

Better the devil you know

A study of the editing of evil in *The Times* and *The Guardian* post -7/7

Agnete Løvik



Do not say "I have found the truth" but rather say "I have found one truth"

Gibran Khalil Gibran

A thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Philosophy in English

Department of English
University of Bergen
September 2007



The Road Not Taken

*Two roads diverged in a yellow wood,
And sorry I could not travel both
And be one traveler, long I stood
And looked down one as far as I could
To where it bent in the undergrowth;*

*Then took the other, as just as fair,
And having perhaps the better claim,
Because it was grassy and wanted wear;
Though as for that the passing there
Had worn them really about the same,*

*And both that morning equally lay
In leaves no step had trodden black.
Oh, I kept the first for another day!
Yet knowing how one way leads on to way,
I doubted if I should ever come back.*

*I shall be telling this with a sigh
Somewhere ages and ages hence:
Two roads diverged in a wood, and I-
I took the one less traveled by,
And that has made all the difference.*

Robert Frost (1874-1963)
Mountain Interval 1920

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The journey of a thousand miles must begin with a single step.

Chinese proverb

I should like to extend my grateful thanks to my supervisor, Professor Leiv Egil Breivik. His Deweyesque approach to education has encouraged me to pursue my teaching career in foreign languages whilst writing this thesis. I am particularly grateful for grants awarded and for the opportunity to teach grammar at the Department of English. I have equally appreciated insightful remarks about academia in general and English in particular.

I would also like to thank Professor Bjørg Bækken and Catharina Hole Bjørnsen for inspiring discussions about English grammar and Anne-Brit Fenner for interesting and to the point seminars in teaching methodology. I am also thankful for advice given by Lise Opdahl and Barbara Danielsen. I am equally indebted to Pernille Myrvold for being a supportive colleague.

My fellow students and friends Diki, Anna and Arnhild have provided a stimulating international learning environment and great company socially.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents for unconditional emotional and financial support along the long and winding road of higher education and for contributing to a sound platform from which I could jump beyond myself. I would also like to express my gratitude to my boyfriend Erik Duncan whose patience and encouragement have been invaluable.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
The road not taken	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Table of contents	iii
1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Aim and scope	1
2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	3
2.1 Introductory remarks	3
2.2 Representations	3
2.3 Critical Discourse Analysis	5
2.4 The Press: mapping the territory	9
2.5 Frame semantics	12
2.6 Moral Politics	13
2.7 Critical Discourse Analysis: applied linguistics	22
2.8 Critical Discourse Analysis: a critical review	24
3 PRESENTATION OF THE CORPUS	25
3.1 Background information: <i>The Times</i> and <i>The Guardian</i>	25
3.2 Editing evil post 7/7 in <i>The Times</i> and <i>The Guardian</i>	27
4 DISCUSSION	47
4.1 The ‘newsworthiness’ of 7/7	47
4.2 The moral conceptual systems of <i>The Times</i> and <i>The Guardian</i>	48
4.3 The contextualisation of 7/7	57
4.4 Cultural representations mediated through the press	66
4.5 Critical Discourse Analysis: its merits	67
5 CONCLUSION	69
REFERENCES	72

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim and scope

The suicide attacks which struck London on 7 July 2005 wrought havoc on the city's public transport system, leaving 56 people dead, including the four suicide bombers, and injuring scores of commuters. The present study is an attempt at shedding light on the manner in which two British newspapers, *The Times* and *The Guardian*, grappled with the task of commenting on and digesting the incident and its ramifications. The editorials published in each paper in the month following the event will be scrutinised in the hope that the description of minute details will contribute to a better understanding of the broader picture. I assume that newspapers across the political spectrum will unanimously condemn the attack on innocent civilians. However, political affiliation is likely to be reflected in an ideological slant according to which the event is presented and put into context.

The London bombings sparked a debate on assimilation, integration and multiculturalism in Britain and focused attention on how the concept of being 'British' is to be interpreted today. The event also led to heightened media awareness of and interest in Islam in general and its fundamentalist interpretation in particular. I personally felt that the bombings were a major incident in British contemporary history that would highlight the difficulties associated with the assignment of appropriate labels as far as grey areas are concerned – in this case the definition of terrorism and the concept of 'traitors in our midst'. I was particularly intrigued by the fact that in-group members, i.e. British-born Muslims, appeared to be the enemy and wondered how this fact would come across in the press. The issue has proved contentious as the debate revolves around highly controversial and fluid concepts such as *the war on terror*, *terrorism*, *Islamism*, *fundamentalism*, *fanaticism*, *culpability*, *justice*, *innocence*, *rationality* and *civilisation*.

The methodological approach adopted in this study is critical discourse analysis. I am aware of the fact that the results presented are impressionistic and coloured by my frame of reference as a writer. I am also conscious of the 'essentialism trap' intrinsic in the choice of a comparison of two rather than three or even more newspapers. The scope was narrowed down from an initial total of six newspapers to two, partly because the corpus proved difficult to get access to, but mainly due to the short time span during which the investigation was to be carried out. I received the editorials published in *The*

Guardian by mail and visited the Colindale Newspaper Library in London in order to obtain copies of the editorials published in *The Times*. I have chosen the genre of editorials as these, by their nature, reflect the views of the newspapers on current issues in a purportedly overt manner. Although a close reading of and between the lines is required, stances are likely to be stated rather than implied. This study is, however, to some extent a pilot investigation, and presented as such will neither appear to be an exhaustive study of the British press post- 7/7 nor a simplistic overview of the two exclusive views on the topic in question.

The theoretical framework applied in this thesis will be presented in Chapter 2. The framework combines Hall's (1997) theory of *constructionism*, Fairclough (1989) and Fowler's (1991) *Critical Discourse Analysis*, Fillmore's (1985) *Frame semantics* and Lakoff's (1996) theory of *Moral Politics*. In this chapter we will also look at the manner in which the press maps the territory, in this case terrorism, according to *news values* and *readership* and we will discuss the way in which British daily newspapers may be classified according to the socio-economic classes of their respective real audiences. We will also present three studies in which Critical Discourse Analysis is the methodology adopted. These studies concern topics such as war, terrorism and racism, and will be presented here as these themes are found in my corpus.

Chapter 3 will provide some background information to the corpus chosen, i.e. the editorials published in *The Times* and *The Guardian* in the time span covering 8 July - 4 August 2005. We will look at both ownership and readership. In the presentation of the corpus we will give a brief overview of the headlines of the editorials, but will mainly focus on four sub-categories: the incident, the perpetrators, the context and the ramifications, i.e. the questions of *what*, *who*? and *why*? related to the incident and its consequences.

Chapter 4 will discuss the newsworthiness of 7/7, the moral conceptual systems of *The Times* and *The Guardian*, the contextualisation of the incident and the framing of ideological statements in the editorials under analysis.

Chapter 5 will provide a summary of the main findings of the investigation carried out in the present thesis, as well as some suggestions for future research within the field of Critical Discourse Analysis.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introductory remarks

The present thesis represents a tentative interdisciplinary approach to the description of the language of the press, chronicling a major incident in contemporary British history. The theoretical framework adopted combines a diverse set of theories from disciplines such as linguistics, social anthropology, social psychology, media studies, history and political science. The methodological approach *Critical Discourse Analysis* encompasses to a great extent the panoply of disciplines mentioned above in that the distribution of power in a given society as well as the myths sustaining a particular social order are highlighted through a meticulous deconstruction of a contextualised text, thereby questioning the ‘taken for grantedness’ of experientially grounded and culturally determined frames of reference.

2.2 Representations

According to Hall language functions as a *representational system*, ‘... one of the media through which thoughts, ideas and feelings are represented in a culture’ (1997:1). The emphasis is on cultural practices as ‘Things “in themselves” rarely if ever have one, single, fixed and unchanging meaning’ (Hall 1997:3). Hall here represents what could be termed a *non-essentialist stance* as far as the relationship between a word and its meaning is concerned. Meanings are considered the very essence of a culture as ‘They define what is “normal”, who belongs - and therefore, who is excluded. They are deeply inscribed in relations of power’ (Hall 1997:10). The uniformity of meaning within a particular culture is disputed: ‘There are always different circuits of meaning circulating in any culture at the same time, overlapping discursive formations, from which we draw to create meaning or to express what we think’ (Hall 1997:10). As meaning is not homogeneous, the scramble for power and influence in a culture is likely to be reflected in language. In order to maintain the status quo, the power to define interpretations could be desirable. Hall divides *constructionism* into two subcategories: the *semiotic* approach and the *discursive* approach. The former concerns how language produces meaning, while the latter focuses on the effects and consequences of representation, i.e. the historical specificity of a particular form or ‘regime’ of representation (Hall 1997:6). The semiotic approach derives from the theories of Saussure and Barthes, while the discursive approach is based mainly on the theories of Foucault (Hall 1997:62).

In the present investigation these two approaches will be combined: the ideological motives behind the texts constituting the corpus will be discussed as well as the potential socio-political and economic significance for British society.

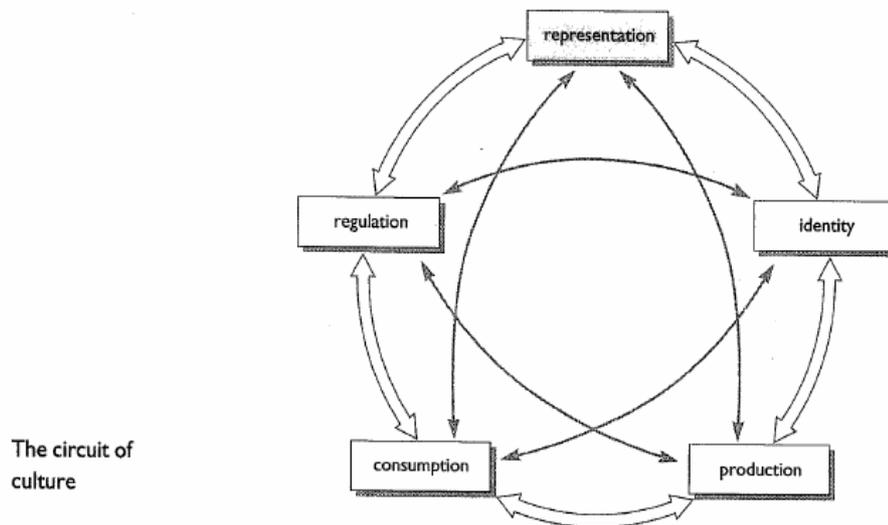


Fig.2.1 Hall 1997:1

The figure above shows ‘the practices of cultural representation’ which, according to Hall, are to be understood as ‘the embodying of concepts, ideas and emotions in a symbolic form which can be transmitted and meaningfully interpreted’ (Hall 1997:10). The figure highlights the dynamic nature of meaning, i.e. its *production* and *consumption* mainly by means of language as a *representational system*. It also describes the dialectical relationship between meaning and identity and the inherent battle between self-preservation (*identity*) and the transformation of identities through the power to define meaning (*regulation*). Hall posits that effective exchange should be considered superior to ‘accuracy’ and ‘truth’ with regard to meaning. He stresses the importance of ‘... a process of *translation*, which facilitates cultural communication while always recognizing the persistence of difference and power between different ‘speakers’ within the same cultural circuit’ (Hall 1997:10).

The theory of *representation* effectively combines the theories of the Swiss linguist Saussure, the Russian linguist Bakhtin, the British anthropologist Douglass and the Jewish-Austrian psychologist Freud (Berger 2005:170-171). Saussure’s theory of signs, semiology, describes how meaning is produced and communicated in a society. Saussure claims that language is a system of signs. These signs can be divided into two parts: a *signifier/signifiant* (a sound, an object, an image) and a *signified/signifié* (a

concept generated by the signifier) whose relationship is arbitrary. As this relationship is based on convention, signifiers are apt to change with the passage of time. Saussure views concepts in terms of *binary oppositions*, i.e. a concept is to be attributed meaning by virtue of what it is not. (Berger 2005:9-13). Bakhtin focuses on the prerequisite of dialogue for meaning to be created. Hall draws upon this knowledge, positing that ‘Speaker and hearer or writer and reader are active participants in a process which - since they often exchange roles - is always double-sided, always interactive’ (Hall 1997:10). Douglass (in Berger 2005:149-150) discusses the classificatory system of social groups, a system by means of which meaning is imposed on their world according to binary oppositions. Douglass argues that cultures construct stable symbolic boundaries in order to avoid the ‘anarchy’ that may ensue if things were assigned the wrong labels or appeared not to belong to any particular category. The maintenance of a stable cultural order is hoped to be achieved through this system of self-preservation. Freud’s psychoanalytic theory might explain the manner in which people become aware of their identities by defining themselves as either similar to or different from other people.

2.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

Fairclough assumes a neo-Marxist stance with regard to *discourse*, i.e. he regards language as a form of social practice. In his theory of Critical Language Study, CLS, language is described as being socially determined. The relationship between language and society is viewed as internal and dialectical. ‘Social practice does not merely “reflect” a reality which is independent of it; social practice is in an active relationship to reality, and it changes reality’ (Fairclough 1989:37).

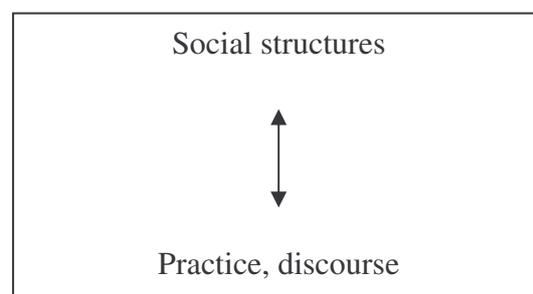


Fig. 2.2: Fairclough 1989:38
The internal and dialectical relationship between language and society

The interconnection between social practice, social structures and discourse is highlighted: ‘... social structures not only determine social practice, they are also a product of social practice. And more particularly, social structures not only determine discourse, they are also a product of discourse’ (Fairclough 1989:37).

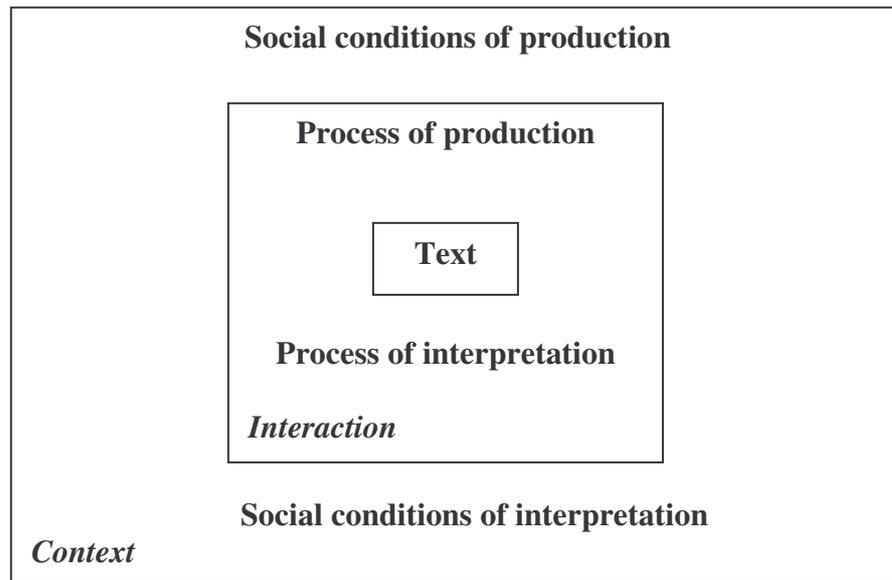


Fig. 2.3 Fairclough 1989:25
Discourse as text, interaction and context

The reproduction of social structures and social practice may either be *conservative*, i.e. maintaining the status quo, or *transformatory*, i.e. bringing about changes (Fairclough 1989:39). The rationale for the deconstruction of discourse is the description of ‘...discourse as a part of social struggle, within a matrix of relations of power’ (Fairclough 1989:163). Fairclough claims that *Members’ resources*, i.e. frames of reference, are the medium through which social structures are perpetuated or questioned: ‘... social structures shape MR [= Members’ Resources], which in turn shape discourses, and discourses sustain or change MR, which in turn sustain or change structures’ (Fairclough 1989:163). Fairclough resorts to the prototype theory when attempting to explain the pliable nature of cognitive schemata, as does Douglass. The conservative reproduction of Members’ resources is only deemed adequate when participants are faced with an unproblematic situation, i.e. a situation which can be categorised as a *familiar situation type*. However, when participants find themselves entangled in a problematic situation, i.e. when there is a *mismatch* between the actual situation and

familiar situation types, Members' resources must be consulted in a creative manner. 'Such situations constitute moments of crisis for participants, and they typically arise when social struggle becomes overt, and when MR and the power relations which underlie them - the temporarily stabilized results of past struggles-therefore themselves come into crisis' (Fairclough 1989:165). Fairclough recommends seeing Members' resources as ideologies at the stage of explanation. He suggests a model which is tripartite, encompassing features such as *social determinants*, *ideologies* and *effects*.

The approach is summed up in three succinct questions: (Fairclough 1989:166)

1. What power relations at situational, institutional and societal levels help shape this discourse?
2. What elements of MR which are drawn upon have an ideological character?
3. How is this discourse positioned in relation to struggles at the situational, institutional and societal levels? Are these struggles overt or covert? Is the discourse normative with respect to MR or creative? Does it contribute to sustaining existing power relations, or transforming them?

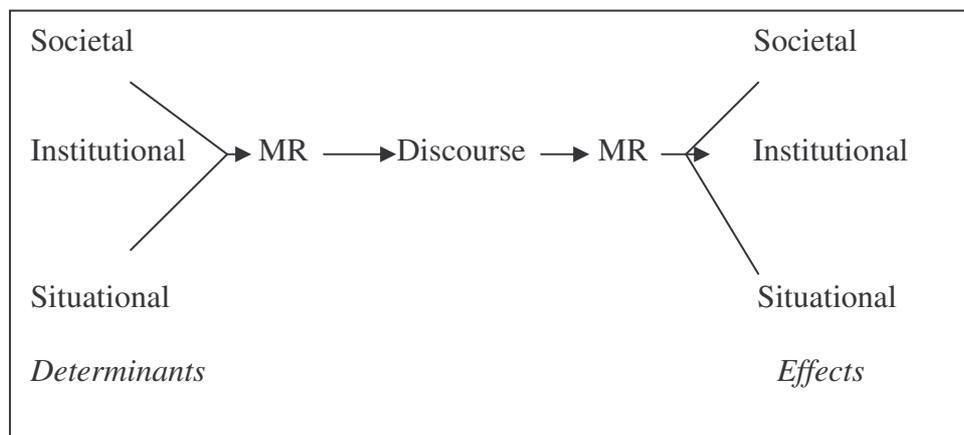


Fig. 2.4 Fairclough 1989:164

Explanation

Fowler endorses this school of thought in his description of discourse and ideology in the press. Referring to Halliday, Fowler subscribes to the notion that '... forms of expression within a language answer, not just to social and economic circumstances, characteristics of speech situations, etc, but to the *meanings* a culture assigns to itself and its components' (Fowler 1991:37). Fowler supports Hall's (in Cohen and Young

(1973) and Hartley's (1982)) 'consensual' view of society: '...the articulation of ideology in the language of the news fulfils, cumulatively and through daily reiteration, a background function of reproducing the beliefs and paradigms of the community generally' (Fowler 1991:124). This 'consensus' is of the utmost importance in a crisis: "consensus" assumes, and in times of crisis actually *affirms*, that within the group, there is no difference or disunity in the interests and values of any of the population, or of any institution' (Fowler 1991:49). Drawing upon Fairclough's concise formulations, Fowler (1991:90) proposes the following three points concerning the analysis of the language of the press:

1. The institutional and economic structure of the newspaper industry
2. Its political relations
3. The political or other relevant circumstances of the events being reported

Referring to Foucault, Hall gives the following description of the production of text, which may here serve as a brief summary of the approach referred to as critical discourse analysis: 'Subjects may produce particular texts, but they are operating within the limits of the *episteme*, the *discursive formation*, the *regime of truth*, of a particular period and culture.the 'subject' is *produced within discourse*' (Hall 1997:55). Foucault (1980:98 in Hall 1997:49-50) also points out the crucial fact that '... power does not "function in the form of a chain"- it circulates. It is never monopolized by one centre. It is deployed and exercised through a net-like organization'. In 2.4-2.6 we will take a closer look at the manner in which competing discourses are mediated through the press. In 2.7 we will return to the applicability of critical discourse analysis to issues such as war, terrorism and racism. In 2.8 a summary of the merits and shortcomings of this particular methodology will be provided.

2.4 The press: mapping the territory

...

*Leave the pity and the blame
For the ones who do not speak
You write the words to get respect and compassion
And for posterity
You write the words and make believe
There is truth in the space between*

*There is fiction in the space between
You and everybody
Give us all what we need
Give us one more sad sordid story
But in the fiction of the space between
Sometimes a lie is the best thing
Sometimes a lie is the best thing*

Telling Stories, Tracy Chapman 1999

The press chronicles major events in contemporary history and also has some power to define what is to be counted as such. When reporting ‘the realities on the ground’, journalists and editors highlight certain issues and downplay the significance of others according to a set of criteria commonly referred to as *news values*. The manner in which the chosen newsworthy events are presented depends on the editorial line of the newspaper in question, which, in turn, may be influenced by ownership, company investments and political allegiance, although ‘freedom of speech’ is a guiding principle. The ownership of the press is increasingly based on conglomerates. This fact combined with the knowledge of the interdependence of the media and politics has led to questions being asked about whether the press functions less as a watch dog and more as a lap dog.

News values

When manoeuvring in the grey, fuzzy area that is the world and attempting to present the impressions in shades slightly more black or white, journalists and editors generally single out fragments of information as more relevant than others according to twelve factors that constitute newsworthiness.¹

- **Timeliness:** news is what is new

¹ <http://www.cybercollge.com/newscrit.htm>

- **Proximity:** nearness of event determining whether or not it will be mentioned
- **Exceptional quality:** how uncommon an event is considered
- **Possible future impact:** the implications the event is likely to have in the future
- **Prominence:** the people involved in the event are well known by the public, e.g. pop stars, film stars, politicians
- **Conflict:** physical or emotional
- **The number of people involved or affected:** the more people involved, the more newsworthy the news story is
- **Consequence:** the worse, the better!
- **Human interest:** generally soft news focusing on how ordinary people lead their lives or are affected by a particular event
- **Pathos:** news stories describing the misfortunes of others elicit feelings of sorrow, sympathy, pity and compassion among viewers/readers
- **Shock value**
- **Titillation component:** news stories revolving around sex

The more relevant a story is deemed based on these criteria, the more space is devoted to it, and the longer is the time span during which the story features.

British daily newspapers

British daily newspapers have traditionally been classified into ‘qualities’ and ‘populars’. Another dichotomy refers to the format of the papers, differentiating between ‘broadsheets’ and ‘tabloids’. Jucker (1992) finds these dichotomies unsatisfactory. Instead, he adopts a classification based on socio-economic readership profiles, i.e. the socio-economic classes to which the target audiences belong. This classification was originally proposed by Henry (1983), who divided British daily newspapers into three distinct categories: *up-market*, *mid-market* and *down-market*. Up-market papers tend to have small circulation figures, down-market papers generally have high figures, and mid-market papers medium figures. Up-market papers get approximately two thirds of their revenue from advertising, whilst down-market papers get more than three quarters of their total revenue from the sales revenue (Jucker 1992:51-53). The two newspapers which constitute the corpus, *The Times* and *The*

Guardian, would, on the basis of their readership profiles, be classified as up-market papers.

Readership

Jucker's classificatory scheme is applicable as far as the 'real' audience is concerned. Reah (2003:35-40), however, makes a clear distinction between the 'real' audience, i.e. the readership, and the 'implied' audience, i.e. the audience the paper appears to be addressing. According to Reah, newspapers often write as though their readership were a homogeneous group of people who share certain values and beliefs and who are defined through their choice of newspaper. The newspapers often resort to '... reporting stories in a way that is designed to evoke one particular response, thus establishing a set of shared values, usually in opposition to another group who do not share, or who attack these values (Reah 2003:40). This tendency is particularly common in party politics. Reah's views on language are consistent with the theories of *social constructionism*: 'It could be argued that language is the key factor in the establishment and maintenance of social groups, of society as an entity' (Reah 2003:41). Newspapers thus function within a social context and attempt to establish a group identity with the readership by means of employing the social aspects of language (Reah 2003:42).

Berger (2005:149-150) refers to Thompson, Ellis and Wildavsky's cultural theory (1990) which, in turn, draws on *the grid-group typology* proposed by Douglass, when attempting to explain media preferences. People are involved in social life by virtue of two dimensions: *groups*, i.e. social groups whose boundaries are either weak or strong, and *grids*, i.e. externally imposed prescriptions. Behaviour preferences may consequently be viewed as a result of the groups in which people are involved and the rules and prescriptions they consider valid (Berger 2005:153). Berger states 'Psychologists tell us that people seek *reinforcement* in the media for their basic beliefs and values and, at the same time, wish to avoid *cognitive dissonance* - things that attack these beliefs and values. It is logical, then, that they will watch television programs that affirm their core values and avoid ones that attack these values' (Berger 2005:152). This may be equally plausible with regard to the choice of which newspaper to read.

2.5 Frame semantics

The linguistic theory of *frame semantics* may to some extent explain the manner in which *cognitive reinforcement* is sought in the media in general and in the press in particular. Originally proposed by Fillmore (1985), the theory is an attempt at linking linguistic semantics with encyclopaedic knowledge. *Frames, prototypes and perspective* are the central concepts of his theory of *frames and the semantics of understanding*. According to Fillmore, the meaning of a single word cannot be grasped unless access to all essential knowledge related to that particular word is provided. A word evokes a frame of semantic knowledge which relates to the specific concept it refers to. Frames are experientially grounded. A semantic frame could be defined as ‘a coherent structure of related concepts that are related such that without knowledge of all of them, one does not have complete knowledge of one of the either.’² Words not only evoke concepts but also highlight a certain perspective in which the frame is viewed. Fillmore claims that this fact may account for asymmetries in many lexical relations.

Frame semantics was originally only applied to lexemes. Today, however, the theory also covers grammatical constructions and other larger and more complex linguistic units. Miriam Petruck writes: ‘The words, that is, the linguistic material, evoke the frame (in the mind of a speaker/hearer); the interpreter (of an utterance or a text in which the words occur) invokes the frame.’³ The linguistic material in a newspaper will evoke frames which are either agreeable or repulsive to a particular readership. Readers, in turn, invoke frames in order to establish whether the text causes *cognitive reinforcement* or *dissonance*. Fillmore (1985) bases his *semantics of understanding, U-semantics*, mainly on the notion of *frames*. U-semantics is seen as the opposite of truth-conditional semantics, T-semantics, as its primary purpose is to highlight what it takes for a hearer to provide an interpretation of a sentence.⁴ Petruck claims that as a word represents a category of experience, researchers within the field of frame semantics should strive to uncover the reasons a speech community has for creating the category represented by the word and include those reasons in the description of the meaning of the word, i.e. they should adopt an approach based on *constructionism*. Frame semantics represents a *non-essentialist stance* with respect to

² [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frame_semantics_\(linguistics\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frame_semantics_(linguistics))

³ <http://framenet.ICSIL.berkeley.edu/papers/miriamp.FS2.pdf>

⁴ <http://framenet.ICSIL.berkeley.edu/papers/miriamp.FS2.pdf>

the definition of words: ‘Defining words in terms of frames and prototypes provides a useful approach to the boundary problem for linguistic categories’.⁵

Although sensitive to cultural and cognitive aspects of linguistics, frame semantics is not considered infallible by its practitioners. Here we may note the following statement by Petruck: ‘Among the topics worth considering are the following: determining the contents of a frame; determining the boundaries of any particular frame; and determining how frames interact.’⁶

Lakoff comments on the challenges faced by the press as far as unbiased reporting is concerned: ‘...because language is assumed to be neutral, it is assumed that it is always possible to report a story in neutral terms. But that is not true. To report a story in the conceptual system of conservatives is to reinforce and thus give support to the conservative worldview’ (Lakoff 1996:386). In public discourse in general it is important to realise that ‘The very choice of discourse form and language to report a story leads to bias’ (Lakoff 1996: 386). Lakoff therefore draws the following conclusion: ‘What requires special effort is discussing the unconscious conceptual framework behind the discussion’ (Lakoff 1996:388). Referring to Dobson, Lakoff states: ‘To be accepted, the truth must fit people’s frames. If the facts do not fit the frame, the frame stays and the facts bounce off’ (Lakoff 2004:17). Cognitive science has established that these frames ‘... are in the synapses of our brains, physically present in the form of neural circuitry’ (Lakoff 2004:73). We shall now examine Lakoff’s attempt at raising awareness of politically motivated frames in more detail.

2.6 Moral Politics

Lakoff (1996) delves beneath the surface of political rhetoric to uncover the moral conceptual systems which constitute the backbone of what is commonly referred to as conservative and liberal worldviews. According to Lakoff, a conservative worldview is based on what is termed *Strict Father Morality*, whereas a liberal worldview draws on a *Nurturant Parent Morality*. The two opposing categories are to be interpreted as *prototypes* as far as conceptual moral systems are concerned. Within this dichotomy, radial categories of conservatism and liberalism can be found.

⁵ <http://framenet.ICSI.berkeley.edu/papers/miriamp.FS2.pdf>

⁶ <http://framenet.ICSI.berkeley.edu/papers/miriamp.FS2.pdf>

Strict Father Morality

Strict Father Morality views competition as a ‘... necessary state in a moral world - necessary for producing the right kind of people’ (Lakoff 1996:69). A moral world is a world in which ‘... some people are better off than others, and they deserve to be. It is a meritocracy. It is hierarchical, and the hierarchy is moral. In this hierarchy, some people have authority over others and their authority is legitimate’ (Lakoff 1996:69). The strict father has a moral obligation to support and protect his family. The people at the upper echelons of society are equally expected to ‘... exercise their legitimate authority for the benefit of all under their authority’ (Lakoff 1996:70). Their responsibilities include the following: (Lakoff 1996:70):

1. Maintaining order; that is, sustaining and defending the system of authority itself.
2. Using that authority for the protection of those under one’s authority.
3. Working for the benefit of those under one’s authority, especially helping them through proper discipline to become the right kind of people.
4. Exercising one’s authority to help create more self-disciplined people, that is, the right kind of people, for their own benefit, for the benefit of others, and because it is the right thing to do.

The metaphors which have highest priority in Strict Father Morality are thus(Lakoff 1996: 71-98):

1. **Moral Strength:** Being good is being upright, being bad is being low. Doing evil is falling. Evil is a force (internal or external). Morality is strength. In order to fight external evils, courage is required. Internal evils must be confronted with self-discipline. ‘The metaphor of Moral Strength thus imposes a strict us-them moral dichotomy. It reifies evil as the force that moral strength is needed to counter. Evil must be fought. You do not empathize with evil, nor do you accord evil some truth of its own. You just fight it’ (Lakoff 1996:74) More importantly, ‘An important consequence of giving highest priority to the metaphor of Moral Strength is that it rules out any explanations in terms of social forces and social classes’ (Lakoff 1996:75).

2. **Moral Authority:** A community is a family. Moral authority is parental authority. An authority figure is a parent. A person subject to moral authority is a child. Moral behaviour by someone subject to authority is obedience. Moral behaviour by someone in authority is setting standards and enforcing them.
3. **Retribution:** ‘Strict Father Morality requires retribution rather than restitution for harming someone or for violation of moral authority’ (Lakoff 1996:80).
4. **Moral Order:** The moral order is the natural order. God has moral authority over and moral responsibility for the well-being of people. People have moral authority over and moral responsibility for the well-being of nature. Adults have moral authority over and moral responsibility for the well-being of children. Men have moral authority over and moral responsibility for the well-being of women.
5. **Moral Boundaries:** ‘Actions characterized metaphorically as “deviant” threaten the very identity of normal people, calling their most common and therefore most sacred values into question.’ ‘But “deviant” actions are even more threatening than that. [...] those who transgress boundaries or deviate from a prescribed path may “lead others astray” by going off in a new direction and creating a new path’ (Lakoff 1996:84-85).
6. **Moral Essence:** ‘We commonly understand people metaphorically as if they were objects made of substances that determine how they will behave’ (Lakoff 1996:87). A person’s character is therefore determined by past actions. Future actions may be predicted on the basis of a person’s perceived character. By adulthood, or possibly at an earlier stage, a person’s basic character is formed. ‘The metaphor of Moral Strength sees evil as a force in the world and therefore sees a strict demarcation between good and evil’ (Lakoff 1996:90).
7. **Moral Wholeness:** the virtue of being morally whole.
8. **Integrity:** a combination of *moral essence* and *moral wholeness*.
9. **Moral Purity:** Morality is purity, immorality is impurity.
10. **Moral Health:** Morality is health, immorality is disease.
11. **Moral Self-Interest:** self-interest is moral insofar as no higher principles are violated.

12. **Nurturance:** ‘People should accept the consequences of their own irresponsibility or lack of self-discipline, since they will never become responsible and self-disciplined if they don’t have to face those consequences’ (Lakoff 1996:97). Only people perceived as capable of changing are worthy of compassion and help.

Lakoff rounds off his overview of the Strict Father Morality by claiming: ‘It is the moral duty of all adherents of Strict Father Morality to defend Strict Father Morality above all else’ (Lakoff 1996:98).

Nurturant Parent Morality

This particular moral system is opposed to authority resulting from dominance. ‘Legitimate authority should be the consequence of the ability to nurture - of wisdom, judgment, empathy, and so on’ (Lakoff 1996:113). The metaphors which have highest priority in Nurturant Parent Morality are therefore somewhat different from those preferred by the Strict Father Morality outlined above: ‘Where the Strict Father model stressed discipline, authority, order, boundaries, homogeneity, purity and self-interest, the Nurturant Parent model stresses empathy, nurturance, self-nurturance, social ties, fairness and happiness’ (Lakoff 1996:114). The model revolves around the following concepts (Lakoff 1996:114-133):

1. **Morality as Empathy:** ‘Taking morality as empathy requires basing your actions on their values, not yours. This requires a stronger Golden Rule: Do unto others as *they* would have you do unto them’ (Lakoff 1996:115).
2. **Morality as Nurturance:** A child has a right to nurturance and a parent has a responsibility to provide it. The community is a family. Moral agents are nurturing parents. People needing help are children needing nurturance. Moral action is nurturance. (Lakoff 1996:117).
3. **Compassion**
4. **Moral Self-Nurturance**
5. **Morality as Social Nurturance:** Moral agents are nurturing parents, social ties are children needing care, moral action is the nurturance of social ties.
6. **Morality is Happiness**
7. **Morality as Self-Development**

8. Morality as Fair Distribution

9. Moral Growth

10. The Moral Strength to Nurture: ‘Morality as Empathy and Nurturance requires that one empathize with and be nurturant toward people with different values than one’s own, including different moral values. This means that one cannot maintain a strict good-evil dichotomy. To be able to see the world through other people’s values and truly empathize with them means that you cannot see all people who have different moral values than yours as enemies to be demonized’ (Lakoff 1996:127).

11. Moral Self-Interest: acceptable providing that it serves the cause of nurturance.

12. Nurturant Moral Boundaries: actions which have anti-nurturant consequences are prohibited.

13. Restitution and Retribution

Lakoff claims that *the Nation as Family metaphor* is the metaphor which links conservative and liberal worldviews to the family-based moralities mentioned above. The Nation as Family metaphor may be summarised as follows (Lakoff 1996:154):

- The Nation is a Family
- The Government is a Parent
- The Citizens are the Children

‘For conservatives, the nation is conceptualized (implicitly and unconsciously) as a Strict Father family, and, for liberals, as a Nurturant Parent family’ (Lakoff 1996:155). Lakoff embarks on an analysis of conservative and liberal moral categories in politics by means of *cognitive modelling*, i.e. an attempt at constructing ‘... a model of how the mind, using natural cognitive apparatus (such as conceptual metaphors and radial categories), makes sense of some significantly wide range of phenomena, especially puzzling phenomena’ (Lakoff 1996:156). Categorisation is viewed as ‘... one of the major ways in which a moral system characterizes worldview’ (Lakoff 1996:162).

Table 2.6a lists the different sets of priorities in conservative and liberal worldviews. As shown by Table 2.6b, the two moral systems entail different notions of who are to be counted as model citizens.

Table 2.6a Categories of moral action
(Lakoff 1996:163-165)

<i>Conservative</i>	<i>Liberal</i>
Promoting Strict Father Morality in general	Empathetic behaviour and promoting fairness
Promoting self-discipline, responsibility and self-reliance	Helping those who cannot help themselves
Upholding the Morality of Reward and Punishment: a) preventing interference with the pursuit of self-interest by self-disciplined, self-reliant people b) promoting punishment as a means of upholding authority c) Ensuring punishment for lack of self-discipline	Protecting those who cannot protect themselves
Protecting moral people from external evils	Promoting fulfilment in life
Upholding moral order	Nurturing and strengthening oneself in order to do the above

Table 2.6b Model citizens
(Lakoff 1996:169-170, 173)

<i>Conservative</i>	<i>Liberal</i>
People who have conservative values and who act to support them	People who are empathetic
People who are self-disciplined and self-reliant	People who help the disadvantaged
People who uphold the morality of reward and punishment	People who protect those who need protection

People who work to protect moral citizens	People who promote and exemplify fulfilment in life
People who act in support of the moral order	People who take care of themselves so that they can perform according to the values listed above

A *model citizen* is to be interpreted as *an ideal prototype*, i.e. ‘... a citizen who best exemplifies forms of moral action’ (Lakoff 1996:169). Different interpretations of the description of a model citizen lead to diametrically opposed demonologies, as seen in Table 2.6c. The different worldviews reflected in the opposing moral categories, model citizens and demons outlined in Tables 2.6a, 2.6b and 2.6c entail differences in stances as far as public policies are concerned.

Table 2.6c Demons

(Lakoff 1996:170-171, 174)

<i>Conservative</i>	<i>Liberal</i>
Category 1: Those who are against conservative values (e.g. feminists, gays and other ‘deviants’, advocates of multiculturalism, post-modern humanists, egalitarians)	Category 1: The mean-spirited, selfish and unfair - those who have no empathy and show no sense of social responsibility (e.g. wealthy companies and businessmen who only care about profit)
Category 2: Those whose lack of self-discipline has led to a lack of self-reliance (e.g. unwed mothers on welfare, unemployed drug users, able-bodied people on welfare)	Category 2: Those who would ignore, harm or exploit the disadvantaged (e.g. union-busting companies, large agricultural firms which exploit farm workers)
Category 3: Protectors of the ‘public good’ (e.g. environmentalists, consumer	Category 3: Those whose activities hurt people or the environment (e.g. violent criminals, out-

advocates, advocates of affirmative action, advocates of government-supported universal health care)	of-control police, polluters, those who make unsafe products or engage in consumer fraud)
Category 4: Those who oppose the ways that the military and criminal justice systems have operated (e.g. antiwar protesters, advocates of prisoners' rights, opponents of police brutality, gun control advocates, abortion doctors)	Category 4: Those who are against public support of education, art and scholarship
Category 5: Advocates for equal rights for women, gays, nonwhites and ethnic Americans	Category 5: Those who are against the expansion of health care for the general public

We will now consider the manner in which issues such as *military spending*, *crime* and *multiculturalism* are addressed according to whether these issues are looked at through conservative or liberal lenses.

Military spending

Conservatives view the funding of the military as moral and the funding of social programmes as immoral. The rationale for this stance may be found in *the Nation As Family metaphor*. The duty of the strict father is to protect his family above all else. The primary duty of the government is, when the analogy between the father and the government is drawn, to protect the nation. 'Moreover, the military itself is structured by Strict Father Morality. It has the hierarchical authority structure, which is mostly male and sets strict moral bounds. The ethic of moral strength has priority: Everything is keyed to hierarchical authority, self-discipline, building strength and fighting evils' (Lakoff 1996:193).

Liberals prefer spending less on the military so that more resources can be allocated to social programmes. Social programmes are viewed as 'a means to a moral end' (Lakoff 1996: 193-194).

Crime

Liberals are firm believers in social justice and consequently address crime as having social causes such as poverty, unemployment and alienation. Social programmes aimed at mitigating these social causes are considered an adequate solution. Conservatives, on the other hand, do not believe in social causes of crime. 'Because explanations for success and failure give priority to Moral Strength and Moral Essence, explanations in terms of social forces and class make no sense. They are only seen as excuses for lack of talent, laziness, or some other form of moral weakness' (Lakoff 1996:203). The Morality of Reward and Punishment is primary. Retribution is consequently favoured rather than restitution.

Multiculturalism

For Liberals '... each child has something different to contribute to the family. Applying the Nation As Family metaphor, diversity in a nation is positive and toleration is required' (Lakoff 1996:228). Conservatives are against multiculturalism as only their own morality is deemed moral. Other moralities are therefore not tolerated.

The views on military spending, crime and multiculturalism may jointly serve to explore the issue of terrorism from different angles. Terrorism is a thorny and amorphous subject as Townshend points out: 'Terrorism is categorized either as a crime or as warfare; democratic institutions are not designed or equipped to deal with the grey area that terrorism occupies' (Townshend 2002:135). Another problem touched upon by Townshend is the conflation of terrorism and terrorist groups, in particular '... the 2001 "war against terrorism" proclaimed by President George Bush and Prime Minister Tony Blair - and amplified with alacrity by Ariel Sharon. (It was left to a comedian, former Monty Python star Terry Jones, to pose publicly the question whether it was possible to make war on an abstract noun.)' (Townshend 2002:123). We shall now take a closer look at the manner in which critical discourse analysis may throw some light on linguistic demonology as far as *warfare*, *terrorism* and *racism* are concerned.

2.7 Critical Discourse Analysis : applied linguistics

War

'The approach of war involves constructing an enemy - an "other" who is so foreign and distant that *who* becomes *it*. *It* can be tortured, maimed and slaughtered; *who* cannot' (Nelson 2003:454). Billig, referring to the social psychologist Tajfel, further elaborates on this process of categorisation: '... as the categories of ingroups and outgroups become salient and meaningful, so the distinctiveness between "us" and "them" is psychologically exaggerated' (Billig 2003: xi). Billig points to the fact that 'An inner state, that remains locked within individuals, cannot be the impetus to war. But a discourse of indignation, threat and suffering, shared and communicated within a group, can become the basis for mobilization against an identified enemy' (Billig 2003:xiii). Billig describes the reaction of American citizens post-9.11 as an instance of what the psychologist Moscovici (1984) would term *the anchoring of unfamiliar events in familiar social representations* since references to Pearl Harbour were frequently made. (Billig 2003: xiii).

Marina Herrera investigates the manner in which the framing of the categories in a conflict may constitute an important part of the conflict, i.e. *the cognitive and discursive bases of categorisation*. An attempt is made to focus on the fact that both the context and the categorisation can be contested in a conflict. A meticulous study of the impact the presentation of the Gulf War in the British press had on the public, leads her to draw the following conclusion: '... defining who the sides are could determine who is to be mobilized in favour or against an event. Thus, defining the Gulf conflict as the civilized world against Saddam Hussain would lead people to positioning themselves as part of the civilized pro-war group. Conversely, if the war is self-interested leaders against ordinary people, people are more likely to define themselves as part of the ordinary anti-war group. What all this shows is that the ways in which the categories in a conflict are framed may be an important aspect of the conflict itself.'⁷

⁷ www.ijpsy.com/ver-archivo.php?volumen=3&numero=1&articulo=56&lang=EN
Revista Internacional de Psicología y Terapia Psicológica/International Journal of Psychology and Psychological Therapy 2003,vol.3, No 1., pp 27-57

Terrorism

In a comparison of the vocabulary resorted to in the British and American media as opposed to the Spanish media with regard to references made to ETA, Valdeón discovers that the Spanish media consistently employs the term *terrorist*, whereas the Anglophone media except *The Times* tends to favour the term *separatist*. The Spanish media frequently employs a strategy known as ‘overwording’, i.e. a great number of negative epithets are mentioned in connection with the name of the group, ETA. (Fairclough 2001:96 in Valdeón MS:8). According to Valdeón, this may indicate an ideological struggle: ‘... in this case the need to assert that terrorist attacks are unjustifiable in the political fight for independence within a western democracy’ (Valdeón MS:8). The reluctance of the vast majority of the Anglophone media to use the term *terrorist* in this particular context is explained as an instance of ‘ideological detachment’ (Valdeón MS:13). What intrigues Valdeón, however, is the fact that ‘... whereas Eta is often spared the use of the ‘terrorist’ label, the same writers in the same texts refer to Islamic activists as ‘terrorists’ without considering any political motives’ (Valdeón MS:18)

Racism

Van Dijk claims that ‘... discourse as a social practice of racism is at the same time the main source for people’s racist beliefs. Discourse may thus be studied as the crucial interface between the social and the cognitive dimensions of racism. Indeed we ‘learn’ racism (or anti-racism) largely through text or talk.’⁸ The political, educational, scholarly and media elites control public discourse and may therefore influence the prevalent ethnic opinions.⁹ ‘Media discourse is the main source of people’s knowledge, attitudes and ideologies, both of other elites and of ordinary citizens’. Despite the influence of politicians, professionals and academics, ‘... given the freedom of the press, the media elites are ultimately responsible for the prevailing discourses of the media they control.’¹⁰ Awareness of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation is therefore crucial.

⁸ [www.discourses.org/Old](http://www.discourses.org/Old%20Articles/New(s)%20racism%20-%20A%20discourse%20analytical%20approach.pdf) Articles/New(s)%20 racism%20-%20A%20discourse%20analytical%20approach.pdf

⁹ [www.discourses.org/Old](http://www.discourses.org/Old%20Articles/New(s)%20racism%20-%20A%20discourse%20analytical%20approach.pdf) Articles/New(s)%20 racism%20-%20A%20discourse%20analytical%20approach.pdf

¹⁰ [www.discourses.org/Old](http://www.discourses.org/Old%20Articles/New(s)%20racism%20-%20A%20discourse%20analytical%20approach.pdf) Articles/New(s)%20 racism%20-%20A%20discourse%20analytical%20approach.pdf

2.8 Critical Discourse Analysis: a critical review

Critical Discourse Analysis may succeed in critically examining the social, political and ideological factors that may have a bearing on text production and interpretation. It is, however, important to note, as Tannen reminds us, that ‘...it is a chicken-and-egg situation attempting to decide whether the global environment is creating a specific cognitive frame against which specific ideological statements simply are assessed, or whether the local ideological statements simply draw on existing frames and core metaphorical concepts to create a specific ideological picture of the political world’ (Tannen 1993:129).

The methodological approach may rightfully be criticised for being impressionistic and intuitive, yet analysts may, according to Tannen, counter the criticism of bias by admitting their engagement with the text under analysis, accepting that *political neutrality* is a *myth* (Tannen 1993:183). By recognising one’s ‘a priori implication in a system of values’ one admits to what Buchardt ((1996) in Chilton and Schäffner 2002:27) calls ‘engaged neutrality’.

3. PRESENTATION OF THE CORPUS

3.1 Background information: *The Times* and *The Guardian*

The Times

Originally called *The Daily Universal Register*, *The Times* is a national newspaper which has been published daily in the United Kingdom since 1785. Its current name dates back to 1788. *The Times* and its sister paper *The Sunday Times* are published by Times Newspaper Limited, a subsidiary of News International since 1981, which, in turn, is owned by the News Corporation Group, headed by Rupert Murdoch. Since 2002 Robert Thomson has been the editor of *The Times*. For 200 years, the format of *The Times* was broadsheet. In 2004, however, a compact size was launched in order to appeal to younger readers. The newspaper has traditionally been considered a centre-right newspaper and a supporter of the Conservatives, yet as Mr Murdoch has allied himself with the Prime Minister Tony Blair, the newspaper has supported the Labour party in the last two elections. According to The British Business Survey 2005, *The Times* is the leading daily newspaper for business people.¹¹

The Guardian

The Guardian was first published in Manchester in 1821, and was called *The Manchester Guardian* until 1959. The newspaper was originally a weekly newspaper published on Saturdays. Today it is a daily national newspaper which is printed in both Manchester and London. *The Guardian* is owned by the Guardian Media Group, which is owned by the Scott Trust, a charitable foundation. The Scott Trust aims at ensuring the editorial independence of the newspaper. Alan Rusbridger is the present editor of the newspaper. He has held this position since 1995. Originally a broadsheet, the newspaper changed to a 'Berliner' or 'midi' format in 2005.¹² The format, which is slightly larger than a traditional tabloid, is similar to that of *Le Monde* in France and some other European papers.

Editorial articles in *The Guardian* are presumably in sympathy with the middle-ground liberal to left wing end of the political spectrum.¹³ According to a MORI¹⁴ poll

¹¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Times

¹² Berliner/midi: 470x315mm

¹³ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Guardian

taken between April and June 2000, 80% of *The Guardian* readers were Labour Party voters. In 2004 a survey conducted by the same research institute showed that 44% of the readership voted Labour whilst 37% supported the Liberal Democrats.

Readership

Then they could sit at the big table in the kitchen and eat their muesli and drink their coffee. Dorothy would read her Times, and she, the Guardian. To that house every day were delivered The Times, the Guardian, the Morning Star and on Saturday the Socialist Worker, the last two for herself and Jasper. Jasper said he read the Worker because one should know what the opposition was doing; but Alice knew that he secretly had Trotskyist tendencies. Not that she minded about that; she believed that socialists of all persuasions should pull together for the common good. In her mother's house she read the Guardian.

The good terrorist

Doris Lessing (2003:48)

According to Wikipedia *The Guardian* had a certified average daily circulation of 378,618 copies in November 2005. The figure reported for *The Times* was 692,581. *The Times* and *The Guardian* are considered quality newspapers. In 2.4 we saw that Jucker (1992:48) favours Henry's (1983) classificatory scheme as the term quality newspaper is evaluative. According to this scheme, British daily newspapers should be classified on the basis of their socio-economic readership profiles. The scheme is tripartite and the preferred terms are as follows: up-market, mid-market and down-market. *The Times* and *The Guardian* are considered up-market papers. The up-market papers have on average fairly small circulation figures and generally rely heavily on advertising as far as finances are concerned, roughly two thirds of their revenue. All the newspapers published in the United Kingdom are read by members of all the social classes. What differs are the percentages with which particular classes are represented in the readership of individual papers (Jucker 1992:51-58).

¹⁴ Market and Opinion Research International

The National Readership Survey (NRS) of October 2005-September 2006 gives an indication of the nature of the readerships of *The Times* and *The Guardian*. The NRS is an organisation which, by means of computer assisted personal interviewing of some 36,000 individuals annually, provides estimates of the number and nature of the people who read Britain's newspapers and consumer magazines. The variables employed in the survey are age, gender and social class.

*Table 3.1 The NRS of October 2005-September 2006*¹⁵

Newspaper	Total	ABC1 ¹⁶	C2DE ¹⁷	15-44	45+	Men	Women
<i>The Times</i>	3.7%	6%	0.9%	3.2%	4.2%	4.3%	3.1%
<i>The Guardian</i>	2.5%	4.1%	0.5%	2.7%	2.3%	3.0%	2.0%

The survey showed that *The Times* had the highest number of ABC1 25-44 readers and the largest numbers of readers in London of any of the 'quality' papers.¹⁸ What strikes me as an interesting feature of the numbers reported is that the readership of *The Times* increases in proportion to age, whereas the opposite is true as far as the readership of *The Guardian* is concerned. Another striking feature is that almost twice as many members of the working class seem to prefer *The Times* to *The Guardian*. An interesting question is whether the nature of the readerships has any bearing on the manner in which 7.7 was commented on in the editorials of the two up-market newspapers. We will now address this question.

3.2 Editing evil post- 7/7 in *The Times* and *The Guardian*

We will first present a brief survey of the headlines of the editorials published in *The Times* and *The Guardian* in the wake of the London bombings. Headlines are generally short and to the point and give insight into the subject matter focused on. A comparison of the headlines will shed some light on the differences and similarities between the two newspapers constituting the corpus. A better understanding of a supposed difference in perspective as far as the interpretation of the event is concerned is hoped to be achieved

¹⁵ http://www.nrs.co.uk/open_access/open_topline/newspapers/index.cfm

¹⁶ ABC1 equals the middle class, NRS social grades

¹⁷ C2DE stands for the working class, NRS social grades

¹⁸ www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Times

by systematically comparing the views stated according to the following parameters:
incident, perpetrators, context and ramifications.

Table 3.2 Headlines

<i>Date</i>	<i>The Times</i>	<i>The Guardian</i>
08/07/05	<p>REVULSION AND RESOLVE The need for extra vigilance after the London terrorist outrages of 7/7</p> <p>SERVING AND SAVING London's emergency services responded heroically to the awful challenge</p>	<p>London bombings In the face of danger</p>
09/07/05	<p>HATE AND HOPE London demonstrates the contrast between terror and tolerance</p>	<p>Attack on London Containment strategy</p>
11/07/05	<p>EVERYDAY ACTS OF COURAGE A tense week ahead as more is steadily learnt about the London bombings</p>	
12/07/05	<p>THE HUNT IS ON New measures are needed to raise the pressure on the extremists</p>	<p>Terrorism Preserving civil liberties</p>
13/07/05	<p>TRAGIC INTOLERANCE The discovery of suicide bombers raises tough questions for British Muslims</p>	<p>Suicide bombers Challenge to civic society</p>
14/07/05	<p>HOME THOUGHTS The trail of the bombers leads back to Pakistan</p>	<p>Aftermath of terror The need for calm</p>
15/07/05	<p>UNITED WE STOOD Silence speaks more eloquently than the best-scripted words</p>	
16/07/05		
18/07/05		

19/07/05	SHOWING CONVICTION The Government should accelerate its new proposals to counter terrorism	National security The vigilant society
20/07/05		London bombings The Iraq connection
21/07/05		
22/07/05	AFTERSHOCK An echo of the July 7 attacks on London	London under attack Second time around
23/07/05	EXTRAORDINARY DAYS London and Britain must respond to a continuing threat	London under attack Two more days of terror Journalists and MPs People in glass houses
25/07/05	A DEADLY ERROR The Stockwell shooting should not compromise the hunt for the bombers	
26/07/05	IRAQ AND TERROR Cause and effect-malevolent medievalism and modern technology	
27/07/05		Tony Blair The 5 per cent solution
28/07/05		
29/07/05		
30/07/05	LIVING WITH TERROR Britain must accept that the abnormal will become normal	Terrorism Our will to win
01/08/05		Multiculturalism Binding community ties
02/08/05		
03/08/05	STOP AND THINK The need for honesty and realism about 'racial profiling'	Stop and search Using intelligence
04/08/05		

As Table 3.2 clearly indicates, the two up-market newspapers constituting the corpus devoted a similar amount of attention to the London bombings. In *The Times*, editorials highlighting the event were published on 14 of the 24 days under analysis, i.e. a frequency of occurrence of 0.58. In *The Guardian* editorials focusing on the incident were published on 13 of the 24 days mentioned, i.e. a frequency of occurrence of 0.54.

What is interesting to notice is that *The Times* published two editorials on the topic on 8 July, while *The Guardian* commented on two aspects related to the incident on 23 July. A day after the London bombings took place *The Times* vented its frustration about and incomprehension of the suicide attacks in one editorial and directed its praise to the emergency services in a separate article. The two editorials published in *The Guardian* on 23 July appeared two days after the thwarted attack on the city's public transport system. In one of the editorials the second wave of attacks was commented on, whilst in the other timely questions were asked about the blame game initiated by certain newspapers which stated that MPs should stay in London due to the current crisis and put off their recess. On 7 out of 24 days, the two newspapers chose not to focus on the incident on the same day, i.e. a frequency of occurrence of 0.29.

A brief summary of the headlines listed above, however, suggests that when the two newspapers did decide to delve into the topic the prisms through which the event was seen and understood were slightly different. The headlines culled from *The Times* seem to concern integration, respect for the current system of law and order, an earnest wish to bring the culprits to justice and support for stricter laws aimed at countering terrorism. The headlines gathered from *The Guardian*, on the other hand, appear to be concerned with the need to reflect upon the background to the attacks, the preservation of civil liberties and civic society, multiculturalism and an effort to distinguish between law-abiding citizens with a Muslim faith and Islamists (the 5 per cent solution).

The incident

Table 3.3a The Times: the incident

<i>Date</i>	<i>Description</i>
08/07/05	The London terrorist outrages of 7/7 carnage, Bloody Thursday, this awful spectacle, outrage, “... what they have done is also an attack on the principles of the religion whose name they have commandeered and corrupted.” yesterday's barbaric cruelty

	attacks of this vile character
11/07/05	the atrocities the terrorist bombings the attacks
12/07/05	Thursday's murderous carnage the atrocities
13/07/05	the bombs in London
14/07/05	such unspeakable violence such an outcome
15/07/05	the bombings a week ago the atrocities senseless fanaticism
22/07/05	the July 7 attacks the terrible events of two weeks ago the atrocities on July 7
23/07/05	Terrorist campaigns usually go in cycles Islamist extremism will not evaporate quickly as a threat
25/07/05	the terrorist attacks that have shaken Britain
26/07/05	the bombings of July 7 such atrocity
29/07/05	the recent bombings in London

Table 3.3b The Guardian: the incident

<i>Date</i>	<i>Description</i>
08/07/05	This latest unprovoked act of evil which in terms of lost lives seems to have been the deadliest act of terrorism in our modern history.

	<p>An attack on ordinary Londoners, men and women, young and old, black and white, Christian and Muslim, Hindu and Jew who all abhor such violence.</p> <p>The Chief Rabbi surely got it right when he said that the bombings were the rage of the angry against the defenceless and innocent.</p> <p>the vicious attacks yesterday's bombings the barbarism of the bombers' actions</p> <p>'The terror of the past was ultimately political [...] Terror like yesterday's is more elusive and less formal' (quoting Robin Cook)</p> <p>'Yesterday was a dark day, when infamous acts were carried out by dangerous people' (quoting Robin Cook)</p> <p>such infamous and evil deeds</p>
09/07/05	<p>Attack on London</p> <p>Thursday's explosions</p> <p>the indiscriminate acts on Thursday</p>
12/07/05	<p>Terrorism</p> <p>the bombings</p>
13/07/05	<p>Last week's terrorist attack on London</p> <p>were the work of suicide bombers</p>

	last week's attacks the work of people brought up in our multi-racial society the bombing
14/07/05	Terror the explosions last week's bombs
20/07/05	London bombings the London bombings on July 7 these criminal atrocities
22/07/05	the July 7 bombings
27/07/05	the terror bombings the attacks on innocent Londoners
30/07/05	Terrorism the carnage from the bombs on the buses and the tubes the first attacks
01/08/05	The bomb attacks on London

The two up-market newspapers give a graphic account of the tragic consequences of the attacks. The outpouring of negative epithets with regard to the event, the majority of which are identical, show that both *The Times* and *The Guardian* strongly condemn the bombings. The editorials in both newspapers emphasise the innocence of the civilians killed and maimed. *The Times* opts for terms such as 'fanaticism' and 'Islamist extremism'. This terminology is avoided by *The Guardian*, whose editorials refer to the multi-racial composite of British society on several occasions.

The perpetrators

Table 3.4a *The Times: the perpetrators*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Description</i>
08/07/05	'Whether these terrorists were British citizens or outsiders who have infiltrated our borders ...'

	<p>‘... on the plausible but unconfirmed assumption that Islamist fanatics were at the heart of this plot ...’</p> <p>‘... these extremists want to ignite a “holy war” between themselves and democratic societies’</p> <p>the terrorists</p>
09/07/05	<p>the bombers</p> <p>‘If al-Qaeda, or any of the amorphous groupings sharing its nihilist ideology has managed to infiltrate “sleepers” into Britain...’</p> <p>‘If the terrorists are home-grown ...’</p>
11/07/05	<p>‘... it is not unreasonable to conclude that the operation was sophisticated, even if those who placed the bombs were not.’</p> <p>‘... those who were responsible for 7/7’</p>
12/07/05	<p>Extremists</p> <p>the perpetrators of Thursday’s murderous carnage</p> <p>the extremists responsible for the atrocities</p> <p>extremists within the community;</p> <p>extremists who are unrepresentative of that community</p> <p>the small minority sympathetic to the siren calls to jihad</p>

13/07/05	<p>suicide bombers</p> <p>four suicide bombers born and raised in Britain</p> <p>the terrorists</p> <p>the bombers</p>
14/07/05	<p>the bombers (x2)</p> <p>four young British men, who were not as “ordinary” as some reports have suggested</p> <p>a suicide bomber</p> <p>these four young bombers</p>
15/07/05	<p>the bombers</p>
22/07/05	<p>copycat extremists</p> <p>were the terrorists recruited by the same network of extremists to act as a follow-up wave?</p>
23/07/05	<p>the bombers</p> <p>fanatics</p>
25/07/05	<p>the perpetrators</p> <p>the extremist adherents of an ideology based, as Tony Blair said, on a perversion of Islam</p> <p>the bombers</p>
30/07/05	<p>the fanatics</p>
03/08/05	<p>One of the alleged July 7 bombers was aged 30 and had a child</p> <p>Terrorists</p>

Table 3.4b The Guardian: the perpetrators

<i>Date</i>	<i>Description</i>
08/07/05	<p>unseen enemies</p> <p>the bombers</p> <p>the terrorists (x3)</p> <p>dangerous people</p> <p>the killers</p> <p>the terrorist enemy</p>
09/07/05	<p>‘The words Islam and terrorist do not go together’</p> <p>(quoting Brian Paddick, the Metropolitan police deputy assistant)</p>
13/07/05	<p>Suicide bombers (x2)</p> <p>British Muslims</p> <p>the bombers in last week’s attack</p> <p>all four suspects (x2)</p> <p>home-grown bombers</p> <p>people brought up in our multi-racial society</p> <p>the London bombers</p> <p>the men</p> <p>‘The police, once again, were in the forefront of reminding the public that the bombings were not committed by Islamist terrorists but by extremist criminals’</p>
14/07/05	<p>suicide bombers</p> <p>the four young men who died in the explosions</p> <p>‘whether the perpetrators were home-grown, or al-Qaida visitors from overseas, remains to be resolved’</p> <p>the bombers</p>

	<p>‘...the four bombers, all born and brought up in West-Yorkshire (...) Their normality was the most chilling element.’</p> <p>young extremists</p>
20/07/05	Perpetrators
22/07/05	<p>The shadow of the terrorist bomber fell across a sunlit London for the second time in as many weeks yesterday.</p> <p>Were there any links between yesterday’s team and the four suicide bombers of two weeks ago?</p> <p>Were they a quite separate team perpetrating a copycat attack?</p> <p>Was there an al-Qaida link?</p> <p>‘The police rightly reminded people who want to blame the Muslim community that the perpetrators were criminals, not a community.’</p> <p>the terrorists</p>
23/07/05	<p>suicide bombers</p> <p>the bombers</p>

The two newspapers deem certain labels appropriate as far as the description of the perpetrators is concerned. The vocabulary in common is as follows: ‘terrorists’, ‘bombers’, ‘extremists’ and ‘suicide bombers’. These terms seem fairly neutral when it comes to the attribution of guilt and blame, although most people today might associate terrorism and suicide bombings with particular regions of the world and particular contemporary political and ideological battles. As time passes and more is revealed about the background of the four young men responsible for the London bombings, both

newspapers refer to the fact that they had been born and raised in Britain. Both newspapers equally point out that the Muslim community in Britain is not to be collectively blamed. Whereas *The Times* employs several terms which in the context of newspaper language generally are attributed to and associated with Islamism, i.e. ‘Islamist fanatics’, ‘holy war’, ‘jihad’ and ‘an ideology based on a perversion of Islam’, *The Guardian* appears to shun religious terminology altogether. The preferred term seems to be ‘extremist criminal’, possibly because this term does not have a direct reference to either race or religion.

Context

Both *The Times* and *The Guardian* differentiate between a global/international and a domestic context when perspectives on what might have caused the bombings are suggested. Inequalities experienced by Muslims globally as well as the alienation felt by many British Muslims are discussed. The two newspapers pay particular attention to the ongoing ‘war on terror’ and refer to 11 September 2001 and 11 March 2004 as instances where the population in the USA and Spain respectively were afflicted by similar indiscriminate attacks.

08/07/05 (*The Times*)

It has been 46 months since the atrocities of September 11, 2001, and some 16 months since the Madrid bombings.

08/07/05 (*The Guardian*)

As in New York on September 11 2001 and in Madrid on March 11 last year, much larger events with which comparisons must nevertheless now be drawn, the main stories of London on July 7 2005, are not merely of individual tragedy, but also of individual heroism and bloody-minded determination.

The British troop presence in Iraq is thoroughly debated in both newspapers, although the conclusions drawn with regard to a possible link to the London bombings are diametrically opposite.

08/07/05 (*The Times*)

There may be a few people inclined to make a link between the deaths in London and the intervention in Iraq. This is utterly flawed thinking.

08/07/05 (*The Times*)

London was not targeted because British troops are in Iraq or because of Tony Blair's alliance with the Bush White House. Rather, London was attacked because these extremists want to ignite a "holy war" between themselves and democratic societies.

25/07/05 (*The Times*)

Iraq is not the cause of bombings in London, it is, undoubtedly, a factor in giving fanatics political cover and in providing a "rationale" for apologists.

26/07/05 (*The Times*)

The fact of Britain's role in the invasion and occupation of Iraq clearly cannot be ignored as a consideration in this month's bombings in London. But to see in them a simple, avoidable case of cause and effect- as some politicians who should know better, and others who plainly do not, have done- encourages in their listeners a grotesque confusion of reason and justification. It also bespeaks dangerous amnesia as to the recent bloodsoaked history of terrorism carried out in the name of jihadi Islam.

Now consider this side of the story:

08/07/05 (*The Guardian*)

Quoting Robin Cook: '... Whatever else can be said in defence of the war in Iraq today, it cannot be said that it has protected us from terrorism on our soil'

20/07/05 (*The Guardian*)

It should come as no surprise that a majority of Britons- 64% according to our latest ICM poll- to some degree blame Tony Blair's decision to go to war in Iraq for the London bombings on July 7. Statistics can be abused and misrepresented,

so let us be clear from the start: direct responsibility for these criminal atrocities lies with their perpetrators...

Yet for anyone but the most blinkered defender of government policy, it is common sense that the war increased the risk that Islamist terrorists would target this country.

27/07/05 (The Guardian)

But Mr Blair subverts his own credibility whenever he departs from common sense, as he does when he continues to insist, as he did again yesterday, that the Iraq war is wholly unconnected with the bombings.

The two newspapers appear to agree on the fact that global and domestic grievances must be resolved in order to prevent attacks in the future, but seem to look at these issues from slightly different angles:

14/07/05 (The Times)

These virulent ideas are reinforced by alienation, forced marriages, the preachings of some imams, a generation gap and confusion among young Muslims over their identity and loyalties. None of this explains the case of these four young bombers. But unless these problems are dealt with at source, we will not have seen the last suicide bomber in Britain.

26/07/05 (The Times)

There are Muslim grievances that the wider world may have been slow to address. But such causes do not include the creation of a new Islamic caliphate for the third millennium (...) in which Sharia law would obtain everywhere and absolutely, and women would enjoy all the rights their Afghan sisters may recall from the era of the Taleban.

14/07/05 (The Guardian)

Last week's bombs were triggered as much by global grievances as by domestic injuries. Serious strategies have been developed for improving cohesion at home, but tackling global grievances as well adds a huge new dimension.

It is not difficult to be downhearted. The challenge is daunting, but it is worth remembering earlier apocalyptic forecasts of clashing civilisations were resolved peacefully.¹⁹

20/07/05 (*The Guardian*)

It is also reasonable to assume that British Muslims might have been more cooperative in helping the authorities had it not been for Falluja, Abu Ghraib and Guantánamo Bay.

In connection with international terrorism, *The Times* also warns of the danger posed by modern technology:

26/07/05 (*The Times*)

It would be absurd to blame the current surge of terrorist attacks on the internet. Yet there is no doubt that the marriage of modern technology and malevolent medievalism has expedited the spread of hateful and hysterical propaganda wherever governments have not acted forcefully against the propagandists.

When looking at 7/7 in a historical perspective, the two newspapers refer to the damage caused in London by the IRA as well as World War II, the latter of which naturally appears at the forefront in connection with Veterans' Day.

Ramifications

Both *The Times* and *The Guardian* stress the importance of policing and intelligence services in preventing similar attacks in the future, yet *The Guardian* appears to balance this view with an attempt to understand the causes of the attacks as well as a concern that civil liberties might be threatened by stricter security measures.

09/07/05 (*The Times*)

The terrible events of this week must not lead us to forget that the combination of political will and co-operation on security can produce a striking reduction in terrorist incidents.

¹⁹ Catholics vs. Protestants

They²⁰ will never, however, be able to explain a mentality and motivations more twisted than the wreckage left by the bombers.

11/07/05 (*The Times*)

The Muslim community has a role to play in providing intelligence, while the police need to be sensible and sensitive, without heeding the more ludicrous arguments of civil “liberties” advocates, who are clearly unrepresentative of the country’s thinking.

08/07/05 (*The Guardian*)

That certainly means implacability in the face of the direct threat from the terrorist enemy. It means keen policing and long-term intelligence work. But it also involves trying to understand why people are drawn to commit such infamous and evil deeds, not merely tightening security to prevent them from happening again. And it means sticking resolutely to all the values that make an open society so worth living in, including tolerance and civil liberty.

The Times focuses on the causes at a much later stage:

26/07/05 (*The Times*)

By the same token, real hope for preventing its recurrence lies only with understanding how those perpetrators’ grievances have metastasied into such a lethal cult of suicide and murder.

Although *The Times* briefly comments on the fact that Muslims were also among the dead and the casualties, no mention is made of threats received and attacks suffered by the Muslim community in Britain in the wake of the bombings. *The Guardian*, on the other hand, devotes attention to this matter.

09/07/05 (*The Guardian*)

The Muslim Council in Britain received 30,000 hate messages via email before its server crashed on Thursday. Some 70 incidents of race hate were logged by the police by late yesterday afternoon, ranging from rattlings of the railings of Finsbury Park mosque in London to more serious events such as suspicious fires

²⁰ The forensic scientists

in mosques in Leeds and Kent. The British National Party quickly seized the opportunity to exploit the attack.

The Guardian also highlights the praise that ought to be directed to Muslim nurses, paramedics and doctors.

09/07/05 (*The Guardian*)

British Muslims suffered grievous injuries and probable fatalities in the indiscriminate attacks on Thursday. They also played key roles- as nurses, paramedics and doctors in the rescue operations.

The Guardian equally attempts to differentiate between the views on suicide bombings among the vast majority of British Muslims and among certain groups of Muslims abroad.

14/07/05 (*The Guardian*)

Unlike suicide bombings overseas, there was no celebration from within their communities or their families of their “martyrdom”, only shock, shame and a sense of dishonour, accompanied by a readiness to help the police in pursuit of the people who helped plan and orchestrate the attack.

The two up-market newspapers support the Counter-Terrorism Bill proposed by Charles Clarke. The proposals regarding ‘Acts preparatory to terrorism’ and the organisation and attendance of terrorist training sessions are deemed uncontroversial. This is also the case when it comes to training in the use of hazardous substances for terrorist purposes. What worries the two newspapers is the proposal concerning ‘indirect incitement to terrorist acts’.

19/07/05 (*The Times*)

The obvious problem here is how to frame any tightening of the law on public provocation in a way that would secure a safe conviction.

19/07/05 (*The Guardian*)

Even ministers have conceded that they are treading a fine line here and admitted that it was difficult to give examples. They have suggested it might include the tone of remarks, but that is far too imprecise.

The Guardian is in favour of the voluntary scheme according to which foreign students applying to certain postgraduate courses in British Universities are vetted, yet is sceptical when it comes to a wider retention of telecoms traffic data, a proposal to be put forward by Charles Clarke at an emergency meeting of the EU justice and interior ministers.

12/07/05 (*The Guardian*)

Liberal Democrats rightly questioned why, when terrorists would be able to use pay-as-you-go phones or internet cafes to escape detection, European states were being required to maintain logs of all citizens' calls, text messages, emails and websites.

Lastly, MPs must remember draconian procedures introduced to control terrorists can end up applying to non-terrorists.'

The Times highlights issues that are not encompassed by the Counter-Terrorism Bill:

19/07/05 (*The Times*)

The Government still opposes the use of taps as court evidence-insisting that it compromises surveillance methods. This is shortsighted.

The second would extend, if necessary, the 14 days during which a suspect can be held and questioned.

The third is a declaration that Britain will derogate from international treaties to allow suspects to be deported promptly, even to countries with dubious legal records.

The speed at which new laws come into effect is also questioned:

19/07/05 (*The Times*)

Even if passed, the new laws will not be effective until the end of the year. This is too late. On those matters of general agreement, the legislation should have a speedy passage. This is not a moment to play petty politics.

The Guardian, on the other hand, is highly critical of the Prime Minister's support for the police call for the power of 14-days detention for questioning of terrorist suspects to be extended to three months:

27/07/05 (*The Guardian*)

... temporary internment by any other name.

The newspaper also believes Mr Blair's wish to revisit the issue of the indefinite detention of foreign suspects, an issue the law lords had previously ruled against, to be highly questionable.

27/07/05 (*The Guardian*)

Both are bad calls both legally and politically; Mr Blair should think again.

Both *The Times* and *The Guardian* comment on the murder of an innocent Brazilian electrician, Jean Charles de Menezes, by the police:

23/07/05 (*The Times*)

The killing of a suspect may be shocking; it will sadly not be the last such instance.

30/07/05 (*The Guardian*)

If London truly was a city on the brink, then the killing of Jean Charles de Menezes might have ruptured the trust that holds things together. Instead, people seem to have decided that the police can make a dreadful mistake and yet still be worthy of support at the same time.

On the issue of racial profiling, the two up-market newspapers support opposite camps:

03/08/05 (*The Times*)

The term "racial profiling", imported from the United States, has been transformed by some in the legal profession into a presumption of guilt or a sign of "institutional racism" when it is, in reality, an exercise in probability.

03/08/05 (*The Guardian*)

Sensible police chiefs have always emphasised the importance of public consent for police powers, particularly for intrusive powers like stop and search. The procedure is fraught with potential danger to community relations.

A less clumsy police chief constable would have explained that as terrorists were “falsely hiding behind Islam”, more Muslims might be stopped, but the process would be “intelligence led” not “appearance led”.

What is interesting to notice is that despite the emphasis on policing and intelligence, *The Times* does not question why the threat level was lowered prior to 7.7. Only *The Guardian* mentions the assessment made by Whitehall.

12/07/05 (*The Guardian*)

An obvious thing that needs reviewing is last month’s decision by Whitehall’s joint terrorism analysis centre to downgrade the threat level facing London from “severe general” , the third highest of seven levels, to “substantial” , the fourth level.

Summary

The Times condemns the attacks on innocent civilians and expresses worry with regard to Islamism as a real and palpable threat. The wish to protect the population from further attacks through stricter laws somewhat overshadows the attempt to understand the causes that might have provoked the bombings. A possible link to British foreign policy, the war in Iraq in particular, is strongly denied. The terrorism experienced on British soil is viewed within the framework of ‘the war on terror’.

The Guardian condemns the atrocities on 7/7 and supports the Counter-Terrorism Bill with some important exceptions. Safety and security are valued, yet laws passed should not unnecessarily compromise civil liberties. Community cohesion in a multi-racial society is of utmost importance. Attention is paid to Islam so as to highlight nuances in order for the British Muslim community not to be collectively blamed. The British troop presence in Iraq and grievances resulting from ‘the war on terror’ are viewed as parts of the broader picture within which the London bombings are to be interpreted.

4. DISCUSSION

In the light of the theoretical foundation presented in chapter 2, the data culled from the corpus will now be subject to further analysis. We will first discuss the ‘newsworthiness’ of the London bombings. We will then look at the factors – moral, political and social - that may have had an impact on the editorial lines adopted by *The Times* and *The Guardian* in connection with the presentation of the incident. Finally, attention will be paid to the role of the media - the press in particular- and academics in a globalised, information-based, post-modern world as well as to the value of Critical Discourse Analysis for the public at large.

4.1 The ‘newsworthiness’ of 7/7

As far as news values are concerned, given the enormity of the event in question, the London bombings are bound to have a high score. We shall now take a closer look at the criteria which may or may not apply to the incident.

Table 4.1 The news values associated with the London bombings

<i>Criteria determining newsworthiness</i>	<i>Reason(s)</i>
Timeliness	Suicide bombers, previously associated mainly with the Middle East, attack London Terrorism on British soil
Proximity	British citizens murdered and maimed
Exceptional quality	Suicide bombers in Britain for the first time
Possible future impact	Britain still a target Possible future attacks
Conflict	Physical: Commuters attacked on their way to work Emotional: Fear among the public
The number of people affected	60 people dead, including the four suicide bombers Scores injured

Consequence	Death, injuries, destruction Fear and insecurity
Pathos	Grief, fear, confusion, incredulity
Shock value	The (more or less) unexpectedness of the attack and its dire consequences

As table 4.1 indicates, nine of the twelve criteria mentioned in 2.4 seem to apply to this exceptional incident. The three news values which do not seem to be associated with the event are *prominence* (as ordinary Londoners were the victims of the attack), *human interest* (this most definitely was not ‘soft news’) and *titillation component* (the story was not a sex scandal). The story was likely to feature in the press for a considerable period of time due to its ‘blood and gore’ and ‘shock and horror’ components. As we noted in 3.2, the incident was covered extensively in the editorials of both *The Times* and *The Guardian*. The space devoted to the event was roughly identical; the frequency of occurrence was 0.58 in *The Times* and 0.54 in *The Guardian*. The fact that more than 50% of the editorials in both newspapers concern the London bombings suggests that this incident was viewed as a major event in contemporary British history, particularly since it became clear, as details emerged, that the suicide bombers were British-born. What may also explain the long time span during which the story featured is the fact that a second attack on London was thwarted on 21 July, i.e. two weeks after the deadly attack on the public transport system. This second attack may have spurred a more comprehensive debate in the British press. What is interesting to note is that *The Times* published two editorials related to 7/7 on 8 July, whereas *The Guardian* waited until two days after the second attack. i.e. 23 July, to devote an equal amount of attention to terrorism on British soil. This may be purely coincidental, or it may suggest that *The Guardian* chose a more cautious approach to the controversial subject matter.

4.2 The moral conceptual systems of *The Times* and *The Guardian*

Which values are implied in the description of the London bombings in the two newspapers that constitute the corpus? Will the cognitive models built on the basis of the political rhetoric of the Democratic party and the Republican party in the U.S. be transferable to a purely British context (see Chapter 3)? Arguably, the British political landscape is similar to that of the U.S. in that party politics is dominated by two political parties: the Labour party, whose outlook is liberal (although accused of having become

more conservative during the Blair decade), and the Conservative party. It is therefore likely that the prototypes and radial categories discussed by Lakoff (1996) will apply, although issues at stake may vary from one country to another. It would also be possible to assume that the liberal-conservative continuum is universal, although the concrete manifestations of the notion of a ‘family’ and its members vary considerably from one country to another and even within what has been classified as a country. Therefore, if the metaphor of the nation as a family were to be valid in any context, the cognitive modelling of each particular area would necessarily have to be based on the deconstruction of local rhetoric and local experiences. We will now focus on the moral conceptual systems behind the editorial lines of *The Times* and *The Guardian* by applying the cognitive models described by Lakoff (1996) to the data presented in Chapter 3.

The Incident

Both *The Times* and *The Guardian* condemn the attacks and interpret them as acts of terrorism. The main difference between the two up-market newspapers appears to be the degree to which they wish to locate the responsibility for the attacks within a particular religion. On the day after the attacks, i.e. 8 July, *The Times* describes the incident as ‘... an attack on the principles of the religion whose name they have commandeered and corrupted’, i.e. making a reference to Islam. *The Guardian*, on the other hand, cleverly avoids blaming a particular ethnic group or a particular (interpretation of a) religion by including statements made by leaders of other minority ethnic or religious groups in the editorial published on 8 July such as the following statement made by the leader of the Jewish community ‘The Chief Rabbi surely got it right when he said that the bombings were the rage of the angry against the defenceless and innocent’. *The Times* continues to refer to Islamism in its exposé of the London bombings, employing concepts such as ‘senseless fanaticism’ (15/07/05) and ‘Islamist extremism’ (23/07/05). *The Guardian* maintains a more ‘neutral’, ‘politically correct’ stance, stating that the London bombings were ‘... the work of people brought up in our multi-racial society’ (13/07/05). The views expressed in *The Times* seem to be consistent with the emphasis on *moral boundaries* characteristic of *Strict Father morality*. *Deviant actions* are exposed and the *good-evil dichotomy* is stressed. The views expressed in *The Guardian* seem to be a combination of *the moral strength to nurture* (the lack of a clear-cut good-evil dichotomy) and *nurturant moral boundaries* (terrorism is condemned) associated with

Nurturant Parent morality. Multiculturalism features as a top priority in the editorials of *The Guardian*, a view consistent with the *Nurturant Parent morality* (i.e. ‘empathetic behaviour and the promotion of fairness’), whereas this particular concept is not recognised in *The Times*, as is the case in the conservative moral conceptual system.

The perpetrators

The direct reference to Islam seems to be what distinguishes the descriptions of the perpetrators in *The Times* from the descriptions made in *The Guardian*. This fact is striking when a comparison is drawn between the editorials published in the two up-market newspapers a day after the attacks took place, i.e. 8 July 2005. *The Times* employs vocabulary such as ‘Islamist fanatics’ and ‘these extremists [who] want to ignite a “holy war” between themselves and democratic societies’. In *The Guardian* no reference is made to any religion on that particular day, presumably as this would be speculative at such an early stage of the investigation. It should be emphasised, however, that although *The Times* frequently refers to an Islamist interpretation of Islam, the newspaper attempts to underline that only a minority within the British Muslim community shares this ideology. They are described as ‘extremists within the community; extremists who are unrepresentative of that community’ and as ‘the small minority sympathetic to the siren calls to jihad’ (12/07/05). *The Guardian* repeatedly attempts to emphasise that a crime is a crime no matter what the nationality or the religion of the criminals appear to be. This stance is indicated in the following statements: ‘The words Islam and terrorist do not go together’ (Brian Paddick 09/07/05), ‘The police, once again, were in the forefront of reminding the public that the bombings were not committed by Islamist terrorists but by extremist criminals’ (13/07/05) and ‘The police rightly reminded people who want to blame the Muslim community that the perpetrators were criminals, not a community’ (22/07/05). On 14 July, the two up-market newspapers draw different conclusions with regard to the ‘normality’ of the British-born perpetrators. *The Times* describes them as ‘four young British men, who were not as “ordinary” as some reports have suggested’. *The Guardian* chooses another angle: ‘Their normality was the most chilling element’. The views expressed by *The Times* seem consistent with *Strict Father morality* as the emphasis is on *deviant* perpetrators and the clear-cut boundary between good and evil. *The Guardian* expresses opinions which are in line with the concepts of *the moral strength to nurture* and *nurturant moral boundaries* as there is no emphasis on a good-evil dichotomy based on

religion. The focus on multiculturalism is also a characteristic feature of the *Nurturant Parent Morality*. Although apparently sensitive to the inherent danger of racism in references to religion or ethnicity, *The Guardian* risks, as pointed out by Lakoff (1996, 2004), to inadvertently evoke this frame of Islamophobia by negating it, even though these opinions are expressed indirectly through quotations.

Context

The two up-market newspapers agree upon the interpretation of the London bombings as an incident similar to those of 11 March and 11 September. As far as previous experiences of terrorism on British soil are concerned, both newspapers refer to WW II and the IRA, yet maybe precisely because 7/7 cannot be classified as either war or politically motivated terrorism similar to that of the IRA in the past (particularly since (an interpretation of a) religion and politics are intertwined and ordinary civilians rather than government officials or civil servants are the targets), the interpretation of the murky water that is international terrorism varies considerably from one newspaper to the other.

The Times adamantly denies a link between the London bombings and British foreign policy in general and the British troop presence in Iraq in particular. This view is consistent with the emphasis on *Moral Authority*, i.e. obedience to legitimate authority figures - in this case the government, a stance central to *Strict Father Morality*. This view is moderated slightly on 26 July, as the newspaper at this stage deems it appropriate to consider Britain's role in Iraq. However, the newspaper refuses to consider it a cause. *The Guardian*, on the other hand, emphasises the link between British foreign policy and the increased risk of London becoming a target. This attempt to see the world through other people's values is characteristic of the concept of *the Moral Strength to Nurture* of *Nurturant Parent Morality*. By stating this opinion, *The Guardian* is likely to be considered among the category 4 demons of conservative demonology, i.e. "Those who oppose the ways that the military and criminal justice systems have operated". This is probably what lies behind the assessment made by *The Times* on 25 July: 'Iraq is not the cause of bombings in London, it is, undoubtedly, a factor in giving fanatics political cover and in providing a "rationale" for apologists'. According to this view, *The Guardian* would therefore probably be assigned the label 'apologist'.

The opinions expressed in *The Times* seem to be based on the conservative concept of *Moral Strength*, i.e. the stance that evil is to be fought - not to be empathised with. Retribution is favoured rather than restitution.

The concept of *Moral Essence*, which is central to *Strict Father Morality*, may explain why *The Times* only very reluctantly accepts the notion of domestic grievances having anything to do with the recruitment of future suicide bombers: characters are viewed as either good or evil - society is not to blame. This is what makes the statement published on 14 July so interesting: 'These virulent ideas are reinforced by alienation, forced marriages, the preachings of some imams, a generation gap and confusion among young Muslims over their identity and loyalties. None of this explains the case of these four bombers. But unless these problems are dealt with at source, we will not have seen the last suicide bomber in Britain'. In my opinion, this is a contradiction in terms. How would it be possible for future suicide bombers to be influenced by social factors if this so clearly was not the case for the four suicide bombers in question?

The Guardian is more inclined to view inequalities at home and abroad as factors relevant to the ongoing debate as this statement published on 14 July demonstrates: 'Last week's bombs were triggered as much by global grievances as by domestic injuries'. And by global grievances, the newspaper at a later stage clarifies, references should be made to instances such as injustices experienced in Falluja, Abu Ghraib and Guantánamo Bay, injustices resulting from 'the war on terror'.

According to *The Times*, few social and even fewer political motives could explain the London bombings. These would be seen as justifications or excuses rather than explanations. The emphasis seems to be on *deviance*, which is consistent with the metaphors of *Moral Essence* and *Moral Boundaries* of *Strict Father Morality*. The only valid explanation, according to *The Times*, is the fact that (deviant) fanatics/extremists want to wage a 'holy war' against democracies. The deviance of these 'fanatics' is further highlighted by references made to 'an Islamic caliphate for the third millennium', 'Sharia law', 'the Taleban' and 'malevolent medievalism' (*The Times*, 26/07/05). Consistent with *Strict Father Morality*, *The Times* promotes firm action by the government, in matters related to modern technology for instance, as the moral action would be 'to protect moral people from external evils' and 'to uphold moral order'. The moral action deemed appropriate by *The Guardian*, however, could be summarised as that of the *Nurturant Parent Morality*, namely 'empathetic behaviour and the promotion of fairness'.

Ramifications

As a result of the London bombings, *The Times* favours a strengthening of policing and intelligence services in the form of tighter security measures and improved surveillance. *The Times* supports the use of taps as court evidence, the extension of the present 14 days a suspect can be held and questioned as well as the deportation of suspects to countries with reputedly dubious legal records. The proposal of laws consistent with these views is welcomed, yet criticised for coming into effect too late. The British Muslim community is encouraged to provide intelligence. Any doubts regarding the likely consequences for ordinary citizens are dismissed as ‘... the more ludicrous arguments of civil liberties advocates who are clearly unrepresentative of the country’s thinking’. (*The Times*, 11/07/05). What the newspaper is in fact saying is that the public should support the police and the government and not entertain doubts as to the wisdom of the security measures proposed. If they do, they are ‘unrepresentative’, i.e. *deviant*. But what exactly could be labelled ‘the country’s thinking’? Is this a reference to the government, or would it be correct to interpret this as all the citizens of the United Kingdom or, possibly, all the readers of *The Times*? The opinions stated above resonate with many concepts central to *Strict Father Morality*. First and foremost is *the obligation to maintain order*, i.e. to defend the system of authority, in this case the government, the judiciary and the police. *The metaphor of Moral Authority* requires that authority figures set standards and enforce them. The public should support proposals made and obey decisions taken by these authority figures. The support of the government may be a reason why there is no mention in *The Times* of the threat level having been lowered prior to 7/7. The demonology at work in the description of civil liberties advocates seems to refer to *category 4* demons in conservative demonology, i.e. those who oppose the ways that the military and criminal justice systems have operated/ might operate.

The Guardian also supports policing and intelligence work. The newspaper is in favour of the Counter-Terrorism Bill, but expresses worry with regard to the proposal concerning ‘indirect incitement to terrorist acts’. It also supports the voluntary scheme according to which foreign applicants to some post-graduate studies in Britain are vetted. *The Guardian* does not, however, support the extension of the 14 days detention to three months. Neither does it subscribe to the indefinite detention of foreign suspects. This preoccupation with civil liberties is characteristic of *Nurturant Parent Morality* as morality is comprehended as a combination of *empathy, nurturance, compassion* and

most importantly in this case, *social nurturance*. Criticism of the government, including questions pertaining to the lowering of the threat level prior to 7/7, is considered appropriate as legitimate authority is only to be interpreted as ‘a consequence of the ability to nurture’ (Lakoff 1996: 113), and this would not be the case if prisoners were to suffer unduly. In liberal demonology, category 3 demons are ‘*those who hurt people*’, as would possibly be the case if stricter laws were to be passed. Category 1 demons are ‘*those who are unfair*’ and the issue of fairness also seems to be at stake here.

The support of authority figures such as the police may be the reason why *The Times* presents the murder of the Brazilian electrician, Jean Charles de Menezes, as ‘the killing of a suspect’. *The Guardian*, on the other hand, freely criticises the police in stating that the murder was ‘a dreadful mistake’.

Differences of opinion are also evident in attitudes related to multiculturalism and racism. *The Times* does not mention racism experienced by the British Muslim community in the wake of 7/7, whereas this issue features more prominently in *The Guardian*, as does the presentation of the nuances of Islam. *The Times* views ‘racial profiling’ as ‘an exercise in probability’ - not institutional racism, whereas *The Guardian* focuses on the potential danger to community relations. In conservative demonology, advocates of multiculturalism are category 1 demons, and advocates for equal rights constitute category 5. In this particular instance, equal rights would entail equal treatment by the police for all British citizens irrespective of colour or creed. *The Guardian* is probably sceptical of racial profiling as this might seem unfair.

In the fight against terrorism, *The Times*, in line with *Strict Father Morality*, appears to favour *retribution* and, through the passage of stricter laws, *the morality of reward and punishment*. The aim seems to be to ‘protect people from external evils’. This would be consistent with conservative moral action. *The Guardian*, on the other hand, seems to adhere to liberal moral action, i.e. *empathetic behaviour* and *the promotion of fairness*.

Summary

Table 4.2a The moral conceptual system of The Times

<i>Topics</i>	<i>Central metaphors</i>	<i>Demonology</i>	<i>Moral action</i>
The incident	Moral Boundaries		
The perpetrators	Moral Boundaries		
Context	Moral Authority Moral Strength Moral Essence Retribution	Category 4: ‘Those who oppose the ways that the military and criminal justice systems have operated’	‘To protect people from external evils’ ‘To uphold moral order’
Ramifications	The obligation to maintain order Moral Authority Retribution	Category 4 Category 1: ‘advocates of multiculturalism’ Category 5: ‘advocates for equal rights’	‘Upholding the morality of reward and punishment’ ‘To protect people from external evils’

Table 4.2b The moral conceptual system of The Guardian

<i>Topics</i>	<i>Central metaphors</i>	<i>Demonology</i>	<i>Moral action</i>
The incident	The Moral Strength to Nurture Nurturant Moral Boundaries		Empathetic behaviour and promoting fairness
The perpetrators	The Moral Strength to Nurture Nurturant Moral Boundaries	Category 1: ‘The mean-spirited, selfish and unfair’	Empathetic behaviour and promoting fairness

Context	The Moral Strength to Nurture		Empathetic behaviour and promoting fairness
Ramifications	Empathy Nurturance Compassion Social Nurturance	Category 1: ‘those who are unfair’ Category 3: ‘those who hurt people’	Empathetic behaviour and promoting fairness

Tables 4.2a and 4.2b summarise what has been interpreted as instances of concepts central to *Strict Father Morality* and *Nurturant Parent Morality*. If this classification is considered valid, one could claim that the words present in the editorials in *The Times* evoke the frame of *Strict Father Morality*, i.e. a conservative frame, whereas the words present in the editorials in *The Guardian* evoke the frame of *Nurturant Parent Morality*, i.e. a liberal frame. The implied audience of *The Times* must consequently be interpreted as a group of people who share a conservative outlook. The implied audience of *The Guardian* must be interpreted as a group of people whose worldview is liberal. The real audiences of the two up-market newspapers will, in turn, seek *cognitive reinforcement* in the press according to political preferences.

The attempt to describe the moral conceptual systems of *The Times* and *The Guardian* could be placed within what Hall (1997) refers to as *the semiotic approach to constructionism* since the aim of this description is to focus on the manner in which language produces meaning. In a Saussurean sense, the words present in the editorials under analysis are individually and collectively *signifiers* which generate *signifieds*, i.e. certain concepts, in this case *moral concepts*. Bakhtin’s theory of the prerequisite of dialogue for meaning to be created could explain the interactive process of interpretation in which editorials are written so as to appeal to a particular implied audience and according to which the real audience seeks cognitive reinforcement in the editorials published. The group identity thus established is that of an abstract group, possibly what Douglass (in Berger 2005:149-150) would classify as a *grid*, as what unites the editors/journalists and the target group are the rules and prescriptions (ideologies) they share. The choice of which newspaper to read reaffirms an (ideological) identity.

The Times and *The Guardian* are representatives of competing discourses within the same cultural circuit. Their views resonate with different ideological segments of the upper echelons of British society. From a conservative point of view, the concept of understanding unfamiliar practices in terms of the belief system of their practitioners, i.e. the very essence of social anthropological methodology, might appear apologetic. One should, however, differentiate between an attempt at understanding the background to a particular event and the defence of this particular incident. This distinction is important to bear in mind when, in the following section, we shall adopt a liberal approach to the discussion of the historical, political and sociological context of the London bombings, i.e. what Hall (1997) refers to as *the discursive approach to constructionism* (the historical specificity of a particular form or ‘regime’ of representation). This approach is consistent with what Chang and Mehan (2006) term *an intellectual mode of argumentation* as it invites people ‘... to conduct intellectual analysis of the phenomenon before them, and thereby to learn more history and empirical facts and to develop an intellectual worldview’ (Chang and Mehan 2006:14).

4.3 The contextualisation of 7/7

Which institutional, political and social factors at a domestic and an international level may elucidate the background to the London bombings? Fowler’s (1991:90) tripartite schema of the analysis of the language of the press provides a useful starting point.

The institutional and economic structure of the newspaper industry

The British newspaper industry is increasingly based on conglomerates whose vested interests have a political flavour. The fierce competition in the media has brought about the need for companies to merge so as to keep market shares. As stated in 2.4, both *The Times* and *The Guardian* can be classified as up-market newspapers which have relatively small circulation figures and which rely heavily on advertising. In 3.1 we saw that *The Times* is owned by Rupert Murdoch’s News Corporation Group, whose outlook is conservative. When analysing the editorials related to the London bombings in terms of moral conceptual systems, it became clear that the opinions expressed in *The Times* are in line with a conservative frame of reference. *The Guardian* is owned by a charitable foundation, the Scott Trust. In 3.1 it was presumed that the outlook of the newspaper was that of a middle-ground liberal to left wing readership, and the analysis of the editorials published in connection with 7/7 to some extent corroborated this claim

as the opinions expressed were consistent with a liberal frame of reference as far as its moral conceptual system is concerned.

The political relations of the newspaper industry

The political outlook of *The Times* and *The Guardian* influences the stances of the two newspapers with regard to ongoing contemporary debates. It is likely that the opinions expressed in *The Times* are consistent with conservative policies in general, while it would be fair to assume that those expressed in *The Guardian* would be sympathetic to a liberal stance. The war in Iraq, however, rocked the boat, as the Labour Prime Minister Tony Blair allied himself with the neo-conservative Bush administration and supported the efforts to topple Saddam Hussain. Support of the war in Iraq features prominently in the editorials published in *The Times* post-7/7, whilst the opposite is the case in *The Guardian*. Tony Blair's close cooperation with the Bush administration may be the reason why Murdoch has supported the Labour government, as British foreign policy has become more conservative in the wake of 'the war on terror', and consequently more palatable to the editorial line of the News Corporation Group.

The political or other relevant circumstances of the event being reported

The social and political background against which the London bombings are set is a veritable minefield of contentious contemporary issues which, according to a liberal point of view, may be interpreted as interconnected. Fig. 4.3 illustrates the tangled web of related themes which influenced British foreign and domestic policies in 2005.

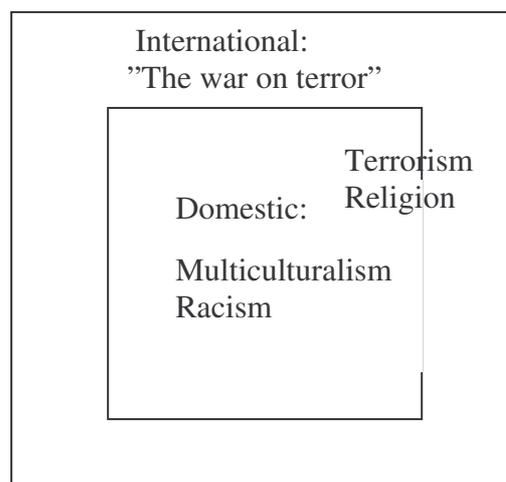


Fig. 4.3: Socio-political context: UK 2005

As a result of 9/11, the terrorist attack which dramatically changed American foreign policy in favour of a neo-conservative worldview, the Bush administration launched its, from a liberal point of view, rather elusive ‘war on terror’, which has so far included wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Much to the dismay of the majority of the British Labour party, who were inclined to support diplomacy rather than warfare, Tony Blair, guided by religion and ethics, joined forces with the Bush administration, and successfully persuaded the parliament to endorse British troop presence in ‘the coalition of the willing’. This decision has been hotly debated in the British press, in Parliament and in the streets of major cities in Britain and became one of Tony Blair’s largest obstacles to overcome in his last years in office.

From a conservative point of view, the London bombings can be interpreted as yet another example of the personification of evil, yet another instance of terror to be fought against. From a liberal point of view, legitimate questions ought to be asked about whether British foreign policy is a relevant factor as far as the vulnerability of Britain to terrorist attacks is concerned. Prior to 7/7, terrorism was fought (in some selected countries) abroad. The London bombings brought the war to ordinary people’s doorstep, not only affecting the lives of the families’ of soldiers fighting in Afghanistan and Iraq, but hitting blindly and indiscriminately. Kureishi²¹ eloquently points this out in an editorial published in *The Guardian* on 19 July 2005: ‘Terrible acts of violence in our own neighbourhood - not unlike terrible acts of violence which are ‘outsourced’, usually taking place in the poorest part of the Third world - disrupt the smooth idea of ‘virtual’ war that we have adopted to conquer the consideration of death’. What was particularly unsettling was the fact that the perpetrators of the terrorist attack appeared to be British-born, i.e. the apparent enemies were radicalised youths who attacked Britain from within. What complicated matters further was the fact that these young men appeared to have attended terrorist training camps in Pakistan. The radical madrasas (religious schools) were situated in the heart of the country whose president, Pervez Musharraf, had publicly declared his staunch support of ‘the war on terror’, and was, in fact, being treated by the Bush administration as one of its closest allies. Almost 60 years after the decolonisation of India and Pakistan, Britain was faced with violent resistance from a radicalised segment of the Commonwealth citizenry. The perpetrators of the London bombings were, apparently, so alienated from British society that their

²¹ Hanif Kureishi: screenwriter and novelist

allegiance was pledged to a radical Machiavellian interpretation of Islam, one in which suicide and the murder of innocent civilians are tolerated despite the fact that both are against mainstream Muslim teachings.

The integration of immigrants in post-colonial British society has proved to be at best challenging and at worst highly problematic for the authorities as poverty and unemployment seem to afflict minority groups in particular. This has led to widespread race riots in the past and to strained relations between the police and minority groups who have accused the police and other authorities of institutional racism.

In an editorial in *The Guardian* on 30 July 2005, Ouseley²² and Gilroy²³ discuss race and faith post-7/7. Referring to the latest significant disturbances which occurred in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham in 2001, i.e. prior to the US-led ‘war on terror’, Ouseley claims that as these disturbances brought to the fore the gulf between poor white and Muslim communities, faith, belief and religious identity are issues which will redefine the race-equality project. Gilroy disagrees. He contests the claim that Muslim assertiveness is the primary cause of the attack in London, positing that ‘Transposing(...) large cultural, political and economic problems into the language of faith and religion is a counterproductive oversimplification, recycling the “clash of civilisations” idea. Gilroy elaborates on this thought by listing the following causes, which, in his opinion, are much more relevant: ‘Blair’s belligerent revival of empire and the occupation of “Muslim lands”’ and unacknowledged colonial crimes. With regard to the capitalism vs. religion debate, Gilroy states that ‘A few young people from all backgrounds will respond to the siren call of political Islam because it offers them a strongly ethical response to the erotic dazzle of consumer culture, from which they feel excluded’. Ouseley and Gilroy agree that in order for national solidarity to emerge, trust must be built across different communities, and misinformation based on racism must be challenged.

Kureishi opposes the idea that people should be asked to give up their religion in order to adjust to a new environment. In an editorial published in *The Guardian* on 4 August 2005, he clarifies his views on multiculturalism: ‘Religions may be illusions, but these are important and profound illusions. And they will modify as they come into contact with other ideas. This is what effective multiculturalism is: not a superficial

²² Herman Ouseley: a former chairman of the Commission for Racial Equality and the author of the Community Pride Not Prejudice report into race relations in Bradford in 2001

²³ Paul Gilroy: the Anthony Giddens professor of social theory at the London School of Economics

exchange of festivals and food, but a robust and committed exchange of ideas - a conflict that is worth enduring, rather than a war’.

Livingstone²⁴ echoes these views in an editorial in *The Guardian* published on 4 August 2005. His solution to the current crisis sparked by the London bombings is summed up as follows: ‘Support the police, treat Muslims with respect and pull out of Iraq’. As far as ‘the occupation of “Muslim lands”’ is concerned, Livingstone states: ‘Acceptance that the invasion of Iraq increased the likelihood of a terrorist attack on London now extends far beyond the usual suspects - from *Guardian* writers to MI5, Douglas Hurd, *the Daily Mail*, *The Spectator*, and a majority of the British public. Jack Straw has also acknowledged this debate’.

The framing of ideological statements in *The Times* and *The Guardian*

In 2.3 we were introduced to the manner in which Fairclough (1989), from a neo-Marxist perspective, argues for the interconnection between social practice, social structures and discourse. We have previously (in 4.2) established that the words present in the editorials in *The Times*, evoke the frame of *Strict Father morality*, a conservative frame, whereas the words present in the editorials in *The Guardian* evoke the frame of *Nurturant Parent Morality*, a liberal frame. In addition to this, we have also provided a brief overview of the socio-political context in which the London bombings occurred (in 4.3). One could, at this stage, briefly pause to consider the ‘chicken-and-egg situation’ discussed by Tannen in 2.8. Does the global environment create a specific cognitive frame against which ideological statements are assessed or do the local ideological statements draw on existing frames and core metaphorical concepts to create a specific ideological picture of the political world? The interconnection between social practice, social structures and discourse make both equally plausible. As stated in 2.3, ‘... the subject is *produced within discourse*’ (Hall 1997: 55).

In 2.3 we looked at the way in which Fairclough presents cognitive schemata/frames of reference, what he refers to as Members’ resources, as the medium through which social structures are perpetuated or questioned. From a socio-psychological point of view, Fairclough claims that only *familiar situation types* allow for a conservative reproduction of Members’ resources. *Unfamiliar situation types*, he posits, constitute moments of crisis, and are usually the result of social struggles becoming overt. This

²⁴ Ken Livingstone: Mayor of London

leads to Members' resources and the power relations that underlie them coming into crisis.

The London bombings may be interpreted as a crisis on many levels. Not only were ordinary people the victims of the attack, but the identified 'enemies' were also British citizens, traitors in their midst, and the attack itself took place on British soil. The attack caused grief, incomprehension and fear. The incident was described as a terrorist attack, and as the definition of terrorism is highly controversial internationally, the event left indelible marks on British power relations: the judiciary, the legislature and the executive. As we noted in 2.6, Townshend (2002) claims that democratic institutions are not equipped to deal with terrorism as this is a grey area which can be classified as neither war nor crime. Britain was, however, at this particular point in time engaged in what liberals interpret as an unlawful war in Iraq as a part of its efforts in 'the war on terror'. 'The war on terror' and terrorist attacks which are placed within this ongoing struggle are thorny and divisive issues which raise more questions than they provide answers. Should terrorism be classified as war or crime or something different altogether? Should this label only apply to citizens led astray or should the definition include states engaged in unlawful wars or states sponsoring insurgent groups abroad according to national interests? Christian²⁵ raises a thought-provoking question related to the debate on new anti-terrorism laws and to the British socio-political context in particular: 'Since, in truth, the definition of terrorism should encompass the actions of terrorist states engaged in unlawful wars, how can one justify this when our government supports the war in Iraq?' (*The Guardian* 30/07/05). With regard to the war in Iraq one could also question the rationale for *imposing* democracies and waging a war to bring *peace*. One could also wonder about the inherent inconsistency in spreading democracies by cooperating with *military dictatorships* (Pakistan). One could, arguably, even venture into the realm of political/ religious morals and ethics and question the speed with which a dictator is toppled in Iraq and compare this decision to the lack of engagement in countries such as Sudan where the fate of the people of Darfur, victims of terror attacks, is still unresolved.

If one is willing to accept the notion that alienation due to racism and economic decline affecting minority groups may have contributed to the radicalisation of the four perpetrators of the London bombings, one could interpret the incident as a social

²⁵ Louise Christian of Christian Khan solicitors acts for Guantánamo Bay detainees

struggle becoming violently overt. If one dismisses social factors, other means are sought to explain an unfamiliar situation and to provide a coherent narrative of the unknown.

Chang and Mehan (2006) give an illustrative account of *the politics of representation* in the US post-9/11. 'The politics of representation is the competition that takes place among individuals, institutional agents (those speaking on behalf of an organization or institution), or groups over the meaning of ambiguous events, objects, and situations in the world' (Chang and Mehan 2006:1). According to Chang and Mehan, the Bush Administration, by means of discourse strategies, increasingly employed 'a civil religion discourse', based on concepts such as liberty, equality, justice, human happiness and the notion of a 'Supreme Being' above the nation, to justify political and military actions (Chang and Mehan 2006:3). 'The discourse strategy that promoted the War on Terrorism went beyond the repeated uttering of certain ideological content - that is, the repeated invocation of certain metaphoric and symbolic system associated with the American civil religion. Instead, it institutionalized a convention of speaking and thinking which sustained a particular ideological understanding' (Chang and Mehan 2006:4).

Like 7/7, 9/11 created a public crisis. 'At this time of extreme ambiguity and uncertainty, the Bush Administration presented a coherent representation of the events. We call this the War on Terrorism script' (Chang and Mehan 2006:6). This script can be summarised as follows: 'good America (a country), which loves freedom and opportunity' vs. 'evil Terrorism (an idea/ a concept)'. 'The plot of the War on Terrorism script contains an eternal tension between good and evil; the *scene* of battle, therefore, is not circumscribed by time and place' (Chang and Mehan 2006:7). Bush did not recognise any potential sociological, historical or political interpretations of 9/11, claiming in response to questions asked by the media on 25 September 2001: 'This is good versus evil. These are evildoers. They have no justifications for their actions. There's no religious justification, there's no political justification. The only motivation is evil' (Chang and Mehan 2006:17). The War on Terrorism script enabled Bush to legitimise a war in Afghanistan. 'By labelling them all as evil, he both claimed a link between the Taleban, al Qaeda, and bin Laden and legitimized military action against them' (Chang and Mehan 2006:11). This strategy, i.e. the use of contextualisation, was also employed in arguing the case for a war in Iraq at a later stage. According to the authors, the religious mode of representation emanating from the Bush Administration

became the dominant mode of representation in the public political discourse, mainly because it provided meanings at a time of confusion and fear. Chang and Mehan warn against the dangers posed by this script: 'This script essentializes enemies and justifies the need for extreme measures; it discourages socio-political analyses and voids the necessity to follow legal procedures. It allows the United States - the most powerful nation in human history - to legitimately wage future wars without the need to justify actions with specific empirical evidence' (Chang and Mehan 2006:19).

The Times appears to have adopted the approach of essentialising the enemy in its coverage of 7/7. In a discourse directed towards a readership placed at the conservative end of the political spectrum, the conservative frame of Members' resources is evoked. The event is presented within 'The war on terrorism script', which is favoured by the government, and, consequently, the newspaper assists in sustaining power relations at home by supporting the strengthening of the powers of the police and the judiciary. By framing the incident this way, the newspaper also signals its support of the supremacy of the US in foreign affairs. *The Times* consequently mediates a discourse which is *conservative* with regard to the reproduction of social structures and social practices. The discourse itself, however, is new.

The Guardian chooses a more humanistic approach which is in line with the views expressed by the leftist part of the Labour government (which opposed the war in Iraq), and, in so doing, evokes the liberal frame of Members' resources. By framing the incident in this manner, the newspaper contributes to a *transformation* of the reproduction of social structures and social practice since the domestic social order is questioned as well as the distribution of power internationally.

In the case of 9/11 Chang and Mehan (2006:13-15) divides the discourse resorted to by opponents of 'the war on terrorism script' into three: *the intellectual mode of argumentation* in which historical, political and sociological contexts are discussed, *the rational mode of argumentation* which recommends 'the uses of reason, the weighing of evidence, and assessing costs vs. benefits' (Chang and Mehan 2006:14) and *the legal mode of argumentation* which places the event within the context of national and international jurisprudence. In the editorials published in *The Guardian*, the London bombings are explored from these three angles. *The intellectual mode of argumentation* looks at Britain's colonial past as well as at current foreign policies. It also discusses the issue of racism in British contemporary society. *The rational mode of argumentation* and *the legal mode of representation* are both present in questions related to British

troop presence in Iraq. Questions are asked about whether the war itself is in accordance with international law and questions related to whether British involvement in ‘the war on terror’ makes Britain more vulnerable to terrorism are posed. *The legal mode of representation* is used in arguing for anti-terrorism laws which are sensitive to civil liberties.

According to van Dijk, *attribution theory* could be described as being concerned with ‘... how people make dispositional (internal) or situational (external) explanations for their own and others’ behaviour, and the sorts of bias that occur in this process’.²⁶ To sum up the discussion on the framing of ideological statements in *The Times* and *The Guardian*, one could claim that *The Times* makes *dispositional* explanations in connection with 7/7, whereas *The Guardian* focuses more on *situational* explanations. The bias which results from framing the incident in their respective manners, is ideologically founded.

In a comparison of counter-terrorism under Blair and that of the new Prime Minister, Gordon Brown, Rosland (2007) posits that the phrase ‘war on terror’, a phrase associated with counter-terrorism under Blair, has gradually been replaced by ‘a more cautious rhetorical strategy’ in an attempt to build ties across communities. ‘Both Brown and Smith²⁷ have also avoided the use of “Muslim” when describing the terrorists [who attempted to attack nightclubs in London and who attacked Glasgow airport in late June 2007], and seem to be keen to avoid alienating the Muslim community. Smith instead referred to the terrorists as “criminals whose victims come from all walks of life, communities and religions”’ (Rosland 2007:4). Rosland points to the fact that not only has the phrasing changed, but also the style in which messages are presented. ‘Whereas Blair in his speeches on terrorism stressed the emergency character of the terrorist threat, Brown’s strategy seems at least on the rhetorical level to involve a policy of *normalisation*’ (Rosland 2007:4). The emergency rhetoric no longer seems appropriate, says Rosland, as was the case when British rhetoric in Northern Ireland changed in the mid-1970s. Rosland concludes by referring to Kettle’s article in *The Guardian* on 7 July 2007, in which he states that it is not so much a change in counter-terrorism policy, it is more a question of a change of the *context* in which that policy is discussed (Rosland 2007:4). What seems clear is that Brown is aware of the powder keg which race and faith constitute in a domestic context, and of the fact that although

²⁶ www.oeaw.ac.at/cm/c/data/Poster%20Presentation%20Amsterdam%202005.pdf

²⁷ Jackie Smith: Home Secretary

Islamism may have replaced communism as the new post-Cold War threat internationally, this ideological battle cannot be won by simply essentialising an enemy and by providing simplistic explanations revolving around ‘a clash of civilisations’ in the Huntingtonian sense of the term.

4.4 Cultural representations mediated through the press

As pointed out by Herrera (2003) in 2.7, the framing of categories in a conflict may constitute an important part of the conflict itself, as people are mobilised according to the manner in which the sides are defined. Billig claims that ‘... a discourse of indignation, threat and suffering, shared and communicated within a group, can become the basis for mobilization against an identified enemy’ (Billig 2003: xiii). The discourse of ‘The war on terror’ has been and is still mediated through the press in slightly different manners according to the editorial line (political affiliation) of the newspapers in question. The discourse on terrorism is equally mediated in different ways. The difference is mainly based on a cause and effect analysis in which acts of terror are defined as either part of the evil one is waging a war against or as an expected result of unlawful wars. Racism is also an issue which may be represented differently in the press, precisely on the basis of the definition of ‘ingroup’ and ‘outgroup’ members at a domestic or an international level. In the discussion above, we established that *The Times* and *The Guardian* touched upon all these three issues and that the definitions offered differed from one up-market newspaper to the other. We have also seen that Herrera’s claim that both the context and the categorisation can be contested in a conflict applies to the coverage of 7/7.

The press is placed within ‘the circuit of culture’ (Hall 1997). As stated by van Dijk in 2.7, discourse may be studied as ‘the crucial interface between the social and cognitive dimensions of racism [and war and terrorism]’.²⁸ The role of the press is to function as a watchdog as far as the distribution of power in a society is concerned, yet vested political and financial interests may influence the manner in which events are framed. Consequently, the press is a part of what Foucault (1980:89 in Hall 1997:49-50) terms a ‘net-like organization through which power is deployed and exercised’ and provides the means through which competing discourses within the same cultural circuit are mediated. The media chronicles contemporary history and, in so doing, gives insight

²⁸[www.discourses.org/OldArticles/New\(s\)%20racism%20-%20A%20discourse%20analytical%20approach.pdf](http://www.discourses.org/OldArticles/New(s)%20racism%20-%20A%20discourse%20analytical%20approach.pdf)

into the psyche of a nation at a particular point in time. Today, the internet in particular, is the scene on which major ideological battles occur. The issue of 'winning hearts and minds' is crucial. Hylland Eriksen (2001:60) refers to the relations between the official West and Islam as a schismogenesis. He appeals to intellectuals on both sides of the schism to insist on their common Mediterranean history in order to bridge the gap. Tharoor also favours cross-cultural communication in the fight against terrorism. 'It is only by perpetuating the blind hatred of strangers, of an "Other", that terrorism can flourish. Such hatred is in turn the product of three factors: fear, rage and incomprehension – fear of what the Other might do to you, rage at what you believe the Other has done to you, and incomprehension about who or what the Other really is. If terrorism is to be tackled and ended, we will have to deal with each of these three factors by attacking the ignorance that sustains them. We will have to know each other better, learn to see ourselves as others see us, learn to recognize hatred and deal with its causes, learn to dispel fear, and above all, just learn about each other. We cannot do any of this without the media' (Tharoor 2005:51-52). According to Tharoor, the role of the media is to promote tolerance. The degree to which his advice is heeded will, however, probably be determined by and balanced with realpolitik.

4.5 Critical Discourse Analysis: its merits

The deconstruction of a contextualised text may, rightfully, be labelled subjective, as a person's frame of reference will determine the manner in which a coherent interpretation of a given text is presented. The value of critical discourse analysis, however, by far exceeds its shortcomings as critical language awareness may provide a structure according to which the fragmented pieces of information available in a post-modern globalised world may be analysed. Fairclough strongly supports the teaching of critical language awareness in schools. 'I would regard this as the primary emancipatory task of language education: critical language awareness is a facilitator for 'emancipatory discourse'... which challenges, breaks through, and may ultimately transform the dominant orders of discourse, as a part of the struggle of oppressed social groupings against the dominant bloc' (Fairclough 1989:239-240). Said follows up this thought by claiming 'The intellectual's role is to present alternative narratives and other perspectives on history than those provided by combatants on behalf of official memory and national identity and mission' (Said 2004:141). It is to be hoped that the present

thesis may be a small, subjective (in the sense of ‘engaged neutrality’) contribution to this line of thought.

5. CONCLUSION

The present thesis has investigated how two British daily newspapers, *The Times* and *The Guardian*, covered the suicide attacks which struck London on 7 July 2005. These newspapers have similar readership profiles; they are both up-market papers. *The Times* has traditionally been considered a centre-right paper, whereas *The Guardian* has been considered in sympathy with the middle ground liberal to left wing end of the political spectrum. The differences between these two papers are therefore primarily ideologically founded as we have demonstrated in the discussion of the coverage of 7/7.

As was expected, both newspapers condemn the attack on innocent civilians; and the contextualisations provided have a moral/ political slant.

News values generally determine the time span during which a story features (see 2.4 and 4.1), and as the London bombings had a high score with regard to these values, this event featured prominently in the editorials published between 8 July and 4 August in 2005. In *The Times*, editorials highlighting the event were published on 14 of the 24 days under analysis and in *The Guardian*, editorials focusing on the incident were published on 13 of the 24 days covered in this investigation.

The headlines of the editorials published in the two up-market newspapers give some insight into the prisms through which the event was interpreted (see Table 3.2). The headlines of *The Times* editorials are concerned with integration, respect for the current system of law and order, an earnest wish to bring the culprits to justice and support for stricter laws aimed at countering terrorism. The headlines of the editorials published in *The Guardian* focus on the need to unravel the background to the attacks, the preservation of civil liberties and civic society, multiculturalism and nuances in the description of Islam and Muslims (law-abiding citizens with a Muslim faith and Islamists).

Both *The Times* and *The Guardian* strongly condemn the attack on London's public transport system. This is evident in an outpouring of negative epithets with regard to the incident (see Tables 3.3a and 3.3b). The terminology used in *The Times* is, however, somewhat stronger than that of *The Guardian*, whose main concern appears to be the multi-racial composite of British society.

In their description of the perpetrators, both *The Times* and *The Guardian* point out that the Muslim community in Britain should not be collectively blamed. *The Times* employs terms which are generally associated with Islamism, whereas *The Guardian* appears to shun religious terminology altogether (see tables 3.4a and 3.4b).

As far as contextualisation is concerned, *The Times* denies a link to British foreign policy, particularly the war in Iraq, and views the London bombings within the framework of ‘the war on terror’. *The Guardian*, on the other hand, discusses multiculturalism and views British troop presence in Iraq and grievances resulting from ‘the war on terror’ as part of the broader picture within which the London bombings are to be interpreted.

Both *The Times* and *The Guardian* stress the importance of policing and intelligence services in preventing similar attacks in the future, yet *The Guardian* balances this view with an attempt to understand the causes of the attacks and the need to protect civil liberties.

The differences in the coverage of 7/7 (as evidenced in the description of the incident, the perpetrators, the context and the ramifications) may be explained with reference to the moral conceptual systems of the two up-market newspapers. By applying Lakoff’s (1996) cognitive models (based on the political rhetoric of the Republican party and the Democratic party in the U.S.) to the corpus, we found that the views in *The Times* are consistent with *Strict Father Morality*, whereas the views in *The Guardian* are in line with *Nurturant Parent Morality* (see 4.2, in particular tables 4.2a and 4.2b). This approach could be subsumed under *the semiotic approach to constructionism* (Hall 1997; see 2.2). *The Times* presents the event within ‘*the war on terrorism script*’, and in so doing *essentialises* the enemy. *The Guardian* opposes this script by means of *intellectual, rational and legal modes of argumentation* (see 4.3). In the discussion of institutional, political and social factors which may have had a bearing on 7/7 (see 4.3), we adopted a *discursive approach to constructionism* (Hall 1997; see 2.2). This approach is based on neo-Marxist linguistic theory (Fairclough 1989 and Fowler 1991) and is consistent with the three modes of argumentation evidenced in *The Guardian*.

The Times and *The Guardian* are representatives of competing discourses within the same cultural circuit whose views resonate with different ideological segments of the upper echelons of British society. The present thesis has investigated the political rhetoric of two up-market newspapers placed at each end of the political spectrum. A more in-depth analysis of the British press post-7/7 would, however, need to include newspapers with all the three socio-economic readership profiles described by Jucker (1992), i.e. *up-market*, *mid-market* and *down-market* newspapers. One avenue would be to compare the political rhetoric in the following newspapers:

The Times, The Guardian (up-market)

Daily Mail, Daily Express (mid-market)

The Sun, Daily Mirror (down-market)

By conducting a more comprehensive investigation, one could discuss differences and similarities between the newspapers constituting the corpus in terms of both socio-economic readership profiles and the moral conceptual systems at work. At the same time, one could provide a more thorough analysis of the prototypes and radial categories posited by Lakoff (1996) in his book on political rhetoric. One could perhaps also attempt to make a contribution to the field of frame semantics as a more comprehensive corpus might elucidate the contents of a particular frame, its boundaries and the manner in which frames interact. These practical issues were, as we saw in 2.5, Petruck's main criticism of frame semantics.

Another suggestion for further research on the coverage of 7/7 would be to investigate the manner in which the American press covered the incident at the same period of time. This would provide an excellent corpus for analysis of ideological distance. It would be very interesting to find out to what extent the American press links the London bombings to the war in Iraq.

My account of the coverage of the London bombings is to some extent subjective. It is to be hoped that my thesis will engage readers and make them contribute to the debate on how 'the truth' might be defined. Truth is personal, truth might be elusive, truth is stranger than fiction.

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