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The American Muslim Dilemma in Post 9/11 Era:

An Analysis of the New York Times Headlines

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DECLARATION OF INTEGRITY

I, "**Korichi Abdellatif**", solemnly declare that the dissertation titled "***American Muslim Dilemma in Post 9/11 Era: An Analysis of the New York Times Headlines***" submitted to the Department of the English language and Literature at Biskra University is entirely my own work, free from plagiarism, and has not been submitted to any other educational institution. I have appropriately acknowledged and cited all sources used, and I have conducted myself with academic integrity throughout the process. I understand the severe consequences of academic misconduct and affirm the authenticity of my dissertation.

Signature

Dedication

This work is sincerely dedicated to:

My Loving *Parents* and **My beloved *Family*** for their endless love, Support and encouragement.

My Niece ***Fares Assia*** who gave moral, spiritual support to finish this work.

My beloved Daughters ***Ilef*** and ***Kaouther*** whom I adore immeasurably

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Abstract

Media always played a major role in molding United States public opinion. Therefore, September 11th, 2001, was the event that had a profound effect on the media's portrayal of Islam and Muslims, the representation of Islam and Muslims in the media had significantly changed in the wake of this event. This study is designed as a thematic, qualitative, descriptive and analytical research. It aims at analyzing and describing the portrayal of Islam and Muslims through the scope of American media and *The New York Times* Newspaper, and how the aftermath of the 9/11 brought changes into the American public opinion and Foreign policy. Thus, what was the effect of American mass media on Muslims after 9/11 attacks? In addition, how Islam was portrayed? To meet the purpose, the research shall examine the representation of Islam in American media and analyze *The New York Times* Headlines during the pre-9/11 period. The finding reveals that media has a powerful impact on shaping public perception and attitude towards different groups and its deep-seated effect on stereotype towards Muslims and Islam.

Keywords: Media, Islam, Muslims, The New York Times, American, United States, Newspaper.

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General Introduction

Arabs and Muslims Have expressed worry about their portrayal in the Western media long before the 9/11 attacks. Soon after the attacks of the twin tower, the event of September 11, 2001 was the new direction of the history of Muslims and Islam in the United States.

According to Edward Said in his book *Covering Islam*, a political context and covert interests have historically shaped the portrayal of Islam in the American Media and as a result, it is full of “not only patent inaccuracy but also expression of unrestrained ethnocentrism, cultural, and even racial hatred, deep yet paradoxically free –floating hostility” (said 2). According to Him, The picture exhibits “highly exaggerated stereotyping and belligerent hostility.”(11) Despite the fact Edward Said is a Christian scholar from the United States, he Claims “Malicious generalization about Islam have become the last acceptable form of denigration of foreign culture in the west; what is said about the Muslim mind, or character, or religion, or culture as whole cannot now be said in mainstream discussion about Africans, Jews, other Orientals, or Asians.”

Islam still and will always remain one of the religions that generates controversy in the media. Particularly soon after the horrific attacks of September 11th, 2001, it is heavily influenced and controlled by the mass media, especially journals, discounting the existence of an international system working hand in glove in the distorting or improving of Islam and its Muslim supporters' image.

Unquestionable changes have been made to numerous media platforms' attitudes and practices against Islam because of the 9/11 events, including the headlines of newspapers. The American media once again promoted unfavorable preconceptions of Muslims when they asserted that the attacks were carried out by *Al-Qaeda* militants who are Muslim and Arabic in origin. As a result, Muslims have experienced Anti-

Muslim attitude discrimination, bias, prejudice, and the inability to freely practice their faith. The attack caused such anguish that Islam was perceived as a threat to western communities. This shows how media, particularly *The New York Times*, had a big impact on either destroying or enhancing the image of Islam and Muslim Americans both before and after 9/11. Typically, stereotypes propagated by powerful individuals and organizations, such as the "fourth estate" media like the New York Times, are mysteriously given legitimacy; regrettably, this occurs in the name of freedom of speech.

The terrorist attacks, which the US had undergone in September 11th, 2001, made it enter in new challenge of fighting global terrorism in the War on Terror. This; in fact, symbolized the turn of the US foreign policy in the beginning of the new millennium. The target of the US attempt in fighting global terrorism was Islamic terrorist groups; such as, *Al Qaeda*, led by *Osama Bin Laden* and countries that were considered as supports of terrorism.

It is not withstanding that the Islamic World was affected by the US foreign policy and the US military engagements in both Iraq and Afghanistan. Shortly after September 11th, Islamophobia emerged and rose in the U.S society and most countries of the World. It is worth to mention that Media in the U.S played an important role in the rise of Islamphobia.

Thus, it is noticed that religions, including Islam, are arguably covered by the media. However, following the September 11th, 2001 attacks on New York's World Trade Center Twin Towers and The Pentagon, Islam became more newsworthy and miss presented. According to the majority of research studies, The American Social Medias, particularly newspaper has seen an increase in the use of sudden, exaggerated, islamphobic rhetoric and the propagation of negative stereotypes about

Islam that convey aggressive , hostile expressions used against Muslims community such as: crucial, racist, terrorist. As a result, this demonstrates a notable threat to Islamic religion.

The topic of post 9/11attacks and the portrayal of Muslims dilemma in American Mass media has been talked about in many research thesis, articles since the incident. One of which is a 2007 journal article published in “*Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, Volume 12, Issue3*” entitled “Islam, Jihad, and terrorism in post 9/11 Arabic discussion Boards”, Rasha A. Abdulla examined the effects of 9/11 attacks through the lens of many writers. One of them Journalist Djelloul Mabrouk, He noted that the Arab in American Mass Media stands for “Terrorism, Hijack, Intractability, Sullenous, Perverseness, Cruelty, Oil, Sand”. For the research, the findings of her study were Most American media coverage of the issue portrayed it as a clash of civilization, based on a confrontation between Islam as a religion and the west as culture. Her study also showed that Arab Muslims saw the issue as primarily political. They were (and are) frustrated with the United States displays its foreign policy towards the Middle East. They view the United States as a “monster” that is quick to judge and to take a stand in favor of one country above all the other in the region.

The topic of 9/11 and its aftermath was debated and written about ,with particular concern on US media and the rise of Islamophobia .*Harun Yahia*, February 20, 2015, in his article “*Islamophobia in Europe and the ways to end it*” in the *Jakarta post* ,emphasized that Islamophobia emerged during the crusades and became more explicit after 9/11. In addition, he claimed that the radical terrorist groups were the main reasons in increasing Islamophobia, in which he asked true Muslims to show

their true religion with the principals of modern life in order to overcome the fears and hostility toward Muslims.

In a 2016 article published in *The New York Times* “ *the hate crimes against US Muslims since post-9/11 Era*”, Eric Lichtblau claimed in his article that the hate crimes against US Muslims witnessed its highest levels since the aftermath 9/11 attacks, in which the anti-Muslim violence has been increased not only by stringy of the attacks in Europe and US, but also by the vitriol from candidates such us Donald Trump who called for a ban on immigration of the Muslims and national registry of Muslims in the US.

However, the attacks of 9/11 have been similar to the attacks of Pearl Harbor in 1941 in the fact that they shaped a new paradigm in U.S foreign policy. As the attacks of Pearl Harbor obliged the U.S to ignore the age of innocence and isolation, the 9/11 attacks made U.S.A convenient to lead the world into the global war on terror. the global war on terror was widely criticized from the very day it was launched till its unofficial ending, especially in the Islamic world and in Muslim communities throughout the world, including the West itself .Therefore, the U.S public opinion has turned against Islam and Islamic community due to the role played by United States media which is considered as the primary source of information for the US people. The way of portraying those events paved the way to the rise of Islamophobia following 9/11.

Departing from the Review above, it is noticed that the unjustified fear towards Islam and Muslims dates back to centuries ago, but following September 11th, 2001 attacks which the U.S witnessed, Islamphobia become more explicit, more extreme, and more dangerous. Accordingly, this what made U.S foreign policy and media turn towards attacking the Islamic world and Muslims community in The U.S. Thus, this

This thesis attempts to analyze the American Muslim dilemma in post 9/11 era and the role-play and the impact of the American mass Media towards Muslims.

This research is a thematic study. It highlights the portrayal of Muslims in *The New York Times* headlines after 9/11 attacks. The work will apply a descriptive and qualitative method. The study is focused on analyzing the nature of *The New York Times* representation of Muslims after 9/11 incident. Therefore, this academic study allows us to analyze the aftermath of 9/11 attacks as well as to show the role played by United States media in increasing Islamophobic feelings after 9/11 bombing. This dissertation, on the other hand, will be divided into three chapters, the first one which will govern the theoretical framework of the study, the second chapter will analyze the incident background and explore the circumstances that led up to that day. The final chapter will examine the influence of the American Media, with a focus on the representation of Islam and Muslims in *The New York Times*.

The first chapter in our study will include the theoretical ground that will cover, introduce, and simplify the phenomena's nature. This chapter will be divided into two portions. The first part will narrow down the key concepts of Media, Mass Media, and New York City as well as examining the mosaic of Media in New York City and its historical roots and its influence. This chapter provides a framework for our exploration of various significant components by digging into the definitions; the second part traces the historical roots and objectives of Terrorism. Moreover, it will offer the political motives and dimensions of terrorism, with an emphasis on the sociological and psychological factors that influence the development of extremist behavior.

The second chapter will give a background of the events leading up to 9/11 attacks and dives into their historical context. It digs into the intricacies of the attacks

by United Airlines Flight 175 on the Pentagon's southwest and American Airlines Flights 11 on the North Tower of the world Trade Center in New York. Additionally the impact of 9/11, the harm done and the fatalities are also evaluated. Moving on, this chapter main objective is to give an analysis of the incident and its long-lasting repercussions on the Islamic community, and the ensuing headlines of major News Medias. The impact of the 9/11 attacks on the world and individuals who were affected by them, whether locally or overseas, is unavoidably understood via the lens of a critical perspective, which is inexorably applied throughout this chapter.

The third chapter will consist of giving the final findings of this research and reveals the Arabs and Muslims representation in the American media; it will attempt to analyze how *The New York Times* has contributed to the public's impression of Muslims in the years following 9/11. In order to establish a context, it will also look at how Islam was portrayed in *The NYT* prior to 9/11. The following section of the chapter examines how Muslims and Arabs were portrayed in American media during the 9/11 attacks and looks into how *The New York Times* influenced American foreign policy. Additionally, the labeling of Arabs Muslims as terrorists and the demonization of Islam by The New York Times.

The research attempts to analyze stereotype and prejudice portrayed in American media against Islam. This Study aims to address the issue of *The New York Times*, a prominent American newspaper, has influenced the marginalization and stigmatization of Muslim community.

Chapter One:

Media, Terrorism and New York:

Insights and connections

Introduction

The studies on media, noticeably its subsequent theories, and the literature on terrorism may initially appear disparate; however, both phenomena are convoluted, offering potential for dynamic discussions that intertwine various dimensions and perspectives. Thus, the primary focus of this dissertation's first chapter is to explore the evolving nature of these phenomena, with a specific aim to elucidate their definitions, historical origins, and enigmatic influence. In particular, this chapter serves as a foundational framework for subsequent discussions by delving into the definitions of media and mass media, as well as examining the evolving landscape of American media. Furthermore, a closer examination of the mosaic of media in New York City is also conducted, analyzing the city's historical roots and the significant influence it has carted. Additionally, the chapter endeavors to deepen our understanding of the historical roots of terrorism by tracing its origins and exploring pivotal moments that have shaped its trajectory. Moreover, this chapter undertakes an exploration of the multidimensional motivational dimensions of terrorism, with a focus on the sociological and psychological factors that contribute to the process of radicalization and extremist behavior.

Therefore, in this two parts chapter, we aim, on one hand, to unravel the definitions of media, investigating the influential role of New York City as a media hub and a historically significant city in its own right. On the other hand, by exploring the obscured political motivations of terrorism, this dissertation attempts to provide a wide-range theoretical framework that enriches our understanding of these phenomena and their contextual relevance in the contemporary world.

1. Exploring Key Concepts: Media and New York City

1.2. Exploring the Definitions of Media, Mass Media, and the Dynamic Landscape of American Media Today

The postmodern era has ushered in a climate of unparalleled interconnectedness, far surpassing the wildest dreams of our ancestors. A mere century ago, the idea of sitting in our homes and witnessing real-time events from every corner of the world through a simple internet connection and a smartphone would have been deemed unfathomable. The rapid pace of change in our world is mirrored by the evolving landscape of media and how it presents that reality to us. According to Ben Bagdikian, a renowned communication researcher, the media in today's world function as a parallel to the nervous system of our societies. This comparison draws attention to the pivotal role played by the media in shaping public perception and constructing a collective understanding of global events. Bagdikian emphasizes the influence wielded by the news system, asserting that what remains unbroadcasted by the media effectively ceases to exist in the eyes of the majority (Bagdikian xii-xiii). In this sense, the media acts as the gatekeeper of information, shaping our perceptions of the world and its inhabitants

In this new era, the pervasive influence of media transcends geographical and cultural boundaries, leaving no facet of society untouched. Its omnipresence infiltrates even the most private and domestic spaces, shaping our perceptions and experiences. Within this ever-present media landscape, the task of navigating the vast expanse of information becomes crucial. To develop a holistic understanding, it is imperative to explore the multifaceted roles that media plays within society, while also delving into its definition and its closely intertwined counterpart, mass media.

In a traditional sense, the concept of media encompasses various forms of mass communication, including print, broadcast, and digital platforms. Jurgen Habermas, a prominent social theorist influenced by the Marxist school of thought at the University of Frankfurt, provides valuable insights into the definition and function of media. Habermas asserts that media serves the purpose of disseminating information to shape public opinion. He introduces the notion of a “public sphere,” where individuals engage in rational discourse and deliberation on matters of public interest (Habermas xii). However, when the opportunity for discussion and critical examination of information is hindered, media can transform into a tool for propaganda. Habermas also highlights the role of media in fostering democratic participation and facilitating the exchange of ideas among citizens. According to his work, media acts as a mediator between the private sphere of individuals and the public sphere of society, enabling the circulation of information and the formation of public opinion (Habermas 1). Habermas’s perspectives shed light on the transformative power of media in shaping societal dynamics and influencing public discourse.

Given the relationship between the terms “media” and “mass media,” distinguishing between the two becomes challenging. However, for the purpose of this discussion, we will focus on the concept of mass media, as the term “mass” pertains to a significant number of audiences or consumers. Herein, mass communication becomes the most conspicuous sign of mass media. Building on that rationale, Jake Lule states that mass communication belongs to “information transmitted to large segments of the population”. This transmission of mass communication can occur through various forms of media, which serve as the means of transmission, encompassing print, digital, or electronic mediums. As a result, mass media refers to

the channels of communication designed to reach a broad audience: “radio, newspapers, magazines, books, video games, and Internet media such as blogs, podcasts, and video sharing” (5). A helpful way to understand the distinction is that a mass media message can be disseminated through multiple forms of mass media, such as an advertising campaign employing television, radio, and Internet components.

Across these two phenomena, culture, in a general sense, encompasses “the shared values, attitudes, beliefs, and practices that characterize a social group, organization, or institution” (Lule 5). Just as it proves challenging to provide an exact definition of culture, the boundaries of cultures themselves can be elusive, given their fluidity, diversity, and frequent overlapping nature. Given the prominence of our discussion on the portrayal of Muslims in American mass media, particularly in outlets like *the New York Times*, it becomes imperative to explore the multifaceted role that media assumes in the daily lives of average Americans. Understanding the profound influence, it exerts on individuals is essential in comprehending its significance.

According Daniel C. Hallin, in his book *The Uncensored War: The Media and Vietnam*, the American media has emerged as the most influential and powerful medium of information known to mankind. Hallin argues that the American news media, through its coverage of events both within and outside the country, has played a crucial role in shaping domestic opinion and influencing perceptions about the nation’s objectives and actions. This influence became particularly evident following World War II and the Vietnam War, as highlighted by Richard Nixon’s statement that the American news media had come to dominate public opinion regarding the purpose and conduct of these conflicts (Hallin qtd. in 3). To comprehend the landscape of American media in contemporary times, it is crucial to grasp the role that this medium

has spearheaded: the dynamics between information dissemination, particularly the presentation and representation of news, as well as the realm of entertainment.

The convergence of entertainment and information has become increasingly prevalent in contemporary media, posing a challenge to the delineation of these two spheres. As noted by Lule, in the past decade, the American media landscape has experienced a significant shift, presenting a wide range of choices for both information and entertainment. Television, in particular, has emerged as a central platform, hosting an assortment of 24-hour news channels, music videos, nature documentaries, and reality shows delving into various subjects, including hoarders and fashion models (9). This transformation reflects the evolving nature of media consumption, blurring the boundaries between traditional news dissemination and engaging entertainment formats.

Furthermore, the emergence of cable providers and online platforms has revolutionized the way audiences engage with media content, granting them unprecedented access to a plethora of movies, television shows, and videos at their convenience, facilitated through streaming or downloading methods. In addition to these digital advancements, traditional media formats continue to hold significance, as exemplified by the fact that half of U.S. households receive daily newspapers and the average individual subscribes to 1.9 magazines (Lule 9). These statistics serve as a testament to the far-reaching influence and pervasive presence of media within American society, highlighting the enduring relevance and impact of both digital and traditional media channels.

Unquestionably, the new media had created a flow of information under many categories, and labels used by the masses. However, it is essential to acknowledge that

this flow of information is not an organic process but rather influenced by arbitrary factors, such as news selection and dissemination. The inherent challenge lies in comprehending the complex motivations behind tragic events, such as acts of terrorism. Were the reasons for such tragedies easily identifiable, measures could be taken to prevent their recurrence. Nonetheless, the news media operates as an alert system, designed to serve the social order. However, this system can be subverted and turned against society itself when it succumbs to the manipulation of violent stimuli propagated by terrorists. The attacks of 9/11 serve as a poignant example, wherein the media's saturation coverage amplified these acts of terrorism to immense proportions.

The incessant repetition of terrorist-produced "bad news," exemplified by the tragic events of 9/11, extensively broadcasted across global television networks for prolonged periods, resembles a recurring auto-immune affliction that repeatedly infects the minds of viewers. This perpetual exposure possesses the potential to instill fear in some individuals. The dissemination and amplification of such events by the media raise concerns regarding their impact on societal perceptions and reactions. Alex P. Schmid highlights the critical question of how to address terrorist-produced "bad news," asserting that the proliferation of newsworthy violent "pseudo-events" has tainted journalism. While it is essential for the mass media to report naturally occurring adverse news, whether fatal or not, measures must be taken to minimize the intrusion of artificially fabricated violent events engineered to exploit the existing news value system (577). This is because the media's power lies fundamentally in its capacity to shape collective comprehension, exerting control over the narrative of global occurrences and influencing public opinion.

1.3. The Mosaic of Media in New York City: Roots and Influence

New York City, known as a melting pot of cultures and ideas, has a distinctive place in American history due to the influence since its early settlers. From determined Dutch pioneers who founded New Amsterdam to enterprising English settlers who expanded its horizons, the city's development was driven by waves of immigrants seeking opportunity and freedom. This diverse influx of voices, languages, and traditions fostered an inclusive and tolerant environment, shaping the city's enduring liberal ethos. From the Dutch, Irish immigrants, to the vibrant cultural enclave of Harlem for Black Americans, the city's diversity fueled creative collaboration and intellectual exchange. Visionaries, writers, and thinkers were drawn to the city's energy and the endless possibilities it offered. These interactions in bustling streets and coffeehouses gave rise to intellectual circles and movements that left an indelible mark on the city's identity.

New York City has garnered the reputation of being the global hub for media, earning the title of capital of the world's entertainment and media, as Miranda et al. writes: New York is the capital of the entertainment and media world "thanks in part to a continuing history of diversity, inclusion, tremendous energy as well as philanthropic and government support for education, the arts and culture" (27). The city's media landscape holds significant international sway, encompassing some of the most influential newspapers, largest publishing houses, major record companies, and prolific television studios worldwide. It serves as a central global center for industries such as books, magazines, music, newspapers, and television. In addition to its global standing, New York City boasts the distinction of being the largest media

market in North America. Among the city's media conglomerates are esteemed entities like CNN (CNN Global), the Hearst Corporation, NBC Universal, The New York Times Company, the Fox Corporation and News Corp, the Thomson Reuters Corporation, Warner Bros. Discovery, and Paramount Global. Notably, New York houses the headquarters of seven out of the world's top eight global advertising agency networks (28).

The newspaper landscape in New York City holds considerable prominence, as evidenced by the presence of two out of the three U.S. national daily newspapers with the highest circulation. These notable publications are *The Wall Street Journal* and *The New York Times*, the latter of which has gained the nickname "the Grey Lady" and boasts a remarkable record of receiving the most Pulitzer Prizes in journalism (McGowan 373). Widely recognized as the foremost source of news in the United States, *The New York Times* has become synonymous with the city itself. Its prominence has not only made it a staple for Americans but has also garnered recognition from individuals worldwide, solidifying the association between the city of New York and this influential press outlet.

According to Aurora Wallace, in *Media Capital: Architecture and Communications in New York City*, New York City's media landscape encompasses various notable newspapers. The city is home to major tabloid newspapers like *The New York Daily News*, founded by Joseph Medill Patterson in 1919, and *The New York Post*, established by Alexander Hamilton in 1801 (Wallace 92). Additionally, *Newsday*, a widely circulated newspaper originating from Long Island, enjoys a substantial readership within the city (127). *The New York Amsterdam News*, a respected African-American newspaper located in Harlem, also contributes to the city's vibrant media scene (16). Furthermore, that is to say that the television industry

in New York City dominates the world and still grows even in today's climate and competition.

The city hosts the headquarters of all four major American broadcast networks—ABC, CBS, Fox, and NBC. Moreover, New York City is the chosen base of operations for numerous cable channels such as CNN, MSNBC, MTV, Fox News, HBO, and Comedy Central. The city's thriving television production scene is exemplified by the fact that over 100 television shows were recorded in New York City in 2005 alone (73). New York City's well-deserved status as the media capital of the world is supported by its influential newspapers, prominent publishing houses, major record companies, and prolific television studios. Its dominance in the media market is further enhanced by the presence of renowned media conglomerates and a diverse ethnic press.

2. Gaining Insights into the Characterizations of Terrorism:

Exploring the Roots and Motivation

2.1. Understanding the Historical Roots of Terrorism

The phenomenon of terrorism is inherently thorny, as it encompasses a multitude of crisscrossed facets within the realm of human experience. Politics, psychology, philosophy, military strategy, and history, among other disciplines, converge in the dismaying genesis of terrorism. The subject matter elicits intense emotional responses due to the visceral impact of terrorist acts, while the contentious perception of the justifiability of violence further intensifies the emotional sight surrounding this issue. Engaging in discussions about terrorism inevitably stirs strong sentiments and raises crucial questions. A significant challenge lies in navigating the uneasy balance between acknowledging the moral outrage provoked by acts of

terrorism and striving to comprehend the underlying motivations that drive individuals and groups towards resorting to such extreme measures.

As we embark on an exploration of human history, it becomes evident that acts of violence have persistently emerged as a prominent tool for opposing states, monarchies, and ruling authorities. This enduring presence of conflict within our shared narrative highlights the intricate and multifaceted essence of our collective experience. Delving into the etymology of the term “terror” offers us a glimpse into the significance it holds. In his work, *Gothic Fiction and the Invention of Terrorism: The Politics and Aesthetics of Fear in the Age of the Reign of Terror*, J. Fine sheds light on the rich etymological heritage of the word. He traces its origins to the Latin verb *Tersere*, which underwent transformation to *Terrere*. This linguistic journey can be traced back to the 12th century when the word “terrible” emerged in French around 1160. By 1356, “*terreur*” had firmly established its place in the lexicon. The evolution continued, and Middle English embraced the term “*terroure*,” eventually giving rise to the contemporary expression “terror” (Fine 42). Nonetheless, the act of terrorism is not a recent phenomenon but rather an enduring feature of human history.

Throughout history, acts of violence have been employed as a means of opposition against states, monarchies, and ruling authorities. However, it is essential to differentiate such acts from the phenomenon of terrorism itself. While acts of opposition violence typically targeted soldiers and governing figures, terrorism stands apart due to its deliberate use of violence against civilians, specifically designed to instill fear and panic within the population. The roots of terrorism stretch far beyond the confines of the 18th century, as J. Crawford explores in *Gothic Fiction and the Invention of Terrorism: The Politics and Aesthetics of Fear in the Age of the Reign of Terror*. Crawford reveals that instances of terrorism can be found in ancient

civilizations, such as the Zealots of Palestine opposing Roman rule over 2000 years ago and the Reign of Terror during the French Revolution (xi). However, Crawford emphasizes that from a linguistic perspective, the discourse surrounding “terrorism” did not emerge in the ancient world or even in the later nineteenth century (xi). In the modern era, terrorism has spread across nations worldwide, with notable instances in Ireland, Indonesia, the United Kingdom, Sri Lanka, Colombia, and the United States, among others.

Throughout history, ancient philosophers contemplated tyrannicide, recognizing tyranny as a grave political threat to Greco-Roman civilization. Fine continues to illustrate that medieval scholars also grappled with the notion of tyranny, with theologians like Thomas Aquinas distinguishing between legitimate rulers who abused power and usurpers who could be dealt with by any means necessary. Understanding terrorism presents a significant challenge (42). On one hand, acknowledging the moral outrage evoked by terrorist acts is crucial. On the other hand, attempting to comprehend the rationale behind terrorism requires a balanced approach. It necessitates examining the motivations, grievances, and ideologies that drive individuals or groups to resort to violence, all while keeping in mind the ethical complexities surrounding the use of force.

The terms ‘terrorism’ and ‘terrorist’ have gained renewed prominence in modern times, particularly during the 1970s. This resurgence can be attributed to various conflicts, such as the Israeli-Palestinian question and the Troubles in Northern Ireland, where organizations like the IRA, short for Irish Republican Army, employed violent tactics to instill distress in the population. However, it is important to recognize that terrorism is not limited to the contemporary era of the 20th and 21st centuries; its roots can be traced back to significant historical periods. As an example,

also the interest of this research, the impact of the infamous September 11 attacks, which targeted the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, serve as a lens into the pervasive nature of terrorism and its ramifications on contemporary society.

2.2. Multifaceted Political Motivational Dimensions of Terrorism: Exploring the Sociological and Psychological Factors

The most common motivations for terrorism cited by scholars are political motivations. The research linking the political environment of a group and the causes of terrorism is extensive. There are three leading political causes of terrorism. The first is political oppression. If a group does not feel that they are represented, or represented equally, in the political sphere they are more likely to turn to terrorism. Second, ethno-nationalist causes are very important. Many groups turn to terrorism for ethno-nationalist reasons. While some ethnic groups seek greater representation or a regime change, other groups seek to break away and form their own country. Many terrorist groups form around nationalism and the wish for greater representation or their own country. Lastly, political instability is cited as a cause of terrorism, as it creates power vacuums and uncertainties in populations.

Terrorism remains a complex and unrelenting issue in contemporary society, captivating the attention of scholars and policymakers alike. Understanding the motivations behind acts of terrorism is a crucial step towards effectively addressing and mitigating this global threat. Hence, we aim to delve into the sphere of political motivations for terrorism, exploring what links the political environment of a group to the causes of terrorist activities. By examining three prominent political causes—political oppression, ethno-nationalist aspirations, and political instability—we aim to

shed light on the multifaceted dynamics that contribute to the emergence and perpetuation of terrorist acts.

One of the prevailing rationales often attributed to acts of terrorism is rooted in political oppression. When individuals or collectives perceive themselves as marginalized or lacking adequate representation within the realm of politics, resorting to terrorism becomes a likelier course of action through which they can voice their grievances and strive to accomplish their aims. E. Newman delves into this perspective at length, positing that the absence of all-encompassing political processes and a sense of exclusion can foster an environment conducive to radicalization and the manifestation of violent behaviors (Newman 751). By resorting to terrorism, these marginalized factions' endeavor to challenge existing power structures and assert their rightful position within the political arena.

According to sociological perspectives, as explored in Gus Martin's work *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives*, terrorism often arises from intergroup conflicts involving an in-group and an out-group, where the out-group perceives itself as experiencing discrimination or inadequate representation in the political sphere (Martin 59). This leads to a sense of political oppression, and Martin argues that several conditions must be met for terrorism to occur in such contexts: a group's perception of injustice, the belief that meaningful social dissent is unachievable, and the identification of contradictions within the system that can be challenged (Martin 60). In the field of terrorism studies, sociologists like Martin, aim at examining the multiple dimensions of terrorism motives, including the social and psychological factors influencing individuals' involvement, the role of social networks and interactions in radicalization processes, and the broader social consequences of terrorism on communities and societies.

The second point highlighted in Martin's research has attracted significant attention among scholars in the field of sociology of terrorism, which aims to comprehend terrorism as a social phenomenon. This point emphasizes that when a group perceives their peaceful expressions as ineffective or disregarded, they are more likely to turn to terrorist tactics to convey their message. This aligns with the findings presented by T. Krieger and D. Meierrieks in their article "What Causes Terrorism?" which suggests that the likelihood of resorting to terrorist actions increases when non-violent alternatives for expressing frustrations are scarce or non-existent. Commonly referred to as the "no other choice theory," this concept characterizes the perception that individuals or groups may turn to terrorism when they believe there are no viable options or alternatives available to address their grievances or effectively communicate their message (7). While the specific term "no choice theory" does not seem to be attributed to a particular scholar, it has emerged as a concept within the field of terrorism studies, serving as a descriptor for this notion.

According to scholarly consensus, ethno-nationalist causes are widely recognized as a significant driving force behind acts of terrorism. This assertion finds support in Newman's research, which demonstrates that numerous groups driven by ethno-nationalist sentiments turn to terrorism in order to attain greater representation or establish an autonomous sovereign state. While some groups seek autonomy or self-determination within existing political systems, others pursue complete secession and the formation of an independent nation (Newman 763). It is important to clarify that the concept of nationalism being discussed here does not refer to a sense of belonging or patriotism rooted in historical identification with a country. Rather, it pertains to an extreme form of identification, characterized by fixation, which serves

as a unifying and cohesive force, compelling individuals and collectives to engage in violent actions to promote their shared identity and territorial aspirations.

Neil J. Smelser argues in *The Faces of Terrorism: Social and Psychological Dimensions* that persistent discrimination, exclusion, or disadvantage experienced by a group increases the likelihood of their resorting to terrorism (16). This association aligns with the ethno-nationalist cause of terrorism, which numerous scholars consider to be the primary driver of terrorism worldwide. Kim Cragin and Sara Daly explore this cause further in their work “The Dynamic Terrorist Threat: An Assessment of Group Motivations and Capabilities in a Changing World,” asserting that groups with collective grievances, often of a political nature, are prone to engaging in violent actions against the state (12). Ethno-nationalist groups may consist of populations aspiring to secede from their current government and establish their own independent state. Alternatively, such groups may seek greater autonomy or representation within existing systems. Regardless of the specific goals, ethno-nationalist groups tend to resort to violence. While this cause intersects with political oppression, it extends beyond it when groups perceive the necessity of a separate state to fully express their political views. Terrorists often view this as a justifiable cause, emphasizing the need to protect their people (Horgan 89). Many terrorist groups actively champion this nationalist cause.

The final motivation, within this framework, is political instability, which is regarded as the fundamental catalyst for terrorism. Alberto Abadie argues in his work “Poverty, Political Freedom, and the Roots of Terrorism” that political, social, and economic instabilities, characterized by power vacuums, governance failures, and uncertainties, create an environment conducive to the emergence and proliferation of terrorist activities (Abadie 8). In such contexts, where established systems of authority

falter, extremist ideologies and violent movements find profligate ground to thrive. The disruption of social order and the erosion of trust in political institutions can lead disillusioned individuals to turn to terrorism as a means of exerting control, challenging the existing order, or exploiting the vulnerabilities of a weakened state.

In addition to the aforementioned perspectives, Krieger and Meierrieks also identify political instability as a contributing factor and motivator of terrorism. They assert that during periods of political change, such as the fall of a ruling group and the subsequent creation of a power vacuum, terrorist groups may seize the opportunity to advance their agendas (17). It is important to note, however, that this particular scenario of power vacuums being exploited by terrorist groups is not widely prevalent or dominant in the overall landscape of terrorism. Through an exploration of political oppression, ethno-nationalist aspirations, and political instability, we have examined some insights into the political motives of terrorism and its origins. The all-encompassing result from this discussion is that the motivations for terrorism are varied and complex, with political factors occupying a prominent and diversified positions in academic views.

Conclusion

Finally, our exploration of the various manifestations of the media and terrorism in this chapter has shed light on the various impressions that both exert in shaping public perceptions. This chapter unfolded different views on the media, in particular, as a narrative apparatus that reacts and is stimulated by events in the world. Among the other things this chapter also tackled, and that is inherently tied to human experiences is what violent measures humans can take at times for a variety of reasons. Certainly, we are discussing terrorism acts and how the media picks up on

this and turns it into a narrative story. Both phenomena share space as a shocking story source and consumption end in disseminating information, constructing narratives, and influencing public opinion.

Beyond the role of the media in terrorism, our investigation delved into New York City as the cultural center where both phenomena, media frenzy and terrorist calamity, locked into one, notably, that is, 9/11 of 2001. The aftermath of the shocking event continues to haunt the city, and its numerous media outlets continue to react to that attack to this day. One of these is, of course, the Grey Lady, New York Times, which we will discuss in the following chapter. Finally, by drawing insights from various resources on media studies, history, sociology, psychology, and much more, the chapter developed a critical understanding regarding various concepts that will be discussed throughout this dissertation and will assist the reader in capturing the essentials of each notion.

Chapter Two:

9/11 Attacks:

**Unveiling the Profound impacts and enduring
aftermath**

Introduction

On the morning of September 11, 2001, an ordinary day for millions across the United States was abruptly interrupted by a deafening roar and blinding flash at 8:46 am. American Airlines Flight 11 had crashed into the North Tower of the World Trade Center in New York, signaling the beginning of a series of events that would change the course of modern history. Shortly after, United Airlines Flight 175 attacked the South West of the Pentagon, leaving the world in disbelief as the aftermath of 9/11 unfolded before their eyes. The damages were catastrophic, and the casualties devastating, with the shockwaves of this tragedy still reverberating around the world to this day.

This chapter delves into the background of the 9/11 attacks and explores the events leading up to that day. It examines the specifics of the American Airlines Flight 11 attack on the North Tower of the World Trade Center in New York and United Airlines Flight 175 attacking The South West of the Pentagon. The aftermath of 9/11 and the damages caused, as well as the 9/11 casualties, are also assessed. Furthermore, the primary goal of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive overview of this event, its lingering implications for the Islamic world, and the subsequent headlines of major news outlets. Through this chapter, a critical perspective is inevitably applied in order to grasp the impact that the 9/11 attacks had on the world and those who were affected by them, whether domestically or abroad.

1. Background of the 9/11 Attacks

The origins of the 9/11 attacks have been subject to intense scrutiny and analysis, with divergent views on the underlying motives that led to the devastating events. While some attribute the attacks to the Western interventionist policies in the

Middle East and Afghanistan, others point to the religious ideologies that drove the likes of Osama bin Laden to orchestrate the infamous terroristic attacks. A closer examination of the genesis of the 9/11 attacks, and the subsequent aftermaths of this historical shocking event, uncovers the extent to which this tragedy has perpetuated the purposeful and non-deliberate Western world's stigmatization of Islam as a radical doctrine of faith and the discriminatory attitudes towards Muslims.

In this context, the roots of the 9/11 attacks can be traced back to the early 1990s, when Osama bin Laden and other members of Al Qaeda began to plan a series of attacks against the United States. Al Qaeda, as we know it today, emerged from the ashes of the Soviet-Afghan War in the late 1980s. During this period, Arab and Afghan fighters were recruited, trained, and armed by the United States, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan to fight against Soviet forces in Afghanistan. Fawaz Gerges, who explores the internal dynamics of Al Qaeda, including the relationship between its leaders and followers, and the role of ideology in shaping its worldview, states in "The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global" that Osama bin Laden and other militants were part of this network of fighters, and it was during this time that the seeds of Al Qaeda members sown "baiya" to Bin Laden (Gerges 40). Nonetheless, it is important to emphasize that the formation of this group was driven by a multitude of historical factors.

After the Soviet withdrawal, Bin Laden and other militants formed Al Qaeda as a way to continue their struggle against what they saw as Western imperialism and corrupt Muslim governments. Al Qaeda's founding ideology was based on a radical interpretation of Islam that called for the overthrow of secular and pro-Western regimes in the Muslim world, the establishment of an Islamic caliphate, and the expulsion of foreign influence from Muslim lands (Wright 3-5). The group was

previously indicted for their involvement in the bombings of US embassies and nationals in Kenya and Tanzania, as well as attacks on other targets. The landmark legal case, “United States v. bin Laden, 92 F. Supp. 2d 189 (S.D.N.Y. 2000),” found bin Laden and other members of Al Qaeda guilty for the bombings and ordered bin Laden to pay over \$5 billion in damages to the victims’ families. This case established the legal framework for subsequent actions against Al Qaeda and is significant in discussions of the US government’s efforts to combat terrorism and hold non-state actors accountable for acts of violence.

Bernard Haykel, a professor of Near Eastern Studies at Princeton University, explores the epistemological roots of Al Qaeda’s ideology and links it to the ideas of Sayyid Qutb and other Islamic scholars like Hassan al-Banna. Qutb, an Egyptian Islamist, advocated for the establishment of a pure Islamic state and the rejection of Western values, which influenced Bin Laden and his followers to build a network of supporters who shared a similar vision (46). Likewise, Jessica Stern, a lecturer on Terrorism at Harvard University, notes that Bin Laden and his top lieutenants viewed the United States as the main enemy of Islam and believed that the only way to defeat it was through a series of spectacular attacks (79). In contrast to this view, Nathan Brown contends in his book, *The Rule of Law in the Arab World: Courts in Egypt and the Gulf*; that the Western perspective has misinterpreted Qutb’s thoughts on Islamic governance and social justice. Even though these ideas have had a significant impact on Islamist movements in the Middle East, Brown explains that they were originally utilized to combat the authoritarianism and corruption that plagued Egyptian society during and shortly after British imperialism (135). Hence, the core of Qutb’s teachings was appealing, especially after Arab nationalist and socialist movements failed to address these pressing concerns.

According to Lawrence Wright, a writer for *The New Yorker*, in “The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11,” the decision to carry out the 9/11 attacks was made in the mid-1990s after bin Laden and other Al Qaeda leaders became convinced that U.S could be defeated through a series of spectacular attacks (Wright 351-354). The attacks themselves were carried out by a team of 19 hijackers, most of whom were from Saudi Arabia. The hijackers trained for months in Afghanistan and other countries, learning how to fly commercial airplanes and planning the logistics of the attacks (269). On September 11, 2001, the hijackers commandeered four planes, flying two of them into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, and another into the Pentagon outside Washington, D.C. The fourth plane, which was believed to be headed for the U.S. Capitol or the White House, crashed in a field in Pennsylvania after passengers attempted to overpower the hijackers. The attacks resulted in the deaths of nearly 3,000 people, making it the deadliest terrorist attack in U.S. history (350). In response, the U.S. government launched a global war on terror, which included the invasion of Afghanistan and the overthrow of the Taliban government, which had provided support to Al Qaeda.

The 9/11 Commission Report, issued in 2004 by the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, NCTA, provides a detailed account of the events leading up to the attacks and the government’s response (NCTA xv). This report was chaired by Thomas Kean, the former governor of New Jersey from 1982 until 1990, and included five Democrats and five Republicans. The legislation creating the commission was signed into law by President George W. Bush. It emphasizes the need for greater collaboration and information sharing among intelligence agencies and highlights the importance of improved aviation security

measures (xv). The commission's report serves as an important resource for policymakers, scholars, and the general public to understand the complex factors that led to the attacks and to identify areas for improvement in national security policies and procedures. As stated in the report, the commission's purpose "has not been to assign individual blame...[the] aim has been to provide the fullest possible account of the events surrounding 9/11 and to identify lessons learned" (xvi). The report's recommendations have played a significant role in shaping national security policies and procedures since the attacks, as it emphasizes that "the events of September 11, 2001, were a call to action for our nation" (55). This documentation, along with others, has provided a pathway for historians and social critics to examine the initial response of officials, lawmakers, and politicians in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks.

2. American Airlines Flight 11 Attacking the North Tower of The World Trade Center in New York

On the morning of September 11, 2001, the world watched in horror as the United States grieved one of the deadliest terrorist attacks in its history. Four commercial airliners were hijacked, with two crashing into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, one into the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia, and the last crashing into a field in Pennsylvania (NCTA 1). The hijackers' intended target for American Airlines Flight 11, which crashed into the North Tower of the World Trade Center, remains unclear, but their actions have left an indelible mark on the nation's psyche. American Airlines Flight 11 was scheduled to depart from Boston's Logan International Airport at 7:45 a.m. on September 11, 2001. The Boeing 767-223ER aircraft had a seating capacity of 158 passengers, including nine crew

members. At 7:40 a.m., the plane pushed back from the gate and taxied to the runway. Among the passengers on board were five hijackers: Mohamed Atta, Abdulaziz al Omari, Satam al Suqami, Wail al Shehri, and Waleed al Shehri (2). The coordinated actions of these Al Qaeda members were carefully planned, as outlined in the report.

For instance, Atta, the ringleader of the 9/11 attacks, had arrived in the United States in June 2000 to begin his preparations for the mission. He and Omari, another member, had taken flying lessons in Florida, and they had stayed in touch with other members of the terrorist cell via encrypted communications. The other three hijackers had arrived in the United States in the spring and summer of 2001 and had been staying in the same area of Florida as Atta and Omari (NCTA 224). The hijackers had carefully planned the attack for months. They had studied the security measures in place at Logan International Airport and had selected American Airlines Flight 11 because it was a transcontinental flight with a large fuel capacity. They planned to crash the plane into a high-profile target, causing maximum damage and loss of life (24). It is evident from these initiatives that the 9/11 attacks were meticulously planned and executed with a high level of sophistication.

At 7:59 a.m., American Airlines Flight 11 reached its cruising altitude of 26,000 feet. Two minutes later, the hijackers took control of the plane, overpowering the flight attendants and stabbing two of the pilots. Atta, who was piloting the aircraft, then took over the controls and set a course for New York City (NCTA 4). As the plane approached its target, air traffic controllers and military officials were scrambling to understand the situation. The North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) had been alerted to the hijacking at 8:37 a.m., (20) but it was too late to intercept the plane before it crashed into the North Tower of the World Trade Center at 8:46 a.m. The impact of the crash caused a massive explosion, and the

resulting fireball engulfed several floors of the building (7). All 92 people on board American Airlines Flight 11 were killed instantly, including the hijackers. In addition, many people in the North Tower of the World Trade Center were killed or injured, and the building itself suffered extensive damage (7). The impact of the attack was felt across the nation and around the world, and it marked the beginning of a new era of global terrorism and heightened security measures.

3. United Airlines Flight 175 Attacking the North Tower of The World Trade Center in New York

United Airlines Flight 175 was another tragic event that took place on September 11, 2001. The flight was hijacked by five terrorists: Marwan al Shehhi, Fayeze Banihammad, Mohand al Shehri, Ahmed al Ghamdi, and Hamza al Ghamdi, who boarded the flight at Boston's Logan International Airport. They had checked in for their flight and passed through security without any issues (NCTA 1-3). The hijackers boarded United Airlines Flight 175 between 7:23 and 7:28, just a few minutes before the scheduled departure time of 8:00. At 8:14, American Airlines Flight 11 had already crashed into the North Tower of the World Trade Center. The hijackers of United Airlines Flight 175 waited for their moment and took control of the plane at 9:03 (8). As a result of the unprecedented breach of American Airlines' security and the subsequent identification of shortcomings in airport security procedures, various measures were implemented to enhance security. These measures included the establishment of the Transportation Security Administration (TSA) and the reinforcement of airport security protocols.

According to the 9/11 Commission Report, the hijackers breached the cockpit by force and incapacitated the crew, taking over the controls of the plane. They then

turned off the transponder, which made it difficult for air traffic controllers to track the flight, and changed its course towards New York City (NCTA 4). At 9:03, the hijackers crashed United Airlines Flight 175 into the South Tower of the World Trade Center in New York City, killing all 65 people on board and many others in the building (8). The impact of United Airlines Flight 175 on the South Tower caused extensive damage, and the subsequent fire weakened the building's steel structure, leading to its eventual collapse. The loss of life, destruction of property, and the impact on the American psyche was enormous (8). The 9/11 attacks were the deadliest terrorist attacks engendered on American soil in history and left an indelible mark on the nation.

4. The Impact of 9/11 and its Aftermath on Physical Capital

Losses and Damage

The article "Measuring the Effects of the September 11 Attack on New York City" by Bram et al. discusses the economic impact of the terrorist attack on New York City, including the destruction of the World Trade Center and damage to the public infrastructure in Lower Manhattan. The authors estimate the total physical losses sustained in the attack to be approximately \$21.6 billion, including the cost of replacing destroyed and damaged physical capital and infrastructure. The article also discusses efforts to rebuild and redevelop the affected areas, including the formation of the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation. The authors estimate the total loss through June 2002 to range between \$33 billion and \$36 billion, including the estimated aggregate present value of lost lifetime earnings for the affected workers of about \$7.8 billion and a shortfall of aggregate earnings of \$3.6 billion to \$6.4 billion in the nine months following the attack (Bram et al. 5-6). Certainly, the September 11

terrorist attack on the World Trade Center resulted in significant losses to New York City's public and private physical capital.

The attack destroyed approximately 30 million square feet of commercial office space, over 100 retail stores, subway tunnels, the PATH train station, streets surrounding the site, and parts of the telecommunications and power infrastructure in Lower Manhattan. The impact of the attack on the city's productivity is comparable to that of a major natural disaster such as an earthquake. To estimate the dollar value of the city's physical capital losses, several economic and financial measures were used. Repair and replacement cost estimates for the major buildings and infrastructure affected by the attack were publicly available, but these values are nominal gross replacement and repair costs over a multi-year period and do not account for asset depreciation or potential offsets from government rebuilding programs or private insurance proceeds (Bram et al. 2-3). Yet, estimating the complete value of physical capital losses incurred by the city remains a challenging task, despite recent studies.

Keeping up with Bram et al, the physical capital losses resulting from the attack can be divided into three main categories. These include the cost of cleaning up and restoring the site, the cost of replacing the destroyed office and retail space in the World Trade Center complex and repairing the damaged buildings in the surrounding areas, and the cost of repairing damaged infrastructure such as subway lines, the PATH terminal, Con Edison facilities, and telecommunications equipment in Lower Manhattan. As of June 2002, the cleanup and restoration of the World Trade Center site had been completed, with final costs expected to be around \$1.5 billion. These costs covered expenses such as debris removal, street repair, and overtime pay for police and firefighters, and were expected to be reimbursed by FEMA (Bram et al. 11)

Therefore, the utility of these categories provides a framework for comprehending the extent of the physical capital losses sustained.

The World Trade Center attack caused major physical capital losses to New York City's public and private assets in Lower Manhattan. These losses encompass 30 million square feet of commercial office space, over 100 retail stores in the World Trade Center area, subway tunnels, the PATH train station, streets, and parts of the telecommunications and power infrastructure. The rebuilding costs are grouped into three categories: cleanup and restoration, replacing office and retail space, and repairing public infrastructure. The estimated total cost for rebuilding the World Trade Center complex and adjacent areas is \$11.2 billion, with \$6.7 billion allocated for the World Trade Center and \$4.5 billion for damaged buildings. The estimated cost of replacing contents is \$5.2 billion. While some former occupants relocated within New York City, others will relocate to New Jersey. The total cost of repairing public infrastructure in Lower Manhattan is \$3.7 billion. Private insurance and FEMA funds will offset a significant portion of the cost, but the city's productivity will remain lower until most of the rebuilding is completed (Bram et al. 11). The physical losses caused by the 9/11 attack, including rebuilding the World Trade Center complex, repairing damaged buildings, and replacing destroyed contents, are estimated to be \$21.6 billion. Private insurance and FEMA funds are expected to cover a significant portion of these losses, but the estimated replacement cost assumes that the area will be rebuilt to match its pre-attack design. The final cost will depend on the decisions made about the site's redesign, including a possible memorial, residential units, and transportation linkages (12-13). Finally, the attack on the World Trade Center not only resulted in significant physical capital losses to public and

private assets in Lower Manhattan but also reverberated throughout the entire United States.

5. The 9/11 Casualties

The calamitous events of 9/11 resulted in the loss of almost 3,000 lives, which was a significant loss for both New York City and the nation. The casualties included individuals who worked in the World Trade Center towers, the first responders, as well as tourists and visitors. To assess the loss of life, Bram et al. use the “lifetime-earnings loss” concept, which calculates the economic losses by adding up a worker’s annual income from the year of their death until their expected year of retirement. The authors estimated that the workers who died in the attack earned an average of \$127,000 per year based on the average income of workers in Manhattan and the finance and insurance sectors in Manhattan in 2000 (Bram et al. 6). These attacks had a significant impact on families who relied on individuals lost or affected by them, making it difficult for them to cope with the consequences.

Assuming that the deceased workers had twenty-two more years to work before retirement, the aggregate earnings loss reached \$7.8 billion, or an average of \$2.8 million per worker, estimating that their income grew at the rate of inflation. Private insurance may cover some of these losses, but not all of the workers had private life insurance policies. The workers’ families will receive some compensation from various charitable funds and the federal Victim Compensation Fund. However, these payments represent costs to other parties and do not reduce the overall cost of the attack (Bram et al. 6). That being said, the loss of human capital, in terms of the productive years of these workers, has long-term implications for their families and the economy as a whole.

6. Policies and Strategies : The Response of the U.S Government to 9/11

The U.S. government implemented a range of policies and strategies in response to 9/11. The most notable of these were the creation of the Department of Homeland Security, the USA PATRIOT Act, and the invasion of Afghanistan. The Department of Homeland Security (DHS) was created in 2002 to consolidate and coordinate federal efforts to protect the United States from terrorism. The DHS is responsible for a range of functions, including border security, emergency response, and cyber security. It also oversees agencies such as the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) and the Transportation Security Administration (TSA) (Bullock et al. 14). The USA PATRIOT Act (Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act) was passed by Congress in 2001 to enhance the government's ability to investigate and prevent acts of terrorism. The act expanded the powers of law enforcement agencies to conduct surveillance, detain suspects, and share information (Wrong 128). However, regardless of whether or not the American responses to the 9/11 attacks were effective, they had a significant impact on public opinion. The response of President George W. Bush and the subsequent military actions in Afghanistan and Iraq were strongly supported by many Americans, which was reflected in Bush's successful re-election in 2004.

The invasion of Afghanistan was launched in 2001 to dismantle the Taliban regime, which had provided a safe haven for al-Qaeda terrorists. The U.S. government, in partnership with NATO and Afghan forces, conducted a series of military operations to remove the Taliban from power and eliminate al-Qaeda's

training camps. The effectiveness of the U.S. government's response to 9/11 is a matter of debate. Supporters of the policies and strategies implemented argue that they have enhanced the government's ability to prevent and respond to acts of terrorism. For example, the creation of the DHS has improved coordination among federal agencies and enabled the government to detect and respond to potential threats more effectively (Bullock et al. 14). Critics, however, argue that some of the policies and strategies implemented have violated civil liberties and human rights. "The USA PATRIOT Act", for instance, has been criticized for allowing law enforcement agencies to conduct surveillance and detain suspects without proper judicial oversight (Wong 6). Hence, the invasion of Afghanistan has also been criticized for its high human and economic cost and the failure to achieve long-term stability in the region.

7. United States Newspaper Headlines after 9/11

The major headlines of the most popular newspapers, such as *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, and *USA Today*, the day after the September 9/11 attacks, conveyed the emotional impact of the nation's tragedy ranging from sentimental to cautionary statements. The front pages were filled with images of destruction, shock, and devastation, with headlines that captured the magnitude of the event. These newspapers mostly shared the view that it was a time when the country should unite in grief.

The New York Times, for example, featured a bold headline that read "U.S. ATTACKED: Hijacked Jets Destroy Twin Towers and Hit Pentagon in Day of Terror" with "U.S. attacked" in large, black letters, and an image of the burning towers below. The paper also ran a series of stories that chronicled the events of the day, along with interviews with survivors and eyewitnesses. The emotional impact

was clear: this was a day that would live in infamy, and the country would never be the same again (Kleinfield 1). Likewise, *The Wall Street Journal's* headline read "TERRORISTS DESTROY WORLD TRADE CENTER, HIT PENTAGON IN RAID WITH HIJACKED JETS" with a large photo of the burning towers (ICP 1). The paper provided in-depth coverage of the events, along with analysis and commentary on the impact the attacks would have on the economy and the financial markets. The emotional impact was not only one of shock and horror but also of fear and uncertainty about the future.

The Washington Post's headline read "Terrorists Hijack 4 Airliners, Destroy World Trade Center, Hit Pentagon" in bold letters, with an image of the Pentagon in flames. The paper's coverage focused on the response of government officials and the military, along with interviews with witnesses and survivors (Kaufman et al. 1). The emotional impact was one of anger and defiance, as the country began to come to grips with the fact that it had been attacked on its soil. In a similar fashion, *USA Today's* headline was "ACTS OF TERROR" in large, bold letters, with images of the burning towers and the Pentagon on the front page. The paper's coverage included stories on the victims, the impact on travel and tourism, and the response of the federal government (Abadi, Tangalakis-Lippert 1). The emotional impact was one of shock and disbelief, as Americans struggled to come to terms with the enormity of what had happened.

The headlines not only reflected the national mood but also captured the human toll of the attacks. Other prominent journals chose to share stories of the rescue missions, painting them as noble acts of heroism and bravery that emerged from the tragedy. By highlighting the stories of victims, first responders, and ordinary citizens who risked their lives to help others, the newspapers, and the mass media in general,

brought a sense of solidarity among Americans. Moreover, the headlines served as a reminder of the need for preparedness and vigilance in the face of future threats and spurred a national conversation on emergency response and counterterrorism efforts.

8. The Representation of Islam in *New York Times* in pre- 9/11 Era

In the pre-9/11 era, *New York Times* (NYT) played a critical role in shaping the public discourse surrounding Islam and Muslims. Although the paper's coverage during this period was diverse, it primarily focused on the cultural and social aspects of religion, rather than politics or terrorism. This is partially because Islamic extremism and terrorism were not as prominent in Western media before the 9/11 attacks. *The New York Times'* influence as a widely-read daily newspaper in the United States, with an estimated readership of 3.37 million, made its coverage particularly significant (Siddiqa and Qurat-ul-Ain 3). The New York Times's pre-9/11 representation of Islam and Muslims was not without its biases, but it was more diverse and nuanced than the paper's coverage after the 9/11 attacks. Siddiqa and Qurat-ul-Ain's study sheds light on how The New York Times's coverage of Islam and Muslims during this time can offer valuable insight into broader news media discourse on the religion and its followers.

In their article "The Representation of Islam and Muslims in Pre- and Post-9/11 New York Times News Articles: A Socio-Cognitive Analysis," Ayesha Siddiqa and Qurat-ul-Ain examine how *the New York Times* portrayed Islam and Muslims in its coverage during the pre-9/11 era. Siddiqa and Qurat-ul-Ain's work is a valuable resource for studying the *New York Times'* trajectory in its representation of Muslims. By analyzing the language used in a sample of 12 articles per six months leading up to the 9/11 attacks, they demonstrate that the newspaper's representation of Islam and

Muslims during this time was largely positive and nuanced, with a focus on the diversity of Muslim communities and their contributions to American society (2). Therefore, this study provides a valuable framework for comparing the representations of Muslim coverage in the *New York Times* both before and after the 9/11 attacks, allowing for a deeper understanding of how media narratives around Islam and Muslims have shifted over time.

The sample of articles selected for the study was based on the terms “Muslim,” “Islam,” and “Islamic,” excluding proper nouns, resulting in a sample of 262 pre-9/11 and 1488 post-9/11 articles. The study analyzed the frequency of observed trends and categorized the articles into five groups based on their representation of Islam and Muslims, using the Socio-Cognitive Discourse Analysis (SCDA) perspective. The first group, “seemingly positive,” showed the use of objective language with underlying implications of the writers’ attitudes and ideologies that could affect readers’ perceptions. This was observed in varying degrees in pre-9/11 articles 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6. The second group, “predominantly negative,” had more explicit ideological manipulation using multimodal images and metaphors, coherence relations, historical parallels, and testimonies. This was observed in pre-9/11 articles 2, 3, and 6. The third group, “evidently negative,” further polarized self-identity categories aligned with power groups and Muslims represented in connection with extremism through the deployment of positive self-schema, parallelization, evidential, subjective accounts, and delegitimization. This was observed in pre-9/11 article 6. Finally, only pre-9/11 article 5 was found to be “evidently positive” in its representation of Islam and Muslims (Siddiqa and Qurat-ul-Ain 12-13). As media representation of Islam and Muslims continues to be significantly stigmatized in the United States and around the

world, it is essential to critically examine how news outlets report on these topics to promote a more inclusive and accurate understanding of the religion and its followers.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is clear that the events of September 11, 2001, were a defining moment in modern history, and their effects are still being felt today. As we have seen in this chapter, the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were not just isolated incidents, but rather they marked a significant shift in global security and foreign policy. As a result, the response of the United States and its allies to the attacks was swift and decisive, with a military campaign in Afghanistan and the initiation of the War on Terror. However, as we have discussed, these actions have not been without controversy, with concerns about privacy and civil liberties being raised, especially in the wake of the Patriot Act. Moreover, we also explored the impact that the 9/11 attacks had on the media, particularly the reporting of major news outlets such as *The New York Times*. As we explored, it is crucial to acknowledge the role that the media plays in shaping public perceptions and attitudes towards different groups.

Chapter Three:

Framing Arab Muslim in New York Times:

Media representation and Foreign Policy

implications

Introduction

The events of September 11, 2001, have had a profound impact on the media's portrayal of Arabs and Muslims, and have attracted increasing academic interest in recent years. This chapter examines the influence of American media, with a focus on *the New York Times*, on shaping public perception of Muslims in the post-9/11 era. The chapter begins by examining the representation of Islam in *the New York Times* during the pre-9/11 period to provide a contextual background. The chapter then analyzes the coverage of Arabs and Muslims in the U.S media after 9/11 and investigates the role played by *the New York Times* in shaping U.S foreign policy. One prominent theme that emerges from the post-9/11 media coverage is the branding of Arab Muslims as terrorists and the targeting of Islam by American media. This research aims to explore how American media has created stereotypes and influenced public understanding of Islam and the Arab world. Specifically, this chapter seeks to answer the question of how *The New York Times*, as a leading American newspaper, has contributed to the stigmatization and marginalization of Muslims.

To achieve this aim, the chapter employs a case study approach, analyzing headlines from *the New York Times* in two distinct periods: pre-2001 and post-2001. The chapter selects impactful articles from the NY Times, applies critical analytical methods in reading these articles, and draws on the work of prolific critics, such as Evelyn Alsultany, Qurat-ul-Ain, Ayesha Siddiqa, and Hajar Yazdiha, whose research aligns with the chapter's argument. This research approach identifies patterns of representation and explores the themes that emerge, providing insight into how American media coverage of Muslims has evolved over time and how it has influenced public perceptions of Islam. Finally, this endeavor objective is to delve

into the complex relationship between American media and the representations of Muslims in the post-9/11 era.

1. Arabs and Muslims coverage in The U.S Media after 9/11

Following the tragic events of the September 11 attacks in 2001, the Arab and Muslim communities in the United States were subjected to a range of discriminatory acts, including hate crimes, workplace discrimination, and airline discrimination. However, amidst this atmosphere of prejudice, US television began to feature more sympathetic portrayals of Arabs and Muslims. In her article “Arabs and Muslims in the Media: Race and Representation after 9/11,” published by Johns Hopkins University Press, Evelyn Alsultany examines the post-9/11 media landscape and its attempt to balance negative portrayals of Arabs and Muslims with positive ones, utilizing what she calls “simplified complex representations”(161). In this context, we use Alsultany’s work as a foundation to argue that Western mass media, particularly the American mass media, has not been favorable in its portrayal of Muslims and Arabs. Any positive representations are often used for propaganda purposes. Alsultany’s work is particularly significant given her background as a scholar and Associate Professor of American Culture, and Arab and Muslim American Studies at the University of Michigan, where she also serves as the founding director of the Arab and Muslim American Studies program

According to Alsultany, the sympathetic portrayals of Arabs and Muslims in US media reflected a change in the way the US government employed propaganda during times of war. With overt war propaganda increasingly ineffective, positive portrayals of the “enemy” became necessary to project the US as a benevolent force, especially when enacting racist policies. However, this new form of racism used antiracism and

multiculturalism as a facade while simultaneously producing the ideologies and attitudes that justified discriminatory practices. Today, instead of overt demonization, the “other” is depicted sympathetically to project the appearance of a fair and just society (Alsultany 162). Alsultany notes that the post-9/11 representational mode aimed to create the appearance of complexity in portrayals of Arabs and Muslims while actually simplifying them. This approach involved creating “positive” Arab and Muslim characters to counteract negative stereotyping. These representations took various forms, including patriotic Arab or Muslim Americans who helped the US government fight terrorism or innocent Arab/Muslim Americans who were victims of post-9/11 hate crimes. If an Arab/Muslim terrorist was present in the storyline, a “positive” representation of an Arab/Muslim character was often included to undermine the stereotype (163). In many cases, the portrayal of Muslims in a positive light relies on a Westernized perspective that strips them of their true cultural identities. This approach is often driven by a fear that an American audience may not be receptive to an authentic representation of Muslim culture, especially in the context of the conflict between the US and Iraq. As a result, Muslims are often depicted through a lens that conforms to Western norms and values, rather than being allowed to express their own unique identities and perspectives.

For instance, an example of these “positive” characters, is the character Mohammad “Mo” Hassain from *Threat Matrix*, an Arab American Muslim who was part of the USA Homeland Security Force, and Nadia Yassir from season 6 of *24*, a dedicated member of the Counter Terrorist Unit. Television dramas also depicted Arab/Muslim Americans as victims of hate crimes and unjust treatment, positioning viewers to sympathize with their plight. It is true that these “positive” representations, as Alsultany advances, challenged long-standing stereotypes that depicted

Arabs/Muslims as terrorists and inspired a lack of sympathy or even celebration when the character was killed (163). However, the increasing number of sympathetic portrayals of Arabs and Muslims on television often served to justify discriminatory policies. The point to make here is that when an Arab American was portrayed as a victim of discrimination, the storyline typically concluded that discrimination was regrettable but necessary due to national security concerns. This goes with Alsultany's thesis in her article; nonetheless, this range of positive representations may just have been limited to another patriotic American version.

One frequently used technique to depict Muslims in TV dramas is the concept of "flipping the enemy." This technique involves portraying Muslim terrorists as pawns or a cover for non-Muslim or non-Arab terrorists, challenging the prevalent stereotype that terrorism is solely an Arab or Muslim phenomenon (Alsultany 164). Furthermore, TV dramas are increasingly omitting the nationality of the terrorist characters, hoping that this ambiguity will avoid offending viewers. Perhaps the intention is to create more daring and thought-provoking storylines that could be considered controversial if tied to a particular country.

TV dramas also adopted various strategies to avoid stereotyping, such as "flipping the enemy" and fictionalizing the country of the enemy. "Flipping the enemy" involves revealing that Muslim terrorists were merely pawns or a front for non-Arab or non-Muslim terrorists, challenging the stereotype that all terrorists were Arab or Muslim. Fictionalizing the country of the enemy involved creating a fictional country that had characteristics associated with Arab and Muslim countries but was not named as such. This strategy aimed to avoid reinforcing negative stereotypes of specific Arab and Muslim countries while still maintaining the association with terrorism (Alsultany 164). Not only TV shows that implemented such measures, the

post-9/11 the entire representational mode in the media space aimed to subvert negative stereotypes which may still contribute to a fictional utopia that justifies discriminatory policies and practices.

2. Portraying the Arab Islamic Society as Backward and Conservative : Women as a Case Study

Nowadays, despite a gradual shift away from overt stereotypes, Arab and Muslim identities are still predominantly associated with terrorism, backwardness and unfavorable conservative values. This narrow and reductionist perception undermines endeavors to create more diverse portrayals of these identities in the media. Even beyond terrorism-related contexts, the representations of Arab and Muslim identities in American commercial media remain scarce. In line with Alsultany's report, news coverage frequently utilizes simplified and complex representations, such as disclaimers and native informants, to frame stories about oppressed Muslim women. Following the 9/11 attacks, news headlines often featured stories about the oppression of Muslim women, which often promised to reveal a mysterious world behind the veil that would provide insight into why Arabs and Muslims engage in terrorism

One example of simplified complex representational strategies employed by journalists to promote a one-dimensional portrayal of Islam as brutal, violent, and oppressive is *the Time magazine* article "The Women of Islam" by Lisa Beyer, which was published in November 2001. The article's subtitle asserts that the Taliban had perfected subjugation and that no Muslim country treats women as equals. To use Beyer's words here, the article considers that Prophet Muhammad was a feminist who elevated the status of women in the seventh century. As a consequence, even though Beyer posits that Islam can adopt modern Western values, her subsequent reiteration

of concessions ultimately reinforces a homogeneous and unidimensional representation of Islam. Beyer and her contemporaries' approach of mitigating bias frequently rests on Western-centric outlooks when approaching the Islamic world (Alsultany 165). One of these perspectives involves the claim that the Prophet's (PBUH) teachings subscribe to Western-based feminist ideals. This approach results in the conflation of concepts such as feminism with moderation that a "good" Muslim should have to be shouldered in the West.

An additional example of Western media's depiction of Muslim women is their portrayal as a peculiar social construct, stripped from contemporary views. This portrayal is characterized by a single depiction of women living under Islam and the perception that the religion has been utilized in many Muslim nations to reinforce inequality, rather than to emancipate women. According to Alsultany, this narrow focus owes in part to the prevalence of extremist representations in American news, rather than more diverse depictions. When Muslim women are included in discussions, the Taliban's extreme subjugation of women is placed as an urgency that extends to talking about women's situation in countries such as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Pakistan, and even the moderately progressive states of Egypt and Jordan. These assertions are constructed to support a particular line of reasoning, including the claim that Turkey has achieved the highest level of gender equality among Muslim nations by eschewing Islamic principles in favor of a secular form of governance. Riffat Hassan, a professor of religious studies at the University of Louisville, has explained, "For centuries, the way Islam has been practiced in most Muslim societies has left millions of Muslim women with battered bodies, minds, and souls"(Alsultany 166). The inability to critically analyze the social and historical context of the Muslim world, combined with the tendency to engage in hit pieces that fuel Islamophobia and

commodify news as a selling enterprise, has not helped to improve the image of Islam post-9/11, at least in the early 2000s.

In the portrayal of Islam in Western media, journalists often utilize disclaimers to recognize the diversity of the Muslim world before presenting evidence that supports the notion of Islam as brutal, violent, and oppressive. Despite acknowledging diversity and complexity, the bulk of the evidence presented serves to reinforce a uniform and oversimplified depiction of Islam. In addition, journalists employ another simplified representational strategy known as the use of native informants. These informants typically include women who have left Islam and now speak out against its perceived backwardness, collaborating with right-wing agendas that condemn Islam entirely. For example, Nonie Darwish, the founder of Arabs for Israel and an Egyptian, contends that Islam is a regressive religion. Similarly, Wafa Sultan, a Syrian, maintains that Islam promotes violence, while Ayaan Hirsi Ali, a Somali, argues that Islam is incompatible with democracy (Alsultany 166). Hirsi Ali, who is notorious for speaking against Islamic culture was, and still is; a regular guest on American news platforms. Back in 2007, said in an interview concerning Saudi Arabia's women:

The problem of child brides in Saudi Arabia is as common as drinking espresso coffee in Italy [...] every man in Saudi Arabia feels that he can marry a minor or he can marry off his daughter who is underage. You will be stoned, flogged if you commit or give the impression that you may have committed adultery. It is not nice being a woman in Saudi Arabia. (qtd in. CNN 2007)

Hence, the narrative of oppressed Muslim women holds cross-ideological appeal and has been adopted by both the Right and the Left political factions.

One could contend that Hirsi Ali's identity as a female who was born and raised in Muslim culture confers upon her a status as a native source. However, Moustafa Bayoumi asserts that female Muslim commentators such as Ali are modern-day neo-orientalists who tailor their accounts of Islam to Western audiences. Their narratives depict Islam as a tyrannical system that opposes human liberty and necessitates either renunciation or significant reform to align with the principles of Christianity, Judaism, or even atheism (84). These native informants act as "good Muslims," who confirm to Western viewers that Islam poses a threat to women and the West. As Sunaina Maira explains, "good" Muslims are those who offer first-person accounts, akin to native informants, about the oppression of women in Islam, as well as the bigotry, racism, and anti-Semitism of Arabs and Muslims. These Muslim spokespersons are lauded by right-wing and mainstream media, author widely distributed books, and maintain sophisticated websites. Although male Muslim spokespersons exist, it is the women who provide credibility to a Western feminist narrative about Islam. The news media often praises these female spokespersons as "moderate Muslims" (qtd.in Alsultany 167). On closer examination, the depiction of Muslim women as victims of a hyper-masculine culture that requires rescue implies that the entire Islamic culture fosters backwardness that is incompatible with modern times.

3. The Contribution of the *New York Times* to Reshaping U.S

Foreign Policy

Following the unprecedented 9/11 attacks on the United States, the spotlight shifted to terrorism in world politics and was associated with Islam. Despite the fact that the attackers were a product of American foreign policy, the American public's lack of historical engagement made it difficult for them to understand this unfamiliar

enemy. President George W. Bush responded to their inquiries by contrasting decontextualized “terrorists” against “all Americans” since “they hate our freedoms,” glossing over a significant portion of American history. American domestic and foreign policy then went on to target Muslims, fueling fear and hatred against them and leading to a 1600% rise in anti-Muslim hate crimes after 9/11. The media’s impact on public opinion and policymaking during critical events has led to numerous media studies on Islam and Muslims since 9/11.

While some argue that, the government’s goal of forging a post-9/11 national identity was strengthened by media portrayals of Muslims that also affected American public perception, others have observed a positive trend in the media’s depiction of Muslims after 9/11. Building on Siddiqa and Qurat-ul-Ain’s groundbreaking study, in which they deliberately chose articles published six months after 9/11 to examine how post-9/11 representations had changed, we will use their work to critique *the New York Times’* inaccurate- sometimes downright revolting- portrayal of the Islamic world during this critical period. As we previously used their article to discuss pre-9/11 representations, we will draw on their research to condemn the untrue representations used by the NYT.

It is always challenging to criticize the establishments that feed the public information; hence, scholars who are interested in media-related studies may find it demanding to denounce the *New York Times* for its coverage of the Middle East and Muslims in the post-9/11 era, accusing it of complicity in the government’s policies and bias in its reporting. However, Siddiqa and Qurat-ul-Ain’s work could be explained as intellectually engaging since it balances the biased and unbiased claims of the newspaper by using a special data matrix. Therefore, the selected articles, we use in this section had been analyzed by Siddiqa and Qurat-ul-Ain to determine

whether they reinforced or challenged the dominant discourse on Muslims and terrorism after 9/11 (Siddiq and Qurat-ul-Ain 3). As a result, we explored the chosen articles in this section to ascertain if they reinforced or contested the prevailing discourse on terrorism and Muslims after 9/11.

Siddiq and Qurat-ul-Ain's thorough analysis reveals that the NYT's reporting on Muslims and terrorism changed after 9/11, becoming more explicitly biased, which as we explained earlier was not the case before the 9/11 attacks. The discourse structures of post-9/11 articles created a concretized ideological polarization, whereby Islam and Muslims were represented in connection with terrorism and extremism, while Western modernity was portrayed positively and Eastern primitivism negatively. For instance, "Among New York Muslims, Support for U.S. Strikes," published the day after the US invaded Afghanistan, focused on Muslim support for the attacks. The article framed the US retaliation as "long-awaited" and set up a binary between those who supported the attacks publicly and those who struggled with conflicting feelings. The article represented American Muslims' support for the invasion as a civilizing mission through the testimonies of Afghan Americans. The article created an ideological polarization between American and non-American Muslims as civilized and uncivilized, respectively, and reproduced the dominant discourse of the justification of the military (Siddiq and Qurat-ul-Ain 10). Hence, these claims go with what we initially probed on the coverage of Muslims in this newspaper that sometimes due to public pressure, may amplify some reality into fictionalized views which treat news as commodities, and new unbiased reporting.

For instance, Siddiq and Qurat-ul-Ain go on to explain how in an article entitled, "The Ties: In U.S., Echoes of Rift of Muslims and Jews," the *New York Times* frames the attacks as a manifestation of the conflict between Muslims and

Jews, invoking the metaphor of “immigration” to activate readers’ attitudes and beliefs about immigrants. Likewise, this sort of narrative serves to polarize ideology and reinforce the Israeli/Jewish-Palestinian/Muslim cognitive framework to process the attacks. The article was very upfront with the need for socially constructive labels since it identifies “good” Muslims syntactically and semantically as “American,” implying that their liberalism sets them apart from non-American Muslims’ fundamentalism (9). Similarly, “Among New York Muslims, Support for U.S. Strikes” frames the US retaliation as “long-awaited” and sets up a binary between those who supported the attacks publicly and those who struggled with conflicting feelings (9). This article reproduces the dominant discourse of the justification of military action and creates an ideological polarization between American and non-American Muslims as civilized and uncivilized, respectively.

In another article, “Yes, This Is About Islam”, there are remarkable uses of different modes and strategies of persuasion to argue that the 9/11 attacks were about Islam, employing euphemisms, metaphors, and irony to reinforce the ingroup-outgroup polarization between the West and Islam. The article in question, as Siddiq and Qurat-ul-Ain report, positions Western secular humanism as the solution for the Muslim world and aims to influence readers’ interpretation of the Islam-terrorism debate based on the writer’s mental models (9). Moreover, the article “Stereotyping Rankles Silent, Secular Majority of American Muslims” presents a positive narrative of American Muslims who embrace religious belief and American liberalism (10). This dichotomy serves to protect the United States as an enlightened country that has entered a post-racial era and to propose American pragmatism as the answer to the threat of militant Islam.

Article 5, titled “Terrorism Beyond Islam,” challenges the American view that Islam was central to the 9/11 attacks but replaces it with a narrative of ideological conflict between the East and the West as the origin of all terrorism. The article implies that the only way for a troubled civilization to regain its footing is by embracing Western modernity, reinforcing the idea that Western modernity is positive while Eastern primitivism is negative (Siddiqa and Qurat-ul-Ain 10). Article 6, titled “Jidda Journal; Muslims Feel Sept. 11 Chill as Mecca Plays It Cautious,” reflects the media’s deeply ingrained biases against Islam, invoking the fear of a terrorist attack and citing historical precedents of violence to portray militant Islam as a threat, even to Saudi Arabia. The writer establishes the ground “reality” of militant Islam as a threat to Muslims and non-Muslims alike, despite the former’s “extraordinary and dangerous” “denial” (12). To gain a deeper understanding of certain identities and how they are being portrayed in the media necessitates news organization to engage in critical analysis rather than sensationalism. Failure to engage in such critical analysis can result in the acceptance of narratives that may be inaccurate or biased, perpetuating harmful stereotypes and misunderstandings.

4. The Branding of Arab Muslims as Terrorists and Targeting

Islam : New York Times

Our dissertation primarily examines the representation of Muslims in the *New York Times* following the 9/11 attacks. However, an important question remains regarding whether the representation of Muslims as anti-American terrorists became more prominent after the attacks or if such depictions remained unchanged over time. To address this question, our research employs Yazdiha’s holistic framing framework, which offers a comprehensive method for analyzing the multiple frames utilized in

New York Times articles. The results of our discussion indicate that Muslims were largely portrayed as aggressive Other. The frames that are used in Yazdiha's analysis associated with labels in *New York Times* articles such as terrorism, violence, women, nation of Islam/Black Muslims, Eastern Europe, immigration, New York City, war, politics, and economy help us to determine our conclusions. The frame of terrorism, for example, is characterized by patterned, relational meanings such as "attacks," "jihad," "bombings," and "fight." Similarly, the frame of violence is characterized by patterned, relational meanings such as "killed," "wounded," and "militants." (Yazdiha 7). By shedding light on the frames utilized to represent Muslims, we understand how media representations, that of the NY Times, shape public perceptions of Muslims and their role in society.

Yazdiha argues that media narratives construct social frames characterizing Arab/Muslim men as barbaric, savage terrorists and women as oppressed, silenced, and exoticized, as revealed by academic discourse (3). Rochelle Terman's study, *Islamophobia and Media Portrayals of Muslim Women: A Computational Analysis of US News Cover*, additionally demonstrates a social framing that highlights women's rights violations and gender inequality, portraying Muslims as inherently sexist and oppressive. Yazdiha draws a connection to the concept of "Motivational framing" which he argues is often utilized in depicting Muslims as terrorists. It is a mechanism of media discourse that involves a call to arms, invoking emotions and motivating the audience to take action. In a racial project, such framing can generate emotions towards maintaining and adhering to the racialized system. For instance, scholars can use a rubric to examine the tone and sentiment of the frame. Studies show that the racial diagnostic frames of Black "welfare queens" generate moral outrage and shape public support for welfare (3).

By applying the rubric to the framing of Muslims, studies reveal that emotional appeals are utilized to generate public support for the control of Muslims through policies that range from surveillance and racial profiling to military intervention. Saleem et al. (2017), for instance, tested the effects of news portrayals of Muslims as terrorists on public support for policies that could harm Muslims and found that exposure to these frames was positively linked to support for military action in Muslim countries and support for public policies that would be detrimental to Muslims (Saleem et al. 13) Exposure to negative media footage of Muslims also increased perceptions of Muslims as aggressive and heightened support for severe civil restrictions on Muslim Americans.

Yazidha's framework reveals latent frames that differentiate between Eastern European (white) Muslims and Black Muslims, echoing "the ethnoracial formation" of Muslims and the separation between South Asian, Arab, and Middle Eastern "brown" Muslims from indigenous Black Muslims, who constitute nearly one-third of American Muslims. In addition, the framework uncovers a dominant frame centered on women in the cumulative representation of Muslims, lending credence to studies that argue the racialization of Muslims is gendered and that the framing of Muslims includes a patterned set of meanings specifically about women (Yazidha 8). These findings offer valuable insight into the underlying meaning structures that shape the cumulative framing of Muslims over two decades and the central topics with which Muslims are associated.

In the period preceding the 9/11 attacks, Muslims were primarily represented through a frame that situated issues within the nation using terminology related to war and institutional processes, such as shelling, peacekeeping, negotiators, artillery, and truce. The framing also encompassed the concepts of refugees, territory, republics,

and multiethnic (Yazdih 8). However, in the decade after the attacks, the frames used to represent Muslims became more disassociated from the state and instead focused on Muslims as a group. Frames after 9/11 were constructed around terms such as anti-American, recruitment, bomber, activists, proselytizing, antiterrorism, radicalized, radicalization, deportation, and homegrown (8). Upon closer examination, it becomes clear that the shift in framing cannot be attributed to a single factor, but rather the result of multiple factors that have accumulated over time since the 9/11 attacks.

The representation of Muslims in media shifted significantly in the decade following the 9/11 attacks, as depicted by diagnostic frames that attribute group violence and terrorism to Muslims rather than geopolitical dynamics. The shift is notable in the prevalence of frame features such as “bomber,” “radicalization,” and “homegrown” (terrorism/terrorist). Among the frames used, “extremists” is the most common, appearing in 28 percent of post-9/11 articles about Muslims, as demonstrated in the following excerpt:

Violent extremists acting in the name of Islam have seemingly adopted a gruesome tactic against the United States and its allies in the recent rash of incidents in which attackers have beheaded hostages and then raced to disseminate the gory images. These militants see such acts as the ultimate symbols of power over an enemy—horrific and utterly unambiguous examples of ruthlessness—scholars and analysts of the Middle East say. (Wakin 2004)

Despite the use of descriptive language loaded with values such as “gruesome,” “gory,” and “ruthlessness,” the journalist attributes these ideas to “scholars and analysts of the Middle East,” thereby validating the journalistic integrity of the frame. Both “terrorist” and “terrorism” are frequently employed in post-9/11

media coverage of Muslims, appearing in 20 percent and 22 percent of articles, respectively.

However, Wakin's article also describes "good" Muslim leaders who denounce terrorism and work to eradicate the most radical "bad" members of their communities, providing evidence for a hypothesis that post-9/11 portrayals offer greater subtlety in their representations. Islam is also framed in more pronounced ideological terms, such as "proselytizing," "extremism," and "anti-Americanism." For instance, "anti-Americanism," prevalent in 5 percent of post-9/11 articles, is expressed through framing (Yazdiha 10). For instance, Seth Mydans writes in a politically charged article about a protest outside the U.S embassy in Indonesia: "Anti-American demonstrations widened in Indonesia today, with riot police firing tear gas to disperse angry protesters[...] radical Muslim groups said they were preparing larger demonstrations and repeated their warnings that they might attack foreigners here" (Mydans 2001). Therefore, it is undoubtedly that the shift in framing is apparent in associating group violence and terrorism with Muslims rather than geopolitical dynamics.

The New York Times' representation of Muslims following the 9/11 attacks was characterized by being "anti-American," "angry," and "radical," ready to engage in acts of violence against the United States. However, the article under discussion makes an effort to distinguish between anti-American Muslim groups and the Indonesian government, which is portrayed as a "moderate Muslim country." In particular, the Indonesian president is noted as having expressed her qualified support for the United States in its campaign against terrorism. This dynamic between "good" and "bad" Muslims complicates the social problem of Muslim representation in the media.

Conclusion

The discussion presented in this chapter reveals a worrisome picture of the role of American media, particularly *The New York Times*, in shaping the public perception of Muslims in the post-9/11 era. As we delved into the headlines and coverage of Arab and Muslim issues, it became clear that the media has been complicit in perpetuating harmful stereotypes and advancing a simplistic and limited view of Islam and the Muslim world. While some may argue that there are occasional attempts to portray Muslims in a positive light, these efforts often fall short and are subject to Western-centric standards and values. In essence, the media's portrayal of Islam and Muslims is often a reflection of its own biases and preconceived notions, rather than an accurate and nuanced representation of a diverse and complex community. Moreover, as highlighted by the case study approach utilized in this chapter, *The New York Times* has contributed to the misrepresentation of Muslims, using hazardous terms such as terrorists in unfitting contexts and linking Islam with violence. Such choices on the part of one of the biggest news outlets would certainly mean perpetuation of negative and damaging stereotypes, which have contributed to increased discrimination and islamophobia towards Muslims in the U.S.

In light of these findings, it is crucial to acknowledge the power of media representation and its impact on shaping public perceptions and foreign policy. It is essential to promote informed discourse about Islam and the Muslim world and to challenge the harmful stereotypes prolonged by the media. This can be achieved through increased media literacy, greater diversity in media representation, and a commitment to accurate and fair reporting. The chapter explored the way media coverage is approached from an implicit reactionary attitude to downright propaganda standpoint which indicates a deliberate and politically charged division in the news

coverage. As Chomsky puts it, “the modes of handling favored and inconvenient materials (placement, tone, context, fullness of treatment) differ in ways that serve political ends” (Chomsky et al. 96). It is high time for a mindful and critical remodeling of the Muslim image that moves away from a narrow, one-sided view of Islam and recognizes the diversity and complexity of the Muslim world.

General Conclusion

In conclusion, The event of September 11th, 2001 were undoubtedly a turning point in contemporary history, and its impact may still have been seen today. However, the attack effects the portrayal of Arabs and Muslims community, a concerning image in American media especially in *The New York Times*, have influenced how Muslims are perceived by the general public in the post 9/11era. Therefore, we can summarize the main findings of the study in the following list:

- The media has been complicit in fostering negative stereotypes and promoting a simplified yet constrained image of Islam and the Muslim world, it become obvious as we dug further into the headlines and coverage of Arab and Muslims issues.
- The media portrayal of Islam and Muslims is a mirror of its own prejudices and predetermined ideas rather than accurate representation of a varied and complicated community.

Thus, *The New York Times* has additionally contributed to distortion of Muslims by employing risky terminology like “terrorists” in inappropriate situation and connecting Islam with violence. As it is emphasized by the case study methodology used in this dissertation. Such actions by one of the most influential media outlets will result in the maintenance of unfavorable stereotypes that have fueled rising prejudice and islamphobia against Muslims in the U.S. The importance of media representation in influencing public perception and foreign policy must be recognized within these findings.

This research was designed as thematic, qualitative, descriptive, and analytical research. It aimed to depict the main effects of American media that the Muslim community suffers from after 9/11 events, as well as analyze the role-played by media

in increasing islamphobia. The research shed light on how *The New York Times* Newspaper portrayed both Isalm and Muslims in post 9/11 era, and how this portrayal shifted Americans opinions and U.S foreign policy against Islam.

Ultimately, it is appropriate to state that the main research question has been addressed across the three chapters. Therefore, this work attempted to provide the academic branch with sociological and psychological perspectives on the effect of 9/11 attacks on Islam and Muslims.

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ملخص

لعبت وسائل الإعلام دائمًا دورًا رئيسيًا في تشكيل الرأي العام للولايات المتحدة. لذلك، كان 11 سبتمبر 2001 هو الحدث الذي كان له تأثير عميق على تجسيد وسائل الإعلام للإسلام والمسلمين، فلقد تغير تمثيل الإسلام والمسلمين في وسائل الإعلام بشكل كبير في أعقاب هذا الحدث. تهدف هذه الدراسة تحليلية الوصفية إلى تحليل ووصف تجسيد الإسلام والمسلمين من خلال نطاق وسائل الإعلام الأمريكية وصحيفة نيويورك تايمز، وكيف أن آثار 11/9 أحدث تغييرات في تغيير الرأي العام الأمريكي والسياسة الخارجية. وبالتالي، ما هو تأثير وسائل الإعلام الأمريكية على المسلمين بعد هجمات 11 سبتمبر؟ بالإضافة إلى ذلك، كيف تم تصوير الإسلام؟ وتحقيقًا لهذا الغرض، تم تصميم هذا البحث لدراسة تمثيل الإسلام في وسائل الإعلام الأمريكية وتحليل عناوين نيويورك تايمز خلال فترة ما قبل 11 سبتمبر. تكشف نتائج هذه الدراسة أن وسائل الإعلام لها تأثير قوي على تشكيل الاعتقاد العام والموقف تجاه المجموعات المختلفة وتأثيرها العميق على الصورة النمطية تجاه المسلمين والإسلام.

الكلمات الرئيسية: وسائل الإعلام، الإسلام، المسلمين، نيويورك تايمز، الأمريكيين، الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية،

الصحيفة

Résumé

Les médias de masse ont toujours joué un rôle majeur dans la formation de l'opinion publique des Etats-Unis, les attentats du 11 septembre 2001 ont eu un impact flagrant sur la représentation médiatique de certaines religions notamment l'islam et les musulmans. De ce fait, Comment est-ce que la presse des USA a-t-elle rendu compte de ces attentats et quel impact a-t-elle eu sur les musulmans, sur la représentation de l'Islam et des changements dans l'évolution de l'opinion publique américaine et étrangère ? Cette étude tente de répondre à cette question par le biais d'une analyse du traitement opéré par les gros titres du New York Times, pendant la période pré-11 septembre qui a été amorcé dès le lendemain des attaques.

Les résultats de cette démarche révèlent une forte influence des médias notamment du New York Times sur la formation de la croyance et de l'attitude (conduite) du public envers les musulmans et l'islam, les stéréotypes envers les musulmans et l'islam et sa large portée auprès d'un lectorat international.

Mots-clés : Médias de masse, Islam, Musulmans, New York Times, Américains, USA, la presse.