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Quilting Muslims: A Diachronic Study of Representations around the Master Signifiers for Muslim in the TIME Magazine Corpus (1923-1992)

Highlights

- We analysed representations of Muslims in the TIME Magazine Corpus across the 20th Century before the fall of Soviet Communism.
- We used the concepts of ideological quilting and news values to analyse the data.
- The master signifiers of *Mohammedan, Moslem*, and *Muslim* quilted with different themes.
- Across the 20th Century, representations of Muslims shifted from a largely neutral focus on religio-cultural issues to a narrow, and negative, focus on political issues.
- We frequently found (neo)orientalist representations throughout the data.

Abstract

This paper reports on the findings of a diachronic investigation into ideological patterns of representation around the master signifier *Muslim* (and its lexical variants) during 70 years of TIME Magazine journalism. Data were collected from the period, 1923-1992, i.e. the early twentieth century until the fall of Soviet Communism. Manual analysis, of 1,573 concordance lines, showed that across the twentieth century the dominant master signifier transmuted, in both content and form. It shifted from a largely neutral, wide, religio-cultural concept, to a negative, relatively narrow, political concept. Three signifiers were used across the twentieth century to refer to Muslims. The signifier *Mohammedan/Muhammadan* was largely used in a neutral sense to reference religious and cultural themes. The signifier *Moslem* was predominantly used in a neutral sense but displayed a greater propensity to reference political issues (national and sectional). The signifier *Muslim* was largely used to negatively reference the narrow issue of conflict. We conclude by suggesting directions for future research.

Keywords: Muslims; Representations; Ideological quilting; News values; Diachronic study; TIME Magazine corpus.

1. Introduction

The disintegration of the Soviet Union seemingly heralded a victory for the Western societal format. Feelings of triumphant elation were rather short-lived as academics, perhaps most notably Huntington (2007), and mass media outlets began to propose the notion of a new irreconcilable clash of civilisations. Religious and ethnic identities were identified as the primary source of societal conflict in the post-Cold-War: Islam was identified as a particularly potent threat to Western civilisation and values (Said, 1997). Eid (2014) goes so far as to claim that media depictions have contributed to the polarisation of the "West" and "Islam". In response to the divisive depictions of Islam and Muslims, researchers from disparate fields have mobilised efforts to redress deep-seated fears. Such efforts have exposed the societal, political, and historical forces that promote representations of the Muslim enemy (Qureshi and Anthony, 2003). Linguists and media theorists have paid particular attention to the representation of Muslims and Islam in various facets of the Western media (e.g. Dunn, 2001; Poole, 2002). Most studies have tended to focus on a narrow period of modernity (1992 onwards), i.e. the post-cold war period. This has resulted in a body of literature that is somewhat mute with regards to earlier twentieth-century representations of Muslims in media outlets. The present paper aims to examine how Muslims were represented in U.S. media (specifically TIME Magazine) before the end of the cold war period.

Said (1981) reports U.S. media representations of Muslims as being highly motivated. As stated by Mazhar Al-Zo'by (2015), '[b]y unveiling the intimate and intertextual affinities between orientalist narratives...and hegemony...[Said's] powerful analysis draws our attention to the organic complicity between knowledge (orientalism) and power (colonialism and domination)' (2015: 222). Indeed, Said identifies a battery of 'orientalist' ideas and images consistently used in U.S. news reports such as angry crowds, black banners, and flag burning. He also shows that Islam is frequently presented as mysterious and menacing. In terms of American print media, in the immediate years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, before the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001 (henceforth referred to as 9/11), Hashem (1997) identifies a tendency to represent Muslims negatively. Hashem details how U.S. print media frequently link the majority of Muslims to fundamental Islam and represent the group as a threat to democracy. Likewise, Batarfi

(1997) reports that Muslims are often described as backward, dishonest, unreliable, poorly educated, and uncivilised.

Post 9/11, the U.S. media has continued to represent Muslims in a limited and biased way. Research shows that coverage is typically framed by the concepts of otherness and terrorism, with Muslims represented as anti-democratic, Western-hating, Islamic empire builders (Abrahamian, 2003; Kumar, 2010; Lazar and Lazar, 2004; Montgomery, 2005; Morey and Yaqin, 2011; Sahlane, 2015; Morin, 2016;). Muslims in the U.S. are also represented as posing an internal terrorist threat (Bowe & Makki, 2016; Powell, 2011). Studies have also shown a frequent representation of Muslims as sexist misogynists. Mishra (2007) details narrow representations of female Muslims as oppressed by the veil and as victims of war and violence.

Hafez (2000) argues that the stance taken by the American media has influenced and set the tone for the attitude adopted towards Muslims in the media of other Western countries. Muslims in the British press are frequently framed in terms of extremism, despotism, (perpetrators of) sexism, and as a security threat (Richardson, 2001, 2004, 2006; Al-Hejin, 2015). Representations of Muslims as enemies of the West and terrorists are also reported in British print media (Baker, 2010; Baker et al., 2013a, 2013b).

Again, despite an abundant body of literature, studies are often silent as to earlier media representations of Muslims. Indeed, this motivated the following research questions:

- 1) How were Muslims represented in TIME Magazine before the collapse of Soviet communism?
- 2) How did TIME Magazine representations of Muslims develop across the twentieth century?

In the following section, we will introduce the key analytical concepts used to answer the research questions. We will then move on to detail the data and procedures adopted in the present study. This will be followed by the presentation of the findings and analysis. Finally, we will conclude with a discussion of our findings and recommendations for further research.

2. Analytical concepts

To answer our research questions, we draw upon three principal concepts: the concept of ideological quilting as proposed by Žižek (2008); the thematic categories developed by Baker et al., (2013b); and, the concept of news values (Bednarek and Caple, 2017).

2.1 Ideological quilting

According to Žižek (2008), ideology is a symbolic system through which we construct our sense of reality. An ideological symbolic system comprises a quilted field of meaning that is held together by a master signifier (Žižek, 2008). According to Žižek, the meaning of an individual signifier (e.g. freedom) in a quilted field is determined by a given master signifier (e.g. capitalism). Žižek explains the concept in the following way: 'in the ideological space float signifiers like 'freedom', 'state', 'justice', 'peace'...and then their chain is supplemented with some master signifier' (p.113). Take Žižek's discussion of communism as a master signifier. Communism determines the meaning of its signifiers in the following way:

'freedom' is effective only through surmounting bourgeois formal freedom, which is merely a form of slavery; the 'state' is the means by which the ruling class guarantees the conditions of its rule; market exchange cannot be 'just and equitable' because the very form of equivalent exchange between labour and capital implies exploitation; 'war' is inherent to class society as such; only the socialist revolution can bring about lasting 'peace' (p.113)

Žižek highlights the fact that a liberal democratic or conservative master signifier would produce a quilt with significantly different meanings. For example, in a field of meaning quilted by a libertarian master signifier, freedom may come to mean the pursuit of life without state interference. In other words, the concept of freedom, as with any other concept, can mean different things according to the ideological symbolic order in which it is quilted. Take Žižek's further explanation of the master signifier 'Jew' in the production of anti-Semitic ideology:

...the Jew condenses a series of heterogeneous antagonisms: economic (Jew as Profiteer), political (Jew as schemer, retainer of a secret power), moral-religious (Jew as corrupt anti-Christian), sexual (Jew as seducer of innocent girls) ... (p.141). CHECK FORMAT OF ALL QUOTES

Again, in the example above, we can see how a number of signifiers quilt together with a master signifier, i.e. 'Jew', to produce a certain kind of negative meaning. Žižek further highlights the inversion that occurs in the production of ideologies like anti-semitism. Ideologies do not simply consist of relating negative signifiers (e.g. Jews as schemers) to a master signifier. The relation becomes inverted so that Jews are seen as political schemers 'because they are Jews' (Žižek, 2008: 107). According to Žižek, ideology may ultimately function to mask radical inconsistency in the other. Indeed, ideology can often function to allow for an avoidance of what exists within ourselves that which we find troubling and traumatic in others (whether the projected trait is real or false). So, for instance, consistently representing another group as barbaric allows for avoidance of the barbarity of the in-group.

2.2 Thematic categories

We treat, in Žižek's terms, the thematic categories of Baker et al. (2013b) as a predetermined list of ideological signifiers. Baker et al. (2013b) examined representations of Muslims in the British media between 1998-2009. In analysing the R1 collocates of the signifier *Muslim*, the researchers identified 6 thematic categories. The thematic categories originally comprised *conflict*, *ethnic/national entity*, *group/organisation*, *religion*, *culture*, and *characterisation/differentiation*. These will be explained in more detail below, with a typical example given for each category taken from the TIME Magazine corpus (Davies, 2007).

The thematic category of *conflict* relates to any instance of conflict, including verbal conflagration and full-scale military combats, as well as the consequences that result from such events.

(1) In Kashmir at the foot of the Himalayas, the **Moslem population** celebrated the end of Ramadan by staging a joyous Hindu hunt. Seventy-five houses were pillaged and burned. (22-2-1932)

The *ethnic/national entity* category comprises representations of Muslims as a global, national, or ethnic collective. The category also contains representations related to governance and leadership.

(2) ...but all the protests voiced by **Moslem countries** and all the **Moslem world** remain unheeded. (29-08-1938)

The thematic category of *group/organisation* concerns specific collective organisations defined by their pursuit of an active goal.

(3) An Islamic fundamentalist alliance of three parties, including the banned **Muslim Brotherhood**, polled 15% and replaced the right-wing New Wafd Party as the main opposition group. (20-04-1987)

The category of *Religion* concerns the cosmological features, beliefs, and rituals of Islam.

(4) Surabaya's little Masdjid Rachmat is said to be the oldest **Moslem mosque** in East Java. It is so sacred that even the making of necessary repairs is considered a sacrilege. (04-11-1957)

As developed by Baker et al., the category of *culture* is based on Spencer-Oatey's (2000) conception of culture as a set of 'attitudes, beliefs, behavioural conventions, and basic assumptions and values that are shared by a group of people' (p.4). This category includes representations related to aspects of culture, such as social practices, customs, and attitudes.

(5) It is more frequent, however, in lower-class **Moslem women**, whose husbands, though circumcised, maintain low standards of personal hygiene. (19-10-1970)

Finally, the *characterisation/differentiation* category was not included in the final taxonomy so we will not discuss it here (see below for justification).

2.3 News values

In order to qualitatively analyse the data, we will use the Discursive News Values Analysis (DNVA) framework as developed by Bednarek and Caple (2017). According to Bednarek and Caple (2017: 42), 'news values concern the newsworthiness of events' (2017: 42). Bednarek and Caple criticise the notion that events have inherent newsworthiness. Instead, they focus on how news values are communicated to actively construct events as newsworthy. We believe news values are particularly useful to our analysis as they allow for an account of the predetermined ways of thinking about events that are baked into the fabric of news content. Indeed, in this sense, news values are an ideological system (van Dijk, 1988).

Based on previous research (e.g. Brighton and Foy, 2017), the DNVA framework comprises a taxonomy of salient news values. Table 1, below, shows the DNVA framework. The examples, shown in italics, are taken from Bednarek and Caple (2017).

Table 1.Discourse News Values Analysis Framework

News value	Description	Example Discourse Markers
Consonance	News events are constructed	Lexis which details
	in (stereo)typical terms.	typicality (typical, famed
		for); reoccurring past
		events/behaviours (yet
		again); general knowledge
		(well-known).
Eliteness	News events are constructed	Role labels (<i>President</i>);
	as being of high status.	status indicating adjectives
		(best, prestigious);
		descriptions of achievements
		(founded a global media
		empire).
Impact	The consequences or effects	Significance indicating
	of news events are	adjectives (momentous);
	constructed as significant.	lexis which indicates
		significant mental, material
		or abstract consequences
		(will stun the world).
Negativity/Positivity	News events are	Evaluative adjectives
	evaluatively constructed as	(terrible, brilliant);
	positive/negative.	evaluative lexis (damage,
		success); descriptions of

		negative/positive behaviour, state of affairs, or action (broken his promise).
Personalisation	News events are constructed so as to feature non-elite individuals.	References to non-elite individuals (Deborah said afterwards: my sentence has only just begun).
Proximity	New events are constructed as geographically or culturally near to the publication location or target audience.	References to geographically close places; inclusive pronouns (our nation, this country).
Superlativeness	News events are constructed as large in scope or intensity.	Intensifiers (completely, severely); quantifiers (huge, giant, epic)
Timeliness	News events are constructed as timely or relevant in relation to the publication date.	Temporal references (today, yesterday); implicit references to time (ongoing, continues)
Unexpectedness	News events are constructed in terms such as unusual, strange, and rare.	Evaluative adjectives (strange, astonishing); mirativity references (people really just can't believe it).

2.4. Positivity/Negativity as news values

To examine the way in which Muslims as news actors were constructed we will focus on the news value of Negativity/Positivity (Bednarek and Caple, 2017). As noted by Bednarek and Caple (2017), Negativity/Positivity is not necessarily 'concerned with negative assessment or bias by a news outlet' but with 'how events are construed as newsworthy in relation to negative aspects' (2017: p. 61). They give the example of the 2014 Hong Kong occupy protests which were supported by Western newspapers but constructed negatively through the use of negative intensified lexis such as *fight*, *violent-clashes*, *tense-standoff*.

3 Data and Method

3.1 Data

Data were extracted from the TIME Magazine corpus (Davies, 2007). The corpus contains more than 100 million annotated words of American English taken from 275,000 TIME

Magazine articles (1923 to 2006). Whilst the corpus only data from TIME Magazine, in the absence of a freely available, balanced corpus, we believe it is a valuable mine of information. Furthermore, Scott and Stout (2006) highlight the importance of the publication, at least in the U.S., in terms of its 'dominance as a news vehicle in the arena of public discussion' (2006: 2).

In keeping with the approach in Baker et al., (2013b), we concentrated on instances of the node in which it functioned to modify other nouns. We, therefore, extracted concordance lines containing the construction 'Muslim + Noun' from the corpus. At this point, it is necessary to preview an unexpected finding that was highly significant to the structure of the subsequent analysis. During the data extraction stage, a process of lexical replacement was identified as having occurred in the TIME Magazine data across the twentieth century (1923-1992). As shown in Fig. 1, the orthographic form *Moslem* was supplanted by *Muslim* as the dominant spelling. According to the Merriam Webster dictionary (http://www.merriam-webster.com/), the *Moslem* and *Muslim* variants entered the English language in the fifteenth century as a replacement for the earlier *Muhammadan* (also used in the corpus). *Muhammadan* originated from Latin, and supposedly reflected the mistaken conception of Europeans that Muslims worshipped Mohammed in the way Christians worshipped Christ.

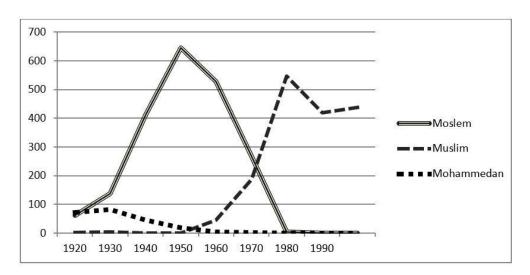


Fig.1. Relative frequency usage of Mohammedan/Muhammadan, Moslem and Muslim

Garner's Modern English Usage notes that 'Muslim overtook Moslem in AmE [American English] in 1963, possibly influenced by the prominence of Black Muslims, an alternative name for the Nation of Islam, during the civil rights movement' (2016: 210). Whilst examination of the TIME Magazine corpus shows that Muslim was first predominantly used in relation to Black Muslims in the 1960s, the lexical replacement of Moslem with Muslim did not fully take place until the latter part of the 1970s. By the 1980s the Muslim form was dominant in the TIME corpus. For example, the 'Moslem Brotherhood' in the 1970s became the 'Muslim Brotherhood' in the 1980s. Sources suggest that politically responsive prescriptivism may have influenced the shift in orthographic forms: the Merriam Webster dictionary marks the Moslem form as sometimes offensive; Baker (2010) claims that offense can arise out of a similarity of the Moslem form (as pronounced in English) to a word in Arabic with negative connotations.

3.2 Procedure

The following section details the analytic procedures and specific conceptualisations adopted in the present study.

Ideological quilting and the identification of the master signifiers

Given that the four signifiers occupied relatively discrete historical periods, we split the analysis into three sections: *Mohammaden/Muhammadan* (1923-1960s); *Moslem* (the 1920s-1970s); and *Muslim* (1960s-1992). Thus, we treated the signifiers in the respective data sets (*Mohammedan/Muhammadan*, *Moslem*, and *Muslim*) as master signifiers. From this point, we will use *Mohammedan* to make in-text references to the master signifier *Mohammedan/Muhammadan*.

Concordance analysis: thematic framework classification

We first conducted an initial pilot exercise involving 400 random selected concordance lines. We classified the concordance lines according to overall thematic content, i.e. we did not simply classify according to the R1 collocate. Five of the original thematic categories of Baker et al. (2013b) were retained for use in the present study. The *characterising/differentiating* category caused a great deal of annotator disagreement. We concluded that it was more relevant as an ideological function (Eagleton 1990), as opposed

to a content-based thematic category, and so excluded it from the final taxonomy. We also felt compelled to add the novel category of 'other' into the final taxonomy, to capture the concordance lines that defied the classification system, but were not so frequent to command a discrete category. For instance:

(6) John Philby, a noted Arabic scholar who adopted the **Moslem religion** and became chief adviser to Saudi Arabia's King Ibn Saud, Kim... (13-10-1967)

The example above details a notable academic's conversion to Islam, but it does not relate to a tangible aspect of the faith to qualify for classification under the *religion* category. We also amended the boundaries of the *conflict* category: heated protests involving crowds were admitted under the *conflict* category. As a result, *conflict* in the present study also included societal violence and its consequences. We also felt the need to delimit the boundaries of the neighbouring categories of *ethnic/national entity* and *group/organisation*. Confusion arose from the fact that national organisations, such as executive governments, often pursue the same ends as non-governmental organisations e.g. election to a legislative body. To reduce annotator disagreement, we drew a line between those issues and events that took place at the state level and upwards e.g. a summit between Muslim nations (classified as *ethnic/national entity*), and those that took place within a given state polity e.g. a general election (*classified as group/organisation*).

Concordance analysis: The construction of Negativity/Neutrality/Positivity as news values

During the thematic classification exercise, we examined all concordance lines for the construction of the Negativity/Positivity news value (Bednarek and Caple, 2017). We also add a greater distinction between the negative and positive poles to allow for a neutral category. Determination of Negativity/Neutrality/Positivity was evidenced through both the choice of individual lexis embedded within the propositional content (as in examples 7, 8, and 9) as well as an explicit commentary upon the propositional text itself (as in example 9). The following examples reflect

- (7) Under **Moslem rule**, the Spanish Jews produced <u>an elite of brilliant</u> poets and philosophers, and <u>wealthy</u> bankers. (17-1-1979)
- (8) After the service, again the bearers raised the coffin, marched the forty steps required under the **Mohammedan ritual** to a waiting hearse. (10-04-1926)
- (9) ...was <u>forced</u> to act as an interpreter between Salvation Army workers and a group of <u>Mohammedan</u> laborers who " told <u>filthy stories</u> in Pushtu " (<u>which sounds singularly evil</u>). (23-04-1923)

In example 7, the use of the positive adjectives 'Brilliant' and 'wealthy', as well as the thematic focus on the socially beneficial influence of Muslim rule, created a positive environment in which the core word Moslem existed. The factual nature of the language, used in example 8, constructed a neutral environment. In example 9, the negative intensified lexis ('forced' and 'filthy') as well as the parenthetical comment ('which sounds singularly evil') construct the news event negatively.

We should, at this point, mention interrater reliability. Both researchers manually annotated all of the concordance lines. After the initial pilot exercise, interrater reliability was measured by Kappa using SPSS. The results, according to (Fleiss et al., 2013), demonstrated a high rate of agreement for both the thematic category classification (Kappa=.770, P=.000) and Negativity/Neutrality/Positivity (Kappa=.803, P=.000).

4. Findings and Analysis

In this section, we will first present the results of the thematic category and Negativity/Neutrality/Positivity classification exercise. In the remainder of the section, we will discuss the dominant representations made under the individual master signifiers. We shall focus on the linguistic and discursive content of the examples presented, e.g. ideational meaning, lexical choices, argumentation strategies, and ideological functions.

4.1 Findings: Ideological quilting

As is apparent from the results shown in Table 2, the three signifiers had propensities to quilt with different thematic categories.

Table 2.

Ideological quilting of the respective master signifiers and the thematic categories

	Mohammedan/Muhammadan	Moslem	Muslim	Overall
				%
Conflict	16.92%	22.48%	52.65%	36.87%
Religion	38.46%	9.56%	7.06%	11.05%
Culture	20%	15.75%	6.76%	11.71%
Ethnic/National entity	16.15%	35.40%	23.09%	27.49%
Group/Organisation	0%	13.98%	4.12%	7.78%
Others	8.46%	2.83%	6.32%	5.09%
Total	148	939	486	1,573

Mohammedan quilted with religio-cultural thematic categories in 58% of the concordance lines. In comparison to the two other master signifiers, Moslem quilted with a wider set of thematic categories, such as ethnic/national entity (35% of the concordance lines), conflict (22%), and culture (16%). This may well be due to the larger period in which Moslem was the dominant form. The master signifier Muslim quilted very narrowly with the themes of conflict (53%), and the political category of ethnicity/national entity (23%).

4.2 Findings: Negativity/Neutrality/Positivity as news values

As shown in Fig. 2 below, the combination of the results from the three data sets allowed for the observation of a striking diachronic trend: the construction of negativity and neutrality generally displayed an inverted relationship.

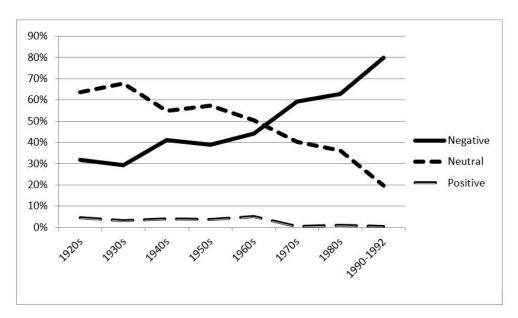


Fig. 2. Diachronic change of the construction of Negativity/Neutrality/Positivity (1920-1992)

In the 1960s, the total negative lines first eclipsed the total neutral lines. From this point on the trend was compounded as media representations focused on the escalation of the conflict in the Middle East and the supposed rise in anti-Western sentiment across societies with Muslim majorities. The construction of positivity failed to significantly account for a large share of the overall total.

Table 3.Construction of Negativity/Neutrality/Positivity by master signifier

	Negative	Neutral	Positive
Muslim	59.41%	40.15%	0.44%
Moslem	41.95%	53.45%	4.60%
Mohammedan/Muhammadan	30.77%	65.38%	3.85%
Total	49.53%	48.00%	2.47%

Table 3 shows the construction of Negativity/Neutrality/Positivity by the individual signifier. The master signifier *Mohammedan* contained the highest percentage of neutral concordance lines (65%), and the smallest percentage of negative concordance lines (31%).

Just over half of the concordance lines containing the signifier *Moslem* were classified as neutral (53%). The master signifier *Muslim* contained the highest percentage of negative concordance lines (59%).

In looking at the three signifiers in more detail, we will underline particular aspects of the data to which we wish to draw the reader's attention. Again, in analysing the data we will draw upon the DNVA framework (Bednarek and Caple, 2017).

Mohammedan

As already noted, the master signifier *Mohammedan* quilted with religio-cultural issues in 58% of the concordance lines, followed by the thematic categories, *ethnic/national entity*, and *conflict* (which summatively amount to 33% of the total data). The category of religion was predominantly neutral (52 of the 57 concordance lines were neutral). As typified by the following two examples, writers focused on two particular aspects of the Islamic faith: divorce and polygamy.

- (10) To a **Mohammedan potentate**, <u>divorce is scarcely any problem at all.</u> Under **Mohammedan law** he can terminate his marriage <u>simply</u> by saying to his wife at three specified times within a period of four successive months: " Talak! Talak Talak! " (" Divorce! Divorce! Divorce! "). (11-04-1938)
- (11) It was love at first sight; and the fact that the Prince had some <u>four wives</u>-the limit under **Mohammedan law-back** in Africa seemed unimportant. (10-01-1939)

The descriptions of the individuals featured in the examples above ('Potentate' and 'Prince') construct the news value of Eliteness (Bednarek and Capel, 2017), i.e. construct the news event as involving high-status individuals. In the opening line of example 10, divorce for Muslims is predicated as 'scarcely any problem at all'. In the second line, the writer further characterises the divorce process in terms of simplicity. Such representations arguably imply that divorce is problematic and complex from an unstated perspective and can be taken as constructing the news value of Unexpectedness, i.e. focuses on an aspect of a news event that is unusual from the cultural perspective of the publication. Interestingly, as in example 11, wives were often represented as objects of divorce. This somewhat neglects the divorce rights of Muslim females. Such representations fit with the well-documented

tendency to represent Muslim women as passive (Al-Hejin, 2015; Baker et al., 2013a; Mishra, 2007; Richardson, 2004). In example 11, the writer both details the polygamous arrangements supposedly enjoyed by Muslim males (see example 12) as well as an individual's transgression of this rule. Both the idea of a simple divorce and the notion of polygamy may reflect resentments in which minorities and cultural others are represented as enjoying, whether real or imagined, special privileges (Žižek, 2008).

Representations within the thematic category of *culture* projected characteristics onto Muslims (16 of the 30 concordance lines on *culture* were constructed negatively). A noticeable trend in the data concerned the use of the term *Mohammedan* in reference to the Moro tribes of the Philippines (a U.S. colony from 1898 to 1946).

(12) ...the southern part of the Philippine archipelago known as the Department of Mindanao, stretching to Borneo, was in a <u>state of completely uncontrolled savagery</u>. It was inhabited by Moros - <u>bloodthirsty</u>, <u>polygamous</u>, **Mohammedan headhunters** - who lived in inaccessible fever-infected jungles. <u>Their pleasure was to raid</u>, <u>burn</u>, <u>slay</u>, <u>crucify</u>, <u>abduct</u>. <u>Their slave-hunts extended ip to Manila</u>, <u>their piracy for hundreds of miles</u> (19-04-1926)

In the opening line, the reference (a large area in the southern Philippines) and the negative intensified lexis of the predicate ('completely uncontrolled savagery') establish the news value of Superlativeness. In other words, the scope and intensity of the news event are emphasised. In the second sentence, the writer proceeds to present the implied causal agents of the news event, i.e. the Moros, and defines the target structure ('Moros') with the use of a glossing device (Hyland, 2005). The properties of the group selected for enunciation demonises (the adjective 'bloodthirsty') and arguably otherises the group (i.e. by highlighting polygamy as well religious identity). As we also observe in our data, Steuter (1990), notes a tendency in TIME Magazine to negatively label certain groups, e.g. Palestinians, Communists, and Muslims, with the use of pejorative adjectives before or after their names. In the third line, the writer details the group's supposed pleasure activities, i.e. 'raid, burn, slay, crucify, abduct'. The use of the orientalist trope, i.e. Muslims find enjoyment in activities like murder, establishes the news value of Consonance (represents news actors in stereotypical terms). In the fourth line, the writer quantifies (through

reference to extent) the group's slaving and piracy pursuits (again, this can be taken as establishing the news value of Superlativeness).

We should note, at the time of publication, the Moros were in open rebellion against the U.S. colonial authorities. From Roman propaganda portraying Celts as uncivilised barbarians to British imperialism against native populations, history shows a discursive tradition whereby colonisers demonise the colonised. Indeed, the representations in the example above would suggest a classic legitimating strategy (Van Leeuwen, 2007).

The categories of *conflict* and *ethnic/national entity* accounted for 33% of the concordance lines containing the master signifier *Mohammedan*. The concordance lines in the *ethnic/national entity* category were largely neutral (16 of the 24 lines had a neutral value). The following example occurred in a story about British policy concerning Jewish emigration to Palestine.

(13) The **Mohammedan world** (209,020,000 souls) abruptly changed places last week with the <u>Jewish world</u> (15,630,000) in being <u>hornet-mad</u> at the British Government's perfidious Palestine policy. (03-02-1931)

The construction of the news value of Impact (emphasising the consequences of British policy) has a number of ideological implications. Both Jews and Muslims are subject to representations which otherise the groups. Firstly, the two groups are represented as intrinsically different from one another, i.e. occupying different worlds. Secondly, both groups, by implication, inhabit different worlds to the remainder of humanity. The notion of the Muslim world is reported by Baker et al. (2013a) as frequently appearing in modern media discourse and problematic in that it sets up an antagonistic dichotomy between the 'Muslim world' and the West. Bednarek and Caple (2017) recognise the noun *world* as a useful journalistic device for constructing Superlativeness. We would also argue that numerical references to the size of Muslim populations align with Said's argument that many modern representations encode the fear 'that the Muslims (or Arabs) will take over the world' (Said, 1978, p. 287). Both Muslims and Jews are also subject to the dehumanising representation of others as irrational/animal, i.e. metaphorically referred to as 'hornet-mad'. Kumar (2010) documents similar representations in modern media, whereby Muslims are portrayed as overly-emotional and incapable of rationality. Finally, we would

also argue that both groups are represented in homogenous terms, e.g. all Jews and Muslims are or have been 'hornet-mad' with British policy.

The category of *conflict* was largely constructed negatively (17 of 25 concordance lines had a negative value). As in the example below, representations of *conflict* involved a focus on violence in terms of its relation to the intrinsic nature of Muslims.

(14) The <u>extreme nebulosity</u> of the califate, in a legal sense, does not prevent <u>thousands of ignorant</u> **Mohammedan peasants** <u>from manifesting a desire to fight</u> in the name of the prophet under the banner of <u>almost anyone who is judiciously proclaimed and trumpeted as Califate</u>. (24-2-1926)

In the example above, the news value of Unexpectedness is constructed in the description of the Califate which arguably contrasts with normative U.S. governmental structures. The news value of Superlativeness is constructed through the use of the quantifier ('thousands') which, again, functions to emphasise the scope of the event. The news value of Consonance is constructed through the attribution of the negative characteristic of ignorance to the Muslim news actors. We would argue that the term 'peasant' further compounds the idea of ignorance. Merriam Webster's Dictionary online lists 'uneducated' as part of the definition of 'peasant'. Consonance is also constructed by the association of the news actors with the state of 'manifesting a desire to fight'. The orientalist/imperialist implications of the excerpt are three-fold: the governance structures of the Califate are inadequate; Muslims need to be controlled; if not controlled, Muslims will commit violence. We should note that the article in which the example occurred was published shortly after the fall of the Ottoman empire -a time in which European colonial powers asserted control over much of the territory previously controlled by the ottomans. Again, it is possible to read such discourse as legitimating the establishment of empire and dominion over Muslims.

Moslem

As already stated, the master signifier *Moslem* quilted most widely of the three signifiers. *Moslem* quilted with the political categories of *ethnic/national entity* and *group/organisation* in 463 of 939 concordance lines (49%). It quilted with *conflict* in 22%

¹ https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/peasant (MARY NEED TO SORT OUT REFERENCE)

of the concordance lines and religio-cultural issues in 25% of the lines. A bare majority of the concordance lines were neutrally constructed (53%). Although it should be noted, writers used more neutral constructions in concordance lines that occurred before the 1950s. The shift may be a result of the Arab-Israeli wars (the first of which occurred in 1948) which Said (1981, 1997) details as tainting the American media's view of Muslims.

The majority of the concordance lines for the *ethnic/national entity* thematic category were constructed neutrally (214 of 332 lines). A large number of the concordance lines (231 lines) related to the decolonialisation process in various countries. In the following example, the writer appears to sympathise with Muslims in their right to exercise self-determination.

(15) The fact that 77% of Kashmir's 4,200,000 people were Moslem pointed to control by **Moslem Pakistan**. (04-01-1963)

In the example above, the right to self-determination, arising from Kashmir's demographic reality, is extended to Muslims. We should note that the scarcity of such examples do not allow us to credibly question the substantial evidence which documents the way the U.S. media has scornfully viewed Muslim attempts at self-determination (Mousa, 1984; Said, 1997).

In terms of negative representations within the *ethnic/national entity* category, writers vilified Muslim leaders — an argumentative strategy identified as particularly prevalent in modern U.S. media (Lazar and Lazar, 2004).

- (16) From the **Moslem League** and its <u>canny</u>, <u>cagey president</u>, Mohamed Ali Jinnah, came no comment. (01-10-1945)
- (17) In a sharp reversal of his policy of last July the <u>lean, leathery</u> **Moslem League** <u>leader</u>... (28-10-1948)

In both examples above, the news value of Eliteness is constructed through the use of role labels ('president' and 'leader'). The premodifying adjectives ('canny' and 'cagey') in example 16, fit with the trickster archetype frequently found in News reporting (Lule, 2001). Example 17, further demonstrates the practice of attributing *Moslem* leaders with

negative qualities. Elsewhere in the data (not reported here), adjectives such as 'sneaky', 'shrewd', and 'crusty' were also used. Steuter (1990), in relation to terrorism, discusses the use of language in TIME Magazine to evoke a sense of 'mysticism and the underworld' (1990: 264). We would argue that the language used in relation to Muslim leaders was similarly evocative. Given the value placed on elites in news reporting, i.e. generally 'ordinary' people do not make newsworthy subjects' (Brighton and Foy, 2007, p.26), news reports concerning Muslim leaders constituted one of the only times when Muslims featured as individuals. In other words, vilification occurred in salient representations of Muslims as individuals. We should note that the personal and political attributes projected onto the Muslim leaders reflect those of the TIME Magazine writers not other parties (like Muslim social or political actors).

The category of *group/organisation* accounted for 131 of the 939 total concordance lines (i.e. 14%). The majority of these lines related to two groups: the Indian Muslim League and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood. Just over half (51%) of the lines in the category were constructed neutrally. Writers largely constructed representations of the Indian Muslim League in a neutral way.

- (18) The 26, members of the **Moslem League**, <u>most important</u> political party in India after Gandhi's India National Congress...(10-11-1941)
- (19) But in so doing, <u>Britain ignored both the Indian National Congress party and the</u>

 <u>Moslem League.</u> (13-02-1942)

In examples 18 and 19, the representations can be construed as recognising the Indian Moslem League as a legitimate organisation: explicitly in example 18 (the evaluative 'most important' -which also overtly constructs the news value of Eliteness) and implicitly in example 19 (in representing Britain as having ignored the organisation, the journalist arguably implies that the organisation has a right to be consulted). In contrast, representations of the Egyptian Moslem Brotherhood focused on the organisation's violent rhetoric. The following example occurred in a story about Anti-British riots in Egypt following the passing of legislation in which the Egyptian government began to reassert control over the Suez Canal.

(20) Egypt's <u>bloodthirsty</u> **Moslem Brotherhood** vowed to "knock at the doors of heaven with the heads of the British." (29-10-1951)

The majority of the concordance lines related to the category of *conflict* focused on the issue of civil unrest as well as the wars in Algeria and Lebanon. The category of *conflict* contained similar representational patterns seen earlier in relation to Mohammedan, i.e. representations that highlighted the supposed wild and violent nature of Muslims.

- (21) In Damascus, Syria, <u>Moslem youths</u> stoned the U.S. Legation, tore down the U.S. flag, and <u>then looted</u> the Russian-Syrian Cultural Center. (08-12-1947)
- (22) <u>Screaming like men</u> who have been too long silent, **Moslem mobs** <u>flooded the narrow</u> <u>lanes of the casbah</u>. (26-12-1960)
- (23) ... **Moslem mobs** went on a rampage throughout the North, wielding knives, swords, spears and poisoned arrows and screaming for aware (partition). (10-06-1966)

Even though the news event, in example 21, occurred in Syria (geographically distant to the location of publication), the news value of Proximity is established through the explicit reference to U.S. targets. In examples 22 and 23, the emphasis on the intensity ('flooded' and 'rampage') and extent ('throughout the North') of the events construct the news value of Superlativeness. In all three examples, we would argue that Muslims are represented as a threatening primitive force. In the three examples, Muslims are represented in collective terms which themselves can carry pejorative meaning (both 'youths' and 'mobs' are often associated with malfeasance). The metaphor of flooding is well documented in modern media representations as evoking an engulfing sense of threat (Soto-Almela and Alcaraz-Mármol, 2019; Taylor, 2018). As used in example 22, we would further argue that it represents the collective as a primal force. In examples 22 and 23, the collectives are described as 'screaming' — itself a primal act of communication.

In relation to the thematic category of *culture*, which accounted for 16% of the total concordance lines containing the master signifier *Moslem*, writers once again focused on the exotic qualities of Muslim culture: with particular attention given to female forms of dress.

- (24) None wore the flowing <u>charshaf</u> (<u>Moslem robe</u>). Like Egypt's royal princesses, and other upper-class <u>Moslem women</u>, none hid her good looks behind a <u>harem veil</u>. (29-01-1945)
- (25) "Eve Teaser " (a man who makes romantic advances to veiled and shrouded **Moslem women**) ... (23-02-1959)
- (26) <u>He looked on approvingly as the **Moslem veil** began to vanish, and he has shown no objection to the new garb of <u>girls</u> who parade gracefully through the narrow streets of Tunis in brief, airy frocks. (26-08-1966)</u>

Examples 24 and 26 can be construed as implicitly representing traditional dress as problematic. In example 27, traditional dress is represented as obscuring beauty. Such a representation could be taken as playing into sexist tropes whereby women are viewed primarily in terms of their appearance and as sexual objects (as in example 25). In example 26, traditional dress is treated as a symbol of backwardness. The disappearance of traditional dress is celebrated as a symbol of progress as it is in modern media representations (Richardson, 2004). Interestingly, the implicit issue of progressiveness is tied to different social actors in examples 24 and 26. In example 25, the news value of Eliteness is constructed through reference to 'princesses and other upper-class Moslem women'. In example 26, it could be argued that the news value of Personalisation is constructed in that the reference to 'girls' constitutes non-elite persons. In our data, traditional dress was not represented as threatening as it is in modern media representations (Al-Hejin, 2015; Baker et al., 2013a; Mishra, 2007; Richardson, 2004).

The category of *religion* (accounting for 10% of the total concordance lines of *Moslem*) was predominantly neutral (71 of the 90 concordance lines were constructed neutrally). As in the following example, such representations focused on the rules of Islam. The following example occurred in a story concerning the burial of King Faroukh of Egypt.

(27) <u>His father's only son, he could not get to Fuad's funeral because **Moslem law** requires burial of the dead within 24 hours.</u>

In the example above, the news value of Impact is constructed in two principal ways. Firstly, the details of the consequences of the religious rule. Secondly, the sentence-initial phrase ('His father's only son') highlights the familial relationship which arguably construes the significance of the consequences. Other prohibitions detailed in our data (not reported here) include the rules on alcohol, pork, and the display of images of people or animals.

Muslim

The master signifier *Muslim* quilted most narrowly of all three signifiers: it quilted with two thematic categories *conflict* and *ethnic/national entity* (accounting for 76% of the concordance lines). Furthermore, as already mentioned, the majority of concordance lines were constructed negatively (286 of 486 lines).

The thematic category of *conflict* was predominantly negative: 207 of the 256 concordance lines (81%) were constructed negatively. The concordance lines largely reported the military clashes in Lebanon and civil unrest in other societies. The following two examples occurred in stories concerned with the fifteen-year Lebanese war.

- (28) ...a rugged area for defense, where a <u>lonely</u> Christian community could defend itself and <u>survive in a sea</u> of sometimes <u>hostile</u> **Muslim neighbors**. (27-09-1982)
- (29) ...in the six-month old civil war pitting Lebanon's Christians against the Syrians and their **Muslim allies**. (09-10-1989)

Whilst history has shown us that the Lebanese conflict involved a complicated web of alliances that often cut across simple religious lines (Rabinovich, 1985), as can be seen in the concordance lines above, some writers defaulted to a simplistic conceptualisation of relations, i.e. Muslims (as aggressors) versus Christians (as victims). It could be argued that the simplistic treatment of inter-group relations (Muslim versus Christian) implicitly constructs the news value of Proximity. Christians in this context represent a culturally closer group (in that Christianity is the dominant religion in the U.S.). Abrahamian (2003) details similar media conceptions of the Muslim threat to (Christian)Western civilisation in post 9/11 news discourse.

The issue of civil unrest was constructed negatively with particular attention being paid to anti-American sentiment. The following excerpt occurred in a story concerned with the Carter administration's foreign policy.

(30) <u>A wave of anti-American violence</u> continued to <u>sweep</u> through the **Muslim world**. <u>Two weeks ago</u>, there were <u>mob attacks on American outposts</u> from Turkey to Bangladesh and <u>the burning of the U.S. embassy in Pakistan</u>. <u>Last week</u> there were more demonstrations, in Thailand, the Philippines and Kuwait; <u>on Sunday</u>, 2,000 rioting Libyans assaulted the U.S. embassy in Tripoli, but there <u>were no American casualties</u>. (10-12-1979)

In the example above, *Muslims* are again collectively associated with violence; a theme that consistently appears in modern media representations (e.g. Baker et al., 2013a; Richardson, 2001, 2004; Shaw, 2012). The news value of Superlativeness is constructed in the first sentence with the use of the water metaphor ('wave' and 'swept') and the noun phrase ('Muslim world') which both emphasise the extent of the activity. We would argue that the use of the water metaphor once again connotes a primal, engulfing force. We would also argue that the homogenising, collective reference in the first sentence ('Muslim world') plays into notions of Muslims as uniformly anti-American (a representation frequently found in modern media representations, e.g. see Sahlane, 2015). Superlativeness is also constructed in the details of the subsequent sentences which effectively act as anaphoric supports for the first sentence. Across the excerpt, the news value of Timeliness is constructed with the sentence adverbials ('Two weeks ago' and 'Last week) as well as the prepositional phrase in the last sentence ('on Sunday'). As well as establishing recency, the temporal references also explicate how the trend reported extends across time (which again supports the position set out in the opening sentence). The news value of Proximity is constructed through the explicit references to the U.S. targets. Although the final sentence ends by detailing a lack of victims, we would argue that it still constructs Proximity through reference 'to people from the community or nationality of the target audience' (Bednarek and Caple, 2017: 91).

The master signifier *Muslim* quilted with the thematic category *ethnic/national entity* in 23% of the concordance lines. This was largely driven by writers reporting on various geopolitical relations of interest to the U.S. Given that the U.S and the Soviet Union

attempted to assert spheres of influence over parts of the globe where significant Muslim populations resided (Spiegel, 2014), attention was paid to the perceived relationship between the Soviets and Muslims. The following excerpt occurred in a story concerning the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R.

(31) While assailing the US., Moscow sought to soothe other countries. Literary Gazette assured the **Muslim world** that although the U.S.S.R. is atheist, it is not at war with any religion. Brezhnev asserted that the Soviets want continued detente with Western Europe. (28-01-1980)

The opening adverbial element establishes the news value of Proximity, i.e. by referring to the U.S. as an entity that is under attack, whilst the remainder of the sentence details the diplomatic actions of the U.S.S.R. Both subsequent sentences exemplify Soviet foreign policy and reference elite sources (the Soviet Literary Gazette and General Secretary Leonoid Brezhnev). In terms of the intertextual reference to the Soviet Literary Gazette, whilst our current data are silent on the source material, the position reported in TIME Magazine implicitly upholds the notion of the 'Muslim world' as a homogenous, collective whole. As used in the example above, we may also consider the neo-colonialist implications of the term 'Muslim world'. The imposition of the term 'Muslim world' may well allow for the discursive creation of a geo-political entity that is the real target of domination by powerful global interests.

Negative concordance lines in the *ethnic/national entity* category (45 out of 112 concordance lines) were driven by the expression of angst with regards to the sociodemographic developments of Muslim populations and the challenges they could pose to the prevailing status quo. The following excerpt occurred in an article concerned with the emerging disintegration of the Soviet Union.

(32) In Moscow there is a growing awareness that the virus of secessionism is spreading fast, while the search for a cure - economic prosperity and political diversity within a loose confederation - is still in the test-tube phase. Academicians at state-sponsored institutes are openly wondering whether breakaway **Muslim areas** of Central Asia will <u>end up</u> allied with <u>hostile Islamic fundamentalist regimes</u> to the south. (28-01-1990)

As in the previous example, the representation concerning Muslims is attributed to an elite source ('Academicians at state-sponsored institutes'). Nevertheless, Muslims are represented as susceptible to fundamentalist influence (as also found by Hashem, 1997). The phrasal verb, i.e. 'end up', can be taken to suggest that, even in the absence of intent, Muslims can passively gravitate towards fundamentalist influences.

5. Summary and conclusion

The present paper set out to answer two closely related questions: how were Muslims represented in TIME Magazine (1923-1992); and how did these representations develop across the twentieth century. With the use of the concept of ideological quilting, we were able to identify a general trend in which representations of Muslims shifted from a largely neutral focus on religio-cultural issues to a narrow focus on politicised issues such as international geopolitical relations and conflict. Analysis of our data suggests that representations of Muslims have been largely negative since the 1960s.

Muslims were ideologically quilted under the master signifier *Mohammedan* in the following way: *religion* (Muslims represented as enjoying special privileges); *culture* (Muslims represented as wild); *ethnic/national entity* (Muslims represented as a homogenous, global whole); *conflict* (Muslims represented as violent). Muslims were ideologically quilted under the master signifier *Moslem* in the following way: ethnic/national entity (Muslims represented as struggling with decolonialisation; Muslims represented as lead by vilified leaders); group/organisation (Muslims as capable of forming both politically legitimate and illegitimate collectives); *conflict* (Muslims represented as primal and barbaric); *culture* (Muslim women represented as exotic and sexual objects); *religion* (Muslims represented as bound by exotic rules).

Whilst writers were more likely to construct representations involving *Mohammedan* and *Moslem* neutrally, we should not be too mislead into thinking that representations were completely unmotivated. Indeed, long before the collapse of Soviet Communism, the data would suggest that a great deal of the representations were orientalist in nature (Said, 1978; Sardar, 1999). Such representations, dating back to antiquity, 'brought the Orient into Western learning, Western consciousness, and later, Western

Empire' (Said, 1978, p.203) and provided the ideological justification for European imperial powers to control and exploit Muslims.

The master signifier *Muslim* was ideologically quilted in a very narrow sense: *conflict* (Muslims represented as aggressive and Anti-U.S.); *ethnic/national* (Muslims as susceptible to fundamentalist influence). We would argue that the representations made under the signifier *Muslim* contained the seeds of neo-orientalism. Neo-orientalism is a field of meaning whereby Muslims are associated with 'violence, authoritarianism, terrorism, fundamentalism [...] and hostility to modern[ity]' (Richardson, 2004, p.12). Such representations characterise modern media representations of Muslims (Baker et al., 2013a, 2013b; Morin, 2016; Richardson, 2004) and arguably justify military campaigns like the war on terror (Morin, 2016).

Finally, directions for future research could include the application of the concept of ideological quilting with an extension of the core of the master signifier, to include the node + R1 constructions e.g. 'Muslim + World'. This would allow researchers to discern how these extended master signifiers ideological quilted with the thematic categories. Research could also be conducted into specific periods or events e.g. the Lebanese civil war or the Iranian revolution. Alternatively, other master signifiers such as 'Islam' could be subject to the same kind of analysis performed in the present research.

Declaration of interest

None.

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