Charteris-Black 2005, 14). As Charteris-Black points out, metaphor is "a linguistic representation that results from the shift in the use of a word or phrase from the context or domain in which it is expected to occur to another context or domain where it is not expected to occur, thereby causing semantic tension" (2005, 14).

Another important and effective method in connection with metaphors is personification. This technique allows to represent something that is inanimate by the use of the characteristics and abilities of something that is animate (Charteris-Black 2005, 15).

Metaphor is considered by majority as something that can be avoided in ordinary language, the device that its purpose is found only in the poetic and rhetoric use of language. In fact, metaphors do not exist only in poetic language but in people's everyday life, for instance their thoughts or actions (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 3). According to Lakoff and Johnson, the human ordinary conceptual system is metaphorical in nature (1980, 3). The conceptual system is something that people perceive unconsciously, during their daily actions. The following example will reveal the meaning of the conceptual metaphor, the concept is *ARGUMENT* and conceptual metaphors will be *ARGUMENT IS WAR*:

Your claims are *indefensible*.

He *attacked every weak point* in my argument.

His criticisms were *right on target*.

I *demolished* his argument.

I've never *won* an argument with him.

If you use that *strategy* he'll wipe you out.

(Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 4)

There can be seen that it is not the matter of the real battle but a verbal battle where the both participants use means that are related to war. For instance, they are seen as opponents, they plan strategies and try to attack but also defend their positions. As Lakoff and Johnson point out, conceptual metaphor *ARGUMENT IS WAR* “structures the actions we perform in arguing” (1980, 4). Argument and war are not considered as the same things, arguments refer to verbal discourse and war to the armed conflict and the actions are also differentiated. Still, here the ARGUMENT is considered, understood, performed and discussed as a matter of war. Thus metaphors appear in people’s concept of an argument but not in the words they use (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 5).

2.3.3 Terms of Reference

Newspapers use terms of reference in order to name the participants that are involved in the news discourse. This is a method where the namer associates social participants to the certain group and where it can signal the connection between the namer and the named (Richardson 2007, 49). As Fowler points out “the newspapers also give voice to explicit judgements on people, by terms of abuse” (1991, 110). Thus the newspapers can influence the reader by using terms of reference which evoke either the positive or negative associations with the participants. As Richardson points out “journalist have to provide names for the people in the events they report and this naming always involves choice” (2007, 49). The journalist can choose from the categories where the particular participant belongs, for instance, the participant is a man, he is married, and he has two children. Based on the mentioned information, the journalists have many options how to name this participant. He can be represented as a ‘man with two children’ or ‘hubby’ etc. Regarding the negative terms, Fowler points out that the terms of abuse are common in popular press and the negative terms of reference are used for the members of certain groups such as vandals, foreigners or the sex offenders. (1991, 111) The following examples will help to clarify the use of the terms of reference in connection with the responsibility:

Bad men (sex fiend) attack innocent women (mum, daughter).

Bad women (busty divorcee) provoke innocent men (hubby).

(Richardson 2007, 51)

In the first example ‘bad men’ are referred to as ‘sex fiend’ whereas the ‘innocent women’ are referred to as ‘mum’ or ‘daughter’. Thus, according to the characteristics of the innocent women, the journalists tend to put the blame on the Agent. In the second example ‘bad women’ are referred to as ‘busty divorcee’ and ‘innocent men’ are referred to as ‘hubby’. There the blame is put on the ‘bad women’ where they are represented as ‘busty divorcee’. The journalist used this term of reference in accordance with the characteristics of the women, where they are divorced and sexual available (Richardson 2007, 51). Even though the men could have been responsible for the attack, the newspapers can put the blame on the women. This would be the case where the reason why the men attacked was the sexual harassment provoked by the woman and this is connected with the characteristics of the women. In fact, the newspapers decide on which participants will be put the blame (Richardson 2007, 51).

2.4 Discrimination and the racism in the news

Discrimination is a particular treatment that condemns particular individual or social groups. It is reflected for instance in jobs, where the certain subject is treated unequally. Discrimination might also appear at the courts or in the case of the worker income (Fowler 1991, 93). As Van Dijk points out, many studies and also the members of different ethnic minorities experiencing the racial and ethnic prejudices and discrimination have pointed out that western societies tend to be racists (1991, 24). It is hard to give the exact definition of racism due to the different perspectives, opinions and aspects of racism. The following part focuses on the contemporary racism.

Western countries perceive the Third World people not only by the race difference but also by their cultural background (their customs, habits, traditions, language, clothes and dresses and religion). These are the elements of ethnicism (Van Dijk 1991, 26). The earlier western ideologies put the emphasis on the cultural differences more than the race itself and the racism started to transform into the ethnicism (Mullard 1986 quoted in Van Dijk 1991, 26). According to Van Dijk, one of the implications of transformation of racism to ethnicism is “the development of an ideology that recognizes that socio-cultural differences between different ethnic groups, but denies differences of power, and hence the dominance of western culture” (1991, 28). The prejudices and discrimination do not refer to just black people but also the Arabic, immigrants from the ‘borders’ of Europe and even the Jewish people in the case of anti-Semitism (Van Dijk 1991, 26-27).

Concerning newsgathering processes, elite groups and institutions influence their own portrayal in the news due to the effectively organized access to the press offices or press conferences (Van Dijk 1991, 40). Even though it is not taken for granted that they will be represented positively, they are often visible in news and their utterances and opinions are illustrated reasonably and with respect. This is related to the news value of 'reference to elite people'. Therefore, the social, cultural and economic power relations can be indirectly reproduced. There is a presupposition that the representation of information, facts and of reality from the elite's point of view in news will have tendency to dominate over the representation of reality of the non-dominant ones. The important thing to realize is that the press actively participates in the reproduction of power. Nevertheless, the press can sometimes also "voice conflicting interests, represent legitimate oppositions groups, or even sometime speak 'for the people'" (Van Dijk 1991, 41).

The press has its own influence on power in the representation. Owing to its methods and strategies of selection, emphasis, focusing, exaggeration, description, style, or rhetoric it has a great influence on the final point of view of the issue (Van Dijk 1991, 42).

3 BROADSHEET PRESS

There are two types of newspapers: the broadsheet and tabloid press. They differentiate themselves by their structure, layout and, what is important, by their seriousness and depth of particular information. Broadsheet press's content tries to be concerned with the serious matters and issues for instance war issues, politics or economy in comparison to tabloid that deals with rather entertaining topics like celebrities and scandals. Still, there are other characteristics of the broadsheet press. It is more trustworthy, containing and offering more valuable information than tabloids. It is not unusual that tabloids are not always telling the whole truth but they rather add lies to make the information more interesting, they dramatize and exaggerate to attract and get more readers.

Both newspapers have their readers according to age, education or simply attitude or interest of the reader. In case of tabloid, the readers are common and ordinary people looking for entertainment and amazing stories of the public figures in comparison to broadsheet newspaper where the recipients are mostly educated and less ordinary people who look for the serious information.

II. ANALYSIS

4 CORPUS OF DATA AND METHODOLOGY

All the articles from the corpus of data were collected from *The New York Times* online archive. The corpus consists of 12 articles representing the American Muslims before the 9/11 and 12 articles representing the American Muslims after the 9/11. The articles representing the American Muslims before 9/11 were selected from the years of 1999 and 2000. The criteria for selection were based on:

- the mentioned period (1999, 2000)
- the focus of articles on the American Muslims living in the United States

The articles were found by entering expressions “American Muslims 1999” and “American Muslims 2000” on *The New York Times* official website

On the other hand, the articles representing the American Muslims after the 9/11 were selected from September 2001 to February 2002 (six months after the incident) in order to trace the immediate effect of the incident. The criteria of the selection were:

- the focus of the articles on the American Muslims living in the United States
- the choice of two articles concerning this issue per each month so that the six-month period is represented
- a random selection of the articles in order to avoid bias to the incident

Similarly to the articles before 9/11, these articles were selected by entering expressions “American Muslims 2001” on *The New York Times* official website.

All the articles belong either to *The New York Times* US or NY Region sections due to the lack of the articles before the 9/11 that would belong just to one of the sections. There are no visuals included in the articles, thus the analysis focuses only on verbal aspects.

The CDA was chosen as the most suitable methodology for the analysis. Owing to the linguistic tools used by CDA the underlying ideologies in the text can be uncovered. The focus of the analysis will be on the following discursive techniques: transitivity, terms of reference, metaphors and the ideological square of us vs. them. Transitivity will help to identify the power relations between the participants. Terms of reference will focus on the naming of the minority members. Us vs. Them deals with the representation of the minority of American Muslims and the world. Finally the analysis examines metaphors that are used for persuasion and evoking emotions of the audience.

The first step of my analysis is the focus on the semantic macrostructures, where the topics of the articles are analyzed. The next chapter deals with linguistic strategies which

are applied in the articles and its findings will be essential for the whole analysis and for its conclusion.

4.1 The New York Times

As *The New York Times* itself claims on their web pages the diversity of ideas and thoughts is the key to success. The important thing to meet these conditions of diversity is to report the information with the comprehension and perception. Having the high-skilled and experienced staff is essential for *The New York Times* to give them faithful news as they acknowledges on the official website. They add that the possibility of their professional staff working in the demanding environment is also the part of the success. *The New York Times* affirms that they provide working opportunity for everyone equally that means they employ people in defiance of race, sexual orientation, age, religion or citizenship and they trust in respect and fairness, different opinions, work and life balance and development of talents. *The New York Times* claims that these features make the diversity of opinions possible. (New York Times 2014)

There are readers who do not share the opinion of the high quality source of information that *The New York Times* claims to be. According to the short essay “*The New York Times* and ‘The Other’”, this newspaper is a very good source of representation of the western world but concerning the international politics it would be of lower quality. (Fordham University, 2014)

5 SEMANTIC MACROSTRUCTURES

In this chapter I first will analyze the macrostructures of the articles regarding the American Muslims before 9/11 in order to find out what the main topics of the articles have in common. The same method will be used in analysis of the articles concerning the American Muslims after 9/11. There will also be the examples from the articles at each period to illustrate main themes. The analysis of the topics will be followed by a discussion summarizing the findings.

5.1 Macrostructures of articles on American Muslims before 9/11

In the first half of year 1999, the American Muslims tend to be represented without any negative aspects and no negative reactions of the public towards the minority are revealed by the newspaper. In two articles from this period, the public's support of American Muslims interests, for instance, in the matters of Muslims organizations, is depicted (see examples (1) and (2)). Example (1) is taken from the article that deals with the Muslim charitable organization Holy Land Foundation, which helped not only the victims of the Oklahoma bombing but also helps the police, firemen and others who need help. Example (2) is taken from the article that deals with the school in Paterson that closes for two days for Muslim holidays, which is seen by the Muslim parents as the expression of respect to their religion and Muslim identity.

(1) *“They liked the idea of an organization run by Muslim people opening a food pantry because they had no Muslim organizations in their coalition. They welcomed us.”* (March 21, 1999)

(2) *“Our kids will feel that as much as they respect other religions and holidays such as Christmas or Hanukkah, now others from other religions are respecting their faith”*(May 30, 1999)

Nevertheless, in the second half of the mentioned year and also in the year of 2000, the newspaper points out the existence of negative attitudes towards the American Muslims in the society. There were mostly found cases connected to the stereotypes and negative reactions to the Muslim religion. Seven out of the twelve articles deal with the discrimination and stereotypes. Example (3) is from an article that deals with the Muslim officer who was dismissed because he has grown a long beard that associated him to the Muslim religion. Example (4) is taken from the article that deals with the American

Muslims, who offered the church in Chicago to move their mosque there, but the local church was disturbed by the possible prejudices towards the minority of American Muslims by the society. Example (5) is taken from the article that shows the Muslim man who refused to eat and take the medical care in order to end his two and half years of captivity. The reason of his captivity was supposed violation of the immigration laws. The representation of the American Muslims in the second half of the year 1999 and 2000 does not change in *The New York Times* but the newspaper reveals that the perception of this minority by public was rather negative than positive, as illustrated in examples (4) and (5).

(3) “*Officer Letz’s offense? He grew a goatee*” (July 4, 1999)

(4) “*One woman, in a television interview, said she believed Islam was a “false religion”*
(August 10, 2000)

(5) “*There appears to be a stereotype among the I.N.S. that if you’re conservative or a devout Muslim, then you are a terrorist*” (January 31, 2000)

5.2 Macrostructures of articles on American Muslims after 9/11

The articles regarding the American Muslims after the 9/11 are often related to the incident of 9/11 despite the diversity of the macrostructures. The occurrences and connections to the incident of 9/11 are highly newsworthy not only for *The New York Times* but for all newspapers. This might be related to the news values factors 2, 6, and 12: “threshold”, “unexpectedness”, and “reference to something negative”. It was found that eight out of twelve articles are linked to the incident. This is illustrated for instance in example (6) taken from the article that deals with the Arab and American Muslims who braced themselves for the insults and threats which were connected to the attack on the World Trade Center. The example (7) is taken from the article that deals with the American Muslims who want to have their own stamp as a proof of their American identity. Analyzing the representation of American Muslims in this period from the point of view of *The New York Times*, no negative attitudes of the newspaper itself towards this minority are revealed. Rather the focus was on representing the negative attitudes and discrimination towards the American Muslims by the government and the local citizens blaming this minority in connection to the terrorist attacks, which was found in four articles (see examples (8) and (9)). The other four articles that were related to the incident are connected to the American Muslims identities. In those articles, the American Muslims

try to persuade American citizens about their equality as Americans, as illustrated in examples (6) and (7).

- (6) *“American Muslim and Arab organizations rushed to condemn the attack in strongly worded news releases, some issued less than two and half hours after the first plane hit the World Trade Center”* (September 12, 2001).
- (7) *“The first American stamp with an Islamic theme was issued on Sept.1, 10 days before the Islamic terrorist crashed airlines into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon”* (November 20, 2001).
- (8) *“The Government’s scrutiny of Muslim charities in the United States since the Sept. 11 attacks has contributed heavily to a sharp drop in donations to those groups”* (December 13, 2001).
- (9) *“But advocates for Arab and Muslim Americans argue that the government approach is too expansive and unfairly singles out certain citizens and residents for legal scrutiny because of their ethnicity”* (January 23, 2001).

The other main themes of the articles found during the analysis of the articles are the focus on the American Muslims youth and children. Some of the articles deal with the concern of the parents of young Muslims about their children’s lives and safety within the society, who has negative attitudes towards them after the 9/11, as illustrated in example (10). Other articles comment on the America Muslim youth’s own attitudes towards their own identities as shown in the example (11) taken from the article, where the young Muslim students are asked, whether they feel more Muslim or American. The issue concerning the identities is not only bound to Muslim children but the Muslims in general. There are six articles out of twelve, which are concerned with the identities of American Muslims. This is shown for instance in example (12) taken from the article that deals with the Muslim father Mr. Pervaiz who considers himself as a good Muslim even though he celebrates Christmas and other traditions connected to American culture. He is being impeached by the Muslim community about his religion, but he found full acceptance in the group of cultural Muslims. Example (14) is taken from the article that shows the story of Sarah Karim who has found the full acceptance as a covered Muslim woman in the school. The article also shows the Muslim students dedication to their religion and identity.

- (10) *“My concern is the children when they go back to school. I don’t know if they’ll know how to respond”* (September 13, 2001)
- (11) *“Several of the young men said they could fight against the Muslim if they were convinced that the Muslims had committed a crime”* (October 7, 2001).
- (12) *“In behavior and belief, Mr. Pervaiz is among an overlooked silent minority of Muslims in America”* (December 23, 2001).
- (13) *“Muslims struggled to assert their identities as loyal Americans”* (September 12, 2001).
- (14) *“The head scarves are only the most visible sign of gradual religious reawakening among the younger generation of Muslim college students across the country”* (November 3, 2001)

5.3 Discussion

During the analysis of macrostructures of the American Muslims before and after 9/11, no negative representation from the point of view of *The New York Times* has been found. The common themes concerning the representation of American Muslims before and after 9/11 are the appearances of the prejudices and discrimination towards the mentioned minority in the American society. A positive representation of the American Muslims by public is rarely depicted in the newspaper.

One of the differences between the periods is the reference to the incident of 9/11 regarding the articles after the 9/11. Even though the articles do not focus on the incident directly, they contain references to the date September 11. In the articles from the period before 9/11 no relations to any terrorist attacks have been found except one article which mentions the Oklahoma bombing in 1995 in connection to the public fear of the next possible attacks. Although the portrayal of the public’s fear and prejudices against American Muslims is presented in the articles both before 9/11 and after 9/11, the articles after 9/11 reveal more offensive attitudes of the public towards the minority since American Muslims are directly associated with terrorism due to the impact of the 9/11.

6 LINGUISTIC STRATEGIES IN THE ARTICLES

This chapter is concerned with the use of the linguistic tools in the selected articles from *The New York Times* online archive. The comparison of the mentioned two periods will be based on the occurrence and the use of the studied linguistic strategies in the articles. They are crucial means for the analysis and for the conclusion assessment.

6.1 Transitivity

This linguistic tool is essential for analysis of the power relations between participants in the news discourse. Both periods will be analyzed separately, followed by short summary showing the differences concerning the portrayal of the power relations. Regarding the semantic structure of the sentences, not only the cases where all participants are represented explicitly but also those where they are portrayed implicitly will be taken into the consideration. The focus will be only on depiction of those processes where one of the participants is an American Muslim. The analysis will be based not only on the representation of the power relations in the discourse but also on their influences on the American Muslims, thus only the sentences with the material processes will be analyzed.

There were found thirty-four sentences from the selected twelve articles of the years 1999 and 2000 representing material processes where one of the participants are members of the American Muslim community. Nine sentences out of thirty-four were dealing with power relations where American Muslims occupy a position of an Agent are represented as active and powerful participants, as illustrated in two examples (15) and (16). All nine sentences are in active voice. Example (15) is taken from the article that deals with the conflict between the Jews and American Muslims. Jews blame the American Muslim leader, who was appointed to serve on the National Commission on Terrorism, for condoning terrorism against Israel. The American Muslims are in the position of Agent and perform material process over the Patient, "Mr. Gephard". Example (16) is taken from the article that shows the end of rivalry of two Muslim groups. The American Muslim represented as "he" is Agent that performs the material process over the "Jews and others" who occupy the position of a Patient.

(15) "*Many American Muslims had contacted Mr. Gephard to signal their support*"
(July 9, 1999)

(16) "*He has harshly attacked Jews and others he has seen as enemies of his teachings*"
(February 28, 2000)

In other twenty-six sentences, the American Muslims occupy the position of the Patient. In five sentences out of thirty-four, positive attitudes towards the American Muslims are expressed, as illustrated in examples (17) where American Muslims occupy a position of a Patient. Example (17) is taken from the article that deals with the bully of the American Muslim cadets who decided to leave the campus. The Agent represented as “he” performing the material process is one of the other cadets who feel pity for the American Muslim cadets, represented as Patient. Example (18) is taken from the article that shows the school Paterson that closes for two days for Muslim holidays. The Agent are the members of other religions represented as “others from other religions”, who perform material process over the Patient “their faith” that represents the members of American Muslim religion.

(17) “*He had befriended some of the Middle Eastern cadets and would miss them, professionally and personally*” (September 26, 1999)

(18) “*Among the Jewish leaders in Los Angeles who have publicly supported Mr. Al-Marayati are Rabbi Alfred Wolf of the American Jewish Committee’s Skirball Institute on American Values and Gene Lichtenstein, editor of The Jewish journal*” (July 9, 1999)

The portrayal of power relations concerning the American Muslims in the other sentences is related to discrimination, stereotypes and mostly to negative attitudes towards the Muslim religion. The appearance of the religious struggles is represented in ten sentences out of thirty-four. The participants that are pointed out by the newspaper as having a problem with the Muslim’s faith are not public by general, but the members of other religions like Jews or Christians, as illustrated in examples (19) and (20). Example (19) is taken from the identical article as example (15). The Agent is “Jewish organizations” that perform material process over the Patient represented as “Mr. Al-Marayati” who is an American Muslim leader. Example (20) is taken from the article that shows the disaffection of the parents of the Muslim and other religions with the school district that closes for the Jews holidays. The members of other religions would like to live in the religiously diversified nation. The Agent is “*American City Liberties Union*”, representing the interests of the American Muslims and other religions, that perform the material process over the Patient, represented as “*Sycamore Schools*”.

(19) *“Mr. Al-Marayati was denounced by Jewish organizations”* (July 9, 1999)

(20) *“American City Liberties Union is suing the Sycamore Schools on the ground that they are favoring one religion over others”* (September 9, 1999)

There were found twenty-three sentences in active voice and eleven in passive. Ten out of the eleven sentences in passive voice represent the negative attitudes towards the American Muslims by public and other religions as illustrated in examples (19), (21) and (22). In example (21) the Agent is omitted and the Patient is an American Muslim officer, represented as “the officer”. The identity of doer of the material process is hidden. In example (22) the Agent is omitted and the Patient is an American Muslim represented as “Mr. Solidman”. The identity of doer of the material process is not known. The only exception of the sentence in passive voice, where the American Muslims occupy a position of the Patient and where they are represented positively is depicted in example (23).

(21) *“The officer was relieved of his service weapon and shield and was ordered to turn in his uniform and clear out the locker at the regional police headquarters”*

(22) *“Mr. Solidman has been charged with violating the immigration laws”* (January 31, 2000)

(23) *“Salam Al-Marayati, executive director of the Muslim Public Affairs Council in Los Angeles, had been named by Mr. Gephard in June to serve on the National Commission on Terrorism”* (July 9, 1999)

Five examples out of eleven passive sentences omit the Agent such as example (24) and (25) in order to avoid ascription of responsibility for the negative actions directed at an American Muslims. In both examples, the American Muslims are represented as Patients.

(24) *“His request was rejected”* (January 31, 2000)

(25) *“He was ordered to appear in immigration court in Newark”* (January 31, 2000)

The Agents are clearly represented in other six passive sentences as in examples (26) and (27). In both examples, American Muslims cadets are Patients and the identity of doer of the material process is shown.

(26) “*They were harassed and even beaten by their classmates at the State University of New York Maritime College*” (September 26, 1999)

(27) “*He was attacked by a classmate who wore a ski mask the day before the students stopped attending class*” (September 26, 1999)

Concerning the selected twelve articles of the years 2001 and 2002, there were found twenty-seven sentences representing material processes where the American Muslims were involved as one of the participants. The contents of the sentences concerning the American Muslim in the articles after the 9/11, despite of the random selection of the articles, are mostly related to the World Trade Center attack. The occurrence of the passive structures was comparatively the same as the occurrence of the active structures (fourteen passive sentences, thirteen active sentences).

One of the functions of passivization of the articles after the 9/11 is omission of the Agent in order to avoid his/her responsibility. *The New York Times* scarcely presents the participants who perform the negative actions towards the mentioned minority in order to hide their responsibility, which might be seen as biased portrayal by *The New York Times*. There are twelve out of fourteen passive sentences where the Agent is omitted. Majority of these sentences reveal negative effects of people’s actions and attitudes on the American Muslims (see examples (28) and (29)). Both examples (28) and (29) are dealing with American Muslims who have to face the people’s hatred against them in connection to the incident of the 9/11. The doers of the material process are omitted. The American Muslims occupy the position of a Patient in both examples.

(28) “*Muslims have been shot and beaten in Brooklyn*” (October 7, 2001)

(29) “*A Muslim Charity based in Richardson were shuttered, and its assets frozen*” (December 13, 2001)

(30) “*Families were harassed in their homes*” (September 12, 2001)

Overall, the occupation of the semantic role of a Patient contributes to the portrayal of American Muslims as powerless.

The active sentences where American Muslims occupy a semantic role of Agent contain the minority’s reactions to the consequences of the 9/11 that they are assumed to be responsible for. The sentences reveal that American Muslims faced insults, threats and stereotypes and braced themselves with the defense of their identities and persuasion,

trying to prove that they are not linked to the incident of 9/11 as depicted in examples (31) and (32).

(31)“*Muslim struggled to assert their identities as local Americans*” (September 12, 2001)

(32)“*American Muslims tried to persuade the Postal service to issue a stamp commemorating a Muslim holiday*” (November 20, 2001)

Yet, American Muslims are still not depicted as powerful participants even though their semantic role is Agent. They perform certain actions in order to defend themselves against public insults and threats, trying to assert their power.

In comparison to the articles before 9/11, the usage of the passive structures without Agent is more common in the articles after 9/11. Moreover, the American Muslims more frequently occupy the position of an Agent in articles before 9/11. This might point to the bias portrayal of the American Muslims after 9/11 by *The New York Times* as the newspaper tends to avoid direct ascription of responsibility for negative actions and attitudes directed at the minority.

6.2 Us vs. Them

The occurrence of the Us vs. Them technique is not as common as expected. Yet, this method will be useful for comparing the representation of the American Muslims in the articles before and after 9/11. It will help to analyze the relation between the others and the American Muslims.

There were found six Us vs. Them relations in the articles before the 9/11. All six relations appeared in citations of the people represented in the newspaper. The four relations out of six represented the American Muslims as “Us” and the other two represented the American Muslims as “Them”. In two out of the four occasions where the American Muslims are represented as “Us”, there is expressed a positive relationship with “Them” as illustrated in example (33) where “Them” stands for the New Jersey organization and in example (34), where “Them” stands for the American needy people.

(33)“*They liked the idea of an organization run by Muslim people opening a food pantry because they had no Muslim organizations in coalition. They welcomed us*” (March 21, 1999)

(34) *“It’s our duty as Muslims; the Koran tells us we have to help others”* (March 21, 1999)

The other two examples where the American Muslims are depicted as “Us” portray “Them” in a negative light, as shown in examples (35) and (36). In example (35), “Them” stands for the young college students recruited by Government who harm the American Muslim organization by spreading the lies about them. In example (36), “Them” stands for the American people who condemn American Muslims for the terrorist attack on The World Trade Center.

(35) *“The Government, he said, has been recruiting young college students and filling them with vicious lies about me and the Nation and sending them in to infiltrate us”* (February 28, 2000)

(36) *“It’s worse for us because they keep showing these pictures of bin Laden on television wearing a turban”* (September 13, 2001)

On those occasions where the American Muslims are represented as “Them” in the articles before 9/11, they are portrayed in a positive light. This can be seen in examples (37) and (38).

(37) *“It would only benefit us to learn from them”* (September 26, 1999)

(38) *“We don’t want to be known as the city that says we don’t want to welcome these people”* (August 10, 2000)

Nevertheless, the employment of Us vs. Them strategy points to the separation of American Muslims from other American citizens.

Regarding the articles after the 9/11, there were found four Us and Them relations between the others and American Muslims. The American Muslims are represented as “Us” in all the examples. Nevertheless, in comparison to the articles representing the American Muslims before 9/11, the relation between “Us” and “Them” is represented as problematic in the articles after 9/11. The Muslims (“Us”) are portrayed as struggling to defend their identities, which other Americans (“Them”) view negatively, as illustrated in

examples (39), (40) and (41). This is often related to the incident of 9/11. Thus, the relations with the others are portrayed as rather negative.

(39)“*We have to show them we are part of the community*” (September 12, 2001)

(40)“*The people of the World may not like some of the things we do*” (November 20, 2001)

(41)“*But we can show them by having the Eid stamp sell out that diversity and difference are our strengths*” (November 20, 2001)

The relation between American Muslims and other Americans tend to be represented more positively in the articles before 9/11 than in the articles after the 9/11, where the relation is portrayed rather as negative, perhaps due to the terrorist attack of 9/11. Still, *The New York Times* prefers to give an opportunity to American Muslims to express their thoughts and feelings which might influence the reader to feel pity for them.

6.3 Terms of Reference

The New York Times tends to represent American Muslims neutrally or positively regarding the terms of reference employed in articles of both periods. There were not found any terms of abuse or words with negative associations in either period. There are several attributions that *The New York Times* points out in both periods when referencing to American Muslims, for instance their occupation, marital status or just the names of American Muslims.

There were found 102 terms of references in total in the period before 9/11. The American Muslims were mostly named by their surnames, whole names and job occupations. The terms of reference and their frequency in the articles before the 9/11 are illustrated in Figure 1 below:

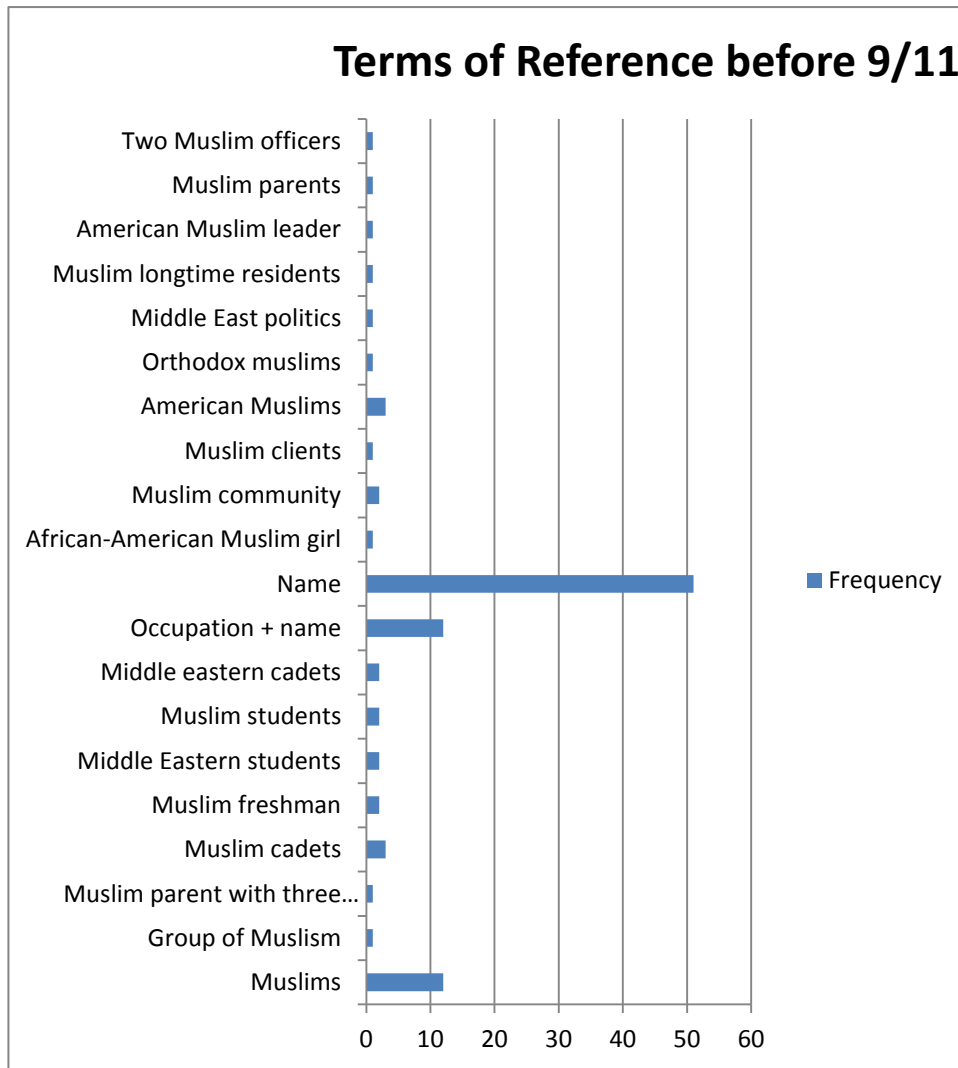


Figure 1: Frequency of the Terms of Reference in the articles before 9/11

There were found 137 terms of reference to American Muslims in the articles after the 9/11. Thus, there are more expressions for the American Muslims than in the articles before 9/11. In comparison to the articles before the 9/11, the American Muslims are largely named by reference to their religion (as ‘Muslims’) and not by their names and job occupations as it is the case in the articles before 9/11. *The New York Times* emphasizes the Muslim religion, which can strengthen the negative stereotypes against American Muslims, as the public can link the religion to the terrorist attack. The terms of reference and their frequency in the articles after the 9/11 are illustrated in Figure 2:

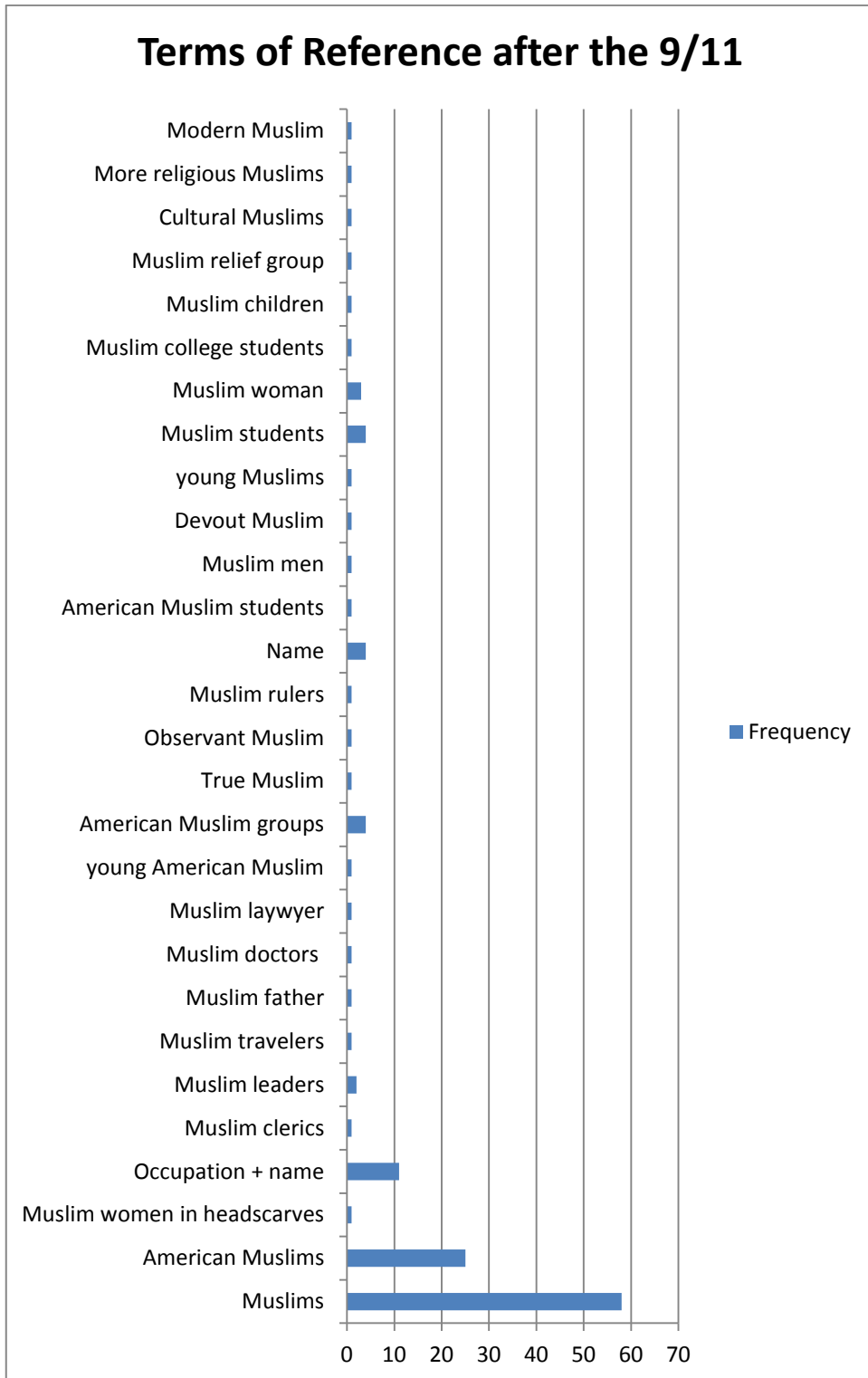


Figure 2: Frequency of the Terms of Reference in the articles after 9/11

No metaphors referring to American Muslims were found either in the articles before the 9/11 or in the articles after the 9/11. Thus, *The New York Times* uses only literal terms when representing American Muslims.

CONCLUSION

The research goal of the present thesis was to find out how the broadsheet press *The New York Times* portrayed the minority of American Muslims in 1999, 2000 and the time period from September 2001 to February 2002. The aim was to find out whether the newspaper's representation of American Muslim after the 9/11 changed in comparison to the articles representing the same minority before 9/11. Owing to methodology of CDA and its linguistic tools, I was able to make a conclusion of my analysis regarding *The New York Times* articles.

Overall, the analysis revealed that *The New York Times* tends to point out the existence of prejudices and discrimination against American Muslims in the society, which intensified after the 9/11. This is shown especially in the analysis of the employment Us vs. Them tool. The articles before 9/11 contain examples of portrayal of positive relations between American Muslims and other Americans. In the articles regarding the American Muslims after the 9/11, there were not found any representation of positive relations between the minority and other American citizens, only negative. Thus, there is another possibility that the *New York Times* is influenced by the incident of 9/11 and intentionally focuses on the negative relations. Importantly, the newspaper also includes the voices of American Muslims themselves, in which they are portrayed as "Us", and provides their point of view, which might help to make readers empathize with the minority.

The analysis showed that *The New York Times* is influenced in its portrayal of American Muslims by the incident of 9/11. Concerning transitivity of sentences, in comparison to the articles before 9/11, *The New York Times* tends to omit the Agent of the sentences expressing negative actions towards the American Muslims in the articles after the 9/11 and thus covers the doer's responsibility. The examination of terms of reference has shown how *The New York Times* names the members of the mentioned minority. In comparison to the articles before 9/11, where the American Muslims are named mostly by their names and job occupations, the articles after the 9/11 name the American Muslims mostly by reference to their religion, which can have an impact on the perception of the minority by the public. It could strengthen people's stereotypes against this minority and have the effect of readers associating the minority with the incident of 9/11, because of the use of word Muslim, which people can immediately link to the catastrophe.

The analysis of the linguistic strategies show the change of the representation of the American Muslims after the incident of 9/11 and reveals that *The New York Times* employed a slightly biased portrayal of the minority after the terrorist attack.

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APPENDICES

All analyzed newspaper articles are attached in the enclosed CD.

APPENDIX P I: APPENDIX TITLE