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The construction of social imaginaries on terrorism in newspapers from  
Montreal and Guadalajara.  
A comparative study among three cultural groups.

Gabriela Gomez Rodriguez

A Thesis  
in  
The Department of Communication Studies

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at  
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**ABSTRACT**

The construction of social imaginaries on terrorism in newspapers from Montreal and Guadalajara. A comparison among three cultural groups.

Gabriela Gomez, Ph.D.  
Concordia University, 2008

Since September 11, 2001, the social imaginaries on terrorism have changed. We propose that from 9/11 onwards, the discussion about terrorism has evolved considerably. In this investigation, we shall try to discover the social imaginaries on terrorism that ushered in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century from 9/11 to March 11<sup>th</sup>, 2004 (the attacks in Madrid); that's to say, how the discussion about terrorism changed from 11<sup>th</sup> September, 2001 to 11<sup>th</sup> March, 2004, and what strategies and discourses the media has constructed in order to make terrorism feel in some way like a domestic topic or, at least, closer to the community. The role of the mass media is relevant in the way in which it can determine what we understand about terrorism since the media itself proposes ways of reading and interpreting social realities. We consider that the social imaginary facilitates an exploration of the cultural appropriations of terrorism in societies such as the Quebecois and Mexican ones, and the relationship that these societies have established with their own people, in particular the kind of representations they have about themselves with respect to terrorism and the "others". By analyzing the discursive structures (frames and interpretive repertoires) in newspapers we seek to ascertain the social imaginaries that mass media (newspapers) construct on terrorism in Montreal and Guadalajara in an era that as we can see, the new world order is defined around the war against terrorism.

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Finally, I dedicate this work to the ones I do love the most. Infinite thanks for their love, its sacrifice, patience and unconditional support.

*Pongo estos seis versos en mi botella al mar  
con el secreto designio de que algún día  
llegue a una playa casi desierta  
y un niño la encuentre y la destape  
y en lugar de versos extraiga piedritas  
y socorros y alertas y caracoles. (Mario Benedetti)*

Dedicated to God; To the memory of my parents, for their love and sacrifice.

To Rodrigo, my son, for his patience, love and company.

To Héctor, Carlos, Luis, Betty, for their complicity and love.

To Pablo, my hope.

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*Preface*

The present investigation arose from my passion for doing research and my concerns with the representation of terrorism. For ten years, I have focused my studies on the medias role in regards to public understanding of violence. I have analysed the production of sensationalist-style programs in which violent acts make up a large part of the subject matter, analyzing the ways in which social discourses about violence have been constructed by media. in two countries that have much in common culturally, but at the same time, exhibit many difference: Canada and Mexico.

As Bonilla Vélez & Tamayo Gómez (2007) point out, Latin American researchers, in analyzing the role that the media have played in the face of the terrorist actions (at least for the period 1998-2005) have focused on the the media scene-setting of the violence through three areas of attention: bellicose conflicts, political violence and criminal violence. These researchers, recognized academics in their respective fields, invite comparative studies to be carried out regarding the media in relation to violence in Latin America. This task is yet to be undertaken, but with Mexico and Canada being neighbors of the United States and countries that have been affected in various ways by the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, we consider it of prime importance to bring about a study of this type.

This study investigating the domestication of terrorism in the principal daily print media of Montreal and Guadalajara, is a pioneering work in Latin America as it is a comparative study that develops an analysis of the coverage of terrorism in two Canadian and one Mexican media outlets from different cultural and linguistic groups. These broader cultural formations mobilized and articulated to the newspaper coverage form the

distinct background to the study. There is also the urgent need for a debate about the role that this media has as a group of institutions that circulates, through its pages, certain ways of domesticating terrorism; a subject which has become the present-day *protagonist* of this new millennium.

### *Introduction*

The research is structured in eight chapters. Our departing point in chapter one is to present the conceptual problematic, the research question and the hypotheses. After introducing our justification in undertaking this investigation, we present the theoretical and methodological frameworks that supports the work in chapter two. We begin by giving some definitions of terrorism that have circulated (both official and academic ones) and which show the hard task in defining something that has been labeled as difficult to conceptualize. Nonetheless, we do give our definition of what we understand, in this work, to be the key elements of terrorism. Subsequently, we continue by discussing the role of the media as institutions in relation to social imaginaries. We review the concept of the social imaginary in order to identify its roots and the diverse applications that it has had within different disciplines.

One of the main interests of this investigation is to detect how the newspapers domesticate terrorism, conceptualizing them as one key component of a broader discursive community. We develop the theoretical framework from which to comprehend this movement from global flows of news to local appropriations and articulate a theory of “news domestication”. We also discuss the literature regarding the broader role of the media when covering terrorism. This is connected, as has been shown by a number of scholars, to information control that the United States has been applying to the media

when covering conflicts. This is clear both from analysis of coverage of the Gulf War and the War in Iraq has extended this control in the flow of information as well.

The final theoretical we examine concerns the established literature around the construction of the term “the Other”. In particular we discuss the conceptualizations of Edward Said (1978), Stuart Hall (1992), and Karim Karim (2003). Then, we present some of the arguments about the politics of fear, the new visibility of terrorism in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, and the common practice of satanizing terrorists as a particular formation of ‘Otherness’.

At the end of the chapter, we describe the methodology of the three phase dialogical model that we have constructed in order to undertake this research. And we explain each step that we followed in analyzing the news and opinion articles in order to detect two key discursive regularities. At a broader discursive level we identify interpretive repertoires, which are identified in the specific uses of language, and the ways that events are enunciated, classified and/or evaluated. At a more micro-discursive level we identify the story frames, identified as the ways in which the newspapers’ coverage organizes which themes are to be emphasized, which social actors and subjects are important to talk about and the relationship that all these have with each other.

In the third chapter we considered it relevant to contextualize the cultures in which these newspapers are produced. This is not meant to be an exhaustive presentation. Rather, we present social and cultural aspects of each city in order to provide a conjunctural backdrop to the comparative analysis. We offer some readership data from the newspapers in Guadalajara and Montreal, that we analyse and we discuss some of the

specific institutional frameworks concerning the organization of news media works in both cities.

In the subsequent chapters ( four, five and six) we present our discursive analysis of the articulation of terrorism in the three newspapers in the period from the immediate aftermath of the September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001 attacks on New York and the Pentagon through the beginning of the invasions of Afganistan and Iraq to the aftermath of the bombing of the Madrid train station in 2004. By deploying our comparative analysis over this long period we hope to demonstrate both the immediate articulation of story frames in relation to underlying interpretive repertoires and the durability and power of these frames over time. In the fourth chapter, we begin by presenting the results of the domestication on terrorism in *The Gazette* and we complete each chapter (from chapter fourth to sixth) by giving a general portrayal of the newspaper domestication from 2001-2004. We decided to display this analysis year by year. In the fifth chapter we continue the exposition of the domestication results on *La Presse* and then in chapter six for *El Informador*.

We considered it was necessary to quote the fragments of news and opinions that together made up certain interpretive repertoires and from these we established frameworks (*frames*) which are articulated with a social imaginary. These chapters (the 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup>) consist of the main bulk of the analysis. It is like a cartography of how the domestication on terrorism was constructed and articulated on the three newspapers.

Later, in chapter seventh, we exhibit a comparison among the dailies in relation with its main similarities, its differences and its particularities when domesticating terrorism. Finally we decided to illustrate some figures that portray quantitative data about the total items that each medium published.

The newspapers finally showed themselves to have some common repertoires about how they domesticate terrorism, but many others that make them distinct from each other. As we have mentioned, each medium works for its community of readers and its elite class in accordance with its ideology. Thus, the articulation of terrorism in the newspapers we will analyze, as a work in a dialogical discursive process.

From the repertoires, we detect how the domestication on terrorism works. These repertoires are articulating to newsframes and these to a larger social imaginary. Finally, in the concluding chapter, we present our considerations on the performance of each newspaper when domesticating terrorism. We offer some reflections about the role of interpretive repertoires and frames when reinforcing a social imaginary.

Social imaginaries work through mass media institutions. We do know that media are not the only institutions in which the social imaginaries circulate. However, they are one of the most relevant. In media, a social imaginary works through frames and repertoires that allows a society to operate in a cohesive way. We consider it possible to affirm that, overall, it's a hermeneutical work, since a newspaper's text is constructed through multiple levels of interpretation.

After having displayed how the content and organization of this investigation will be presented, we shall start in the following pages by introducing the research "problematique" of this work and the question we seek to answer.

### ***Chapter I. Research “Problematique”***

The beginning of the 21st Century has not only been characterized by the socio-economical and political differences that globalization provokes, but also by the resistance from several social groups looking to defend their local identities and sovereignty from “outsiders”. Among other relevant issues, violence<sup>1</sup> is a common and powerful denominator (or expression) and characteristic of this “global” society of the new era. Terrorism<sup>2</sup> is one of the principal varieties of political violence<sup>3</sup> and a product of the “postmodern” world (as it is manifested in the new millennium).

In this new epoch, social meanings, ideals, definition of norms, and the world order are being reconfigured and transformed. Into these new meanings and geopolitical movements, terrorism plays a relevant part. We could establish that around terrorism is moving and affecting part of the world: with the justification to combat terrorism, American foreign policy is being applied in Middle East and other regions. Risk and security measures and fear perceptions are increasing and there are more controls at borders.

One of the things we propose is that two of the main transformations on the discussion on terrorism since 9/11, in which the mass media are contributing to construct and circulate, are: 1) Perception of risk (threat) - evidently, depending in what country of the world you live in – which, in our opinion, terrorism has become the most powerful

tool used for political objectives; 2) The the tendency towards a division of the world into a binary form: a) *Evil* (satanic) made up of the terrorists, (i.e. the radical Islamists - the terrorists are basically defined as those in opposition to the United States b) *Good* (the US and its allies – the Coalition). That is a world divided into: democracies/authoritarian regimes; Western (United States and its allies) and Eastern “Others” (the Middle East, non-developed countries; terrorists). These dichotomies are often defined within the American hegemonic discourse.

From 9/11 onwards, terrorism has frequently been discussed in diverse spheres (political, economical, among others), all of which concern themselves with the power and economical symbols of the United States that have been destroyed. 9/11<sup>4</sup> has been qualified as a milestone in world history<sup>5</sup> as well as an event “fondateur en termes de géostratégie”.<sup>6</sup> Carlos Monsivais, one of the most recognized intellectuals in Mexico, affirms that with 9/11 globalization was formally inaugurated. He also considers that the notion of spectacle was profoundly modified.<sup>7</sup>

Thus, political violence, in the form of terrorism, has a clearly symbolic dimension. Derrida and Habermas view the events of 9/11 as the destruction of an icon in the American domestic imagination (i.e. the Twin Towers represented an economic symbol). It is considered that the presence of the media served to inflate a local (domestic) event into something global: “la population du monde entire devenant un temoin oculaire meduce. Peut-être peut-on parler du 11 septembre comme du premier événement qui s’est immédiatement inscrit dans l’histoire mondiale au sens strict » (Borradori, 2004: 57). Whereas Baudrillard considers the 9/11 attacks as « the mother of all events » (Baudrillard, 2002: 4).

According to Habermas (Borradori, 2004), the novelty of 9/11, contrary to other terrorist attacks, was not the use of planes as weapons of destruction. As Roy (2002) affirms, the tactic of simultaneously deviating planes was employed in the 1970s and that the World Trade Center had already been a target for Al-Qaeda in February of 1993. But with 9/11, terrorism entered another dimension. Not only was an icon of the American imagination destroyed, but that such destruction was presented live via the communication media. Nonetheless, for Habermas the communication media (especially television) involved itself in world history in an extreme way; the impacts, the explosions, everything taking place under the watching eyes of the global viewing audience.

However, he also underlines that the only important effect of 9/11 was the changes in the modes of communication. Derrida (Borradori, 2004) also concurs with highlighting the communicative aspect of 9/11, and further considers that this ‘mediatization’ was the principal interest of the perpetrators of the events of 11th September. Evidently, 9/11 has a communicative side, as well as other relevant aspects. We guess that through the communication media, those responsible for the attacks achieved their objectives, among those being to instill fear in society. It is Oliver Roy who precisely defines this as being the most novel aspect of 9/11; in “the perception of danger, not in its concrete execution” (Roy, 2002: 10). Later, we shall discuss this in greater detail.

In addition to this, we do consider that, since 9/11, definitions and interpretations about terrorism have suffered a profound transformation on a global scale. Norris *et al* (2003) affirm that these events can best be understood as symbolizing a critical culture shift in the predominant news frames used by the American mass media for

understanding issues of national security, altering perceptions of risk at home and threats abroad. The perception of the threat of world terrorism changed, even if these “threats” are real or not. Thus, we do establish that terrorism was felt, before 9/11 as something ‘remote’ for many people throughout the world, transforming itself into something ‘closer’, in many places of the world.

Within these changes, the role of the mass media has been essential, functioning as institutions that construct and reproduce certain repertoires and frames on terrorism that are articulated with a certain social imaginary. Mass media define what terrorism is; who the terrorists are; the risk and threats of suffering a terrorist attack; the measures of national security; American foreign policy; the effects of terrorism in the locality, etc. Mass media help to articulate, within its discourses, cultural identities in the communities with whom they are connected. As Gonzalez Velez affirms “mass media circulate those meanings that are foundational to the collective. They help the community to imagine itself and to validate its existence” (2002a: 8).

### *1.1 Media and Terrorism Studies*

There are several studies on media coverage about terrorism. One of the pioneers in the field was the study *Televising Terrorism* made by Paul Schlesinger at the beginnings of the 80s concentrating his study on television news. While David L. Paletz and Alex P. Schmid, in their *Terrorism and the Media*, have worked on the link between the terrorism, academic literature and the media from various perspectives.

Another important work on the Hispanic side is the one made by the Spanish Rodrigo Alsina (1989), who concentrated in the study of two Spanish newspapers to

analyze its coverage about the Euzkadita Azkatasuna (ETA)<sup>8</sup>, the Basque terrorist organization at the origin of numerous attacks in Spain.

There are several more publications (books) around media coverage and terrorism, especially after September 11 (*Journalism after September 11*, edited by Barbie Zelizer, *The Age of Terror* edited by Strobe Talbott and Nayan Chanda, *America and the World After September 11*, edited by Strobe Talbott and Nayan Chanda, among others), but none of them concentrates on the domestication on terrorism by newspapers, only articles.

Some other studies also concentrate in the debates concerning the use of mass media in the internationalization of terrorism (Combs 1997; Rodrigo, 1989; Carruthers 1998; Somier, 2000). While some other studies have shown the close relationship of governments and media. Robert M. Entman and Benjamin I. (Entmand & Benjamin: 1994: 91) showed by a quantitative and qualitative research that media coverage on the first Gulf War reveals more clearly the ways the American administration maintained considerable control over the news and reduced the salience of substantive criticism. They established the limitation of the scope of media criticism in this period.

With a international scope, Gabriel Wiemann and Conrad Winn presented their book entitled *The theater of terror* in which they investigate the symbiotic relationship between terrorist organizations and the mass media in various countries. They explore the impact of this symbiotic relation on public opinion, government decisions and the terrorists themselves.

We have found also studies that make comparisons among newspapers coverage on war or terrorism. Teresa Sádaba and Teresa La Porte found that the coverage of 9/11

in Spain, was an example of how media localize a global message. They found that the dailies they studied gathered events by looking for analogies with the situation of ETA terrorism in Spain. Their article was part of a book *Media, Terrorism and Theory. A reader*, edited by Anandam P. Kavoori and Todd Fraley.

On media framing on terrorism, we found *Framing Terrorism. The News Media, the Government and the Public* edited by Pippa Norris *et al* (2003). In this book the events and aftermath of 9/11 are compared to other incidents of terrorist violence, including those occurred in Israel-Palestine, Northern Ireland and Africa. By making these comparisons, the book focuses on how governments, security forces and dissident groups manage and manipulate the media; the way in which journalists construct the news and how citizens respond to media coverage. Norris, *et. al.* concludes that what 9/11 changed was American public perceptions of terrorism, more than its actual threat.

### *1.2 Terrorism as a Protagonist Topic in the Media*

As we have established, since 9/11 terrorism has been transformed (for its global effects) from a “domestic” or “international” issue (by its effects that affected only when the acts of terrorism occurred) into a topic of “global” magnitude (from 9/11 terrorism has had a world-wide effect in many areas).

Terrorism had been on the international agenda for a long time, but until fairly recently it was accorded relatively low importance. From time to time, following some spectacular attacks, terrorism would figure prominently in the media for a few days (Alali *et al* 1991; Laqueur 2003); however, “this has now changed, and terrorism is bound to remain high on the list of our priorities” (Laqueur, 2003: 7).

As a result, terrorism has become the subject of a great deal of study, debates, commentaries, and controversy; however, debates are often distinguished more by their passion and emotion than by knowledge and insight (Laqueur, 2003: 7). The mass media could not remain detached from this. The relevance of the mass media stems from its role in determining a preponderant place for the creation of meanings on terrorism. As institutions of the social imaginary, mass media appropriate specific interpretations to create a hegemonic social reality which can be accepted or not by those that adopt it and a particular way of looking and understanding terrorism. These meanings flow through symbolic forms (newspapers) that circulate by news frames and interpretive repertoires which work together with the social imaginary. By its dialogical process they articulate and re-articulate while circulating social meanings.

Social imaginaries have a long duration but also a constant form that maintains a deep structure in relation to that emergent events and representations. We are precisely interested to discover precisely the form of the relation between this deep structure and the emergent social viewpoints on terrorism that the written press has presented through the repertoires and frames they developed. In other words, what form has remained constant since 9/11 up to 3/11, 2004 (The attack on Spain's Madrid Atocha Station).<sup>9</sup>

During the Cold War, the form of this imaginary was influenced by the grand ideologies and polarized discourses that set the world in order. Which form encapsulates the modern era; that marked out by terrorism? We consider that 9/11 probably concretized a challenge to the received social imaginary. Since then, events that have occurred have added more challenges and a variety of new materials. In addition, the event has revealed, perhaps more than ever, the incapacity of received mass media and

journalism to provide the public with fundamental information in order to understand and think about a topic such as terrorism. This is evidenced in global media's dependency on American or international agencies for acquiring information (which does not denote being "well informed"); in the relationship between media and government in America and some other countries; and lastly, in the control of the information flow during conflict events and war, as well as media self-censorship.

We cannot deny that from 11th September onwards, the communication media, whether being television, the printed press or online media services, increased its coverage of terrorism, especially anything related to 9/11 and its so-called "consequences". These media select which events are covered, under which news segments, from which agencies the information is gleaned, what photographs are used, which columnists or person are invited to comment on events, which expert voices are aired or printed, and those whose opinions are heard/read and are not (a very important factor).

Each medium selects its information from several source options. What it will publish and present in its pages is a re-interpretation of that which is relevant for the communication media, according to its editorial line; it is from 11<sup>th</sup> September onwards that the discussion about terrorism has been implanted in the media as a form of protagonist.

Hegemonic meanings of events such as 09/11, or war and conflicts in general, are developed usually by those who are able to influence dominant discourses. These discourses, as Stuart Hall points out, have become "universalized and naturalized" (quoted by Karim, Karim, 2003: 5), so it appears to be the only form of knowledge

available. As Hall affirms, discourses always operate in relation to power and the question of whether a discourse is true or false is less important than whether it is effective in practice (Hall, 1992: 295).

With regard to this last point, Karim H. Karim (2003) outlines that there is not a deliberate plan by mass media to portray certain issues in particular ways but is rather a “naturalized” hegemonic process through which media adheres to a common field of meanings. We would add that depending on the editorial line of the media would be the way that reality is being re-interpreted and diffused. News discourses are structured and developed from different traditions of print and broadcasting. As Robinson (1998) notes, journalists do not invent, rather, they appropriate preexisting narratives styles for naming things.

Some of the critiques on American press coverage during war conflicts (i.e. the Gulf War) point out that mass media has been “subordinated on a worldwide scale to the Republican government of the United States” (Macarthur, 1993; Bennet & Paletz, 1994; Carruters, 2000). One of the most severe critics of these United States policies, Noam Chomsky, has affirmed (and demonstrated) that the media (American):

*“Present[s] a picture of the world which defends and inculcates the economic, social and political agendas of the privileged groups who control the government. This is the so called ‘Propaganda Model’. Those who control the government are part of an “Elite” who wants to control the public minds.”<sup>10</sup>*

Clearly, one way to present and preserve certain pictures of reality is by controlling information in the media. During the last few years, several denunciations have been made concerning the attacks against freedom of expression by the government of George W. Bush, especially the constraints imposed after 9/11 and so on. Indeed, under the authority of Donald Rumsfeld (Secretary of Defense of the United States) more strict controls were imposed on journalists’ access to military operations and to top officials.<sup>11</sup>

Another important resolution was the one pushed by Attorney General John Ashcroft called the *USA Patriot Act* (officially *Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act*), which was quickly developed as anti-terrorism legislation in response to the September 11, 2001 attacks. The large and complex law received little congressional oversight and debate; it was signed into law by President Bush on Oct. 26, 2001. In its 215 Section, mass media freedom is affected.<sup>12</sup>

In this sense, a sample of these constraints is presented by the organization *Reporter Sans Frontiers* in order to denounce the way in which the Pentagon tried to control the images of the 9/11 event. Since then, there has been a contract of exclusivity signed with the company *Space Imaging* with which it is prohibited “to sell, to distribute, to share or to provide the images taken by the satellite *Ikonos* to the mass media<sup>13</sup>.”

An issue that worries the American government is that beyond their frontiers, the war against terrorism is often perceived as a war against Islam.<sup>14</sup> Oliver Roy affirms that the United States does not want the struggle against terrorism to be interpreted in that way. For the Americans, it is rather a question of a general frame of international politics, of a global vision of security issues and of a definition of the terrorist threat that is not specifically tied to Islam but is adaptable to any other configuration (Roy, 2002: 83).

Whether there is a war against Islam or not, the way the public interpret terrorism is related to its perceived context, its own identity, and its specific social imaginary. Our ideas and meanings are constructions that we make, as subjects, but these constructions are influenced by a variety of social institutions (family, school, work, mass media, etc.)

that circulate by specific repertoires, fragments, terms. Mass media as institutions construct and maintain certain kind of discourses on terrorism.

Nevertheless, the role played by newspapers differs from those of TV, the Internet, or radio news outlets. The main characteristic of TV is its transmission of events in images that can potentially have an *immediate* impact (visually). Television has its own routines and time constraints. While the print media, such as newspapers in its traditional form, is not an “immediate” source of news until the “next day”; however, it is nonetheless seen as the media where one can understand and have more information *in detail* and *in depth* about an event, through its editorials, articles, and reports.

Thus, in this project, we intend to explore the ‘domestication’ of terrorism in local newspapers from Guadalajara and Montreal.<sup>15</sup> This process infers the ways the media appropriates a global topic such as terrorism, to ‘domesticate’ it and make it “particular” or “local” through news production. We establish that as the closer a terrorist event is, the more the media increases its coverage. News articles on terrorism will mostly relate to those aspects that affect the community where the media is produced. How is terrorism being domesticated in print media in two different societies, specifically from Montreal and Guadalajara? As we know, Mexico and Canada are part of NAFTA, along with the United States. They are geographical neighbors of the USA, sharing trade economies and policies; but, on the other hand, they also have many cultural, economical, social and political differences.

This study is pertinent and relevant as there is not yet an effective social analysis in this area; it will, specifically, show the domestication of terrorism in two societies (and three linguistic/cultural groups) within two countries (Mexico and Canada). As we know,

the Canadian and Mexican governments have been under pressure since 9/11, from the American government to change some of their policies in respect of giving support to the United States in so many aspects of its “War against Terrorism”. How do the multicultural Anglophone and Francophone discourse communities of Montreal differ from the Mexican “Tapatian” society of Guadalajara in the way they signified terrorism? How is terrorism from 9/11 and its consequences, seen affecting the local communities?

In this work, we analyze news, editorials, and opinion articles concerned with terrorism that have appeared in the most relevant newspapers of Montreal, *The Gazette* (in the English language) and *La Presse* (in French). From the city of Guadalajara, we will concentrate the study on *El Informador* (in Spanish). The period of analysis was constructed from September 11<sup>th</sup> and some of their main after-effects, considering those articulated around the start of the Iraq War (from March 20<sup>th</sup>, 2003) as well as the attacks in Madrid, Spain on 11<sup>th</sup> March, 2004. The precise dates of the body of analysis were selected since they marked specific historical periods in the development of the most significant mediated ‘events’ of global terrorism.

### *1.3 Research Question*

Nowadays, news, more than even before, spreads in a global way. Local media appropriate global discourses to present news and articles, along with the editorials about a specific topic; in this case, terrorism. It is well known that media organizations select, from among hundreds of news sources, which items to publish under their own imprimatur. Thus, the media reproduce discourses that give assurance to several assumptions about what terrorism is, how terrorism affects (or does not) the local community, etc. Terrorism has become a relevant problem that affects the whole world

We will try to show that, through a discursive process of domestication, the local newspapers reinforced, created or reconfigured a discourse that is re-articulated with the broader social imaginary of a specific social and cultural grouping. This articulation occurs in media by the construction of specific story frames and interpretive repertoires. Global diffusion of news undergoes a local domestication that affects its symbolic social significance and its uses, in which frames and repertoires precisely circulate a domesticated form.

The cultural appropriations of terrorism in societies such as Quebec and Mexico may differ. The appropriations inside the Québécois society (among the Anglophone and Francophone discourse communities) will be different and perhaps contradictory.

Local newspapers still play a relevant role in their localities, despite the convergence of media. Some of the present-day local dailies in Montreal and Guadalajara have existed since the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, so they have been closely linked to the communities for many years. In addition to this, we think there is an adjacent connection between communities and their local newspapers. Even though new kinds of digital media are emerging, we feel that a significant number of people still prefer to read local newspapers that are being produced in their classical presentations or reading them in a combined way; in paper and digital form.

In Montreal, due to its particular bilingual and multicultural situation, there exist many print media in different languages. In her study on Quebec's Referendum, Gertrude Robinson has shown that language in Quebec determined the news agenda and thus the ideological point of view from which reports are written. This author also affirms that the difference between English and French news coverage style is not a simple result of

individual journalistic decisions, but is rather a complex interplay of station resources and practices, network guidelines and ‘local’ understandings about what types of events to select for coverage (Robinson, 1998).<sup>16</sup>

On the other hand, in Guadalajara, Mexico, there’s a different social reality than in Canada, which evidently affects the way mass media frames news on terrorism (taking into account its dependency upon international agencies), along with the way newspapers localize a global issue (such as terrorism). Therefore, the social construction of news will be impregnated by local myths, beliefs, identities and values.

Therefore, the question we intend to answer in this project is: How do *The Gazette*, *La Presse* and *El Informador* “domesticate” terrorism?

#### 1.4 Hypotheses

- The domestication will be impregnated by the local beliefs, languages, and myths. Culture articulations and language will determine the way terrorism is portrayed.
- The newspapers under analysis will present in their pages those “aspects” of terrorism that the organization sees as potentially affecting the local community (i.e. a terrorists’ network living in Montreal; in the case of the daily in Guadalajara, the major attention will be given to the Mexican Federal Government’s actions to support American measures to prevent and combat terrorism and the effects of the American policies on Mexican immigrants).
- Frames (story frames) are the ways each newspaper here analyzed contextualize and articulate the relation between certain themes and actors.
- The domestication of terrorism will differ from English to French communities in Montreal; in contrast from these groups to the Mexican one.
- *La Presse* and *The Gazette* may differ substantially in their domestication that which will reflect their historical origins and roots; one being more critic of the American Government and the other more pro US.
- *La Presse* and *El Informador* will tend to domesticate terrorism on the human side of the conflicts based upon established repertoires.

## ***Chapter II. Theoretical and Methodological Frameworks***

### *2.I. Theoretical considerations*

#### *2.1.1 The Concept of Terrorism*

In order to begin our theoretical framework, it is necessary to start by defining a central concept: terrorism<sup>17</sup>. It has been labeled in different ways and as many authors would agree terrorism is a polysemous term and it's hard to find a definitional consensus (Alali & Eke, 1991; Griset & Mahan, 2003; Henderson, 2001; Hoffman, 1998; Laqueur, 2003; Legare, 2002; Nacos, 2002; Peinares, 1998; Rodrigo, 1991; Sommier, 2000).

As Walter Laqueur reveals, there is still not a generally agreed definition of terrorism. "On the contrary, as far as the media are concerned, circumlocution has become the order of the day (...) terrorism more perhaps than most concepts has generated widely divergent interpretations" (Laqueur, 2003: 232).

Laqueur, who has been working on the subject of terrorism since the 70s explains some of the obstacles to overcome in the search for a definition of terrorism: "It is a very old phenomenon and it has changed its character and meaning over time and from country to country" (Laqueur, 2003: 232). He affirms that it is most unlikely that any contemporary definition of terrorism would even come close to describing terrorism in 1850 or 1930.

On the other hand, the United Nations has not agreed on a definition of terrorism either, "For obvious reasons never will. It is frequently argued that terrorists should be treated according to the Geneva Conventions<sup>18</sup> signed after World War II and the two protocols added in 1977" (Laqueur, 2003: 233).

The definition given to terrorism by title 22 of the United States Code is: "terrorism means premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant

targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.” (Henderson, 2001; Laqueur, 2003).

While for the FBI the definition of terrorism is “the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives”. (Legare, 2002: 21).

Following the attacks on 09/11, the search for a definition received fresh impetus when new legislation was introduced in many Western countries. During that period, terrorism was defined by the European Union as “an organized act of violence or threat of violence that caused terror and fear such as killing, assassination, the taking of hostages in airplanes and ships, and the use of bombing aimed at advancing political aims” (Laqueur, 2003: 234).

In Canada, before 09/11, it was difficult to agree on a definition of terrorism. The last time the Canadian *Criminal Code* referred to terrorism was in its infamous Section 98 enacted in response to the post-First World War Red Scare.

Terrorism was not defined during the invocation of the *War Measures Act* in 1970. Instead, the Front de Liberation du Québec (FLQ) and other groups advocated the use of force or the commission of crime as a means of accomplishing governmental change within Canada and these were declared to be unlawful associations (Roach, 2003).

The definition of terrorism in the *Anti-Terrorism Act* (declared in the Bill C.36)<sup>19</sup> in some way reflects globalization principles. Terrorism is now defined not only as an attempt to use crime to change the Canadian Government, but governments in other countries as well. The definition of terrorism has also been broadened to include

politically motivated attempts to disrupt essential public or private services (Roach, 2003).

However, the Supreme Court of Canada has recognized that there is no a single definition of terrorism that is accepted internationally. As a result, the absence of an authoritative definition means that “the term is open to politicized manipulation, conjecture and polemical interpretation” (Suresh v. Canada<sup>20</sup> quoted by Roach, 2003: 29).

We have found many other definitions of terrorism but we don’t seek to arrive at an exhaustive and objective definition of it. If international organizations have not arrived at a common definition yet, we won’t pretend to do so.

We agree with Ulrich Beck (2003) when he affirms that we still continue to act in terms of concepts that may be historically obsolete but that nonetheless continue to govern our thinking and acting. There is a distance between concept and reality; terrorism is no exception. Beck shows the discrepancy between language and reality which he calls “global risk society”. The use we have made of terror, terrorists, war, guerrilla, and so on are just a few examples of a linguistic use of terms.

We do consider that terrorism must be defined by considering the social and discursive context in which it is happening. Although it is certain that terrorism exists with or without the media, it cannot be denied that there is a close link between them. As we are endeavouring to analyze domestication on terrorism that is being constructed in newspapers, we would define terrorism in this work as:

All reported acts of violence (from 9/11 and its aftermaths) with political, ethnic or religious motives, and with unexpected consequences initially perpetrated by defined or undefined groups, whose actions hurt and kill civilians, politicians, organizational infrastructures, etc.

We would put forward another way to approach terrorism. Robert Fisk, who is one of the most influential journalists on terrorism, conflicts and war, and who works for the London-based daily *The Independent*, clarified in his view what terrorism is or not is:

“Terrorism no longer means terrorism. It is not a definition, it is a political contrivance. “Terrorists” are those who use violence against the side that is using the word. The only terrorists whom Israel acknowledges are those who oppose Israel. The only terrorists the United States acknowledges are those who oppose the United States or their allies. The only terrorists Palestinians acknowledge –for they too use the word- are those opposed to the Palestinians” (Quoted by Karim, 2003:19).

We consider that this definition is most useful; from our point of view it expresses the ways in which we receive information on terrorism in Western media. We can assume that in the “non-Western” areas of the world, the conceptualizations and interpretations about terrorists (who they are) as well as terrorism (directed towards whom, with what motives, etc.) would be directly concerned with perceived attacks by America and its allies upon them (i.e. the “Others”).

### *2.1.2 Media as Symbolic Forms and Institutions of Social Imaginaries on Terrorism*

The concept of the social imaginary has not been generally used in media research (Gonzalez Velez, 2002b). In the media, social imaginaries operate through symbolic forms. The press is a symbolic form, though it circulates several meanings. As Thompson affirms, in modern societies mass media have become fundamental tools for the continuous re-articulation of social memory and its units of meaning. Symbolic forms are central to mass media’s continuous creation of reality which circulates in a specific socio-historical context (Thompson, 1998: 217). For this re-articulation, interpretive repertoires and news frames work closely with the social imaginary. It is by them that the social imaginary works in mass media.

The term “social imaginary”<sup>21</sup> has been used in several ways and has attained a more relevant role in social life (Appadurai, 1996; Durand, 1993; Gonzalez Velez, 2002a; Maffesoli, 1993; Taylor, 2006). It is one of the main concepts to work with in this project since it offers a framework for cultural analysis and understanding of media texts with respect to their articulation of social life.

### *2.1.3 A Historical Review of the Concept*

There have been several uses of the term “imaginary”. According to Jean-Jaques Wunenburger the social imaginary is « d’inscription récente dans la langue française et semble ignoré dans bien des langues -il n’ya pas d’équivalent en anglais- ». (Wunenburger, 2003: 5).

Chelebourg<sup>22</sup> notes the first appearance of the term in the work of Maine de Biran in 1820, or later with Alphonse Daudet, who refers to an “imaginaire” since then (quoted by Jaques-Wunemburger, 2003).

However, the success of the word during the Twentieth Century could be attributed to disaffection with the term imagination, which was understood to be a psychological faculty:

« Avec le déclin d’une certaine psychologie philosophique (au milieu du XXe siècle) et sous la pression des sciences humaines l’étude des productions imagées, de leurs propriétés et de leurs effets, a savoir l’imaginaire, a progressivement supplante la question classique de l’imagination. Autrement dit, le monde des images a pris le dessus sur leur formation psychologique ». (Wunemburger, 2003: 6).

Thus, the term is subtle to work with « entre souvent en concurrence avec d’autres, avec lesquels il a de subtiles interférences » (Wunemburger, 2003: 6). In the academic field, there have been different kinds of approaches to the ‘imaginary’, including psychological, anthropological, and sociological perspectives.

Appadurai affirms that the world we live in today is characterized by a new role for the imagination; that to grasp this new role we need to bring together the old idea of images, especially those mechanically produced (in the Frankfurt School sense); the idea of the imagined community (in Andersons' sense); as well as the French idea of imaginary (*imaginaire*) as a constructed landscape of collective aspirations, which is no more or less real than the collective representations of Emile Durkheim, now mediated through the complex prism of modern media (Appadurai, 1996: 31).

#### *2.1.4A Conceptualization of the Social Imaginary*

In this project we conceive the imaginary as transcendental in its ability to construct the symbolic sense (Castoriadis, 1987) and the kind of knowledge which allows us to develop our collective practices (Taylor, 2006). We will commence with a general conceptual revision of the term "social imaginary", beginning with a consideration of some of its roots.

As Gonzalez-Velez points out: "the role of the imagination in the constitution of the collective should be traced to Emile Durkheim's work *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*." According to Durkheim, the way social subjects bond in society is due to their sharing of symbolic forms that enable individuals to come together as a collective, which is finally called 'conscience collective' (quoted by Gonzalez-Velez, 2002a: 349). For Durkheim, "ideas are realities and forces [...] collective representations are forces which are still active and are more influential than individual representations" (Quoted by Maffesoli, 1993: 64).

It follows that one can say that the social imaginary is to be considered a part of the collective conscience. As a theoretical concept, the collective conscience has been explored by the works of Castoriadis (1987), Michael Maffesoli (1993) and Arjun

Appadurai (1996), who elaborate upon Durkheim's idea of the collective conscience by suggesting that as a social articulation, the collective conscience emerges in the form of a social imaginary, a kind of symbolic template of cultural conditioning that generates a sense of identity and inclusiveness between the members of a discursive community (Maffesoli, 1993: 64).

Maffesoli postulates that our "collective representations guide even our most reputedly scientific actions and discourses" (Maffesoli, 1993: 63). For him, the imaginary is one of the dimensions of the collective conscience and suggests that the efficacy of the imaginary is explained by the sense of solidarity it gives to social subjects. This author establishes the imaginary as a *sine qua non* of all life in society. He concludes that an *all-encompassing imaginary* strongly determines individual attitudes as well as the dialectic between individuals and collective representations (Maffesoli, 1993: 6-12).

In contrast to this, Appadurai (1996) sees imagination as a collective social fact that has been taken for granted by people as they function in everyday life. He suggests that this is a global phenomenon that is possible because of experiences of migrations and mass mediations. As a basic premise in his book, Appadurai details a theory of rupture that takes media and migration as two major and interconnected diacritics, seeking to explore their joint effects upon the work of the imagination as a defining feature of modern subjectivity.

The first step in this argument is that electronic media decisively alters the wider field of mass media and other traditional media:

"The imagination, especially when collective, can become the fuel for action. It is the imagination, in its collective forms, that creates ideas of neighborhood and nationhood...the imagination is today a staging ground for action and not only for escape". (Appadurai, 1996: 7)

As we can see, imagination and social imaginary seem to be understood by these authors as being synonymous.

It was Cornelius Castoriadis, in 1964, who first employed the term social imaginary as such. Castoriadis defines the imaginary as a term that:

“...does not come from the image in the mirror or from the gaze of the other. Instead the ‘mirror’ itself and its possibility, and the other as mirror, are the works of the imaginary, which is creation *ex nihilo*...the imaginary of which I am speaking is not an image of. It is the unceasing and essentially undermined creation of figures/forms/images on the basis of which alone there can ever be a question of ‘something’ ” (Castoriadis, 1987: 3).

What we call reality is part of this creation, which means the conceptions of figures/forms/images drawn from it. This reality is constructed, interpreted and read by each subject in a particular socio-historical moment. The subject incorporates the imaginary significations of the society he belongs to. Media is inserted in this society; they are part of social processes of signification and sense construction.

For Castoriadis the imaginary has to use the symbolic not only to express itself, but to ‘exist’, to pass from the virtual into anything more than this. The social imaginary uses the symbolic as a collective representation. This representation goes beyond the perception of the object or of ideas. It is the creative and individual aptitude to find new relations and meanings of symbols as cultural units (Castoriadis, 1987: 355).

The social-historical institution is that in and through which the social imaginary manifests itself and brings itself into being. This institution is the institution of a magma of significations, which Castoriadis call a world of significations:

“What holds a society together is the holding-together of its world of significations. What permits us to think of it in its *ecceity* as *this particular* society and not another, is the particularity or specificity of its world of significations as the institution of *this* magma of social imaginary significations, organized in a particular way and not other-wise”. (Castoriadis, 1987: 359).

Institutions of social imaginary as institutions of significations (i.e. mass media) posits what is and what is not, what does and what does not have worth, and what is and is not do-able, both outside society and within it. Language, reality, values, needs and labor in each society specify, in each case, and in their particular mode of being, the organization of the world and the social world related to the social imaginary significations instituted by the society in question (Castoriadis, 1987: 371). Castoriadis concludes that what a society understands as reality is a response to an institutionalized process of specific imaginary significations.

According to Castoriadis, significations are obviously not what individuals represent to them, consciously or unconsciously, or what they think. They are that by means of which and on the basis of which individuals are formed as social individuals (Castoriadis, 1987: 366).

As Fourastie and Joron pointed out, there has almost always been a tendency in rational thought to set the imaginary in opposition to reality. As a result, this type of dialectical operation leads in an arbitrary way to discrediting the imaginary in favor of reality.

For these researchers, there is a close link, an inextricable interpenetration of these ontological necessities, which sometimes confront one another, but which never separate. “The Imaginary can therefore only be understood by means of one or more systems of correspondents with what is perceived as real” (Fourastie and Joron, 1993: 54).

With respect to this last point, Castoriadis affirms that the world of significations instituted in society is obviously neither a copy or a traced ‘reflection’ of a real world, nor is it without any relation to a specific being—therefore, with respect to nature:

“nothing exists as social-historical which is not signification, caught up in and referred to an instituted world of significations” (Castoriadis, 1987: 354).

Castoriadis concludes that the organization of this world rests upon various aspects of the first natural stratum; however, not only is it never purely and simply a repetition or reproduction of this stratum; it cannot even be described as a partial and selecting sampling of it. What is sampled is so only in relation to and on the basis of an organization of the world posited by society:

“...it is so only by being *formed* and *transformed* in and through social institution... this formation-transformation is actual, figured-presentified in and through modifications of the ‘sensible world’ so finally, *the very thing* which is leaned on is *altered* by society which has strictly no equivalent in the psychical world...for the institution of the world of significations as a social-historical world is *ipso facto* ‘inscription’ and ‘incarnation’ in the ‘sensible world’ starting from which the latter is historically transformed in its being-thus”. (Castoriadis, 1987: 354).

The conceptualizations of the imaginary developed by Castoriadis (1987), Maffesoli (1993) as well as Appadurai (1996) suggest that in modernity the collective is not a coherent, natural, and localized object, but is inevitably a social construction, or to put it another way: an invention that normalizes subjects’ experiences (Gonzalez Velez, 2002a: 351). These social theorists have developed the concept of the social imaginary at great length. It is their stated premise to define the operations of the social imaginary in terms of discourse and symbolic formation. The social imaginary engenders a sense of identity and inclusiveness for the particular subject, as a member of a (or any) given community (Castoriadis 1987; Maffesoli, 1993; Appadurai, 1996; Garcia Canclini, 1999).

Charles Taylor affirms that the social imaginary goes beyond the immediate idea which gives sense to our particular practices. He affirms that there is a relation between practices and its conception. At any moment we could refer to a repertoire of collective actions that exist for certain social groups. This means that there are collective actions

that a social group knows how to do, how to talk, when, how do we relate with others, with other nations and countries, etc. (Taylor, 2006)

The imaginary signification is a prerequisite for the emergence of every culture, as Garcia Canclini affirms, that makes possible the auto-representation of human communities, their sense of identity and their perception of a place in the world. In this sense, Castoriadis considers that what permits a perception or experience of 'unity' and 'identity' within a society, is the particularity of its world of significations, its specificity as the institution of social imaginary signification (Garcia Canclini, 1999: 359).

Garcia Canclini considers the social imaginary as a concept with many uses and meanings, wherein we can reveal its local aspect, as metaphors serve to imagine different aspects, where a narrative creates order within it.

By understanding the social imaginary conceptualization, we seek to establish that the social imaginaries operate by certain means. They circulate, in mass media, through the symbolic forms, as the newspapers. Newspapers work the construction of news through different levels or organization, routines, and finally its texts. It is precisely by its texts (in the written form) or by conversation that certain repertoires circulate. These are contextualized in specific frames that the newspaper or the journalist constructs. They in turn rearticulate the new with the existing significations of the social imaginary.

#### *2.1.5 Terrorist Events as News*

Journalists have a legitimate, institutionalized, social role to construct public social realities which are socially relevant (Rodrigo Alsina, 1993: 30). Rodrigo considers that the journalistic characteristics of a terrorist event are broken down into four components: 1) disruption of normality 2) spectacularization 3) rapidity of the event 4) the terrorist event is centripetal (since Rodrigo considered that terrorists acts were made primarily

towards politicians and security forces, it can be seen that these characteristics have changed, as the most recent terrorist acts in this new millennium see “terrorists” tending to attack ordinary people in the majority of cases).

We can see that the mass media defines some actions as terrorist, and others not. The technological and productive characteristics of the mass media, as well as the ideology of the informative organization give priority to a certain kind of events to be transmitted.

Bacheloni points out that in newspapers some social dimensions receive special attention, and these are reduced to a) political class b) spectacle c) crimes and events. According to this author, terrorism is indeed news because it is enacted within these three ambits: the political, the theatrical, and the criminal (Rodrigo, 1991: 46).

#### *2.1.6 From Global Flows of News to Local Appropriations*

John B. Thompson notes that while communication and information are increasingly diffused on a global scale, these symbolic materials are always received by individuals who are situated in specific spatial-temporal locales.

“The appropriation of media products is always a localized phenomenon, in the sense that it always involves specific individuals who are situated in particular social-historical contexts, and who draws upon the resources available to them in order to make sense of media messages and incorporate them into their lives” (Rodrigo, 1995: 174).

Thompson affirms that the globalization of communication has not eliminated the local character of its appropriation. On the contrary, it has created a new kind of symbolic axis in the modern world. Circulation of information is global, but at the same time, the appropriation process remains upon a contextual and hermeneutical level (Rodrigo, 1995: 231). The appropriation of symbolic material allows individuals to create some distance from their own lives in a symbolic and imaginative way as “symbolic materials circulate on an ever-greater scale, locales become sites where, to an ever-increasing extent,

globalized media products are received, interpreted and incorporated into the daily lives of individuals” (Thompson, 1998: 175). Moreover, the cultural context of production and transmission inevitably encounter an already existing frame of reference in the eyes of the consumer or receiver (Held *et al*, 1999: 374).

### 2.1.7 News ‘Domestication’

In her work “Localizing the Global: Domestication Processes in International News Productions”, Lisbeth Clausen uses the notion of ‘domestication’, which was brought into news production by Gurevitch *et al*. in 1991 that refers to the way global news, while mediated globally, is nonetheless domesticated and made particular through news production: “by casting far-away events in frameworks that render these events comprehensible, appealing and ‘relevant’ to domestic audiences; by constructing the meanings of these events in ways that are compatible with the culture and the ‘dominant ideology’ of societies they serve” (Gurevitch, *et al*, 1991: 206).

Therefore, different news services on the same set of stories should not necessarily be viewed as leading to a ‘homogenization’ of the news around the world “if the ‘same’ events are told in divergent ways, geared to the social and political frameworks and sensibilities of diverse domestic audiences, the ‘threat’ of homogenization might have little basis” (Gurevitch, *et al*, 1991: 207). So, international news is presented within the frames of interpretation of local audiences in each nation (Clausen, 2004: 27)<sup>23</sup>.

Nevertheless, news agencies supplying information tend to flow in a global way; that said however, only little news and information agencies sell the news globally that we see and read from the media:

“In news gathering, the field is dominated by three news agencies, UPI (United Press International), AP (Associated Press), and Reuters<sup>24</sup>, while visual news gathering outside of the main networks is controlled by two corporations, Reuters and WTN (World Television News). Internationally available television news is divided among CNN, News International and most recently, the BBC” (Held *et al*, 1999: 349).

Despite the global diffusion of news, there is a local ‘domestication’ of it which affects the symbolic significance (social imaginary) and its uses by a particular public. We consider that this is especially so in the case of local newspapers (and radio) which play a relevant role in local communities. Some local newspapers organizations have existed since the 18<sup>th</sup> C. in Montreal and the early 20<sup>th</sup> C. in Guadalajara. We believe there is a close link between locality and its newspaper. At this point we must take into consideration the commercial character of information. This means, news as an industry. Terrorism as news has a great potential audience. It has often been noted that mass media concentrates a lot on transmitting violence, since the public is interested in this kind of news or information, whatever the causes.

As we know, mass media is “a multibillion-dollar industry and their business is primarily attracting audiences to sell to advertisers. While informing and entertaining, they are capturing publics in order to increase their market share”. Because advertising revenues freed the press from financial dependence upon politicians, newspapers ceased to serve primarily as vehicles for political debate among competing elites: “...the competition for mass audiences and the advertisers seeking to reach them, led to the growth of newspaper chains” (Fletcher & Everett, 2000: 381-382).

#### *2.1.8 Terrorism as an Act of Communication: the Media's Role*

One important issue from the 9/11 event is the role and effects of mass media coverage of terrorism. Reporting terrorism raises questions about how far news coverage can meet journalistic standards of balance, truth and objectivity in cases of extreme political conflicts (Norris, 2003). The importance is that the press discourse is accepted as truth; that the newspaper (or any media) gives the impression of being and objective

paper, as a journal which seeks the “truth”. So far, Teun van Dijk points out that “in the formulation of meanings in such a way that they are not merely understood but also accepted as the truth or at least as possible truth.” (Quoted in Martín Rojo, 1995: 53).

Rodrigo Alsina emphasized that the determining of whether terrorism is, or is not, a communicative act is a fundamental issue. Intellectuals like Umberto Eco, Baudrillard, and McLuhan, unanimously concluded in their separate works that terrorism is a communicative act (Rodrigo: 1995, 27). In this respect, Baudrillard is more deterministic, since he concludes that “terrorism would be nothing without media... the media are part of the event, they are part of the terror” (Baudrillard, 2002: 31).

Rodrigo prefers to nuance this kind of maxim, since terrorism is a very complex and multi-dimensional phenomenon. Thus, the communicative can be seen as but one of its faces. Rodrigo believes that it is an erroneous premise to consider terrorism as *just* a communicative act. He also points out that to claim that terrorism would not exist without mass media goes against historical evidence.

However, some authors do focus upon the existing link between media and terrorism.

As Carruthers puts it, there is an important link between them:

“Violent attacks are choreographed not just for those few with ringside seats –first hand witnesses- but for the television cameras which will transmit the spectacle to a wider audience (...) it is no wonder that terrorism is widely perceived as inextricable, symbiotically, linked with mass media” (Carruthers, 2000: 168).

Along the same lines, but centering its attention upon TV media, Combs formulates that television news organizations can be forced into becoming the link between the terrorist and his audience. This is termed an “amplification effect”: *when the activities (of terrorists) are broadcast through the media to a much larger audience than would be available on the spot where the action occurs*. So the confluence of interest between

sensational news-oriented media and terrorists raises questions about the media's complicity in today's terrorism.

In this sense, Sommier affirms that:

“C'est par son utilisation spécifique de medias que le terrorisme constitue la violence politique moderne par excellence. L'action terroriste, parce qu'elle est hautement théâtralisée et vise à susciter la peur, bien au-delà de celle de ses victimes directes, requiert une caisse de résonance que lui assurent sans peine les médias » (Sommier, 2000: 20).

It is safe to say in conclusion that the relationship between terrorism and the media is complex. The media is not simply a mirror or even a passive amplifier. It both reflects and shapes the public response (Henderson, 2001: 19).

#### 2.1.9 *Information Control<sup>25</sup> by the United States*

Terrorism can also be an object of political manipulation.<sup>26</sup> Mass media—in concert with the secret services, the state, or multinational companies—can enhance the impact of terrorist acts by exaggerating its scope and danger, with the purpose of provoking alarm; threatening order and social normalization (Rodrigo Alsina, 1991: 43).

The political system can use terrorist acts to reinforce the *status quo*, to consolidate political alliances, to legitimize actions, as well as de-legitimize the political opposition, and to define the political reality (Rodrigo, 1991).

As Rodrigo Alsina asserts on this last point, it amounts to an increase of the influence and presence of the political institutional system in mass media.

Several studies have demonstrated the close relationship of governments and the media. Robert M. Entman and Benjamin I. Page (1994: 91) showed in their quantitative and qualitative research that media coverage on the Gulf War clearly indicates the ways in which the American administration maintained considerable control over the news, reducing the salience of substantive criticism, thereby establishing the limitation and

scope of media criticism. Here, and elsewhere, the dominant news discourses largely reflect government perspectives on “the war against terrorism” (Karim H. Karim, 2003: vii).

*2.1.10 From the West to the Rest of the World: the Construction of “the Other”  
The West/East Ideological Constructs*

A classical model of a terrorist controlling our interpretations comes from the West<sup>27</sup>. In this model, terrorists are defined as the “Others”, which for all intents and purposes means the Arabs, the Palestinians, and the Muslims, or geographically those who are living predominantly in the Middle East<sup>28</sup>. We do believe that most of our Western social imaginaries on terrorism are contained within these stereotypes and narratives that are re-created and sustained by the mass media.

The so-called historical concept of the West classifies societies into different categories, portrays what people are like, its places, etc.; this means different systems of representing the Eastern peoples. The “West” as a concept helps to define differences, provides criteria of evaluation against which other societies are ranked as well as around which powerful and negative feelings cluster. It produces a certain kind of knowledge about a subject and attitudes towards it... this means, it functions as an ideology. By binary oppositions the “West” defines the “Rest” of the world which is not on its side (i.e. West=developed=good= desirable; non-West=underdeveloped=bad=undesirable) (Hall, 1992: 277).

For Hall, these terms are historical and linguistic constructs whose meanings change over time and more importantly, there are many different discourses or ways in which the West has come to speak of and represent other cultures.

The work of the Palestinian intellectual, Edward Said, has been relevant in understanding the Middle East conflict. In 1978, he published *Orientalism*, a study of Europe's representations of the East. In this book, Said brought together the philosophies of Michel Foucault and Antonio Gramsci to challenge the authority of Western knowledge of, and power over the Orient. Drawing on the work of Foucault, Said viewed the ensemble of writing on the Orient as a discourse. Furthermore, he explains how "orientalism" remains an indefatigable cultural and political force in the Western media's representation of Palestinians, Arabs, and Muslims (Bayoumi & Robin, 2000).

"Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between the "Orient" and (most of the time) "the Occident" (Bayoumi & Robin, 2000: 69).

Years later in *Covering Islam*, Said affirmed that the news we see through the media determines how we see the rest of the world:

"Today Islam is defined negatively as that with which the West is radically at odds, and this tension establishes a framework radically limiting knowledge of Islam (...) most of what the West knew about non Western world it knew in the framework of colonialism" (Said, 1997: 162-163).

Karim Karim (2003) conceptually employs "The Northern Model" instead of the "Western" one, which includes Europe. In his work, he concentrates on American discourse saying that the current Northern images of the Muslims have roots in age-old ideas about Islam. With regard to this last point, the origins of Oriental imaginaries are located in European history and the need to develop negative images of the enemy, on the eve of the project of global colonisation, lies in the fact that the Muslims were seen as rivals who occupied parts of Europe and barred overland access to the fabled riches of India and China. Thus, an imaginary geography emerged; the Christian community and the image of Islam as the other: "the primary division between the Christian and non-

Christian communities was replaced by that which factored in race, colour, origin, temperament, character, and types” (Karim, 2003: 57).

Hall mentions that in the Age of Exploration and Conquest, Europe began to define itself in relation to a new idea – the existence of many new “worlds” profoundly different from itself (Hall, 1992: 291). In these kinds of dualisms, to be seen as stereotypes, the “Other” is defined as everything that the West is not, its mirrored antithesis. It is represented as absolutely, essentially different, simply *other* (Hall, 1992: 308).

On the other hand, another recognized –and criticized- political scientist that has written a lot about the West and the Rest is Samuel P. Huntington. However, it is relevant, for the work that we are presenting, to quote some of its opinions and ideas about these concepts that have been very hard to define, moreover as we see, the West and the Rest changed according to history. When we talk about the West, we do not identify a particular religion, language, history.

We will say that we identify a particular way of thought, an ideological discourse and its practices. Is Mexico to be considered a Western country? Yes and no. As Huntington (1996) puts it, Latin Americans themselves are divided in their self-identification. Some say “Yes, we are part of the West” while others claim “No, we have our own unique culture” (...) Latin America could be considered either a sub-civilization within Western civilization or a separate civilisation closely affiliated with the West and divided as to whether it belongs in the West”.

It would take a long discussion to agree if Latinos are or not Westerners. I would say that, nowadays, if to be considered on the Western side is to be aligned with the United States and approving all its political foreign policies, Latinos will say, evidently, no.

Mostly, however, Latin America defends its identity. Nevertheless just considering the Mexican side, we would say that Mexico stands, when analyzing media and terrorism, on the Western side, since we do agree with Huntington that one of the most important contemporary manifestations of Western power is through global communications, as we will see later.

According to Huntington, the issues that divide the West and other societies (like China and North Korea on one hand and, in varying degrees, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Libya, and Algeria) involve the efforts of the West: 1) to maintain its military superiority through policies of non-proliferation and counter-proliferation with respect to nuclear, biological and chemical weapons and the means to deliver them; 2) to promote Western political values and institutions by pressing other societies to respect human rights as conceived in the West and to adopt democracy on Western lines and 3) to restricting the number of non-Westerners admitted as immigrants or refugees.

*Image of the "others" (Arabs, Muslims) in the Western Media*

For Walter Laqueur terrorism has always engendered violent emotions and there are greatly divergent opinions and images of it. The popular image of the terrorist a hundred of years ago was that of a bomb-throwing anarchist, a dishevelled alien, with a black beard and a satanic (or idiotic) smile; fanatical, immoral, sinister and ridiculous at the same time (Laqueur, 1977: 3).

However, according to Jack Shaheen (quoted by Karim, 2003), in the modern age television tends to perpetuate four primary stereotypes about Arabs:

- 1) Fabulously wealthy
- 2) Barbaric and uncultured
- 3) Sex maniacs with a penchant for white slavery

#### 4) Revelling in acts of terrorism

The image of the “violent Muslim” has not only been reproduced in newspapers and television, but generally appears as the representation of the Muslim “other” in popular culture, art, music, literature, and public discourse. As a result, violence has come to be linked to Islam as a religion, and with Muslims as its adherents. This representation of the Muslims serves for various propagandist purposes (Karim, 2003).

##### *2.1.11 Fear and Politics of Terror and the New Visibility of Terrorism in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*

If anything changed after 9/11, it was the perception of risks, threats, fear of the “other”, fear of taking a plane and being involved in a terrorist attack, fear of human rights’ violations, as anyone could be taken for a terrorist, etc. The feeling of “fear” has been permanently established into the everyday lives of many people throughout the world, many of whom have felt this fear for their whole lives, residing in countries in which acts of violence have been common for a very long time.

Obviously, there are many different types and levels of fear, many being unreal, and others being exaggerated, but the perception of fear, its very existence, is real; fear of being attacked, fear of being caught up in a crime, of an assault; one lives with fear. This fear varies according to the context, to the city in which one lives, with the social and political specific situations.

Overall, in the Western World, the feeling of security and protection existed before. However, from 9/11 onwards, the greatest world power was shown to be vulnerable in spite of all of its intelligence operations, vigilance, military might, etc.

Mass media contributed to the construction of fear and fatalism. The fears of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century are different to previous periods of history. Through media, especially television

and the Internet, millions of people were witnesses to what happened on 11<sup>th</sup> September in New York; a feeling of shared solidarity was created around the world that day.

There exists the latent threat that what transpired in the United States could be repeated there again or in any country, perhaps much worse. From 9/11 onwards, the fear of the “other” was reconfigured, maybe even more so with an Arab appearance. Under this “visual cloak” experienced through television (by those who were eye-witnesses) more of such “cloaks” are being added, having been constructed over the years.

In order to arrest the attacks, governments have implemented certain measures of control and vigilance at the borders and in airports; even to the extent of violating civil liberties. It is perceived that we live in a disordered state and the agents of social control will come to “save us” by “policing them”, the “others”, who have challenged our faith (Altheide, 2003: 42).

Altheide points out that since 9/11 the term “terrorism” has become widely used, just as crime and criminality, so terrorism has been socially constructed as a variant of crime and its story has been told as a crime story one:

“Terrorists share with criminals, motives, orality and mentality. Selected from audience constructions of their acts, criminals (those who commit crimes), and terrorists (those who commit acts of terror) are deemed greedy, selfish, unethical, dispassionate, cruel, unfeeling, irrational and demented. Criminals and terrorists are also cast as immoral (and indeed, evil) although they may simultaneously be presented as clever, but not intelligent enough to realize that their tactics “work” (Altheide, 2003: 43).

Furthermore, from these conceptions of terrorists, there is another relevant aspect to be considered: specifically, the United States’ political evocation of terror as a tool for social control, even more present, as we have seen with George Bush’s discourses.

David Altheide also affirms that there is continuity between mayor events (as the attacks of September 11th) and a history of crime reported emphasizing fear and social control. This is called politics of fear, in addition to propaganda effects (which

supposedly is one the things terrorists want), the constant use of fear pervades crises and normal crimes, becoming part of the taken-for-granted word of “how things are” and one of its consequences is that it begins to influence how we perceive and talk about everyday life on significant events (or mundane things) (Altheide, 2003: 38). What this creates, according to this scholar, is a discourse of fear, a symbolic awareness, and an expectation that danger and risk are central features of everyday life.

Through news, terrorism has come to be felt as a threat, as something that can really happen, since its discourse is filled with social imaginaries related to fear and risks to citizens. We will look at it in a deeper way when analyzing news discourse on terrorism in the coming pages.

Thus, terrorism has come to be seen as crime. Altheide says that terrorism has been socially constructed as a variant of crime, just as crime and criminality have emerged over decades with numerous myths, identities and characteristics of “criminals” (Altheide, 2003: 38).

#### *2.1.12 Satanization of Terrorists*

Jean Delumeau (2005) affirms that the emergence of modernity took place in Western Europe accompanied by an incredible fear of the Devil.<sup>29</sup> It was during the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> Centuries that Satan was represented in a “diabolical” way: with red eyes, hair and fiery wings (from the Apocalypse of Saint Server), as well as a man-devouring Devil (from Saint Pierre-de-Chauvigny).

It was the era in which the Church adorned its walls as capitals of all kinds of human and animal form. It represented Satan as both Seducer and Pursuer; the Satan of this time was terrifying.<sup>30</sup> The unbridled fear of the demon has been associated with the wait for the end of the world. In the circulation of the discourses that provoked these fears of

Satan, the printing press played a primordial role, publishing popular editions consecrated to Satanism.<sup>31</sup>

Delumeau points out that anguish is fear of the unknown and fear is the hatred of a concrete object that is identified with a social ill.<sup>32</sup> This same author approaches four concrete fears that have presented themselves throughout history: firstly the fear of God – fear of the final judgment and the Apocalypse; 2) Fear of the Devil – Hell and sin; 3) Fear of the Jew, the interloper and the stranger; 4) Fear of women – resulting in witchhunts.

These, the fears of past centuries, have their representation in the present millennium, exacerbated or better still, created by another: fear of xenophobia, fear of climate change, fear of being deported, fear of being part of a terrorist attack, being unaware of who that person is or when and how the attack will happen (whether it be through chemical, biological or nuclear weapons, or a kamikaze attack).

In this way, Veres (2004) assures us that all are excuses created for the justification of government-decided actions that maintain a wide relationship that Noam Chomsky calls the “fabrication of consent” and that grants a certain security to the aligned populace. The real terrorism, according to this author, is to respond to the effect that produces the fear in all of us.

From 9/11 onwards, the fears that circulate in the mass media are concentrated greatly on the perception of the terrorist threat. Those who are not on the side of America are the enemies. Today, we consider that fear is a tool for social control; maybe the most powerful tool that it exists. As Reguillo (2005) establishes, fear is the new articulator in society. The visibility of the acts played out on 9/11 grants a new weapon to the terrorists who were looking for precisely that – visibility. Also, it gave the politicians a resource

utilized centuries before by their European political predecessors, such as in the French Revolution (during the reign of Robespierre 1793-94); or the panoptic model of the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century. Maybe this panoptical model, invented by Bentham at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, gained its reputation to a large degree through the George Orwell's novel, *1984*. In this novel the Panopticon referred to the State, that sees everything but no one can see it.

The Panopticon model and concept belonged to the English philosopher Jeremy Bentham, who designed an architectural model for the prisons in the late Eighteenth Century.<sup>33</sup> Terrorists are invisible, no one knows where they are, in that sense they can see everything and they just know when they will appear to attack. They provoke the feeling of fear among civilians.

However, we have testified as to how, not only terrorists, but also politicians have provoked and used fear among its population with the end result of social control as to gain votes and to maintain a sense of fear among the people that a new attack could take place at any moment. It is precisely this that grants power to terrorism and to politicians, the latent threat to security and life in any place and at any moment.

In this sense, Altheide affirms that the forebodingness of events, like the 9/11 attacks, are cast as a terrible trend, in their inevitability, but power comes from the uncertainty of "when" and "where". While Zulaika and Douglas (Quoted by Altheide, *ibid*: 45) propose that the most typical model of the terrorism discourse in the United States has been the one of *Waiting for Terror* which may never happen, we are forced to talk about it while awaiting its arrival.

In all this, what is the role that the news media plays? News transforms and constructs existing social meanings. News organizations give emphasis to some topics and to some players rather than others. They portrayed the victims from their viewpoint and their suffering; who the heroes are; they emphasized the American patriotism surrounding 9/11; they connected 9/11 terrorism with Canadians and with Mexicans, so they were victims as well. News has also associated Islam to violent acts, to mention just one aspect. Who could the protectors be? The US and its allies, with all of its military and police forces.

Criminals as terrorists are also cast as immoral (evil) although they may simultaneously be presented as clever, but not intelligent enough to realize that their tactics work: “a remarkable distinction is made between the “top” echelons of terrorists’ leadership and those who carry out their orders. The latter are typically seen as brain-washed, crazy, zealots, and misled. Terrorist leaders, on the other hand, are seen as clever and adept at horrific deviancy beyond the imagination of sane and civilized people (Altheide, 2003: 43).

## ***2.2. Methodological Framework***

*Al investigar empíricamente el objeto lo alteramos, tenemos que investigar la alteración del objeto, la que a su vez alteramos, por lo que habrá que investigar la investigación de la investigación del objeto..nos metemos en una cascada transfinita de reflexividades (Jesús Ibáñez, 1991)*

The departure point of this project arises from an interpretative paradigm which declares that “to understand this world of meaning one must interpret it. The inquirer must elucidate the process of meaning construction and clarify what and how meanings are embodied in the language and actions of the social actors” (Thomas A. Schwandt, 1994: 118).

To present a method with which to analyze social research means, among other things, proposing means for its learning and use, as well as effective criticism arising thereof.

### *2.2.1 Hermeneutical Analysis*

In this research, we considered using the *depth hermeneutics* methodology proposed by John B. Thompson, in his book *Ideology and Modern Culture*. This methodology consists of three phases: 1) Socio-historical analysis: it is related with the socio-historical conditions of production, circulation and reception of social meanings. Thompson affirms that symbolic forms don't exist in an empty frame. Thus, they are social phenomena that are contextualized; 2) Formal or discourse analysis of the symbolic forms as symbolic constructions that present an articulated structure; 3) Interpretation/reinterpretation: this process of interpretation is at the same time a reinterpretation model –mediated by the phases of the depth hermeneutical frame- of a field-object that is actually interpreted and understood by the subjects (Thompson, 1998). The model provides an account of how symbolic forms, articulated through mass media, maintain “coherence” in the performance of social agents (Thompson, 1998).

Depth hermeneutics describes a critical approach that is basically the process of a self-reflective reading of a text, taking into account the context in which the text was produced. The origins of hermeneutics are found in the biblical hermeneutics of 17<sup>th</sup> Century German theology. During the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, it was Wilhelm Dilthey and others who extended the use of the hermeneutical technique to interpret a variety of texts. In other words, the guiding structure of inquiry is interpretation.

### *2.2.2 Three-step dialogical model of analysis*

As a part of the discourse analysis, we developed a model to analyze the material. One can examine discourses from different approaches and methods. The approach I considered to take focused on the interpretive repertoires. From a constructionist perspective, it allowed me to detect how the newspapers localized terrorism. Pieces of fragments or terms that are *used locally* reflected certain orders of discourse around a topic. The repertoires are impregnated with metaphors and social meanings. They construct a discourse around terrorism and present it in a local domesticated framework.

Our methodological proposal is that through three levels or phases of analysis we could answer *how* a global topic as terrorism is domesticated by the newspapers in this work analyzed. It allowed us to construct a kind of cartography or map of how terrorism is domesticated in three culturally different dailies. We also consider that having taking into account a broad period of analysis led us portray how the newspapers domesticated terrorism in specific historical periods that were marked by terrorism acts and how this domestication evolved during the years.

As Castoriadis pointed out, what permits a perception or experience of ‘unity’ and ‘identity’ within a society, is the particularity of its world of significations. Mass media and in this case the newspapers are institutions of the social imaginaries, that magnify, construct and circulate the social imaginary at the same time as they signify the new in a “domesticated way”.

What enabled us to detect the “domestication” of terrorism in the newspapers we analyzed are precisely the interpretive repertoires, in its articulation and relation with the frames and the social imaginaries, that are socially shaped but they are also shaping each

other. Let me propose, in dividing this articulation in three phases, from a macro level to a micro one. From the social constitutive to the uses of language.

In the first phase, we consider the mass media are institutions that circulate and construct social meanings. These social institutions are related and influenced with political, educational or other institutions and together they establish the way in which we understand and interpret the world. They work as social institutions that maintain the *status quo* of the society. Social imaginaries served to maintain this *status quo* and they also circulate through the media.

The newspapers we have analyzed here function differently from the electronic media, certainly. They reach different people and have different linguistic/semiotic codes. However, most of the dailies belong to a conglomerate of media organizations and institutions that have a particular view about the world or about terrorism. From the media the population gets information and forms their opinion about many themes; it's being said that media also establishes the agenda setting. We have established along the work that the newspapers allow domesticating terrorism in a more local way that for example, television or any other media.

As institutions, the media needs to operate as organizations, where there exist norms, rules, certain structures and routines of working, etc. In the news making processes, the editors decided what to publish, what not to publish, how to say things, which writers or academics they invite to express their opinions or to collaborate with their ideas about specific subjects. However, their decisions are most of the time affected from the institutional editorial line. There is evidently a relation and re-articulation between the institutional and the organizational levels of production of meanings. In the

organizational level, this means, in a second phase of analysis, we have found the specific frames (story frames) in which organizations decided which themes to emphasize, which actors and subjects are important to talk about and the relation that all these have with each other. Frames served in my work to contextualize terrorism.

The third phase of analysis refers to interpretive repertoires. It is the way of how things are said, evaluated or classified. Journalists expressed (micro level) by their writings, by their texts, certain interpretive repertoires. It is the way of how they talked about terrorism, how did they evaluate or classify it, how certain metaphors were used, etc. It is precisely, through the interpretive repertoires, that we detected the domestication of terrorism in the dailies.

All these levels are related, articulated and being reproduced by each other. It's a three phase-step dialogical model of a domestic construction about terrorism. Let me now present what the frames and the interpretive repertoires are:

### *2.2.3 Interpretive Repertoire*

This method derives from a post-structuralist theory, which is concerned with the relationship between human beings and the world, as well as the practice of making and reproducing meanings. These are being reproduced and re-interpreted as texts that are circulated and produced in newspapers (symbolic forms).

Potter and Wetherell are both recognized scholars that have made wide use of the "interpretive repertoires" for their researches. They define an interpretive repertoire as, "recurrently used systems of terms used for characterizing and evaluating actions, events and other phenomena" (quoted from Hermes Joke, 1995). Interpretive repertoires are general discursive resources that can be used by speakers and writers to construct

versions of events, actions, persons, internal processes, and so on and to perform a variety of other actions (Wood and Kroger, 2000).

Repertoire analysis, though grounded in post-structuralist theory, differs from other forms of discourse analysis in that the social subject is theorized not just as an intersection of discursive structures, but as an active and creative language user. This may be a micro-sociological approach, but it is also a tool that “helps to lay bare what underlying structures of meaning look like and thus to explain how culture as a whole is organized” (Hermes, 1995: 26).

For Potter and Wetherell, social texts play a constructive role in our social lives. Social texts do not merely reflect or mirror pre-existing objects, events, as well as categories in the social and natural world; rather they actively construct a version of those things. They do not just *describe* things; they *do* things (Potter and Wetherell, 1987: 6).

To better understand what an interpretive repertoire is, we will quote one example given by these authors, which is a piece from the beginning of a newspaper article:

“Islamic Terrorists Blow up Plane: In Beirut last night the hijackers of the British Airways 727 finally released the passengers and crew. As the gunmen left they detonated a large quantity of explosive and the plane was quickly gutted by fire. This followed a period of intense negotiation in which the authorities made it clear they were not going to meet the hijackers’ main demands” (Potter & Wetherell, 1987: 5).

As Potter and Wetherell (1987: 5) affirm, one of the most striking things about an account of this kind is its familiarity, as “it conforms to a standard pattern and we could probably give a reasonably detailed speculation about both the events leading up to those described and how this story will continue”.

Some of the terms of the story presented above come already evaluated. As “gunmen”, “hijackers” and most especially “terrorists”: all are used with negative

associations in texts and these negative connotations are generated by repeated associations of the term with horrific events.

The 'interpretive repertoire' consists in organizing pieces of meaningful structures (work to be done by the researcher) looking to different and recurrent statements (in discourse or conversation) which lead to the formulation of different repertoires.

Repertoires are available to people with many different group memberships, and patterns of accounting may not be the neatest way of dividing up society, or confirming a conventional group's categorizations (Potter and Wetherell, 1987: 156).

This methodology allowed us to detect recurrent themes in discourse and statement "repertoires" on terrorism, to be found within the newspapers. This let us to delimit and understand the newspapers repertoires on terrorism. We believe that recognizing and constructing these recurrent themes or interpretive repertoires, permit us to determine the domestication on terrorism by the newspapers.

According to Hodge and Kress (Quoted by Achugar, 2004: 292) there are two broad discursive strategies used in ideological struggles: the manipulation of reality and the manipulation of the orientation of reality. This means, what are the ways in which the events and participants are represented (construction of reality) and what is the evaluation of these events and participants (orientation to reality). The research programme of this work had two basic phases: the first mechanical, the other interpretive. The mechanical part involves physically organizing and subdividing the data into meaningful segments.

Thus, the way in which this work was undertaken is as follows:

- 1) In the first phase, once the sample to be analyzed was defined, the corpus was gathered, in the university libraries of Montreal (University

of Montreal, McGill, Concordia and the UQAM) as well as those of the community (such as the National Library of Quebec). In these places, the newspapers' sample was revised on a daily basis. The journals *The Gazette* and *La Presse* were found to be in digital and microfilm format (the majority). Every page, column and section of each newspaper was read and revised. When some information, opinion piece or editorial related to 9/11 was found, it was printed as it was detected. This process of gathering material took something like four months for the Montreal newspapers. In respect of *El Informador*, it could be carried out via Internet, using the website of the paper. However, a few months after doing this task, we found out that the newspaper was completely digitalized and in PDF format (one can find information in this presentation since the founding of the paper in 1917 to the present day). Therefore, the material previously recollected was compared in order to prove that the same information and opinion pieces were gathered before.

- 2) Later, the pieces were divided by year as by newspaper. We invested a lot of time in reading each fragment of the body of analysis. As Hermes declares, a repertoire analysis does not proceed from pre-set rules. So we firstly find out how recurrent themes related to underlying structures in the material. Then we categorized a discursive structure bases in our theory; e.g. and named frames "fear to the others" or "domestication". However, these were useful only up to a certain point as we found a diversity of frames and repertoires. So, the best strategy was to organize the material in accordance with the fragments that were repeated, that were named "construction of the other"; "appeal to prayer"; "illegal immigrants affected"; "Montreal has links with terrorists"; etc. Evidently, this work required a criteria and interpretive labor that took us several months to realize.
- 3) Not all discourses could be related to recurrent themes (frames) and thus to interpretive repertoires. We find many of these that were hard to

classify (unclassified) or as Hermes establishes, there are some recurrent themes that are too vague and descriptive (Hermes, 2005).

- 4) The organization and classifying of material was undertaken by newspaper; meaning that it was begun by *The Gazette* in its extra edition, then we continued with 2001 and successively until the sample from 2004. This allowed us to follow up with the evolution of the discourse in respect of terrorism, thus to not falling into the trap of possibly misinterpreting the notes read in other sample newspapers; we undertook the analytical work in the same way. Once the analysis of one newspaper was completed, the next one began. So, the interpretive part involved determining criteria for organizing the textual data into analytically useful subdivisions and the search for interpretive repertoires.
- 5) Once the interpretive repertoires were finished, they were organized into more general frameworks.

#### 2.2.4 Framing Terrorism

Repertoires are not easy to detect and interpret. They do need certain methodologies which help to show how the domestication of terrorism work (and circulate) in the press. Thus, one of the methodological decisions we consider in doing this, is by constructing (a hermeneutical process), the frames on terrorism. We define these frames for this work as the gathering of related interpretive repertoires.

As Norris affirms, the events of 9/11 can best be understood as symbolizing a critical culture shift in the predominant *news frame* used by the American mass media for understanding issues of national security, altering perceptions of risk at home and threats

abroad. She argues that what changed decisively with 9/11 were American *perceptions* of the threat of world terrorism more than the actual reality. Explaining this requires an understanding of perceptions of terrorist threats and in particular, the role of the news media in this process. News frames represent persistent patterns of selection, emphasis and exclusion that furnish a coherent interpretation and evaluation of events (Norris, 2003).

The idea of “news frames” refers to interpretive structures that journalists use to set particular events within their broader context. News frames bundle key concepts, stock phrases and iconic images to reinforce certain common ways of interpreting developments. Its essence is to prioritize some facts, images, or developments over others. Conventional news frames reflect norms and values which are common within a particular society (Norris 2003; Schaefer, 2003).

It is through frames that scattered and diverse events are understood within regular patterns. Without knowing about a terrorist event, we could interpret, categorise and evaluate this kind of political violence. Norris affirms that conventional news frames never provide a comprehensive explanation of all aspects of any terrorist act. In international affairs, framing serves several functions by highlighting certain events as international problems that affect American interests (agenda-setting), identifying and explaining the source of any security threats (cognitive priming) offering recommendations for particular policy solutions designed to overcome these problems (evaluation).

According to Norris, the news frame in each society is expected to be shaped by three factors: the basic facts surrounding the terrorist event itself; the way that these events are

interpreted by official sources in the government (press releases, speeches, briefings by political leaders and spokespersons for relevant government agencies); by communiqués, press statements. Credible sources are also expected to shape interpretations of the meaning of the event by providing alternative ways of understanding the “who”, “what”, “why” that makes sense of the incident. Therefore, the news media serving each community may reflect and thereby reinforce cultural divisions (i.e. a divided two-sided conflict), especially in societies with strong linguistic separations.

Taking into account the role of international agencies, it becomes a more complex process, since it can provide another perspective of the event. News agencies give mostly one-sided views of the conflict. Thus, if there are mainly one-sided messages, it will affect what people think about any terrorist event, how they evaluate the players, their perceptions of the risks and threats, etc. Conventional frames can be seen as “journalism as usual” explaining and prioritizing some dominant ways of understanding events while underplaying and neglecting others. As Norris outlines, journalists may well believe themselves to be reporting “just the facts” in the tradition of objective and balanced reporting. Another aspect to take in account is that the news media, though its news frame, affects or could affect the shaping of the public policy agenda.

#### *2.2.5 Newspapers sample* <sup>34</sup>

We decided to begin our analysis from September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 as we consider that this was the time when global discourse on terrorism changed. First, we decided to analyze one compound week per year, starting from Monday, September 16<sup>th</sup> (the next Monday after 9/11). However, later on we realized that the newspapers we took into account for this investigation published an Extra Edition, on 9/11. This volume was included, too, as well as that of September 12<sup>th</sup>, since we seek to portray the evolution of discourse from

one day to another (as we laid out in previous chapters, the lack of information caused confusion and misinformation).

The newspapers samples cover the years 2001, 2002, 2003 and 2004, making a total of four compound weeks per daily plus the *Extra* edition from 11<sup>th</sup> September. We did consider having this four-year sample due to the fact that it was the best way to have a convenient sample which could show the evolution of frames and the domestication of terrorism about an event that had a global effect. In 2002, it was the year when Bush declared its preventive war in Iraq and it was the anniversary of 9/11.

In March, 2003, the War in Iraq began, as part of the US and coalition “War against terrorism”, (now against the Axes of Evil). In 2004, with the attacks to Madrid, showed one of the effects of the support of Spain for the US invasion of Iraq. This allowed us to demonstrate the evolution of discourses, from concepts and information full of confusion, to discourses that were established in society.

### *Corpus of Analysis*

#### In Montreal

*The Gazette* (Anglophone newspaper) and *La Presse* (Francophone newspaper)

#### Guadalajara

*El Informador* (Spanish-language newspaper).

The criterion that was applied to select the above-mentioned newspapers was based upon information obtained with regards to its circulation in Montreal and Guadalajara respectively. The newspapers selected are the most well-read and which consequently have more penetration in their own localities.

**Chapter III.**  
***Socio-historical Context in Two Different Societies and Three Cultural Groups***

Mexico is a country where violence and feelings of fear and insecurity are experienced daily. This is especially true in the big metropoli, such as Mexico City, Guadalajara and Monterrey; however, the crime indexes unfortunately do not exclude average and small cities. Living with the fear of being involved in an assault or an “express kidnapping”, among other violent crimes, has affected social practices in daily life. As Rodriguez (2001) affirms, fear took over the streets.<sup>35</sup>

Mexico is the oldest country in North America; its cultural identity has been formed over a longer time than others and is therefore more firmly established:

“Having had to defend its territory, its wealth, its sovereignty, its dignity and self-respect during almost all its history, the Mexicans have made their values their best weapon against invasions, as well as economic domination inside and outside the country. Mexican nationalism is actually a consequence of the firmness of its values” (free translation from Zavala, 2001:67).

Mexico has been characterized as being a peaceful country, and furthermore as a nation that has received thousands of refugees who have fled from their countries for a variety of reasons, such as the many Spaniards who came to Mexico during its Civil War in the 1930s.

As a result of the attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon, a rapid response of support for the United States was expected from Mexico. However, its answer was considered late, erratic and lukewarm (Trejo Delarbre: 2001)<sup>36</sup>. Subsequently, in its stated its position against the war in Iraq, the country has clearly paid for this; specifically, that a short while after the 9/11 attacks, negotiations were underway that involved reforms to the migratory status of the Mexicans that live in the American Nation, and the modification date has yet to be finalized.

It is evident that 9/11 brought, as a consequence, various security measures that were implemented throughout the world and more especially in Canada and Mexico. Furthermore, various practices that affected Mexicans were introduced, such as greater restrictions on the awarding of visas, among others. Thus, faraway events such as the attacks on the USA had direct repercussions on Mexico, apart from the victims of Mexican nationality who perished in them.

Terrorism, as a consequence, instead of being something that couldn't adversely affect this country, has now assumed a threat much closer to Mexico, especially because of its relationship with the US and for the large amount of Mexicans living there.<sup>37</sup>

### *3.1 Guadalajara: a Conservative City*

The city of Guadalajara<sup>38</sup> is the second-largest city in the Mexican territories. Guadalajara and its Metropolitan Area (which includes the municipalities of Zapopan, Tlaquepaque and Tonalá) have a population of just over three-and-a-half million inhabitants.<sup>39</sup> In total, 11 daily newspapers are published, 3 of these being distributed free to the public.<sup>40</sup>

Guadalajara was founded in 1542 and was named as the capital of the Kingdom of Nueva Galicia, so for many years bore this name. In 1700, Fray Galindo y Chávez, Bishop of Guadalajara, pointed out the need for a university, but it wasn't until 1742 that Mota Padilla started the process of creating one.

In 1774, Charles III of Spain sent a document asking for reports from various places in New Spain, specifying the pros and cons of building up a university in the city. Finally, with adequate funding in the late 16th century, the courses, timetables, and subjects were approved so then the establishment of the University of Guadalajara<sup>41</sup> proceeded.

In 1792, the first printing press was established in a place called Plaza de Santo Domingo. The first publication which it produced was the *Elogios Fúnebres* (Funerary Eulogies), a piece dedicated to Fray Antonio Alcalde.

In 1810, the first independent newspaper, *El Despertador Americano*, was born. Also during this year -while Don Miguel Hidalgo and Costilla (the Father of the Independence Movement in Mexico) was visiting the town- slavery was abolished in the building that today houses the “Palacio del Gobierno”; also, some measures were taken to establish the insurgent government in the same building.

After the War of Independence in 1810, the area acquired the name of Jalisco -a name which remains today, as Guadalajara is the capital of the state of Jalisco- which means “*place of jal*”, as the whole area is full of this type of stone.

Guadalajara and its region have been characterized by a grand conservative tradition; it is well to remember that it was one of the bastions (society and leaders) in the Christero War of the first third of the last century. Also, it can be viewed as logical that, due to the strong link between the hegemoneous groups and the clergy, society in general has constructed a form of imaginary in which religious precepts are transferred into indubitable morals that permeate through, not only the spiritual field, but also the political and social ones. The examples and anecdotes illustrate this situation profusely<sup>42</sup>: Jalisco was one of the first states of the country to opt for a conservative governor -the National Party of Action<sup>43</sup> with strong links to the Catholic Church in Mexico- (see Cartillero Manzano, 2004).

The city is characterized, as is all of Mexico, as largely professing the Catholic Faith. According to information provided in 2000 by INEGI, in Jalisco a total of 95.4%<sup>44</sup> of the

population are Catholic. In a poll taken in late 2002 in Jalisco--on Media and the Public (Segunda Encuesta Estatal Medios y Audiencias)--it showed that, despite the fact that Mexico's population is not to be characterized as being assiduous readers of newspapers or printed media, the results of this study demonstrate that in the city of Guadalajara, 5 out of 10 people often read newspapers. However, out of the 40% of the people interviewed who read newspapers, only 21% profess to read one daily, while 27% almost daily. So, taking into account the general sample<sup>45</sup>, the real data shows that just 8.7% of the larger population read newspapers daily.

Presently, several newspapers are published in Jalisco (*Ocho Columnas; Mural; Publico; El Occidental; El Informador*). The oldest, *El Informador*, was founded on October 5<sup>th</sup>, 1917. This daily is defined as being independent, that is, not belonging to any media conglomerate or to the government, but being a private initiative. The slogan of this newspaper is "Jalisco lives *El Informador*". It is considered as a conservative periodical and mouthpiece of the entrepreneurial community and the government with distant --and conflictive- relations with the Catholic Church in some periods.

According to the above-mentioned poll *Segunda Encuesta Estatal Medios y Audiencias en Jalisco*,<sup>46</sup> the printed media principally read are the ones produced in the locality, the favorite being *El Informador*, the most widely-read with 47% of those polled<sup>47</sup>.

### 3.1.1 Mexico's Proximity to Terrorism

In Mexico, fear and violence are alive, but probably nowhere more than their existence in the social imaginaries. With regards to terrorism, it is true that Mexico has witnessed state terrorism together with that of groups of guerrillas in the south-east of the

country. However, the country has not been noted as having identified or "detected" any specific permanent "terrorist" group.<sup>48</sup>

As a result, terrorism before 9/11 was seen as something "distant". The news about terrorist acts, which appeared in national and local media, was mostly on the occasional ETA attacks in Spain (a country with a similar culture as Mexico). However, the attacks on the Twin Towers and The Pentagon had a large impact upon Mexicans.

The geographical proximity of Mexico to the United States produced political and economic effects as an immediate result. The closing and monitoring of the border between Mexico and the United States affected all economic activities and forced the Mexican Government into a position of compliance with the United States.<sup>49</sup>

The death of Mexican nationals (legal and illegal workers) in the Twin Towers in New York provoked a feeling of insecurity in Mexican communities, even those located in different cities of the United States (Los Angeles for example) generating a family exodus towards Mexico in search of a temporary or permanent refuge. These people were Mexicans who in previous years had left the country looking for the "American Dream" (Gaytan and Fregoso, 2002).

In a national poll taken a few days after 9/11 by *Mitofsky*<sup>50</sup> (one of the most important centers of opinion research in Mexico), the citizens polled (an aleatory sample applied in the whole Mexican Republic) expressed sadness (26.8 %); fear (19.6 %) after the 9/11 event. They indicated that they did not know who was responsible for the attacks in New York (58.7 %), whereas 21.7 % suspected Bin Laden. To the question as to how much effect this news had on Mexico, 51.3% answered that they were concerned about the stability of Mexico (specifically, that the restlessness of the people was increasing).

These data allows us to show some of the social sentiments of Mexicans on the 9/11 event.<sup>51</sup>

In another poll applied a month later (October, 2001), Mexicans responded that they would not (in that time) go to live to the United States (78.3%), that their opinion about this country had worsened (36.9 %), stayed the same (39.1%), or had improved (19.1%). To the question concerning their belief that someone from their family could be a victim or a target of terrorism, the response was slightly probable (48.7%), very probable (28.2%), not at all (20.7%).

Though these are only a pair of polls and the expressed opinions have likely changed with time since then, they can help us to contextualize the present work.

### *3.1.2 Mexican News Dependency upon American Networks*

Nowadays, mass media in Mexico largely demonstrates a dependency upon American networks and international agencies. For example, on 9/11 the Mexican television networks transmitted the Twin Towers attacks from images taken by CNN<sup>52</sup> (in Spanish) and NBC. In this way, the opinion and the judgments of the American television networks inevitably influence public opinion in Mexico (Gaytan & Fregoso, 2002; Erreguerena, 2002).

The major circulation dailies (*Milenio, Reforma, El Universal, El Informador* --this last one in Guadalajara) demonstrated similar patterns of condemnation to the 9/11 attacks. The only exception was the independent newspaper *La Jornada* (that works as a cooperative): this is a critical daily with a strong influence in the universities, which pointed out that the United States “reaped what it sowed”<sup>53</sup>. For this gazette, the events enacted the revenge of “the people of the Third World upon the pride of the metropolis”.

But in general, the printed Mexican media took up a position of condemnation and of surreptitious approval to the American response.<sup>54</sup>

Mexican television network coverage was quite different. Television media permits another kind of media representation. The two principal networks of private television in Mexico (*TV Azteca* and *Televisa*) sent their personnel to the various areas where the events took place (New York, Washington, Afghanistan).

In the case of *TV Azteca*, this television network sent non-expert journalists for these kinds of situations and hired journalists of the Hispanic network *Telemundo* (located in Miami). In this way, they established a series of tabloid news items (which distinguishes the kind of programmes transmitted by this TV organization), clearly a tactic to compete with *Televisa*.

The lack of experienced journalists allowed us to see how media and especially its personnel were not prepared for an event like 9/11. Newscast presenters and journalists did not succeed in defining what terrorism, or guerrilla warfare is and did not consider establishing what differentiates one from the other. What they did manage to establish shared characteristics between Arabs, Muslims and terrorists.

*Televisa* managed to use information provided by the Arab network *Al Jazeera*<sup>55</sup> (in particular, videos of Bin Laden since it was not easy to get access to them)<sup>56</sup>.

However, both private television companies primarily sought the services of American information agencies and networks.

### 3.1.3 *The Mexican Press*

The Mexican press of this new millennium has shown itself to be much more democratic and open than in past decades. Without doubt, a transformation of the press has taken place, specifically within the printed variety, although much is still needed for

further advancement. During the Spanish domination, the Mexican press was characterized by its literary and religious nature. In the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, journalism was predominantly political; it was marked, in the main, by the rise and disappearance of daily newspapers. It wasn't until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> that the press assumed a more informative character, thanks to the development of the modern printer that allowed thousands of newspapers to be issued. It is when the press evolved into something more like a business (Arredondo y Sánchez, 1987).

The close relationship between the media and the government still continues in certain areas, but it's clear that in others this relationship, in which the government can put pressure on the media content, is much weaker. It's not possible to say that it doesn't exist, but even though some present-day media organizations have tried to avoid the old habit of making donations to journalists on the part of the government (these being popularly known as "chayotes"); for instance, in the way of an inflated wage to journalists, it's impossible to know how much pressure is exerted on the editors by the government, or how independent these editors are in making their own decisions.

In 1981, Sewell mentioned a type of practice which he called "the guided press", that's to say, even though the state does not exercise direct control, the press tends to respond in a way which favors the interests and projects of the governmental apparatus.

"Rather than governmental control over the press, what is certain is that there is a self-limiting control, a kind of "environmental censorship". The newspapers "know how far they can go" or, at least, they know how far they want to go". (Sewell, quoted by Arredondo y Sánchez, 1987: 57).

In spite of the favorable and democratic evolution that the Mexican press has enjoyed especially in the last decade and more than twenty years alter Sewell's affirmations, we could say that in some cases these practices do continue.

For decades, the government has possessed various mechanisms for the control of the press, such as previously through PIPSA (paper producer and importer), which currently is in private hands. Another means is the withdrawal of paid official advertising. However, the media organizations continue gaining more independence from the government, due in great part, according to the journalist Jorge Zepeda Patterson, that “running a good newspaper has been converted into being a good business” (Lara Klahr: 2005). As we know, some print companies could continue printing their dailies thanks to the inclusion of official advertising as well as paid news announcements. However, the conception of the press as a business has granted it a much-desired for independence.

One would like to consider the press as being democratic, critical and committed to serving the needs of society. Nonetheless, in many cases, the newspapers that are published in the provinces of Mexico have not evolved; their contents continue being information vehicles for the elite elements of society that control them, such as the case of the *Ocho Columnas* daily newspaper. However, others are considered more independent and function as family businesses, such as *El Informador*. These have sought to modernize themselves, technologically-speaking, as well as opening up a greater pluralism, although some of their content material and language still belong to the 19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries. On the other hand, the newspaper conceived as a business, belonging to a large media conglomerate, has discovered a greater independence from the government and has achieved a wider scope with the inclusion of diverse voices of opinion and critique.

#### 3.1.4 *The Press in Jalisco*

*El Informador*, the senior of the Jalisco newspapers and one of the oldest in Mexico, saw the publishing light of day in 1917. It was founded by Don Jesús Álvarez del Castillo

Velasco, from a family of journalists, literary types, entrepreneurs and politicians (Sánchez Ruiz, 1993). Furthermore, it is said that the proprietors of this daily have family connections to the ex-governor of Jalisco, Enrique Alvarez del Castillo, and also to the Leño family, among whom can be found some of the principal leaders of the Autonomous University of Guadalajara, owners of the newspaper *Ocho Columnas*, although it is not known whether *El Informador* sympathizes with the ideology of the *tecos*<sup>57</sup> (Sánchez Ruiz, 1993: 40).

*El Informador* “has created the image of being a conservative newspaper, in the sense that it has not supported innovations, political or journalistic, practically since its beginnings. It has not been characterized by its support for political or social rights movements, in particular those linked to the Catholic Church; it is said that its founder, Alvarez del Castillo, who was an anti-clerical, liberal Freemason, explained that, in spite of giving an appearance of being conservative, he would not enter into an alliance with the Church” (Sánchez Ruiz, 1993: 29). One of the main purposes, since the foundation of this daily, was “to propagate the regional thoughts”.<sup>58</sup>

In fact, this newspaper has tried to avoid taking a critical stance against the government and the important sectors of society (Fregoso y Sánchez 1993). It was the first daily that employed a printing press assembled in Mexico that could print twelve pages simultaneously and with greater speed. Many years later, its closest local rival was *El Occidental*, which belongs to the *OEM* (group of Mario Vázquez Raña previously known as *Cadena García Valseca*).

However, with the modernization of the dailies and the inclusion of media business groups at a local level – the *Reforma* and *Milenio* Groups- *El Occidental* was losing

ground and nowadays is a little-sold newspaper which does not appear to have any chance of recapturing its local readership.

In regards to the format presentation, *El Informador* practically maintains the same layout as it formerly had, in spite of being at the forefront of technological innovations in the industry. Sánchez Ruiz (1993) affirms, however, that this aspect reinforces the conservative image of the newspaper.

### 3.1.5 The Editorial Directive of *El Informador*

*El Informador* was one of the first newspapers to publish and distribute to its readers its manual of literary style and content as well as its editorial directives. It is considered pertinent then to mention some of its principles that underline the content that is written about in the periodical as well as the congruence of the editorials that it publishes.

For *El Informador*, the editorial is:

“the institutional opinion... the space where the point of view of the organization is expressed to society...the point of view of the editor in the face of an event and the purpose is to interpret, appraise and explain its social significance...the journalistic genre most carefully undertaken of a newspaper... the editorial always appeals to reason and not to the emotions. It is about convincing and not arousing... *El Informador* takes care that its editorials serve the truth in order that they contribute to society’s value” (*Manual de Estilo 2001: 67*).

Drawing up the editorials of *El Informador* in the way outlined in *Manual de Estilo*, is the responsibility of the Director-Editor, who consults the Editorial Committee; this is coordinated by a supervisor responsible for the opinion pages.

### 3.2 Francophone Canada: the Distinctiveness of Quebec

Our interest in studying Montreal (Québec) media is based upon several motives. Living in this part of Canada allowed us to be daily observers in a society which has some characteristics in common with Mexico (both being Latin societies, having Catholic, monarchic and absolutist origins) but many more differences.

*Canada* comes from a St. Lawrence Iroquoian word “Kanata” which means “village” or “settlement” and was adopted by Jacques Cartier in 1535. Several years later, Champlain founded Québec, in 1608, on the old Amerindian area of Stadacona.

The whole history of Quebec nation has been a struggle for its identity and culture, from 1763 to the present day.<sup>59</sup>

“Conquête en 1759 par les Britanniques la “porte du Canada” (Québec) ouvrira la voie à un processus de redéfinition des identités à travers les rapports qui s’établiront entre le nouvel occupant anglo-saxon de religion protestante et une population autochtone majoritairement canadienne (française) et catholique » (Institut Québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1992: 152).

In this struggle, the *Quebecois* have always favored political action—first against the English, then from 1867 against English-speakers, the result of which has ensured that *Quebecois* culture and identity continues and is still thrives (Zavala, 2002: 184).

We do know that it has been long time since there was a debate about Quebec nationalism for its independence as a nation. As McClure points out, “the question of identity has been the subject of heated debate during the last 20 years in Quebec and especially since the 1995 referendum”. He adds that there has been a structural and symbolic transformation of the *Quebecois* identity in the past years. It is currently in the “throes of an exceptionally intense interrogation of its own identity” (McClure, 2003: 4).

Quebec is ‘distinct’ in the sense of being ‘distinctive’ or “different’ (Mc Roberts, 2000; Maclure, 2003; Rioux, 2005). In 1996, 82.8% of its residents spoke French at home. Overall this means 28% of Canada’s population, but 80% within the province of Quebec. The Province of Quebec is composed of a national French-speaking majority, a national English-speaking minority, eleven indigenous nations, and a multiplicity of *Quebecois* from other backgrounds. It is at once multinational, multicultural and hybrid (McClure, 2003: 3).

This plural character “de l’identité culturelle québécoise se conçoit donc à partir d’une culture montréalaise. Et ce qui fait la spécificité du milieu culturel montréalais lui-même est qu’il se trouve placé à la convergence de plusieurs courants différents, sans être dominé à sens unique par aucun » (Institut Québécois de Recherche sur la Culture, 1992 : 162).

However, we must also consider the English-speaking population who live in Montreal. According to information taken from the cover page of the English-speaking newspaper *The Gazette*, in the city of Montreal there exists some 853,200 English/ethnic-speaking adults.<sup>60</sup>

Political life in Quebec is distinctive in many ways. The provincial government has pursued policies strikingly different from those of other provinces (Mc Roberts, 2000: 356); these differences also touch upon news and entertainment arenas. French-language media are institutionally separate from their English-speaking Canadian counterparts. The public broadcasting system, which ostensibly reports to the Canadian Parliament, has always been divided between the Montreal-based French-language system, *Radio-Canada*, and the Toronto-based English-language system, the *CBC*.

With regard to communication and cultural policies, Canada is a country where “protectionism is alive and well”.<sup>61</sup> Ownership and control of the means of distribution of culture (including popular culture) are important determinants of what ideas get transmitted to the general public (Bell, 2000: 275).

As Fletcher and Everett (2000: 381) establish, most Canadians spend a high proportion of their leisure time with the media, so this media helps to set the agenda for political debate and contributes to the “psychic environment” of everyday life in Canada.

Therefore, mass media is an important definer of the social imaginaries and images that have political significance.

In a country which seeks to defend its national identity and unity, it has become too limiting to promote them in an era of “globalization”. The 1991 Broadcasting Act directs the Canadian Broadcasting System to “serve the needs and interests, and reflect the circumstances and aspirations, of Canadian men, women and children, including equal rights, the linguistic duality and multicultural and multiracial nature of Canadian society” (Fletcher and Everett, 2000: 384).

The Canadian, specially the Quebec media system, is in reality two media systems (French-speaking and English-speaking). Fletcher and Everett indicate that there is relatively little crossover viewing, with English speakers rarely watching programs in French while French-speaking viewers of English programming most often watch American imports.

While the population of Quebec shares many common values (both English and French-speaking) the news coverage of important political issues has frequently differed significantly in the English-speaking and French-speaking media:<sup>62</sup> “key events in Canadian history often come to mean quite different things in the two language communities” (Fletcher and Everett, 2000: 385).

In some information published by the Canadian Community Newspaper Database Corporation (*ComBase*<sup>63</sup>), it shows that more Canadians read their news from community newspapers than any other source. The study published that it has a 70% household penetration –a higher impact than any other media.<sup>64</sup> Concerning the reading of daily newspapers (according to a *ComBase* survey taken in November 2004), the results

indicate that in the Quebec area, 67% of the people interviewed read some sort of daily newspaper.<sup>65</sup>

However, according to a more recently study from NAD (2005) 51% of adults 18+ read a newspaper on the average day. The NAD considers that compared with past years, adults still spend a significant amount of time reading the daily newspaper: 47 minutes reading a daily in weekdays and 88 minutes during the weekends. 77% of adults read a daily over the past week.

Raboy (1992: 3) affirms that the written press is the most ancient of the public media in Quebec, however “S’il faut reconnaître que sa “part de marché” a diminué avec l’implantation et l’essor des medias électroniques, son influence demeure encore très forte au Québec ».

Contrary to the rest of mass media, the written press is not regulated by a governmental agency. Thus, the private concentration is very strong in Quebec (Raboy, 1992: 3). One of the major factors in determining the shape of news coverage is the dependence of most news media on advertising revenues. There is an increasing concentration of ownership in the hands of a few large corporations (as with *CanWest Global Communications Corp.*<sup>66</sup> and *Power Corporation of Canada*<sup>67</sup>).

John Miller affirms there is a loss of connection between newspapers and their communities: “Newspapers are increasingly focused on serving the affluent readers in whom advertisers are most interested (...) because news managers are overwhelmingly male, middle-aged and middle-class, they have lost touch with many potential readers who fall outside these categories” (quoted by Fletcher and Everett, 2000: 381).

Many scholars see this concentration as a threat for press freedom, quality and diversity of information.

### 3.2.1 *The Gazette*

This daily was founded in 1778 by French printer Fleury Mesplet, a young printer from Lyons (Allen: 1980). It began as a French-language paper under the name *The Gazette du Commerce et Litteraire*, although it was revived in 1785 in both English and French versions. In 1822 it changed to entirely English under the name *The Montreal Gazette*. In 1968, publisher Charles Peters, known as “Chicken Charlie” on the newsroom floor, decided to sell *The Gazette* to Southam Press.

During those times, there were two important English newspapers in Montreal: *The Montreal Star* and *The Gazette*. After having labor problems, *The Montreal Star* closed (this daily was up in circulation numbers) then *The Gazette* started to ascend.

Nowadays, it is the *only English-language metropolitan daily newspaper* left in Montreal. It is one of the oldest newspapers in North America. Its daily circulation, according to the National Audience Bank Data (NAD) study of 2005,<sup>68</sup> reveals that *The Gazette* has a weekly readership of 553,000, which means it reaches 19% of Montreal’s population, mostly English-speaking (first language). Just 15-20% of *The Gazette* readership is French-speaking.

Throughout the past years, the newspaper’s managers have tried to acquire more readers. Even though the newspaper is an English-speaking one, it seeks to reach more French-speakers and non-French and English first-language speakers<sup>69</sup>. The newspaper’s slogan, since 2002 is “*The Gazette is Montreal*”<sup>70</sup> which seeks, in a way, to reflect a more local content. We will come back with this “locality” in the coming chapters.

### 3.2.2 *La Presse*

The French-language daily was founded in Montreal in 1884 by William-Edmond Blumhart. It had the largest circulation of any Canadian daily in 1900. Until the early 1920's *La Presse* practiced dazzlingly lurid journalism. Stories of murders and lesser crimes filled its pages. The sensationalism of the paper continued until Hervé Major took over direction of the paper. However, with Jean-Louis Gagnon, as editor, the newspaper tried to add much more interpretation and comment to its content (Kesterton, 1979).

Nowadays its direct competition in French language is "Le Journal de Montreal" ironically, considered a sensationalist tabloid paper. *La Presse* has a weekly circulation of 183,300 and 266,000 on Saturdays.<sup>71</sup> However, according to an NAD data study of 2005, it has a total readership of 847,700; 29% of the total population. *La Presse* is not the only French newspaper in Montreal. There are two other dailies in the city produced locally in the French language: *Le Journal de Montréal* (which has the highest circulation figures in Montreal, meaning around a total readership of 1,189,700 and 41% of the total) and *Le Devoir* (231,600 and 8% respectively).

### 3.2.3 *Canadian Representations on Terrorism in 2001*

In a national poll taken in 2001, just after the attacks on the Twin Towers, nearly 80% of Canadians thought that their lives would be deeply and permanently changed. One year after, only 16% believed that things were pretty much the same. The sense of personal risk was low but one in two thought that another terrorist attack in the US was very likely. Almost half of Canadians thought that terrorist activities in Canada were a problem. In addition, as a long-term solution to terrorism, 41% of the sample considered that a way to protect Canada from terrorism was to increase spending on intelligence and

security measures, while 37% saw “multiculturalism” as a strategy which maintains that a more diverse and relevant society is less susceptible to terrorism.<sup>72</sup>

Perhaps the Canadian media is more independent from American informational agencies in comparison with Mexico, but it is not immune to the political pressure upon information control exerted by the United States.

### 3.2.4 *Law C-36 in Canada*

The main legislative response to September 11th in Canada was Bill C-36, the so-called Anti-terrorism Act. *The House of Commons* approved this law in November 2001, which includes many potentially dangerous dispositions for the protection of secret press sources. This law modifies several legal texts. It allows, for example, the National Defense Ministry to authorize the Center of Security of Telecommunications (CST) to intercept communications sent between Canada and foreign countries, in order to obtain information related to “international matters, defense and security”<sup>73</sup> Therefore, confidentiality of communications is not guaranteed between journalists and their contacts abroad (Roach, 2003).

But this law has a symbolic and political value as a response to September 11th, but old criminal and immigration laws still provided important legal powers to respond to terrorist threats.

“The many new crimes of terrorism added to our Criminal Code in the immediate aftermath of September 11th fit into a pattern of the criminal law being amended to memorialize terrible crimes (...) the new narrative and memorial style in the criminal law helps explain why the *Anti-terrorism Act* requires the prosecutor to prove beyond any reasonable doubt that a terrorist activity was committed in whole or in part for a political, religious or ideological purpose, objective or cause” (Roach, 2003:25).

As Roach affirms, criminalizing religion and political motives was not necessary to distinguish terrorism from other crimes and will make the politics and religion of suspects a fundamental issue in terrorism trials. This author also raises the question of

why the government would risk gaining convictions and alienating minority communities by insisting on criminalizing religious or political motives as well as answering that a possible explanation is a desire to denounce not only the crimes of the September 11 terrorists but also their anti-Western political and religious motives.

As Roach puts it, no manifesto that explains the rationale for the events of September 11th has been issued. There is evidence that the terrorists did not live their lives in the American Union as devout Muslims, so it is widely believed that their suicide mission was motivated by what is commonly called Islamic fanaticism. Thus, the motive section of Bill C-36 responds to these perceptions and denounces such political and religious beliefs as extreme and criminal. This association comes close to the “stereotypes about the Muslims” (Roach, 2003). As we can see, the combination of fanatical extremism with religious and political violence plus Islam constitutes one of the stereotypes that are implicitly invoked by the inclusion of motive as an essential element of Canada’s new crimes of terrorism. As we will see later, it also comes close to the social profile of terrorists presented in some of the newspapers that we will analyze.

### *3.2.5 National Sovereignty and Press Freedom*

The political relationships between Canada-USA-Mexico, the three countries sharing the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), became more relevant after the 9/11 attacks upon the Twin Towers and the Pentagon. It is undeniable that to guarantee national and global security, the United States has put pressure on the Canadian and Mexican governments to apply several measures with respect to terrorism.

As is to be expected, the relationships between the Mexican and Canadian governments with the United States have never been easy. However, both governments

helped the United States in several ways during and after 9/11; for example, the Canadian Government gave military support to the United States.<sup>74</sup>

The Canadian Government also made efforts on the home front to respond to the threat of terrorism and to satisfy the expectations of both the United States and the United Nations. One consequence of this was the introduction of the above-mentioned Anti-Terrorism Act (Bill-36).

As a consequence, one of the adopted measures after the attacks of 9/11 was the adoption of an ambitious *Antiterrorist USA-Mexico-Canada Plan* directed basically to limit and to prevent the circulation of members of extremist groups<sup>75</sup> and more recently, the Plan Mérida<sup>76</sup>. In the same tenor, the United States announced months later the creation of the *US Northern Command*,<sup>77</sup> which includes Mexico and Canada. Therefore, Mexico is viewed as a relevant component in the defense of American territory, but Mexican sovereignty could be compromised as the American army could conceivably be deployed on Mexican soil (Alvarez, 2002).

In the next sections we will begin by showing the domestication on terrorism that each newspaper produced in the four years under analysis. We also show the frames and repertoires that the newspapers constructed and which are articulated to a more general social imaginary and that the dailies domesticated in different ways. By showing the domestication on terrorism (the local side of terrorism, how the media consider terrorism affect their community) through the uses of news frames and repertoires, we will try to portray that these constructions are articulated with broader discourses that have existed, others that have been reinforced and that are being re-articulated (repertoires-frames-social imaginary) constantly. The social imaginary helps maintain the *status quo* in a

specific society and one of the ways it works is through the frames and interpretive repertoires that circulate in mass media.

In the newspapers, there exist different levels of discourses that are connected with some others. From a macro level (social imaginary), to meso (news frames) one then a micro level (interpretive repertoires) they function in a dialogical process. After presenting the results of how local newspapers from Guadalajara and Montreal domesticated terrorism, we shall present our considerations on how this domestication worked in *La Presse*, *The Gazette* and *El Informador*.

## *Chapter IV* **The Gazette 2001-2004**

### Extra Edition

Within these sections we shall present the results of the interpretation undertaken from the discourses in *The Gazette* and the domestication on terrorism that circulated in this newspaper from 11<sup>th</sup> September. The domestication will show how certain ideas or precepts about terrorism are rearticulated with other concepts and meanings that belong to broad discourses.

On 9/11, the three newspapers under analysis published an extra edition a few hours after the events unfolded. *The Gazette* and *La Presse* distributed their versions free among the Montreal community, whereas *El Informador* sold its special edition for 5 pesos (50 Canadian cents). Something that the three newspapers had in common in regards to the format was the fact that the entire *Extra* edition contained 16 pages, surely due to technological factors involved.

*The Gazette*, in its extra edition, was the most visual of the three newspapers and provided less written information. Its front page appeared as if were a sensationalist journal and led with the banner headline *Extra!* It had a total of 15 pieces of which only one was an opinion article – incidentally, from a London newspaper – generally published images of half or complete pages, the majority being photos that illustrated the impact of the planes on the Twin Towers and the Pentagon, as well as the surprise shown on the faces of the eyewitnesses.

Some of these images were captured directly from TV (CNN) while others were received and selected from international news agencies. The newspaper's headline was

“War in America” and filled the front page with a photo of the second plane flying directly towards one of the towers of the World Trade Centre.

In its published pieces, *The Gazette* made reference to the acts that took place as horrible and cowardly, like a depraved assault, as a cataclysm. It is evident that what was presented, in general, lacked the capacity to inform and seemingly, *The Gazette* complied with its function of partially informing and its editors decided to fill up the pages with images and to cap it all off with the most compelling image of that day; that of the plane on the point of crashing into one of the towers, and the image most widely-sold.

The newspaper emphasized the declaration made by an “aviation expert” in London, for whom the person responsible for the attacks was Osama bin Laden. This piece was published on page two; therefore assigning sufficient relevance to the rest of the information.

Some of the principal interpretive repertoires that surfaced in this *Extra!* Edition of this newspaper are as follows:

*We Are Vulnerable to a Terrorist Attack Repertoire*

The only opinion piece (originating from a London newspaper) concentrated on the impact that the events would have on the imaginary of the American people in respect of their safety and the risks that they would have to live under from that day forward. Also, it focused the immediate impact that the attacks had on the people of Montreal and Canada, in the overall question of their safety.

Under this heading, the frame that was being constructed was one of vulnerability, since the attacks were made against the First World Power. Then, according to *The Gazette*, safety and security changed, not only in the United States but also in the world.

As the daily assured us in an opinion piece, the terrorists “cannot confront the United States in military terms, therefore terror is the substitute”. It also outlined some of the reactions and feelings that were prevalent among the inhabitants of New York.

*The Terrorists are the Evil Repertoire*

*The Gazette* portrayed a negative image of the “others”; of the Arab and the Muslims. In its extra 9/11 edition, *The Gazette* included an infographics montage in which the terrorist attacks (since 1979), prior to 9/11, were catalogued and the perpetrators of these were shown, whether they were Islamic, Shiites, Columbian guerrillas or Palestinians; the victims being, in the main Americans.

“Jesus Christ: this is awful” was the banner headline of a piece published on the second page; it being a declaration voiced by a New Yorker that the newspaper decided to magnify.

The evil is the “other”, “one of them” opposed to “one of us”. An “other” is one who caused the attacks and who killed many innocents. Contained in this piece were declarations by world leaders that condemned those responsible as “the new devils of our world”.

To one side, a photograph was inserted of a supposed Palestinian woman “in the Old City of Jerusalem” who, in the image, showed a candy that, according to an affirmation, had been handed out by street vendors in celebration of the attacks on the United States. It was her manner of celebrating. So, according to what *The Gazette* meant (subtly) to say, the new devils of the world are the Palestinians?

Here, the daily showed its open pro-Israel editorial line. A note at the foot of the piece read “The Old City of Jerusalem” which is now inhabited by the Palestinians and later

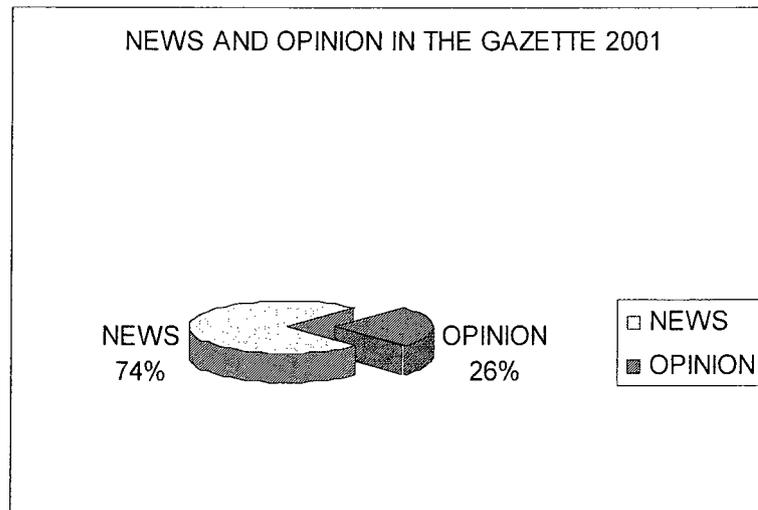
decided to insert the image of the celebration as part of a piece outlining the declaration made by Tony Blair after the attacks; “the new devils of our world”,

### 2001

After the attacks on the United States, *The Gazette* followed up 9/11 and its consequences (War in Iraq; 11/3, etc). The newspaper published an important quantity of information regarding the attacks of *11th September* in the sample analyzed.<sup>78</sup>

*The Gazette*, in total, published (in the week under analysis) 262 information and/or opinion units, of which 195 (74%) were news items and 67 (26%) were opinion-based.

This data can be seen from a graphic viewpoint:



*Figure 1. News and Opinion percentages in 2001.*

*The Gazette* principally published news items originating from its own writing staff, drafting the items, providing the information obtained from unquoted news agencies or other unspecified sources, or from its team of correspondents. From the total of published news items (195) of our analyzed sample, 76 (38.97%) came from the same source (*The Gazette*). As Rodrigo (1991) affirmed, with this, the newspapers legitimized themselves

as the principal source of news production and institutionalized themselves as the means of social awareness in daily life.

On the other hand, *The Gazette* utilized, as part of what we call the discursive strategy, headlines in the central pages of the first section in which it presented the thematic in respect of terrorism; in this case, it would border the inside pages of the newspaper. With this recourse, the newspaper defined a topic for discussion that it wished to:

Some of these headlines were:

War on Terrorism: Anthrax-Scare Fallout
The Aftermath: Waging War

In relation to the articles and columns, we found that the opinion collaborations came mostly from *The Gazette* columnists, expert opinions (academics mostly from McGill University) and other former analysts, the Canadian Ambassador to Israel, letters from its readers and finally the editorials, which is the newspaper's official voice.

Independently analyzing the collaborative efforts in *The Gazette* from those which came from North American agencies, we find that the contents of the affiliated Americans are concentrated on *the war against terrorism*, as well as comparing this war to previous ones (such as the Gulf War) assuring that, in these events, many matters remain to be resolved; the war against terrorism being a continuation of the tasks left incomplete by George Bush Sr., which his son intends to finish. Also, the vulnerability of the American security system is broached, as are the plans of the United States to invade Middle Eastern countries. It is openly expressed that the terrorists must be punished and compares 9/11 with Pearl Harbor.

Conversely, the opinions of the columnists and the reportages of *The Gazette*, are concentrated fundamentally on the effects of the 9/11 attacks in respect of the Canadian people in particular with those in Montreal, as well as some of the measures that were implemented immediately after the events are described; the perceptions of fear among the citizens and their feelings about the war against terrorism from Montreal's distant standpoint; the need for legislation to combat terrorism; the importance, especially in respect of Canada, of the relationship between the country and the United States and the expression of support that qualifies it the status of ally.

The proximity of terrorists to Canada must be emphasized, as the existence of terrorist cells in this country has been confirmed. If some of the opinions published by *The Gazette* in respect of the feelings of the citizens about the fact that the war is far from Montreal, at the same time they established that there is a connection between the terrorists and Canada, especially with Montreal, as it is well-known that the "terrorists" live in the city.

An important frame is the "world changed from 9/11 onwards" and will never be the same. It refers, fundamentally, to the feeling of vulnerability and of living in fear. The newspaper demonstrated, through its contributors and columnists, its tendency to favor the Israelis, highlighting the suffering that they had endured for many years at the hands of the Palestinians.

However, what about the pain and suffering of the Palestinians? Terror is always classified as such when it originates from the Arabs, the Palestinians or those born in the Middle East; but all the violence that originates from Israel, or from the United States and its allies, is labeled differently. Here it's seen as a "legitimate" violence where the violent

acts (that are not classified as such) are perpetrated by “soldiers”, combatants, defenders of liberty and not terrorists or demons.

Therefore, the discourse from 9/11 onwards that appears in *The Gazette*, is similar with the one the United States government circulated: the *division* of the world between good and evil. A division means establishing an inclusive “us” and an exclusive “them”. Beneath this dual vision lies a model of society based on the idea of consensus (Fowler quoted by Martín Rojo, 1995). On the other hand, there is the *rejection* of the “others”; these others are terrorists and anyone who is not allied to the United States. That “other” is a devil, an evil entity without values. The “good guys” combat terrorism and the devils are those that feed and nourish it; the countries that have democratic governments and those that don’t.

As a result of an implicit or explicit contrast, somebody else’s madness makes us rational, civilized human beings. It is by opposition that each one’s characteristics can be delimited and typological differences can be established. Identity is then relative, since it is constructed by means of contrasts with an external otherness (Martín Rojo, 1995: 52).

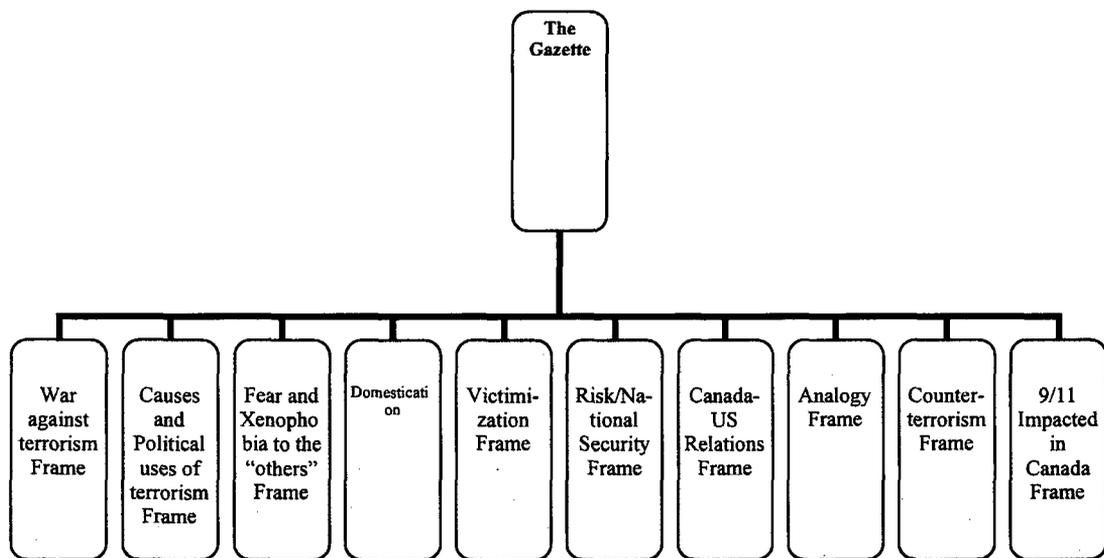
The division between good and evil is the discourse that has existed since beginning of mankind. It is a world divided historically, where terrorism is now part of this new ideological, economical, political, division. After World War II, it emerged the Cold War, which means a period of tension, competition and confrontation to gain the global control between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Afterwards, with the end of this conflict (Nov. 1989) it started the so called post-cold war, which, according to several scholars and academics, as John Lewis Gaddis (2001), it

is the period “From the Collapse of the Berlin War and ended with the collapse of the World Trade Center”.

From 09/11 we would start, then, into a new ideological conflict and geopolitical division. For *The Gazette*, the War against Terrorism is a continuation of other wars or conflicts, as the Gulf War or those which remain incomplete under the Bush’ father administration.

In relation with the news-frames that emerged from *The Gazette*, we have found the following ones:



*Figure 2. Frames that emerged from the analysis, in 2001.*

As we can see, *The Gazette* decided to construct an articulation of terrorism with the impacts that the events would have in Canada, principally. Especially those aspects relating to National Security concerns; International Relations and Foreign Policies, as it manifested, the relevant relationship of Canada with the United States.

One of the frames that we constantly found was the patriotism frame, which was located in the discourses coming, principally from the authorities or politicians from the United States. Those speeches were most of the occasions impregnated with a sentiment of patriotism and solidarity with the Americans.

Even after all the pain, Americans believed their nation will triumph and a sentiment of patriotism emerged: “We believe it because we’ve seen this movie before”. The repertoire emerges principally from the pieces originating from the American news agencies.

Equally, in the publication derived from American journals, the spirit of fortitude and patriotism of the American people is praised in spite of its vulnerability shown in 9/11, but its peoples’ inclination to never surrender whatever the adversity faced has always been part of the ideology of the United States or, at least, that which has been drummed into us through so many discourses and by Hollywood movies, in which he who wins is the good guy; the American, the strong guy, he who dispenses justice, and he who weakens but still rises to the occasion.

Here is a fragment of one editorial (*Detroit Free Press*) that *The Gazette* published, which shows this patriotic sentiment:

“America must marshal its forces, gather intelligence and lean hard on its allies and dependents around the world to aid in the pursuit of those responsible for these attacks... Someone must pay. American leadership must see to it. **Lady Liberty still stands tall. Shrouded in smoke. Covered in dust and blood. She is crying. She is afraid. She is angry. But she will not yield**”. (12/09/2001: A15)

On the other hand we have found other frames about the causes of the 9/11 event and a constant criminalization of terrorists. Through interpretive repertoires, we find that war was personified in *The Gazette*, by the Devil and the Savior, the latter who saves the world from the evils of the Devil. Conversely, however, the Devil that we had expected

doesn't appear "explicitly" classified with so many negative adjectives: Osama bin Laden.

Nevertheless, bin Laden incarnates the metaphor of evil with all its meanings. The Devil is made up of the terrorist network that he heads, Al-Qa'ida. Some of the terrorists have known faces, but the majority of them are "invisible". The face of bin Laden is recognizable and a myth has grown up surrounding him; the incarnation of evil. In our opinion, he shows this face to the world when it suits him.

Evil was also made into something tangible by Saddam Hussein, as we see in the analysis of the preceding years. We could say that bin Laden was attacked much less in *The Gazette* than Hussein. However, there exist an articulation with terrorists and the Evil. This comes together with the repertoire about "terrorists must be punished". Along the news and opinion pieces, we found that it was taken a stance against terrorists, evaluating the way through they might be punished. Since 9/11 and still without being certain of who was responsible of the attacks, we found this repertoire in many texts that appeared in the news, coming from interviews that were carried out with experts, or public opinion as well as "official" voices (this means military personnel, governments, presidents etc.). They qualify and empower themselves as having the authority to say what the "punishment" must be and how.

As a declaration from a Professor of History at McGill University: "all those who indulged in the world wide sport of demonizing and scapegoating America, be it the many Egyptians who condemn the United States while taking \$3 billion US in annual subsidies..." (12/09/2001: A14).

*The Gazette* also outlined the necessity to legislate to combat and contain terrorism. This appeals for new laws came fundamentally from readers' letters and opinions in *The Gazette* as well as the role of Canada on the 9/11 facts.

If anything changed from 11th September, 2001, it was the security and control measures that have been implemented at a global level, especially at the borders between countries (such as the frontier between Mexico and the United States), particularly as a means of preventing terrorist attacks; in Europe where thousands of visitors are received from all over the world, in Canada and other countries.

It is in the airports where the measures have been most strictly applied. Governments have legalized some measures in order for them to be effective in "preventing" another similar attack or worse than those in New York and the Pentagon. Who would have imagined that the most powerful country in the world would suffer such attacks on the economic and military symbols of its power? The country that was considered impregnable became, in front of the watching eyes of millions, "vulnerable".

As mentioned by Norris (2003), journalists quoted or relate events to others that have passed in the past. It is a way of contextualizing the facts or even of having another event in a way to compare their impacts. *The Gazette* continuously presented articulations with analogies between the events of 9/11 with other conflicts, but especially with Pearl Harbor. However, this analogy frame presented constantly analogies with Hollywood movies:

### **Analogy Frame**

#### *9/11 Is Worse than Pearl Harbor and Hollywood Movies Repertoire*

**"Fundamental distinction from the attack on Pearl Harbor...the destruction of Sept. 11, 2001 has ushered in a new era in conflict: war in the 21<sup>st</sup>. century where the terms of engagement, the stakes and the face of the adversary are unknown... if the 20<sup>th</sup>.-century war was characterized by national wars, the 21<sup>st</sup>. century may be characterized by an even more horrific shadow-boxing type of war..."**what the

world witnessed in New York and Washington was the immense psychological power of such terrorism” (Gil Troy, Professor of American History at McGill University).”

**“When Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990, President George W. Bush’s father was able to rally the world to his side for the war against Saddam Hussein (...).”**

(Opinion article) **“Suicide bombers understand that they will die in carrying out their evil intent. No one in his right mind would have done such a thing. Pearl Harbor was also a sneak attack on America, but at least the Japanese were military personnel attacking a military target.”** (12/09/2001:B3)

### *9/11 Was Like a Blockbuster Movie Repertoire*

This expression mostly came from public opinion (letters) which considered the events of 9/11 to be like some Hollywood disaster film (or even worse).

**“If Tuesday’s surreal terrorist attacks looked like scenes from a movie, that’s because in a sense, they were. This was the terrorists’ own real-life disaster film - bigger than Independence Day or Armageddon (...) American films now reach every corner of the world and their images colonize the imaginations of virtually everyone – one reason Muslim fundamentalists so hate America. They certainly understand the power of those visuals. So in attacking the symbols of American finance and American security, it might have been no accident that they chose the language of American movies”.** (16/09/2001: A15)

**“...the city is a state of hysteria... I was on the Fifth Ave. There was a crowd of people in the street (...) I saw the explosion. It was a big ball of fire. Everyone was in disbelief...it was kind of frightening - like a movie - something you’d see in a blockbuster movie”.** (12/09/2001: A15)

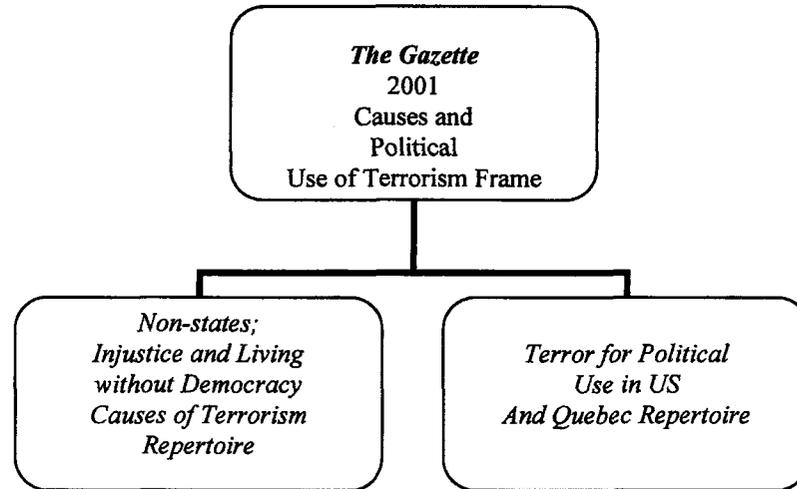
However, the context in which Pearl Harbor attack took place was very distant from the one that situated the 9/11 facts. Accordingly, in the following section, we will illustrate some of the causes which provoke terrorism from what *The Gazette* published in their content. These considerations come mostly from the opinion articles and columnists.

### **Causes and Political Use of Terrorism Frame**

*Terrorism causes’: The Lack of Implementation of US Democracy and its Values in Middle Eastern Countries repertoire*

What we find is a construction of an “other” Evil, of the division of the world that was laid out in the pages of this tabloid.

In *The Gazette*, the causes of terrorism were considered to be injustice and living without democracy (the American way).



*Figure 3. Causes and Uses of terrorism frame.*

In the following paragraphs, we show a sample of the repertoires which shows this:

*Non-states; Injustice and Living without Democracy are the Causes of Terrorism Repertoire*

“Despite a decade of globalization, we continue to live in a world system where states are the paramount, sovereign actors...**if all states truly did oppose terrorism –as all after Sept. 11 claim to- there would be no terrorism.** As Wolfowitz made “it is only through states that the world will be able to red itself of terrorism” ...**states controlling their extremist terrorists will usher in a much healthier international environment...** imagine the progress that could be reached in Northern Ireland if moderates did not have to worry about children being fired upon on their way to school... in the Middle East, Israel will feel more comfortable allowing the Palestinians to establish a state if the threat of Hamas and Islamic Jihad were eliminated. Such a world is possible only when states –not the extremists- change their behaviors” (opinion). (26/10/2001: B3)

(Sue Montgomery) “Here’s a chance to redesign our world “leaders of cults, terrorists organizations and fanatic groups would have a hell of a hard time recruiting people to their cause if we had a more just and democratic world”. 24/09/2001: A4

We do consider that this last frame and its repertoires are related which interpretations that already existed before about the causes of terrorism. Evidently, considerations coming from the western side of the world. As we have always heard, the

American way of life have been idealized and portrayed as the ideal way of living: democracy, justice, etc.

### **Impact in Quebec frame**

In the other hand, the politics of terror appeared to be used in Quebec. We have found this domestication of terrorism in *The Gazette*, since the elections in Quebec were close to take place. The repertoire that appeared was “*Terror for Political Use in the USA and Quebec Repertoire*” which mostly referred to the diverse uses of terror. Some repertoires coming from the President of the United States, but also, from the Quebec Government, in times of political elections:

“Even such a calamity as the **Sept. 11 terrorist attacks can present an opportunity to the alert**. And so Quebec’s minister of relations with the citizens and immigrations Joseph Facal has announced that in the light of the recent events in New York and Washington, **the government will “resume the debate” on the subject of a Quebec identification card**”. 2/10/2001: B3

(Letter) “continual playback of Tuesday’s apocalypse serves as a reminder that despite the global will to mobilize for the rule of law, **we live in a world of guerrilla warfare, in which rules are nonexistent...we cannot ignore the intended effect of this terror. Terror here is being used as a weapon to invoke war**”. 16/09/2001: B2)

(Column) “**Government is using baseless anthrax scare to justify attack on liberties**”. (26/10/2001: B3)

### **Fear and Xenophobia of the “other” Frame**

#### *Terrorists Are the Arabs, Muslims, and Palestinians repertoire*

In the 9/11 extra edition of the *The Gazette*, the opinion of an aviation “expert” was deemed to carry enough weight to be published. For this aviator, the person responsible for the attacks in the United States was the Saudi Osama bin Laden. This shows us the lack of information during the first hours after the 9/11 attacks.

In the days after the events on American soil, *The Gazette* confirmed, with official declarations that responsibility for the attacks lay with bin Laden. However, the newspaper was very “courteous” in classifying the Egyptian. As we can see further on, in

the pieces where bin Laden's name appears, he is referred to as a "suspected terrorist", "suspected mastermind", or "prime suspect".

In the opinion articles we find him described in stronger terms as a "mass murderer" and the act as being "carnage". Nevertheless, bin Laden was also portrayed as a mythical figure, an image that prevailed for some years after. It is in his role as the incarnation of evil in which he is seldom seen but his existence is widely-known, although, on occasions, his whereabouts are not; he "appears" in videos whose validity is sometimes doubted, and he "dares", through his network and connections, to attack the symbols of economic and political power, and this is precisely what has made Osama bin Laden into the myth that he is today.

This stereotype of how might be a terrorist, constructed in a western-scale, was domesticated in the way that it shows the considerations of the population of a Canadian region, about how the terrorists look like:

*Terrorists Are Arab-Looking Repertoire*

In a report made on the border of Canada and the United States, some of the inhabitants of a small town (Jackman) gave their opinion to a reporter of *The Gazette* about, what for them, would be the physical aspect of a terrorist:

"...they don't have 'terrorist' stamped in their passport, ...and if a terrorist wants to get in the country he will... **one of them wore traditional Arab clothing** and brandished a Visa card from the UAP...Agents are checking everyone's identification... as to whether agents are especially watchful of people who look Middle Eastern... Back in Jackman (the town) it seems everyone now recalls **seeing some Middle Eastern types passing through** ...there's no reason why people should see someone of another race and think they are suspect...". (16/09/2001: A8)

Or, opinions of academics from universities in the United States:

"...**the terrorists are mainly Arabs (...)** they are Saudis and Egyptians with very complicated ties to their home countries". (3/11/2001: B5)

(Column) "The module regarding hijackings was notably light. We watched a video, and briefly discussed the possibility. But what they didn't teach us ...was how to deal with the terror in terrorism...I still feel violated, I still feel the terror...will history document terrorism as the turning point of this generation? It

won't be surprising if our training centers soon implement more in-depth security discussions with flight attendants...can any training adequately prepare one for the terror? **Can anyone truly ever know how to identify a terrorist?**" (16/09/2001: B3)

### *Islam Supports Terrorists Repertoire*

In another news item, *The Gazette* voice to the spokesman for the *fundamentalist group* Al Muhajiroun, who said "any Muslim, British or foreign, who wants to get rid of him (Blair) would not be punished under Islamic law but praised".

One of the news items most-commented upon in regard to the reaction of the Arab world in view of the attacks was that portraying the Palestinians celebrating the attacks in the United States, and which *The Gazette* published on various occasions. It was said that the video that was shown was old and from a different time, but the piece published in the newspaper made no mention of this (it was published on 12<sup>th</sup> September), affirming that "**thousands of Palestinians celebrated yesterday's terror attacks in the United States** chanting 'God is Great' and distributing candies.

### *Xenophobia Towards the "others" Repertoire*

This repertoire refers fundamentally to the negative appraisal of what the terrorists say, what is pointed out about them and the comments that were made in the newspaper. In previous sections, we made mention of the "orientalism" theory proposed by Edward Said three decades ago. He affirmed that what is said about the Middle East is negative and the terrorists are seen by the West as Arabs, Muslims or Palestinians. There are certain stereotypes created that have circulated in the social imaginary of the Western Hemisphere for some time. The portrait and representation that *The Gazette* circulates is not far from this ideology. The terrorists are:

*"Islamic extremists", "those behind the evil acts", "Bin Laden" "the mastermind of the 1993 WTC, "the hijackers", "evil people in the world", "Arabic people", "gang member of Al Qu'aida".*

Not only are people referred to in a negative way, but also Arabic television networks come in for the same condemnation: “some reporters are said to have links with the Muslim Brotherhood, a radical Islamic organization with ties to a member of *Al Jazeera* board”.

Even a policeman offered an opinion in respect of the Arab population of Montreal in which it was linked to terrorism “some of them never offered a word (...) they looked very focused (...) we thought they might be dealing drugs, or illegal immigrants”.

Various terrorist events from the past are cited (such as the 1972 events at the Olympic Games) when “11 Israeli athletes were killed after being taken hostage by Palestinians” (12/09/2001: E1). This was published in relation to the proximity of the Winter Olympic Games that took place in Salt Lake City in 2002 and due to the attacks, security measures were being re-evaluated.

The character who is criminalized the most is Saddam Hussein, followed by Osama bin Laden and the terrorists.

“When the president or his spokesmen are asked about civilian casualties from our bombing in Afghanistan, they should answer “yes, for the 30<sup>th</sup> straight day, **Osama Bin Laden, a mass murderer**, has cloaked himself in a human blanket of Afghan civilians, unfortunately this has led to some civilians deaths”...when US officials speak about **Saddam Hussein, the man who has killed more Muslims in the 20<sup>th</sup> century than any other human being** (he’s killed a millions Iranians, Iraqi Kurds and Kuwaitis) Or they should point out that **Saddam and bin Laden are “the world’s two biggest hijackers** –they have each hijacked a country and are holding its civilians hostage and we’re trying to liberate them ..”. (16/09/2001: A2)

(Letter) “To say I am shocked at today’s cowardly terrorist attacks on the US is simply because I cannot find a proper adjective to describe my anger and over-all feelings. These **sick extremists** will be brought to justice later, now, as Canadians, we should all roll up our sleeves and give much needed blood to assist our American neighbors.” (24/09/2001: A7)

Once more the division between the good and evil is apparent: “you either believe in suicide bombers or you believe in the sanctity of human life. You can’t do both.” Saddam Hussein and Osama Bin Laden are classified as mass murderers who must be punished.

### **The World Changed frame**

*“Normality will never be the same repertoire”*

**“The world as we knew it would never be the same (...) but I was wrong when I said the world, our Canada would never be the same”** (Industry Minister). (16/09/2001: A2)

**“Flying will be never be the same again...where were you and what were you doing when the world changed?”** (24/09/2001: B2)

**“...life is not back to normal. The normality of which we had become accustomed might never be restored”**. (12/09/2001: A6)

Some opinion showed that terrorism is an international problem that affects the whole world: “82 countries including Canada are listed as places or origin of the victims of the US attacks. (...) for the relatives and friends of worldwide victims of terrorism, the pain the horror are just unimaginable...but even as people adopt warlike positions, it’s imperative we look at the assault on terrorism as an international problem and not from the layman’s point of view that this is a U.S. Canadian “family” problem or response” (12/09/2001: A8). The domestication here shows that Canadians were also victims of the 9/11 events.

Living with fear is common in the Middle East according to the following opinion. For New Yorkers, the road to acceptance of this will be longer.

**“Its hard to believe such a terrible madness could hit the US...at least those little girls from Holy Cross school in Belfast knew who wanted to hurt them... they are escorted by burly men in protective clothing while bottles break and bricks crash around the.. they will face the same anger and hatred... while these little girls are suffering for all the world to see can easily be perceived as a tragic, blatant step in their induction into the ranks of those who hate... but what is left out of this picture (McWilliams a Professor at Queens University in Belfast) says is the media descending on a situation and distorting what’s been happening over the decades... people have become accustomed to sectarian division... it will be a much longer road for the people of NYC who started out a beautiful sunny day..... terrorism spawned by hatred and anger, has changed that forever”**. (24/09/2001: A7)

*There was an Economic and Political Impact on Canada and Montreal Repertoire*

We found several news and information items about the economic impacts of the United States’ recession on the Canadian economy; items which were related to job cuts,

the impact on travel (airlines losses) and losses incurred by companies such as Bombardier Inc. and Thomson Corp.

In some cases this only happened briefly as demand for hotel rooms meant that many were fully-booked.

However, the most relevant frame that *The Gazette* decided to construct is the one of foreign policy and international relationships of Canada with the United States. A constant repertoire that appears along the four years that we have analyzed is the one that outlines that *Canada supports its best friend repertoire*, this meaning, the American Nation.

Nonetheless, *The Gazette* showed that the principal doubt, accordingly expressed in the following column, is the place that Canada would occupy in the discourse that George W. Bush offered in defining his rhetoric on the war, but not mentioning his Canadian ally.

(Column) “Words are important. The choice of words is critical in speech...the American word of choice last week was a “campaign” rather than a “war” against terrorism... Bush called on the world to join America in this “crusade” against terrorism, and dropped it when reminded it connotes Christians chasing Muslims out of Jerusalem... the military operation Infinite Justice was dropped when Muslim clerics reminded the White House that infinite justice is in the hands of God only...**Bush was unambiguous to his call “either you are with us or you are with the terrorists”...he started thanking America’s friends, and neglected to mention Canada...**the Department of Foreign Affairs figured out whether the Americans were trying to take us over...”. (24/09/2001: A3)

“**Mexico is the US’ new most important friend...** And Britain her truest friend...which leaves Canada as the US’ best friend”. (14/09/2001: B2)

As a consequence of this, we found a relationship among the following frame:

### **Canada-US Relations Frame**

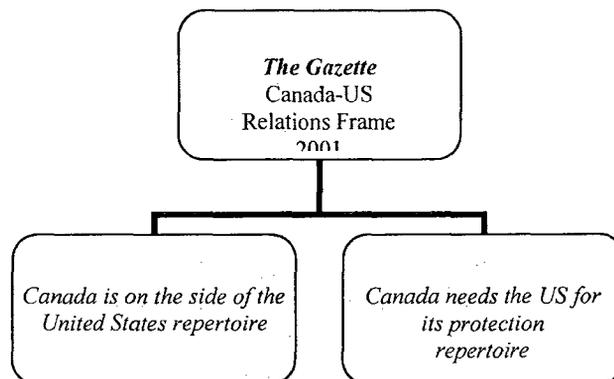
#### *Canada Is on the Side of the US Repertoire*

This is one of the topics most-tackled and discussed in *The Gazette* in the four years under analysis; there would be nothing to discuss in relation to the role that Canada

would have in the “Military Campaign” in Afghanistan. The United States is its best friend and it must do its part. This is the general posture.

Nonetheless, some opinions of columnists that questioned and demanded a clarification in respect of the fact that Canadian troops were sent to Afghanistan without an explication being offered to the Canadian people. In some opinion polls taken about this, Canadians’ support was shown for the measures taken by the United States in the question of security.

“A survey reported in Toronto’s Global & Mail found an amazing **85 per cent of Canadians favor “the types of changes that are required to create a joint North American security perimeter... Maybe we’re finally admitting in these suddenly bad times, a fact that we have long stuffed away at the back of our national consciousness: Canada is neither strong nor free. **Canada is inevitably, inextricable and undeniably one with the United States**”.** (2/10/2001: A10)



*Figure 4. Canada-US relations frame and its repertoires.*

### **Risk/National Security Frame**

#### *There Are Real Risks of Biological Terrorist Attacks in Canada repertoire*

The declarations made about the possibility of future terrorist attacks, whether they be by biological and chemical weapons such as anthrax, attacks by boat, etc. were expressed by official spokespersons of the United States and Canada (the United States Coastguard, the Canadian Prime Minister, etc.). The measures to be taken were related to the implementation of new laws and security measures, including those that were contemplating a legal definition of terrorism as well as laws for the punishment of

terrorist groups, as well as those involving economic support for the increase of security measures; in Canada, the federal government had announced the increase of \$12 million as a means for the prevention, and having sufficient antibiotics to treat “100,000 Canadians in the event of a terrorist attack involving biological weapons such as anthrax” (18/10/2001: A11).

**“the potential threat of chemical and biological weapons...these dangers are real”.**

In the face of a terrorist attack in Canada this country is “ill-prepared for a major terrorist attack, lacking everything from vital protective equipment for emergency personnel to properly trained teams that could free victims trapped inside collapsed buildings. (24/09/2001: A10)” These are results presented in *The Gazette* and taken from a federal report. This consideration was one of relevance in the newspapers. It was considered that the risks of having a chemical or biological attack were real. However, Canada was not prepared for a major terrorist event. Nonetheless, as we will show in the following repertoire, Israel has lived with threats coming from terrorists from long time ago.

#### *Déjà vu for Israelis Repertoire*

This is a repertoire that appeared constantly. This repertoire comes from the Canadian Ambassador to Israel, thus, it follows a political course. He stated, in an opinion article, that “Americans and Canadians live terrorism experiences vicariously, either on television news reports or in the movies, **Israelis on the other hand, have for years faced random attacks on civilians who are guilty by virtue of being who they are, not what they’ve done.**” (12/09/2001: B3)

“Indeed, there was a sense of *déjà vu* yesterday for anyone who has lived in Israel for an extended period” (Sept. 12, 2001). Evidently, the major point here is that the attacks

that the Israelis suffer are due more to *their race* and not to *their acts* and have a strong political connotation. As we have said previously, it is from this standpoint that one can define the “others”.

### **Canada-Terrorism Connection Frame**

#### *Montreal Has Connection with Terrorism repertoire*

A large part of the news and opinion articles – as column inches – came together to relate how the terrorist acts in New York affected Canada, in particular cosmopolitan Montreal. It was definitely of great interest to *The Gazette* to publish information, graphics, photographs, editorials, columns, etc. in regard to this. As we saw in the theoretical section, the terrorist act had all the characteristics of a very newsworthy and interesting story to be covered by the media, an event that furthermore directly affected Canada in its entirety.

At a political level, Canada manifested its support for the United States. The implementation of new legislation was required, along with greater control at the borders and the deployment of soldiers in Afghanistan. Some political and official voices also raised the question of a “real” risk of a terrorist attack on Canada, whereas the people of Montreal did not perceive of such an attack being imminent and saw the war as being far away from the city. However, they accepted that terrorist networks exist whose leaders were located in Montreal.

Culturally speaking, besides the cancellation of some events due to the outrage, voices of the Muslim community in Montreal were heard, concerning their fears in respect of being subject to discrimination, as well as the lack of knowledge surrounding the religion of Islam which, as we have seen, has come to be associated with terrorism.

At an economic level, the first effect was positive; the hotels in Montreal were inundated with demand in the face of the cancellations of national and international flights. Days or weeks later, however, the effects were felt in various economic areas, with falling output and millions being lost.

*The Gazette* published several testimonies coming from Canadians and Quebecers that were in NY and witnessed the 9/11 attacks in person. They published their comments, especially in the days after the attacks.

The journal sought to portray a local flavor, to give voice to Canadians that were eyewitnesses to the attacks in New York, giving priority to the human side “related” from the Canadian viewpoint.

“...**people are walking with face masks**...there’s a desperate cry for blood”...“the people I’ve talked with and met who actually were on the bridge or on the highway or the streets ... above ground approaching the Trade Centre at the time of the crash are so shaken that they can’t talk...they can only cry...”. (12/09/2001: A3)

“A **32-year old Toronto native works for a Manhattan** advertising agency...along with about 100 co-workers, **watched with horror from a 12<sup>th</sup>-floor office window as the mammoth towers collapsed**... “It was like watching history in slow motion, but I wish I hadn’t seen it... now I think more New Yorkers are scared of being blown up by terrorist than anything else”...despite yesterday’s tragedy he has no plans to leave”. (16/09/2001: A4)

#### *There is a Connection of Terrorism to Canada Repertoire*

One of the most relevant repertoires and main domestication on terrorism that was repeated throughout the news coverage was the connection that terrorism has with Canada. It’s been said that many terrorists were living in this country, especially in Montreal due to its proximity to the American boarder and the facilities and tolerance of its immigration policies. Nonetheless, more than “200 terrorists spies and war criminals sought refuge in Canada (...) spy agency advised immigration officials to turn away 212 people from Canada in 2000-01 because they were inadmissible for security reasons (..) they have or will be engaged in terrorism, espionage or subversion”. (10/10/2001: A10)

**“Abdellah ... lived until last year in a modest basement flat on Querbes St. in Montreal...”.**

In another report, *The Gazette* published a list of Montrealers connected to Al-Qaeda (all with Arab names).

**“A suspected hijacker possibly linked to Osama Bin Laden’s Al Qa’ida terrorist group has been arrested in Italy after he was discovered in a shipping container bound for Canada...(he had a Canadian passport with a Montreal address and airport maps)”.** (03/11/2001: B2)

**“Has Montreal become a staging base for Osama bin Laden Al Qaeda’s terror network?”.** (03/11/2001: B1)

*“There is no danger for Montreal” Repertoire*

The immediate reaction of Mayor Pierre Bourque was that Montrealers must “stay calm, stay-home and pray” for the victims of the attack on the World Trade Center...**currently the consensus is there is no danger for Montreal...** there is no precise measure to protect buildings... we are simply on alert and following the events”.

(12/09/2001: A15)

**“...however there’s no indication of a threat in Quebec...”** (12/09/2001: A14)

**“I feel safe...I don’t think there are any strategic targets of international interest to hit in Montreal”** (A Bell Canada worker). (24/09/2001: A14)

(Column) **“Got the Metro at Vendôme yesterday morning at 8.15. If there was a war anxiety, people were doing a good job of keeping it to themselves...we aren’t being asked to buy war bond... we haven’t been told what to do in case of an air raid- because there isn’t going to be one... we’re at war. It’s a lot like peace”.** (10/10/2001: A2)

In addition to this, *The Gazette* published information coming from specialists from diverse areas, such as the psychologist who explained in the daily what to say to kids in relation to 9/11: “Don’t make false promises. Say something like security has been increased all over North America and we won’t expect that anything like that will happen here... this could never happen here”.

## Muslim Community of Montreal Frame

### *Rejection: “not all Muslims are terrorists” Repertoire*

This repertoire comes from fears that existed prior to 9/11. The terrorists were being stereotyped as being Muslims, or Arab-looking. *The Gazette* showed that, at an “official” level, these prejudices were alive. As at Mirabel airport, security guards highlighted such prejudices about certain people being linked to Middle Eastern terrorism: “An Arab-looking *Gazette* journalist was detained for five minutes and peppered with questions about why he was there. Satisfied with his replies, security guards apologized”. (12/09/2001: A6)

While the readers of *The Gazette* and the community indicated their fears to classify all Muslims and Arabs of being terrorists “**these attacks are the actions of a group of cowardly, inhuman individuals and not an entire people...we must strike solely at the news who organized and enacted this as well as their protectors, and not direct our fury at people who just happen to follow a different faith or have different origins**”; Members of Montreal’s various **Middle Eastern communities are bracing for backlash. They fear they will be targets of racist harassment** following yesterday’s incidents”. (12/09/2001: A13)

*The Gazette* portrayed some of the Arab and Muslim voices of people who now live in Montreal, their preoccupation for their relatives; they manifested that they were afraid of the way media portrayed the Muslims, the misinformation about the nature and content of Islam and what Muslims think about terrorists, etc:

“**Syed Fida, of the Imam Islamic Centre of Quebec: the word jihad has been widely misinterpreted...it means struggle and refers chiefly to an individual’s inner struggle to do good and achieve spiritual cleansing...**”if a powerful country attacks a weak country it is a jihad for all Muslims... Salam Elmenyaw, of the Muslim Council of Montreal: **when a non-Muslim country attacks a Muslim country attacks a Muslim country, it is a jihad...the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11 were a crime against humanity...**Federal Intergovernmental Affairs Minister said: all Canadians must fight fundamentalism,

terrorism and intolerance...for the terrorists, there is nothing more dangerous to them than a Muslim who is tolerant". (24/09/2001: A4)

*Muslim Community of Montreal Condemns 9/11 Attacks Repertoire*

Montreal's Muslim community condemned the attacks on the WTC and said "these acts would not be committed by any true Muslim...our members are Montreal and Canadian citizens...we do not accept these barbarous acts and their cost in human lives" (16/09/2001: A3)

A Quebec hydroengineer, Ahman Soboh blamed mass media "when they discovered who was really behind the Oklahoma City bombing they didn't call him a Christian they called him a madman...even the jihad -holy war- has been wrongly portrayed". (16/09/2001: A3).

2002

In its discourse about terrorism in 2002, months before the invasion in Iraq and a year after the 9/11 events, *The Gazette's* reflection highlights the news items that followed up the facts 9/11 in New York (counter-terrorist actions such as the capture of terrorists and the break-up of terrorist cells).

Similarly, it dedicates a lot of informative page space to the declaration and opinions in respect of the fact that Iraq, according to the US, had weapons of mass destruction. Therefore, a war was prevented between the US and its enemies, those that belong to the so-called "Axis of Evil".

We found, for 2002, a more positioned discourse on terrorism, about who the terrorists are, what motivates them to carry out their actions (living in repressive societies, as well as the lack of democracy in their countries of origin) and how to combat them.

Some opinion texts assure us that the terrorists with “global” ambitions, such as Osama bin Laden and his Al Qa’ida network, are “nourished” by the so-called “Arabs from the streets”, who are poor and can be easily-manipulated into being taken to the “base”.

An interesting aspect that appears in the opinion items is the defense of Canadian sovereignty. This, in the main, appears in the face of the decision by the United States to enter Iraqi territory as a pretext for locating weapons of mass destruction and all the subsequent actions and consequences. A distance is maintained but, on the other hand, the “need” for the “protection” of Canada by the United States is expressed, in case of an unexpected act requiring it.

*The Gazette* echoed the American hegemonic discourse; not just to air the views of politicians and actors, but to also publish a little over half of its material deriving from North American agencies and collaborative efforts (20 out of a total of 39). Of these, 11 belonged to AP, the largest American news agency.

Nevertheless, we have considered that a constant in the informative coverage of wars and conflicts is the lack of freedom of information.<sup>79</sup> In many cases, journalists depended on information given out by military spokespersons or press outlets charged with finding out public opinion.

### **Counterterrorism Frame**

What follows are accounts of the capture of terrorists and the destruction of their cells a year after 9/11, along with the support of countries allied to the United States, with the repertoire “US and its allies are combating terrorism”.

## US Foreign Policy frame

### *“Saddam Hussein is a Threat” Repertoire*

*The Gazette* published mostly official discourses coming from the US President George W. Bush, who was seeking the UN resolutions and the support of coalition countries, the United Nation Secretary General, Kofi Annan, and others.

Voices from defense analysts: “...advanced weapons designed to preempt chemical and biological agents that are suspected of constituting the most menacing elements of Saddam Hussein’s aging military machine.” (11/10/2002: A18)

“Our goal is to **fully and finally eliminate a real threat to world peace and to America**”.

US looking for UN resolution authorizing the “**full force and fury of the US military<sup>80</sup>**” to destroy Baghdad’s weapons of mass destruction.

Saddam Hussein was continually criminalized in *The Gazette*. This communication organ commonly used evaluative repertoires to portray a negative imagine about Hussein:

“Those witnesses (Iraqi people to go out of the country) must be free to bring their entire families with them, so they are beyond to reach of **Saddam Hussein’s terror, Saddam Hussein’s torture, Saddam Hussein’s murder**” (Bush). (28/03/2003: A1)

Even, a novelist (Sami Abdel Hamid) considered that Saddam Hussein’s situation was summed up as “one risk is that if a megalomaniac sees his regime disintegrated he might try to earn a place in history by taking the world down with him. Saddam wants boys in Tikrit to breathe his name in awe 1,000 years from now and if he can’t achieve that by founding a powerful dynasty then perhaps he can do it by decimating America with smallpox”.

We affirmed, in the above pages, that the discourse on terrorism for 2002 was positioned, even until consider which where the reasons or causes of terrorism. Through the interpretive repertoires, we found phases, terms or statements considering that since

*the Arab Societies have repressive governments joined with its religion (Islam) make the combination of factors to let terrorist exist.* These considerations came mostly from Israelis that were manifested through interviews or columns. Thus, by publishing these statements, *The Gazette* shows it follows these opinions. As we would consider later, its domestication side it's to portray its identification with Israel:

“...it is precisely the **lack of freedom for Islamic countries** what went wrong (missing in Islamic countries) **“freedom of mind from constrain and indoctrination, to question and inquire and speak, freedom of the economy from corrupt and pervasive mismanagement; freedom of women from male oppression; freedom of citizens from tyrannies”** (Bernard Lewis). (25/10/2002: B5)

“There is no question that America can help by making a more energetic effort to defuse the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and by speaking out for the values that **America has advocated everywhere in the world – except in the Arab world: namely, democracy**” Jordanian columnist Rami Khouri who give this opinion during an encounter between Muslim and American Scholars with this issue: “where is the Arab street and how might it respond to a US invasion of Iraq? In Doha, Qatar (...) **fighting terror can only succeed by rehumanizing degraded societies....God-fearing people into animals that kill with terror**”. (17/10/2002: B4)

**“We support U.S. President George W. Bush’s war on terror...we therefore, support Israel’s war on terror** (David Radler publisher of the Jerusalem Post and Chicago Sun Times)”. (25/10/2002: B5)

### **Muslim Community in Montreal Frame**

The counter-discourse of the Muslim community could set out by manifesting its fear of being part of a wave of racism and discrimination; that’s to say, xenophobia by the repertoire “*Please God, let there be no connection to Muslims*”.

It maintains that this connection between Islam and terrorism is meant to portray Islam in a prejudiced light. Its fears of suffering more discrimination at the hands of the Canadian communities are real, and similar situation have arisen in the United States, there being a large Muslim population in that country.

“Among Montreal area, Muslims concern that the main suspect’s **connection with Islam might reinforce prejudices against the religion**”. (25/10/2002: B4)

“Many **Canadians Muslims** say they suffered **a year of discrimination** from their fellow Canadians in the wake of the Sept. 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist attack.”. (09/10/2002: A7)

“...as a member of the community, **I read about what others say about us but never our point of view (...)** **Instead of using negative words –extremist-fundamentalist-fanatic or terrorist to describe Muslims, the paper decries racism of any kind”.** (09/10/2002: A7)

### **Canada-US Relations Frame**

*Canada and the United States need each other repertoire*

The Canada-US relationship is one of convenience; Canada depends for its prosperity on the US but opposes its values. This has to do with the fact that Canada and the United States have been friends for a very long time; Canada has supported the US in its wars and sent Canadian troops, but it has always defended its nationality, values and identity.

“**We’re solidly anchored in the Americas than we have ever been in our history and the one relationship that overwhelms all the others is the one with the United States of America**” (Ex-ambassador to the US). (15/09/2002: A19)

« Parce que nous sommes voisins et amis des États-Unis nous avons senti ces événements peut-être davantage qu’ailleurs en Occident (...) ces attentats exigeaient que tous les amis des États-Unis se solidarisent derrière eux... (...) si les États-Unis peuvent représenter le pire du capitalisme, il symbolise aussi le meilleur de la démocratie... **Il est difficile pour un pays comme le Canada de s’opposer aux États-Unis** ». (15/09/2002 : A17)

In a round-up of French collaborative opinion pieces in different French dailies, *The Gazette* published, through Brigitte Pellerin’s column, the opinion of Bernard Descôteaux from *Le Devoir*: “On the morning of Sept. 11 2001 **all those for whom liberty is a universal value showed solidarity with the Americans. A year later we should be doing the same, although it doesn’t mean we should blindly follow the American agenda.**” (15/09/2002: A17).

In the subsequent pages, we will continue presenting the domestication on terrorism that emerged from our analysis of *The Gazette* in relation to the War in Iraq, which means the continuation of American foreign policy in the Middle East in its War against Terrorism.

The Gazette: 2003

*The gravest danger to freedom lies at the crossroads of radicalism and technology. When the spread of chemical and biological and nuclear weapons, along with ballistic missile technology—when that occurs, even weak states and small groups could attain a catastrophic power to strike great nations. Our enemies have declared this very intention, and have been caught seeking these terrible weapons. They want the capability to blackmail us, or to harm us, or to harm our friends—and we will oppose them with all our power.”*

President Bush  
West Point, New York  
June 1, 2002<sup>81</sup>

After 9/11, the United States launched the plan that, from its inception, would be named *Crusade against Terrorism*, but would finally be known as the battle against “the axis of evil” (previously known as “rogue states”) implementing its policy for the establishment of a New World Order.

Before the United States decided to occupy Iraq, *The Gazette* had dedicated much attention to the publishing of items related to whether Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction, and to the UN resolution for the authorization of the United States entry into that Middle Eastern country.

In spite of the fact that the UN did not authorize it, the invasion (occupation) by the United States and Great Britain began in March, 2003. *The Gazette* portrayed, fundamentally, the military strategies of the United States.

In these movements, there is no mention of Spain being one of the countries with the greatest participation alongside the United States and Great Britain. Overall, this Hispanic country is conspicuous in its absence from the news items and opinions analyzed.

*The Gazette* included, in its information, various graphic items expounding on the military tactics and strategies implemented in Iraq on the part of the United States. Through its coverage, the United States was portrayed as having advanced technology

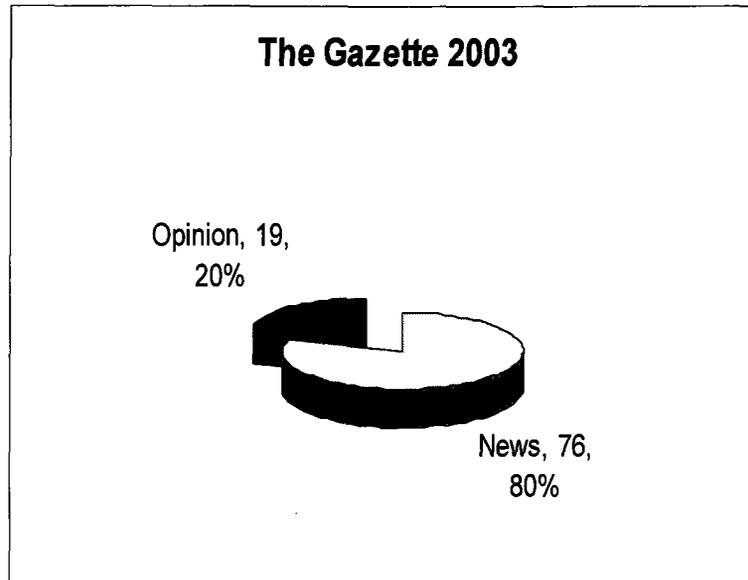
armaments; a large army ready to deploy. Overall, it reflected American foreign policy (alliances, threats and strategies) designed to achieve its goals at any cost. All this in spite of the UN, whose role in the proceedings was deprecated to the point of irrelevance.

Throughout the sample analyzed, the United States is portrayed as powerful and decisive but, little by little, it was partially seen that although it was thought in the US that the war would be of a short duration, the Iraqis (their various internal groups against the US) have put up a stout resistance, leaving the country in a critical situation, politically-speaking, with no sign of that changing.

In regard to the information agencies from which the newspaper gained its data about the war, its principal source was the *CanWest News Services* agency (with almost 30% of the total), which forms part of the media conglomerate that owns *The Gazette*<sup>82</sup>. The company sent correspondents to Iraq, its personal accounts being one of the characteristics that distinguished its information from the other agencies, reflecting the human side of the war, while on other occasions concentrating on the military aspects.

In general, however, it approached the situation from the Iraqi people's point of view, portraying some of their suffering, hardships and feelings seen through the eyes of a journalist.

In total, *The Gazette* published 76 news items and 19 articles (columns and opinion, giving a total of 95 and 3 editorials whose analysis we shall present in an independent way).



*Figure 5. News and Opinion percentages in The Gazette.*

For its part, *The Gazette*, as its own source of information, published news items related to the effects of the war in Iraq on the community in Montreal, the perceptions of the Muslim community in the city in regard to the “conflict”, as the protests voiced by some pro-Iraqi and pro-Palestinian groups against the war; in other words, how the war was fundamentally affecting the Arab community. We find then, as was expected, that the local news pieces were covered by the same personnel on the newspaper.

The news or opinion articles about the community in Montreal or the effects of 9/11 and the Iraq war on the city come, almost in their entirety, from the same journalists on the newspaper, its columnists or from *The Gazette*.

Another aspect to point out is that the journalists and local columnists, in general, added their e mail address at the end of the article, thereby allowing for interaction with the reader in the majority of cases. Besides that, *The Gazette* included a photograph of the author of the column. We regard all of these strategies as allowing for a greater closeness between the reader as well as a better identification.

On the other hand, the word “terrorism” appeared very few times in this sample analyzed. From our point of view, nearly two years after the attacks on the Twin Towers and the Pentagon, the discourse had evolved into one about the axis of evil; to speak of such implies talking about terrorists and terrorism. To speak of the countries that the United States and its allies consider to make up the “axis of evil” means that their people are possessed by demons, that they have weapons of mass destruction and biological weapons and that they seek to attack the United States and its allies.

Bush’s discourse on terrorism is synonymous with the axis of evil while the war in Iraq is part of the plan to have done with all the evil entities that could be attacked at any given moment. To speak of *war* from a positive angle is, in effect, from a Western point of view. The United States and its allies are those that will be the heroes; the good guys of the story. To speak of the “axis of evil” is to talk in negative tones, of the terrorists and the evil ones.

For years, we have observed how *The Gazette* referred to Saddam Hussein in a negative way, constructing a demonization of his personality in a much more extreme way than it did with Osama bin Laden.

In the few instances that the word “terrorism” appears in the sample analyzed, it is done so in order to praise the model implemented by Israel about how to establish a front against it. In the same way, the positive side or aspect of terrorism, in the affected area, is the sense of patriotism and community spirit that emerges in those situations.

## US Foreign Policy Frame

### *US Superiority and Fury with Iraq Repertoire*

The discourse that Bush offered up in respect of the invasion of Iraq centered upon the fact that the United States and its allies would attack with “full force and fury to make Baghdad destroy its weapons programs”. (20/03/2003: A1)

This aggressive discourse was seen reflected in the news pieces and their topics. The determination with which the United States and Great Britain attacked the Middle Eastern country is a permanent theme running through the sample that we analyzed: “US forces renewed an aggressive pattern on air over Baghdad (...) massive explosions rocked Baghdad in the heaviest coalition bombing” (28/03/2003: A1).

The (four) headlines that appeared in the sample, also reflect this American policy: “War in Iraq”; “Ground troops push on” (28/03); “Baghdad strike launches war” (20/03); “Baghdad Exodus as tanks rolls in” (28/03).

News giving a detailed account of the American infrastructure for war, qualifying the war as the most digitally intensive conflict, with “virtually every tank, plane, bombs and missiles linked by satellite”. “The Pentagon has snapped up the services of commercial satellite companies” (28/03/2003: B2).

### *US Policy: to Exterminate the “Axis of Evil” Repertoire*

Other Middle Eastern countries figure in the plans of the United States, such as Iran, Syria, as well as North Korea. *The Gazette* presented the opinion of a CIA agent who attended an American university (UCLA), well-known for its anti-war postures, in order to give a lecture.

“This fourth world war will last considerably longer than World War I or II...it wont be the full four-plus decades of the cold war...World War IV would be conducted **against three kinds of enemy: the religious rulers of Iran, the fascist regimes of Iraq and Syria and Islamic terrorists groups such as Al-Qa’ida..** Syria, like Iraq a Baathist regime, was not in the original Axis of Evil list but there is now room for one more”... “as we move towards a new Middle East over the years and over the decades to come we will

make a lot of people very nervous, our response (to Middle East dictatorship) should be “good!” we want you to be nervous, we want you to realize now, that for the fourth time in a hundred years, **this country and its allies are on the march** and that we are on the side of those who you most fear...we’re on the side of your own people.. **things need to start happening even sooner in Syria**...both countries must move towards democratic systems...and more importantly, demonstrably cut off ties to terrorism...”. (28/03/2003: B2)

### **Muslim Community in Montreal Frame**

#### *“Americans Want the Oil” Repertoire*

This repertoire appeared primarily as opinion pieces. It reflects the thoughts and opinions of some Iraqi people and citizens in Montreal: **“Americans want the oil and our civilians are paying the price”** or **“This war is not about democracy or weapons of mass destruction...Saddam is a tyrant, but he was just as evil and a lot more dangerous...this war is also not about US concern for the welfare of the Iraqi people...This war is not about terrorism either...this war seems like a settling of accounts with a formerly friendly dictator who made the grave error of turning his back on the US control of Iraq’s immense oil reserves”**. (28/03/2003: A26).

As we see, the population manifested that the real goal of the US in Iraq was to obtaining its oil. We haven’t found much critic on the newspaper side much less on its editorial about these considerations. There was a lack of criticism on the newspaper about the American policy in Iraq. This reflects the daily posture about the War in Iraq. However, it did invited several academics that manifested its posture in relation with Iraq, appearing, from these opinions, the repertoire *Arabs think US supports Israel*.

Edward Walker of the Middle East Institute considered that the US faces a huge credibility problem in the Arab world **“the perception is that we are driven by the Six Cs – cowboys, colonialism, conspiracy, Coca-Cola, cowardice and clientitis-. The client is Israel”**...the reality is that when Arabs think of the US they think of Israel” (05/04/2003:

A4). He warned that war would magnify those perceptions...in many ways the post-Saddam Hussein.

### **Canada-Mexico Foreign Policies Frame**

#### *Supporting US is not Convenient for Canada and Mexico Repertoire*

The US efforts to win international support in its war against Iraq fall into two distinct but interrelated categories: bribery and exclusion. According to what was said in *The Gazette*, the United States rewards friends but punishes enemies. The daily also emphasized the situation of Canada and Mexico, in relation with other events of the past, when they have given their support to the American nation. As we see in the interpretive repertoire that emerges, **“Anyone who doubts that should look back to the first gulf war in 1991, when Canada fought as a member of the coalition forces. Did that help with trade issues? No. Mexico has had to learn the same hard lesson.** George W. Bush said just last November that his country “has no more important relationship in the world than the one we have with Mexico...” (28/03/2003: A27)

Another repertoire *US rewards friends and punishes enemies* focused also that the lack of support of Canada to the United State could have reprisals to the country.

“The Bush administration has a long memory; **it rewards friends, punishes enemies.** This week’s white house guest list is a roll call of war allies”.... **“It was reported Bush has postponed the visit (Canada) due to Ottawa’s refusal to join the war in Iraq and anti-US comments made by Liberal PM’s and ministers”.**(07/05/2003: A20)

### **War Information Frame**

However much complaints were made about war coverage (its content), it seems to us that the newspapers or agency correspondents were very close to the military forces, evidently, as close as the US officials would let them go. Much of the news coming directly from Iraq was covered by *CanWest* news agency, part of the conglomerate which owns *The Gazette*. The way the media portrayed war has been affected by information

control during war and conflicts. But insofar as what *The Gazette* published, it seems to us that the newspaper circulated mostly the governmental vision (American one) of the facts.

“How real is the war we’re seeing?” (28/03/2003: A16)

### **International Legislation Frame**

#### *United Nations Resolution is not Important Repertoire*

The United Nations were one of the main protagonists of *The Gazette*’s coverage on war. In the main, the daily expressed its opposition to the UN posture.

Even though the UN affirmed that Iraq didn’t present an imminent threat and declared that it could be disarmed by peaceful methods, *The Gazette* considered, in spite of world opinion that the UN were the sole arbiter of the legitimacy of military actions, that this idea was both sinister and ridiculous. The newspaper’s position was that this international organization does not embody the highest ideals of mankind; it embodies Cameroon and Angola selling their votes.

“(…) we have been trying for decades to build a rules-based system of disciplines for international conduct. **Sometimes it will be right for countries to decide to act without waiting for UN approval, and this might be one of those times**, but it is important that we be clear about the grounds on which the action is taken. The President has apparently decided not to be clear”. (20/03/2003: A30)

From the news and opinion articles published in the daily, the main role of the UN in Iraq was to reduce the suffering of Iraqi civilians and providing humanitarian aid.

### **Canada-US Relations Frame**

#### *Canada failed by not Supporting the US repertoire*

This is another of the main topics dealt with in the newspaper. In the main, it concentrated upon the role that Canada should have in the war in Iraq. It strongly criticized the stance of the then Prime Minister, Paul Martin, in the face of his “relaxed” response to not supporting their American neighbor as Jacques Chrétien had done.

Nevertheless, the newspaper demonstrated its empathy with the Canadian government, with the change of position.

**“Moving quickly to get back into the good books with the United States, PM Jean Chrétien’s government will announce an Iraqi reconstruction package and will follow that up next week by announcing support for Washington’s missile defense initiative”. (29/04/2003: A10)**

### **Victimization Frame**

#### *Iraq’s Population is Starving, Desperate and Fleeing from War Repertoire*

*The Gazette* portrayed the situation in Iraq concerning the flight of the Iraqi people and even though we didn’t consider the pictures that were included in the newspaper for the analysis, it is notable that *The Gazette* added pictures of the Iraqis fleeing, with small white flags in their hands.

**“30,000 flee Basra in a day...escaping the fighting and to seek food and water that now seems in danger of running out altogether...Some were clearly desperate. When I opened our Jeep to distribute supplies, I was pulled and pushed by a forest of beseeching hands and almost knocked to the ground “all our food is gone...”. (28/03/2003: A14)**

**“Baghdad Exodus as tanks rolls in Saddam back – maybe with TV presentations- big picture of “a group of Iraqi civilian is examined by US marines at a security checkpoint...tens of thousands or people are leaving the city” (Headline). (28/03/003: A18)**

**“ (...) reducing the suffering of Iraqi civilians is important for the United States and Britain if they are to make the case the war is one of liberation not domination”. (20/03/2003: A22)**

### **Impact of War in Iraq to Montreal Frame**

#### *War Affects the Community of Montreal repertoire*

The majority of the news and opinion articles about the multiethnic community in Montreal that *The Gazette* published, reflected the feeling of its Iraqi community in respect of what they felt about the war, as well as a continual complaint from them regarding the information coverage on the part of the Arab media that they could see via cable or satellite TV. They expressed the need for real “images” about the war in which one could “watch” the impact on the Iraqi citizens.

Similarly, *The Gazette* expounded the probable effect of the war on the elections that would take place on 4<sup>th</sup> November in Montreal and the called upon the leader of the Muslim community to pray but, more than anything, *The Gazette* highlighted the opinions of this leader on the reasons that provoked the war; that the Muslims prepared the way for the crisis by accepting dictators over the last two decades, especially those that stood against the United States.

Also, information was published about the demonstrations in protest against the War in Iraq (pro-Palestinian and pro-Iraqi), and furthermore underlined the opinions of the organizer of the protests, for whom the conflict was due to the fact that the Middle Eastern countries are separated.

The repertoires that were most-presented were:

*Montrealers need to see the "Real" War Repertoire*

"Quebecers have demonstrated in greater numbers than other Canadians against war in Iraq but their humanitarian aid contributions so far are only trickling in...**the underlying factor seems to be the lack of graphic images of the war's impact on civilians....we haven't seen thousands of refugees on the roads, when we start seeing the reality of this war, people will start reacting to that.**Iraqis and other Arabs in Montreal watched in shock and disbelief (...) Iraqis know that at these moments they have no one to help but God (...) my heart is with Bagdad". (28/03/2003: A7)

(about the coverage of an Arab channel) "...**they have been showing American soldiers feeling homesick, but what about the Iraqi civilians who're about to be killed?**" (05/04/2003: A6)

*Possible Political Impact of War in Montreal Repertoire*

(Opinion) "**Possible impact of a war in Iraq on the election in Montreal.** It is of all the more concern because the parties have no recent past references for how an election campaign is affected by the televised outbreak of a war..." (05/04/2003: A3)

"...**the guess here is that if war has any effect on the campaign it's most likely to favor the PQ.**" (05/04/2003: A17)

"**War in Iraq could alter the outcome of the Quebec election if Jean Charest is willing to come out swinging on sovereignty, said the Léver Marketing's head...(...) if there's a war, people will tend to vote for stability...its kind of ironic to talk about separatism and represent stability**". (28/03/2003: B2)

In the next page, we will start to exhibit the domestication on terrorism that *The Gazette* constructed in relation with the attacks to Madrid that took place on March 11, 2004.

#### 2004: The Gazette

If anything characterizes the majority of the 9/11 media coverage, it was the lack of images of the victims of the attacks. Everything happened in the imagination. Only a few media organs published photos or images of bodies, or people leaping out of the World Trade Center buildings into the void. Bush's government appealed to American patriotism. He asked for the help of the media organizations that were respectful of the families of the victims. Evidently, hiding the real effects of the attacks reduced the impact inflicted on the most powerful country in the world and media contributed to this.

In 2003, however, with the occupation of Iraq by the United States and its allies, the public demanded from media images of the "real war", not holding back from showing the suffering, the civilian casualties, etc. On this occasion, the media followed the American practice of only showing one side of the story, in the main, only recounting what the United States Government wanted it to recount.

Nonetheless, all that changed with the events of the morning of the 11<sup>th</sup> March, 2004. In a change from the other years under analysis, *The Gazette* decided to publish on its front page a large photo taken of the wreckage of the trains in Madrid; the injured, bleeding civilians with their torn clothes. Could it be that Spain is some distant country that doesn't mind showing its vulnerability?

It has been observed that the role of this Hispanic country in the War in Iraq was ignored. Virtually all the talk in the press was of the United States and Great Britain.

However, from the moment after the explosions on the three trains in Madrid, Spain's role in the War in Iraq was taken into account.

*The Gazette* dedicated a front page headline to the events of 12th March, 2004 in Spain. However, it published scant information in that week if we compare it to the coverage between 2001 and 2003. The newspaper continued principally with its coverage of the War in Iraq (a year after the occupation). From our point of view, the media decided to publish and cover such events that are closest to the community and of the interest of their own country.

If Spain was such a great ally of the United States in the War in Iraq, the newspaper reflected little interest for the events that took place there; its interest was concentrated on the Middle Eastern region, being centered principally on the war in Iraq as well as the situation in Afghanistan. This was the domestication side of *The Gazette*. Politically oriented towards the Middle East area.

Conversely, Montreal being a multicultural city where many Latin-American and Spanish people converge, the newspaper did not publish the feelings of these ethnic communities in respect of the attacks.

On the other hand, the news agency from which the *The Gazette* mainly obtained its information was the Associated Press (33%).

### **War against Terrorism Frame**

#### *Train Bombs in Spain: a Consequence of its Support for the War Against Terrorism Repertoire*

In respect of 9/11, there was so much uncertainty and lack of information in respect of who had been responsible for the attacks on the United States. A few hours after the

attacks, the name of Osama bin Laden began to circulate in various public spheres as the person responsible.

Unlike the events of 9/11, the ones of Madrid took place in a country that suffers constantly from terrorism at the hands of the Basque ETA organization. The news that was published moments after the explosions on the trains also reflected the ambiguity surrounding who was responsible for the attacks; ETA or Al-Qa'ida, but this time the uncertainty was deepened by the declarations made by the then president, José María Aznar, who immediately declared that the events of 11<sup>th</sup> March were a product of the Spanish terror organization. These statements, according to the analysts, were part of a political strategy, as we saw in previous sections. Attributing the attacks of 11th March to ETA cost Aznar his re-election.

*The Gazette* published on its front page of 12th March the words of the Spanish president, who affirmed that 11th March was Spain's 9/11. According to some officials, the blame was assigned to the Basque group:

(Headline) "This is our 9/11, Spanish President says. Officials quick to blame Basque separatists for train blasts that kill 192". (12/03/2004: A1)

Regarding this ambivalence about those responsible for the explosions, *The Gazette* published an editor's note that highlighted the causes as having been planned, in part, in Spain, as well as the fact that Spain was an ally of the war against terrorism:

"Spanish leaders were quick to accuse Basque terrorists of setting off devastating attacks in Madrid, but hours later they were less sure. A shadowy Muslim militant group claimed responsibility in the name of Al-Qa'ida... Joseba Zulaika, director of the Basque Studies at the University of Nevada at Reno said ETA might align with a terror group like Osama bin Laden.. **at least some of the planning for the Sept. 11, 2001 attacks in the US took place in Spain and Spain has been a vocal US ally in the war on terrorism.**" (12/03/2004: A2)

This connection between the explosions on the trains in Madrid and 9/11 and its consequences is another of the repertoires that stand out in the analysis; an overriding link between those responsible with the Muslim or Arab peoples:

**“A Moroccan fugitive sought in connection with the March 11 train bombings in Madrid was indicted on charges of helping to plan the Sept. 11 attacks in the US.”** (20/03/2004: A3)

As well as this account of the victims (among whom no Canadians were found, according to the journal) by some witnesses to the events:

**“When the smoke lifted I could see scores of bloodied and injured people staggering from the tracks as best as they could. It was a nightmarish scene of blood and fear.. On many bodies, we could hear the person’s mobile phone ringing as we carried them away..”** (12/03/2004: A3)

#### *US-Led Coalition Fury Continues but Iraqi Forces Resistance Grows Repertoire*

Regarding the rest of the published information in *The Gazette* with reference to 11th September and its consequences, the journal continued publishing information about the war in Iraq, and followed up with the situation in the Afghan region, along with the Canadian troops still there.

It should be pointed out that it was in 2004 (at least appearance-wise), when the figure of Osama bin Laden reappeared as a protagonist. Firstly, placing the burden of the Madrid attacks upon one of the networks of Al Qa’ida, also of the possible attacks that could result in other countries and the search carried out by the United States in Afghanistan for the leader of “the base”. The death of Iraqi citizens is highlighted but as a product of attacks by “Iraqi insurgents”, in a way as to not to bring to attention those caused by Coalition troops. A note also appears that confirms that the conflicts in the Middle East and 9/11 provoked a new kind of hatred in Europe. *The Gazette* headlined the hatred felt towards the Jews and followed up by mentioning the general lack of confidence felt for Muslims.

## **Canada-US Relations Frame**

### *Canada is Contributing to the US in Iraq Repertoire*

One of the aspects that constantly surfaced during the years under analysis was the role that Canada placed in the fight “against terrorism”, firstly in Afghanistan and later against “the axis of evil”; that is to say, the War in Iraq. It was in 2004, according to the reflections of the newspaper, that Canada had participated sufficiently to merit words of gratitude from George W. Bush.

We will show in the following section an overall view of the domestication on terrorism made by *The Gazette*. However, before doing this, we considered to show independently, the information we obtained from the newspaper editorials. We decided to present them in an autonomous way given the amount of pieces of opinion dedicated to the subject and for being the official voice of the newspaper.

### ***Domestication in the Editorials of The Gazette 2001-2004***

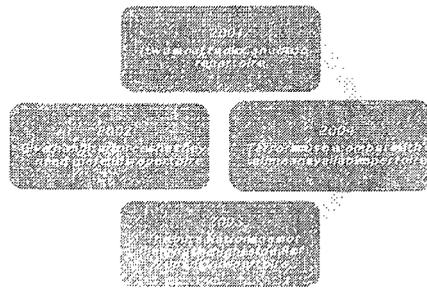
*The Gazette* can publish from one to several editorials a day. The editorial is the institutional published opinion of the newspaper. Thus, is not personal as with, for example, the opinion articles and columns of the newspaper.

As affirmed by van Dijk (1995), the editorials or editorial pages are “probably the widest circulated opinion discourses of society, whether or not all readers of the newspaper read them daily. Their influence may not so much be based on massive popular influence, as rather on their influence on the elites”.

In this sense, opinions given by these means are derived from social representations, rather than from the personal experiences or opinions of the editor. In editorials, events or circumstances are *evaluated* which involve values and ideologies. As we will find in the

next editorials, it is its content that *says what should be done or not, based on norms* (ibid).

As we see in the following image, the domestication of terrorism in the Editorials of *The Gazette* was as followed:



**Figure 6.** *The Gazette* 2001-2004  
Editorial interpretive repertoires.

We found that there is a continuity between what *The Gazette* established, for 2001 and its concerns that the military forces didn't have enough armament to defend Canada from an eventually attack. As we will see in the following quotations:

*2001: 9/11 was an attack to Canada too*

Through its editorials, *The Gazette* expresses its opinion about what the Canadian role should be. Canada must support US in its commitment to *Operation Enduring Freedom*, despite the risks it takes, because it was an attack on Canada too. This country must support its foremost ally, the United States; the terrorists must be punished with all the weight of justice. It recognizes that 9/11 was a failure of the American security system so there is a sense of vulnerability and the need to implement security measures.

“Given the depleted state of our armed forces, Canada’s commitment to Operation Enduring Freedom –including 2,000 troops, six ships, six cargo and reconnaissance planes and several Sea King helicopters- is an appropriate response to US requests for support. (...) **It’s true that any military campaign has risks, but Canada cannot expect to stand out of harm’s way...** Canadians are burlled across Europe because they fought for freedom in two world wars and we won’t stand aside now because there’s a chance someone might get hurt... **Canada’s military contribution should be seen for what it is: a measured response to an act of war committed on Sept 11 against our foremost ally...there is no negotiation with terrorists..**” (10/10/2001: B2)

“This was not a nightmare or a made-for-TV movie, this was all too real...it was a day when terrorism hit home. This wasn’t simply an attack against the United States. It was an attack against all of us. Identifying with yesterday’s victims was all too easy, because they were us.

The enormity of this cowardly act demands strong retribution. **The United States deserves all the support it can get from its allies in the effort to track down and punish those responsible... standing together against those nations that provide support and cover for terrorist operations.”**

### *The Terrorists Deserve to be Punished*

“The scale and complexity of the operation and the training required to pull it off, almost certainly involved state sponsorship of some kind. **Any nation that harbored, financed or otherwise encouraged these murderers has blood on its hands and deserves to suffer the consequences (...)** Washington’s response, when it comes, should be sure and well focused, **visiting the full weight of justice upon the individuals and possibly governments behind this outrage.** (...) the concept of a war against terrorism is meaningless without the goal of removing terrorist regimes...”

### *We’re Vulnerable and Need More Control Measures*

“**It’s also clear there was a serious failure on the part of US intelligence services and military security.** One wonders how such an operations which must have required a long period of planning, could have gone undetected by intelligence services. **Canada and other Western nations all need to take a long, hard look at their intelligence and security systems...**it’s become obvious that airport security is far too lax. **And now that we have seen how vulnerable we all are to acts of terrorism perhaps it is time for tougher security measures throughout our society.** It is hard to imagine that life can go on normally after what happened”.

### *2002: Give the Canadian Military Forces What They Need to Defend Us repertoire*

In the unique editorial that appeared in this year’s sample, entitled “Give Forces What They Need”, it talked about the fact that Americans, concerned about the American preoccupation of continental security, reckon logically enough that somebody’s got to defend Canada, and it’s not the Canadians, **“this idea seems to match the collective wisdom of the Canadian people: in time of peril, the Americans will defend us.** But what an assault on our national self-respect! And what becomes of the idea of **“Canadian**

**sovereignty” when our own military has atrophied away?** Wouldn't it be simpler and wiser to just find the money to give us the armed forces we need?

*2003: The United Nations Does Not Incarnate the Highest Ideals of Mankind repertoire*

The reality of war for *The Gazette* is that the victims of the conflict will be civilians, but mainly these editorials concentrated on the UN role in this “war”. For this newspaper, the UN does not incarnate the highest ideas of mankind and it only incarnates a meeting place, questioning its legitimacy in rebuilding failed states and criticizing the French posture on role of the UN.

**“Many victims of the conflict will be civilians... Iraq will suffer worst in this David vs. Goliath war... Iraqis do not deserve what has begun to rain down upon them...”.** (20/03: A30)

Many Canadians have expressed their disapproval of the US plan to oust Saddam Hussein.

*Gallic Insolence*

This is an inclusion about the opinion of the French Foreign Minister, Dominique de Villepin, and his view about what the UN's role should be in the war in Iraq. The *Gazette's* editorial criticizes him:

**“...there was a break taking insolence to the demand from French Foreign Minister Dominique de Villepin that the UN must be allowed to play a leading role in the reconstruction of Iraq...but Villepin's central assertion about Iraq's political future "the UN is the only international organization that can give legitimacy to this" is utter nonsense. The UN has precious little legitimacy in rebuilding failed states...The role of the UN can scarcely be a political one...UN can marshal considerable expertise in distributing relief supplies and helping refugees... Dominique de Villepin's opinion is profoundly unimportant.”** (05/04: A30)

*2004: Terrorism Must Be Combated with all Means Available repertoire*

The editorials in *The Gazette* have manifested themselves in favor of the United States and its allies in the war against terrorism. As will be seen further on, for this newspaper, the terrorist acts and the massacre of civilians were not done in the name of

religion, bravery or doctrine. For this print media, it was a nihilistic act. The daily states that terrorism must be combated with all means possible and, furthermore, that Canadian troop levels in the Middle East should be increased, along with a need for a new defense policy in accordance with the *New World Order*.

*A Model for our Military*

**“The Canadian presence in Afghanistan has all the hallmarks of the new world order: this is a multilateral mission, authorized by the United Nations,** begun at the invitation of the Afghan government and aimed at reviving a failed state so as to deny it to terrorists. (28/03: A12)

“The empires of 100 or 150 years ago wrapped themselves in the duty to civilize the "savages" and no doubt there was some honest conviction involved...but the occupiers of those days were in it for the money too, and were not welcomed by their subjects. **Today 33 countries have sent troops to Afghanistan nor for cheap cotton or rubber but as part of the response to global terrorism...**Afghan people after more than 20 years of continuous warfare, welcome ISAF (International Security Assistance Force) for the peace it provides.

“Leslie insists (Maj. Gen Andrew Leslie, who commanded the Canadian contingent) that the Canadian forcers are spread too thinly to keep up this kind of effort. They need more men and money. **A full-dress defense policy review is expected soon in Ottawa”.**

*Domestication of terrorism in The Gazette. 2001-2004*

The interpretive repertoires and frames that arose from 9/11 will be marked out as the way *The Gazette* domesticated terrorism. They are those that define and articulate the social feelings, sociability, safety, perception and apprehension of fear in this new millennium. The frames that emerged are those related with fear perceptions: vulnerability, insecurity, risk and latent threat of suffering a terrorist attack as well as a reconfiguration of fear of the “other”. We have called this a postmodern fear of the “other”. That would mean “a re-anchoring of the significant proposals of old fears” (Reguillo, 2005: 37).

From 9/11 the terrorists have assumed the face of Osama Bin Laden (of whom a myth has been created) and Saddam Hussein. This “other” broadens horizons, due to the fact that anyone could be a terrorist. Whilst not demonstrating anything to the contrary, it

intensifies suspicions, security measures and increases the difficulty for foreigners to enter the United States and many other countries. Nowadays, anyone can be a terrorist, especially if they come from Third World or Arab countries.

However, we also find certain repertoires that were already made, before 9/11. By those, we refer when media regard and make negative classifications to Arabs and those of Middle Eastern (Said 1994 & 1997; Hall, 1992; Karim, 2003) stereotyping them as “the terrorists”. We found negative classifications and criminalization’s of Islam and Arab people in *The Gazette*, (those Arabs not allied to the United States, of course) linking even viewing the Islamic Faith as a supporter of terrorism.

Ulrick Beck (2003) considers terrorism to be part of the global risks of this new era. The latent threat and risk of having a terrorist attack is always constant, especially from 9/11.

*The Gazette* outlined that terrorists can “utilize” conventional and non-conventional weapons; the most highly developed technology, whether it is planes, chemical or biological substances or nuclear weapons.

Besides this, there is a terrorist’s “invisibility” as one of his adjectives. The powerful effect of the panoptical model could fit into their category. The terrorist who watches but cannot be seen and who acts when no-one expects it. However, to manifest his purposes massively and to acquire “visibility” requires all the communication media available.

The frames of insecurity/vulnerability, related either with the repertoire that the world changed and would never be the same again, especially for the loss of the feeling of safety and the latent threats of terrorism.

This loss of safety was felt most acutely through the terrorist attacks. The role of media within these circulations of fear is relevant. As we have manifested before, the mass media helps to fuel these fears and vulnerability.

From the outset, as the rest of the newspapers here analyzed, *The Gazette's* first coverage of terrorism focused on its effects on the local community. As Gurevitch affirmed, global news domesticated them and made them particular through the process of news production, by focusing on those aspects that are compatible with the culture and the society which they serve (Gurevitch, 1995).

Therefore, the domestication process of *The Gazette* concentrated on 2001 and its aftermath in highlighting the connection of terrorism with the city of Montreal. However, we have decided that the domestication for *The Gazette* is not concentrated in covering the multicultural ethnic community of Montreal. We will discuss this in the following paragraphs.

At the very beginning of the assaults, the daily published the direct effects of 9/11 in Montreal and part of its community. In the days that followed, *the frames of vulnerability and impact in the city were summed up by the national security measures* that were put in place on the border between Canada and the United States in order to protect both countries.

This *vulnerability was linked to the connection of terrorism with Montreal city*, confirming that terrorist cells were established in the metropolis. In order to combat terrorism, a coalition was formed between the United States and its allies; the “good guys” that would fight against the “bad guys”.

By 2003, the said coalition was formed that, with all its force and fury as was portrayed in this gazette, invaded Iraq to “destroy” the weapons of mass destruction. It is a discourse that shows up the United States and its principal ally, Great Britain, to be very powerful and militarily superior countries.

On the other hand, *The Gazette* gave column space to opinion pieces and articles in which the importance of the bilateral relationship of Canada and the United States was manifested. It constructed a frame that outlined the dependence of Canada on the United States, especially in the question of security and protection that this country would need in the face of any event that could present it – the worst-case scenario being a terrorist attack.

*The Gazette* constantly published opinion pieces and articles that affirmed the fact that Canada should support its ally and best friend, the United States. However, by 2003, when Canada did not support its southern neighbor over the invasion of Iraq, the paper roundly criticized the posture taken by Jean Chretien (who later gave in, in the face of petitions from the USA), criticizing him and manifesting that Canada should support, not turn its back on the United States.

Data from surveys was even inserted that affirmed that few Canadians were opposed to the war in Iraq. By 2004, *The Gazette* assured that Canada then was collaborating with the American nation, something that, as the daily underlined, brought recognition from President George W. Bush.

For what we’ve seen during the four years, *The Gazette* manifests a pro-US posture towards its international foreign policies; the daily considers that Canadian policy should have supported the Americans, although defending its sovereignty (as indicated in some

columns, above all in those that were selected by French-language newspapers and published in the journal in their original tongue).

Nonetheless, the editorials, the institutional voice of the newspaper, demonstrated total support for the United States. This, in conjunction with the support that was shown in *The Gazette* for the greatest ally of the US, Israel, then made plain the support for a United States-Israel axis.

In 2002, *The Gazette* informed the location of terrorist cells known and its disintegration, along with the capture of terrorists. That's to say, a repertoire was constructed that proved that "Good" was winning the fight against "Evil" and that the anti-terrorist struggle was working.

Immersed in this context of success of the measures and strategies against terrorism appears the discourse of George W. Bush, justifying the future invasion of Iraq, just days after the anniversary of 9/11; in its rhetoric war was classified as *the war against the "axis of evil"* to which *The Gazette* granted large coverage and space.

Pieces were published covering the declarations and speeches of George W. Bush, stating that Saddam Hussein was a threat to the United States and to the world, due to the fact that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction. The repertoire in which Iraq is a threat, but more so, personifying this threat in the figure of Hussein, received blanket coverage in the paper analyzed.

*The Gazette* gave voice to experts on the Middle East, for whom the true motive of the invasion of Iraq was the control of the region as well as the Iraqi oil. It was mooted that US policies were being implemented in Iraq as a role-model for the region; we believe these opinions could be included as a strategy to diversify sources and publish

different perspectives in the tabloids; although as we observed in the analysis of previous sections, many of these leaned towards the editorial line of the journal. As the rest of the papers (but not as much as *La Presse* did) *The Gazette* gave space to intellectuals (mostly academics) to express their opinions around the conflict.

On the other hand, it is clear that, for the official Canadian spokespersons (in the majority of cases *The Gazette* gave voice to the Quebecois authorities) a real threat of a terrorist attack existed in Montreal. For public opinion, however, that risk did not exist as set out by the authorities, but their fears were manifested in the face of the risk or threat of biological and/or chemical attacks.

By 2002, *The Gazette* had already pointed out the frame about the reasons and causes of terrorism, but articulating these reasons with the opinions expressed by Israelis. According to them, terrorism arises from the lack (or absence) of American democracy and values in the countries where terrorists are created and trained. Also due to the existence of repressive societies and tyranny.

For the Jewish's to speak against Islam is nothing new. As we have mentioned previously, *The Gazette* manifests a pro-Israeli stance and in doing so and publishing the opinions, not of common people, but of recognized academics, such as Bernard Lewis and journalists of the *Jerusalem Post*, among others, it was adopting a posture that appeared to affirm the assertions made by them: that terrorism exists because there is no democracy and values in these Arab nations which are made up of repressive and tyrannical societies.

For example, in one of the opinion pieces, it was said that the Jews have lived through and presently suffer acts of terrorism (principally at the hands of the Palestinians),

through which terrorism is common and furthermore, they know what it is to live in fear and dread and under constant threat; clearly referring to the Israel-Palestine conflict.

With the justification of a “Preventive War”, in 2003 the United States and its allies (Great Britain) entered Iraq in military force in order to do away with the weapons of mass destruction and to put an end to the so-called axis of evil (evidently the struggle would continue for countries included in this axis).

In the newspaper, the invasion was not questioned in a critical way. *The Gazette* took a stance not positive to the United Nations. Furthermore, it was pointed out that there was a connection between the events of 9/11 and 3/11 in Spain (in which the participation of Muslims or Arabs was affirmed).

However, the journalistic attention afforded to the attack that occurred in Spain was minimal in comparison to that given to the war in Iraq. The explosions on the trains in Madrid were a consequence of the support of Spain in the war against terrorism.

With *The Gazette* and *La Presse* coverage on the events that occurred in Madrid, we proved that the media is more interested in those events that affect their community or nation, or those that it considered of interest. The nearer to home an event is it will have more coverage (not only in news items but in their opinion pieces).

With the events in Madrid, on 11/3, 2004, *the frame of fatality and fear that a terrorist attack could happen became real*. We consider that these fears – or rather the threats that have an air of certainty - are also political weapons used for specific ends; a way or form of social control.

In the face of this fear, security and control measures have been implemented, even to the point where individual liberties have been infringed. Fear and terror are the new

social articulators, as confirmed by the researcher Rossana Reguillo. As a base, a new order regulation is established, or a reconfiguration of the rules to protect oneself from terrorists and of laws to combat terrorism and punish the perpetrators.

*The Gazette* functioned as an organ of spreading frames and repertoires which promulgate this particular way of viewing the world: fatality and fear of the other (postmodern fears). The interpretive repertoire that the terrorist is Islamic, Arabic, Palestinian, in other words, the “other”, being negatively classified as demonic, is one of the central one.

Terrorism was treated as a crime. The terrorists must be punished by the good guys, some of these terrorists, furthermore, live in Canada, many of them in Montreal.

As we quoted in previous chapters, there is a continuity between mayor events (like 9/11) and the history of crime reported, emphasizing fear and social control. These policies of fear and its constant use pervades crisis and normal crises become part of how things are (Altheide, 2003). One of its consequences is that they influence how we perceive things (terrorism, who the terrorists are, the postmodern fears) and what we talk about in our everyday life in view of significant events. Constructions about who the terrorists are, how they can attack cities, affect our practices and how we establish our relations with the “others” with respect to this subject.

For *The Gazette*, the demon himself is the terrorist; the frame of the terrorist as the incarnation of Evil was constructed, but this “other” is articulated as the complete opposite of “us”. An inclusive “us”, we presume, as being Canadian or allied to the USA, the good guy – he who is going to exterminate Evil. This repertoire tells us how the West imagines other cultures and how they represent themselves. As Hall (1992) posits, by the

binary opposition the West (an inclusive us) defines what the “rest” means and who these “others” are.

In *The Gazette*, the idea was disseminated that there is a connection between terrorists and Montreal. For this reason, *The Gazette*, circulated the repertoire referring to the presence of terrorists in Montreal, or at least the connection with the city; although the paper pointed out that no terrorist attack was perceived to be imminent, it established the direct connection with terrorists living in the city with other terrorists in other parts of the world and particularly with those in the United States. This was explained, according to what was said, as due to the closeness of Montreal with the US border and the Canadian immigration policies that opened its doors to the world.

On the other hand, we cannot forget that the media, especially in this era of global conglomerates, is united as groups of power. One cannot ignore the economic and political aspect and set it aside from the published content. It is said that those who really control the media are those who are promoted in them.

What is certain is that *The Gazette* appeared to divulge those ideas that would feature according to the discursive community group to which they aimed; those repertoires in which the community feels participative as a cultural group, afford it the ability to revamp their cultural significance. As we can see, that “community” is far from being the community of Montreal with all its multifarious differences, contradictions, aspirations and ways of seeing the world.

We could affirm that the frames and interpretive repertoires constructed in *The Gazette* could have diverse repercussions at an individual and community level. Those that received most emphasis in the paper, at a general level, were those that affected,

economically and politically, the community (at least their readers) in Canada, but also, how the events affected North American society overall.

At an individual level, the way in which *the feeling on the part of the Muslim ethnic minority*, that feared direct reprisals from 9/11 onwards and of being subject to racism, was portrayed in a minimal way.

In 2003, *The Gazette* presented some of the considerations of Iraqis in respect of the war in their country, for whom “the Muslims laid the way for the crisis by accepting dictators, especially those who are against the United States”. *The Gazette* partially portrayed the feeling of a small part of the cultural diversity of Montreal (perhaps these small part being also portion of their readers). It reflected, above all, those ethnic communities that could feel directly affected by the events, but on occasions pointing out that they were also citizens of Québec and of Canada; that’s to say, Canadian citizens. This, then, would give them immunity in respect of the Muslims that live in the Middle East and other countries?

What stands out in the discourse regularities of *The Gazette* is the use of good/bad dichotomies; the powerful/the weak; the refusal/acceptance; the “other” demonic terrorist/the good “American”; US democratic society/repressive Arab/Muslim society; in other words, the positive/negative aspect from the point of view of whosoever writes and publishes.

Terrorism was roundly covered in this newspaper, but overall focusing mainly on the North American and Israeli vision. Noam Chomsky’s postulates about “manufacturing consent” can be applied to *The Gazette*. This newspaper seems to work for its “elite” and middle class readers (the majority being Anglophones).

The few informative and/or opinion pieces of the Arab and/or Muslim community in Montreal manifested its fear of denial and of xenophobia from 9/11. What about the rest of the population of Montreal, however?

In 1998, in an analysis of the paper's contents, headed by John Miller, *The Gazette* was considered to be a journal that covered a large percentage of the ethnic representation. Nonetheless, at least in this investigation, this paper did not consider that other ethnic minorities were adversely affected by the terrorist acts, not even with the events of Madrid in 2004. We did not find a single piece about the opinions of the Hispanic community in Montreal. The voices that were published from Spain were always coming from Canadians or from Quebecers.

Because of this, we consider that despite *The Gazette* is a newspaper that has sought strategies to reach more readers, it continues to be a daily that is aimed at the anglophile community. In some references we have found that it is considered that *The Gazette* does not publish negative information in regard to Israel. Clearly, it is the newspaper's editorial policy to support the American policies in the Middle East and Israel. This had, in our consideration, it effects upon the "domestication" practices of *The Gazette*. It is its main interest to portray and circulate those repertoire that shares with its constructed community of readers. Therefore, it is, to a certain extent logical, the stance adopted in the domestication on terrorism published in *The Gazette*. However, what happens with the "ideal" informative function of the journal; its ethics; its objectivity? Where does that leave the slogan *The Gazette is Montreal?* (with its multicultural diversity).

## *Chapter V. La Presse*

2001-2004

### *Extra Edition 9/11*

*La Presse* published a total of 45 news items (information and columns), aside from the photographs, in its extra edition. The great majority of the pieces were from a variety of journalists who, in the main, were drawn from staff writers of the newspaper.

This daily also gleaned its information from the French news agency AFP and other informative articles from the Canadian news network *Presse Canadienne*. The front-page headline was “Etats Unis attaqués” included the same image that was published on the front page of the newspaper *The Gazette*.<sup>83</sup>

On the second page, in a column the event was defined as “a war in its own backyard”. Furthermore, information obtained from the CNN network was quoted in the newspaper. As we have seen, much of the world’s news media were provided with information from this American organization.

In order to contextualize the events, *The Presse* published a double page of graphic information and articles under the heading “Heart of America”, that’s to say, New York City and, more specifically, Manhattan, in which the events were described in the form of a logbook, beginning from when the first plane crashed into one of the Towers until 11.38am on that day. In other pages, a little of the history of the construction of the Twin Towers is outlined, together with the type of companies that occupied them.

*La Presse* displayed caution in apportioning blame to those responsible for the assaults. It published three opinion articles from academics, two from Montreal and one from England. In the opinion of an academic of an English university, it was necessary to show caution in blaming Middle Eastern extremists.

For him, the group responsible was highly organized and wished to adversely affect the economy and psychology of the United States.

While for a professor of UQAM, globalization (the term *mondialisation* is used in French language) is not only the exclusion of technology that allowed the attacks but also the spread of such technology. An academic from McGill University, a specialist in American and Israeli politics, affirmed that the event was the equivalent of Pearl Harbor, but now perpetrated by Muslim terrorists (this professor was also interviewed by *The Gazette*).

In one column, its author emphasized that “not all Arabs and Muslims are terrorists” mentioning the 1995 Oklahoma bombing that reduced a building to dust; then all eyes turned towards Islamic extremists but the person responsible was a white, ultra-right American.

The newspaper clearly presented an informative equilibrium. It gave voice to the secretary of the Canadian Arab Organization for Human Rights, for whom the attacks were a work “certainly of the Americans themselves.”

A piece was also published which included a declaration by Osama Bin Laden denying involvement in the attacks.

The events of 9/11 were described as horrific, the Apocalypse, a new war, monstrous attacks, tragic events, mass terrorism, barbarous acts and as indescribable violence.

### **A New War Frame**

The acts were qualified in advance as a new war, this happening before George W. Bush named the war against terrorism as “the United States being attacked in its own backyard is the beginning of a new war”.

*La Presse* was balanced, measured and included more opinion pieces in which it criticized and evaluated the events. Furthermore, in its extra edition, *La Presse* published more articles than *The Gazette*, about how 9/11 affected the people of Québec and included three times as many pieces as the Anglophone newspaper.

### **Risk Frame**

#### *American State is Insecure and Vulnerable Repertoire*

The frame that begins to surface concerns insecurity and vulnerability. The United States was unable to protect its own citizens; therefore, individual guarantees are seen to be affected for the sake of security protection. The airports are now virtually invaded by police; the border between Canada and the United States was closed; flights were cancelled at Toronto and Montreal airports. Overall, what was lost in the Western World from 9/11 onwards was the feeling of security and of being protected.

#### *Criminalization of Those Responsible for 9/11*

The then Canadian Prime Minister, Jean Chrétien, affirmed that those responsible for the attacks were “Evil spirits that conceived such a barbarous aggression”; while, in the opinion of the McGill University academic, “the terrorists are convinced that America is the Great Satan, the enemy”.

In one of the columns it was said that “nothing justifies such cruelty, such horror (...) those to blame will say they attacked the United States because, in their eyes, it is to blame for all the Earth’s ills; daily life for all will have changed.”

### **Global Impact Frame**

A large part of the news was dedicated to the consequences of the attacks around the world since they paralyzed financial activities in the United States and within several financial organizations; the impact was on the symbols of the world economy. A certain

feeling of fear arose within various sectors of society. Like the newspaper reflected, a horror manifested in the face of the events and the fear and uncertainty that came about as a consequence of the destruction of the symbol of capitalism at a global level. The symbols of globalization were attacked.

### **9/11 Impact Canada and Quebec Frame**

*La Presse*, in contrast to *The Gazette*, concentrated more on the effects that the attacks in New York had on the Quebecois. It published the opinion of a Quebecois ex-journalist of the newspaper, who considered that the goal of the terrorist is to spread terror, it being how the terrorists function. It also mentioned about an event that was cancelled in which various Quebecois artists – who were in New York – were due to take part (Québec Station in NY, a mega-exposition of Quebecois artists); also in regard to the Quebecois companies that were evacuated from New York, emphasizing that all the Canadian employees were safe and sound.

2001

The vision with which *La Presse* published the subject of 9/11 reflected a more critical attitude than the two others newspapers analyzed.

We find a diversity of voices expressed in the daily, answers to many of the questions that the reader would surely have in respect of the attacks: why did it happen in this way? For what reason? Who were the perpetrators of the deed? Etc.

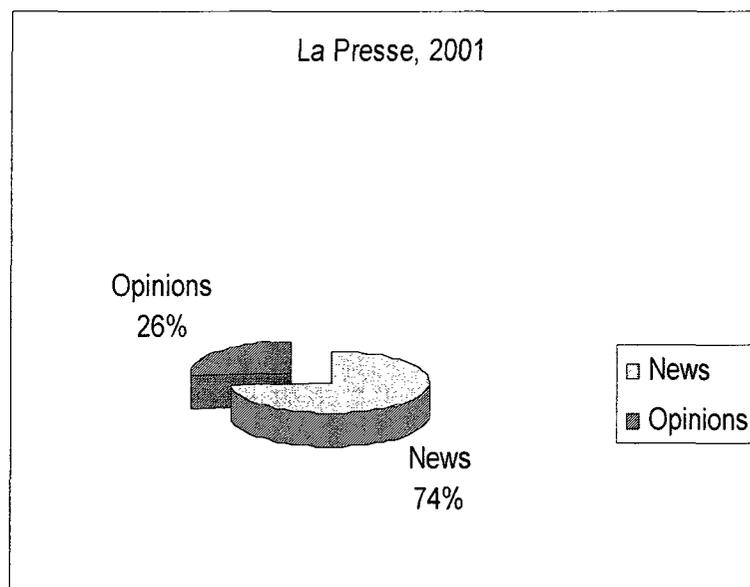
This francophone newspaper presented the events in a comprehensive way and contextualized facts with data, history, extracts of published books. Moreover, it invited experts to write pieces in certain areas related to terrorism, exteriorizing a variety of viewpoints in regard to the events; even publishing pieces and commentaries from different media sources from around the world: *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *The*

*Economist*, *Chicago Tribune*, from the Paris, London and English-language Canadian presses.

Equally, *La Presse* reflected the feeling of the people who directly suffered the consequences of the American military reaction in various parts of the world through the newspaper correspondents situated in a diversity of places, such as Pakistan, Afghanistan, Egypt, etc.

In the composite week we analyzed for 2001, *La Presse* published a total of 279 news and opinion. Of these, 206 were information pieces and 73 were opinion (columns, reports and opinion articles).

This information is presented in the following graphic manner:



**Figure 7.** *La Presse*, 2001 Opinions and News items percentages.

Coincidentally, *La Presse* employed the same percentage of news and opinion pieces as *The Gazette* did but differed substantially in respect of the content and the news agencies from where it derived the information distributed. *La Presse* was its own main

source of information; of a total of 279 items (news and opinion), 53% came from its own sources, this means, its staff reporters and associates.

The agencies that it primarily used to garner information were *Agence France-Presse*<sup>84</sup> (AFP) with 16% of the total (46 items), followed by *Associated Press* (AP) with 10% (29 items).

In a similar way to *The Gazette*, the francophone newspaper published headlines and headers that outlined their inside pages in which information related to these subjects was set out, among those being:

L'Amérique se mobilise
Les alliés frappent en Afghanistan.
Sur la piste de Ben Laden

“L'Amérique frappée en plein cœur” was the headline of 12th September, 2001: « Les centres et symboles de la puissance économique et militaire des États-Unis ont été frappés (...) des terroristes inconnus ont détourné quatre avions de ligne... ». Its subtitle « Nous n'avons pas été attaqués comme cela depuis Pearl Harbor (12/09/2001 : A1) ».

The comparison between 9/11 and Pearl Harbor has been continuous in the three newspapers under analysis. As we know, in 1941 the USA was attacked on its own territory by the Japanese. Seventy years later, a similar such assault happened on American soil, with thousands of deaths, but this time the United States found itself faced by an “invisible” enemy. It is not a war between countries, but an American “war” against an enemy who cannot be located with any certainty. In the page immediately following the front one, a piece was included in which Osama bin Laden denied any participation in the attacks.

On 12th September, *La Presse* published the complete text (translated into French) of the declaration that George W. Bush had offered in his White House office. The newspaper selected as the title of this piece an extract of the speech that expressed “L’Amérique a été prise pour cible parce que nous sommes le phare le plus brillant de la liberté et de la possibilité d’avenir dans le monde” (12/09/2001 : A3). In this case, the newspaper decided to publish a complete text of a discourse that was eagerly awaited by the world community. Employing the note of a phrase in which the US president mentions the causes of why America was attacked as the title of the news piece implies an editorial decision; in his declaration, Bush extolled US values which, as we shall observe further on, is one of the most important repertoires repeated in the years under analysis.

In some of the banner headlines, 9/11 was described as “L’horreur en direct”; “la ville terrorisée”. It should be pointed out that, unlike other media -- this being is an aspect that we consider being important to underline due to the general practice of news media of not publishing crude images showing cadavers, body parts, people throwing themselves out of the WTC, etc.-- *La Presse* included a graphic photograph, in Section B, of someone who had plunged out of one of the Towers.

For this extra edition, *La Presse* showed the following thematic frameworks and repertoires that came up:

### **A New Non-Conventional War Frame**

For *La Presse*, 9/11 constituted, from the outset, a new non-conventional war which was motivated by, according to the opinions and pieces, matters of a religious (crusade) nature consummated by terrorist suicide commandos; that’s to say, by unconventional means, by kamikaze attacks. This suicide is a characteristic of extremist Islamic fanatics.

The motives? Its hatred of the American system for its unconditional support for Israel.

*La Presse* continually quoted the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict as the generator of 9/11.

*“It’s a new war with non-conventional means” Repertoire*

(Opinion) « **Si un État est derrière les terroristes, on peut s’attendre à une riposte militaire d’envergure** »... « Les démocraties sont difficiles à mettre en colère, mais une fois qu’elles le sont, elles répliquent avec force et efficacité. C’est difficile pour moi d’imaginer que les États-Unis ne vont pas réagir, qu’ils vont tolérer ça ».

« **C’est la guerre.** Pour la première fois de l’histoire contemporaine, sur le territoire américain » (Opinion). (12/09/ 2001 : A7)

In various declarations by American politicians published in the newspaper, such as Powell, the blame lays squarely at the door of Al Qaeda network, headed by Osama bin Laden, as being responsible for the 9/11 attacks.

According to *La Presse*, the causes of the attacks to NYC and the Pentagon, where due to the sentiment of anti-Americanism, articulating this with the Israel-Palestinian conflict:

### **Causes of 9/11 Frame**

#### *An Anti-Americanism Repertoire*

The overriding factor that stood out from the columns and opinion items was the thoughts on the reasons for the attacks of 9/11. These were anti-Americanism; the hatred felt for the *Yankees* by the perpetrators of the assaults; an overall *symbolic* gesture as the Twin Towers symbolized economic might and capitalism in its full expression. On the other hand, an attack on the Pentagon, the symbol of American power, showed up the vulnerability of supposedly, an impenetrable force. 9/11 demonstrated that this was not so; that the US intelligence services, such as the CIA, were not capable of preventing an attack on US soil, In this way, 9/11 has been associated and compared continually with Pearl Harbor.

In relation to this, for the German philosopher Jürgen Habermas, 9/11 has to be compared not only with the 1941 attack but also with what happened in August, 1914; “Ce n’est pas à Pearl Harbor (...) mais plutôt à août 1914” (see Borradori, 2003: 55).

So now, the fact that these American institutions have been attacked doesn’t mean that they have the weight of history bearing down on them, nor could one define exactly what kind of attacks they were, as Habermas pointed out; therefore, for this thinker, it will be in retrospect that we shall be able to know exactly “toute la charge symbolique que cela suppose, l’effondrement des citadelles du capitalisme dans le sud de Manhattan représente une césure de la même ampleur qu’août 1914, ou si cette catastrophe n’a fait que confirmer d’une manière dramatique et inhumaine la vulnérabilité de notre civilisation complexe” (Borradori, 2004).

“L’attaque terroriste d’hier matin est certainement la plus importante, la plus spectaculaire et la plus significative de l’histoire contre l’Amérique du Nord ». (12/09/2001: A7)

*La Presse* published in logbook form facts and figures about the historical events in which the United States was seen to be attacked. Qualified 9/11 as the principal anti-American act to have taken place since 1973 (this logbook was published by the AP agency) whereas through the AFP agency, a list of the most serious attacks since 1970 was published.

*Attack on the Symbols of Capitalism; Power and US Arrogance Repertoire*

As we have mentioned, it is one of the main repertoires that has surfaced from the *La Presse* analysis for 2001; an attack that meant, overall, a symbolic deed that showed up the vulnerability of the country considered to be the prime power in the world, as well as an attack on the capitalist system. The choice of these institutions was evidently with the

intention, on the part of those responsible for said acts, of creating a worldwide symbolic effect.

“**Symboles puissants de l’ultramodernisme et de la haute finance**, les tours jumelles du World Trade Center, réduites en cendres par l’attaque terroriste d’hier, dominaient fièrement le ciel de New York depuis 1973 ». (12/09/2001 : A7)

(Opinion) « **Un symbole inscrit dans l’architecture. Depuis la nuit des temps, la tour ou tout autre symbole phallique –le minaret, le clocher, ce que tu voudras- est la représentation du pouvoir. Ce World Trade Center, c’était l’architecture du capitalisme, de l’impérialisme à l’américaine, de l’arrogance..** » (16/09/2001 : A6)

« **Les terroristes se sont attaqués**, non seulement à la plus grande puissance du monde, mais à **certains de ses symboles et édifices les plus protégés** : le World Trade Center, le Pentagone, les aéroports » (opinion). (16/09/2001 : A3)

(Opinion) « **Ces cibles ont été choisies vraisemblablement pour leur portée symbolique**». (02/10/2001 : A3)

The symbols also represented the heart of what have been American values; the American way of life as being so widespread, yearned-for and expounded as the best way of living.

*It was An Attack on American Values Repertoire*

It was an attack on the American institutions, bearers of the symbolic charge that represents the values that have been circulated on a global scale; such as democracy, competency, ambition, vanity and power in the American Way. Therefore, what *La Presse* brought to circulation through its texts, is that the attacks on the WTC and the Pentagon were acts perpetrated against American values throughout the Western World. They came about because of the hatred and resentment for the *Yankee* system; against capitalism, power and its system. On the other hand, however, the “positive” side of the events caused greater solidarity, patriotism and generosity.

« ..C’est ici que le mot « civilisation » prend tout son sens, que nos valeurs de **modération, de tolérance, de démocratie** sont les plus difficiles à vivre et les plus essentielles... **les coupables doivent être pourchassés sans relâche, et punis. Mais la vengeance est mauvaise conseillère..** la psychologie, la culture américaine..les États-Unis sont en guerre ». (24/09/2001: A6)

« **Le plus grand impact de ces événements sera le changement apporté à la façon de penser des Nord-Américains** » (16/09/2001 : A5)

« Le stéréotype du New-Yorkais arrogant impoli ou égocentrique a été fracassé cette semaine... **l'attentat terroriste a fait ressortir les plus belles qualités des New-Yorkais, et de l'ensembles des Américains, et nous rendons hommage à leur bravoure et à leur générosité face à la catastrophe** ». (16/09/2001 : A2)

However, another evaluative statement appeared in *La Presse*. It considered, in their inside pages, that the United States was paying for its support to Israel in its conflict with Palestine. As we see, very different ways of evaluating the facts, in comparison with *The Gazette*, but similarly evaluated as *El Informador*, as we will see in the coming pages.

“*US is paying for its support for Israel in the conflict with Palestine*” Repertoire

« **Les États-Unis payent pour avoir laissé Israël opprimer les Palestiniens .. La première urgence, à cause de son effet de levier, c'est de traiter la question de la Palestine** ». (12/09/2001 : A7)

« Avec le attaque d'hier sur le Pentagone il n'est pas étonnant que beaucoup d'observateurs estiment **le rôle américain au Proche-Orient en tant que fournisseur de F-16 et d'autres armes à Israël, est à l'origine des attaques terroristes d'hier** » (opinion Ambassador of Canada in Israel) ». (12/09/2001 : A7)

« Un numéro récent du journal *Le Monde* apporte, côté arabe, plusieurs éléments clés à une compréhension, bien sûr partielle, des motivations probables derrière de tels gestes meurtriers... **la gangrène s'est clairement emparée de la situation au Moyen-Orient depuis le constat d'échec des accords d'Oslo.. Avec l'entrée en scène de l'administration Bush cependant, la population palestinienne, déjà hautement frustrée de ce qu'elle perçoit être l'appui indéfectible et inconditionnel des Américains envers Israël...** ». (12/09/2001 : A8)

In the other hand, one of the most frequently used words in *La Presse* was « pirate », which appeared when talking about « pirates de l'air » or, « pirates du charbon ». We found that *La Presse* avoid the use of the word “terrorist” which in our view, demonstrate to be more cautious in the use of language.

« Les quatre appareils qui se sont écrasés dans l'est des États-Unis ont tous été détournés par des pirates de l'air ». (12/09/2001 : A4)

Some of the opinions expressed in the newspaper described that these « pirates de l'air » could have committed suicide and acted out the role of *kamikazes* for various reasons. Some repertoires that have appeared concentrate on the pathological, religious and social nature of the events classifying terrorists as demented people and full of hatred

towards the United States, mentioning again the anti-American feeling and articulating it to the radical side of Islam.

On the other hand, *La Presse* published a large quantity of information with hard facts about the Twin Towers; the year of its construction, the number of floors it had, its architect, engineering data, as well as the kinds of businesses that had rented space in the buildings and the costs implied for the insuring company. The great impact that the attacks had on the American economy was emphasized, together with the effects on the companies that had affiliates or headquarters in the Towers and of the relevance that the WTC had for the USA. The daily also offered info-graphics with construction and engineering details that explained the reasons for the fall of the Towers with the force of the impacts.

This information reflects that *La Presse*, as all the media that tried to cover an event of such magnitude, offered the reader details and information that could have widened their knowledge. Furthermore, the newspaper considered it interesting to complement the items that it published.

« Les deux tours de 110 étages et 43 600 fenêtres, appelées les « twins » **accueillaient chaque jour 50 000 employés** de 350 entreprises et quelque 90 000 visiteurs... **du haut de leurs 417 et 415 mètres, elles venaient en deuxième position aux États-Unis**, après le Sears Roebuck Building de Chicago et en cinquième et sixième positions dans le monde ». (12/09/2001 : A7)

« La société **Morgan Stanley Dean Witter & Co. Le plus important locataire du World Trade Center**, n'avait pas déterminer le nombre de ses employés qui on être tués ou blessés dans l'attentat terroristes ». (12/09/2001 : B3)

### *Islamic Extremists Hate the US repertoire*

It is pointed out that the millionaire businessman Osama bin Laden has received funds from various sources in order to sustain his terrorist network; he has invested his money in the formation of Al Qaeda, having roots and cells in all parts of the world. Terrorist

actions and activities require that those who undertake them can count on substantial funds to bring them to fruition.

*Al Qa'eda seeks to « extirper l'influence américaine des pays musulmanes*

« **Fils d' un milliardaire saoudien**, (il) possède d'importants investissements au Soudan. Il a fondé le mouvement Al-Qaïda (la base) en 1988. Ce réseau a participé à la dernière année de guerre contre l'occupation soviétique en Afghanistan... après le retrait des Soviétiques de l'Afghanistan, en 1989, **Al-Qa'ida comptait des milliers de combattants musulmans très bien entraînés. Le mouvement est devenu un conglomérat de groupes opérant dans une quarantaine de pays. Son but : extirper l'influence occidentale, surtout américaine, des pays musulmans** ». (12/09/2001 : A14)

« **Des milliers de jeunes de notre nation veulent autant mourir que les Américains veulent vivre** ». (12/09/2001 : A5)

*Haine et démence pour les Américains Répertoire*

(Opinion) « En attendant la confirmation que ce sont bien des **terroristes islamistes qui ont causé ce cauchemar de feu et de sang**, je me revois en Irak, il n'y a pas si longtemps, j'entends cet épicer d'un quartier populaire me dire : **j'ai six fils, je vais les nourrir avec la haine des Américains, la haine m'entendez vous monsieur, la haine comme si c'était du lait...** je me revois en Syrie, en Jordanie, au Lyban, à Beyrouth-Quest à l'époque des deux Beyrouth, même en Turquie, là où elle touche à la Syrie, toujours cette haine de l'Amérique à travers Israël. Israël perçu comme une avancée de l'Amérique..toujours ces discours exaltés, hallucinants de violence, de soif de vengeance, de désir de poignarder l'Amérique au cœur, **sorte de somnambulisme politico-religieux qu'entretient l'ignorance.. Ce qu'on ne saura jamais non plus, c'est si cette éruption de démence aurait eu lieu si les États-Unis avaient mis leur puissance à faire appliquer les accords d'Oslo** ». (12/09/2001 : A5)

« ..Et prendre conscience de la **vulnérabilité de chacun dans un monde fondé sur la haine et la démence**. » (12/09/2001 : A5).

**Analogy Frame**

*« C'est l'équivalent de Pearl Harbour » Répertoire*

*La Presse* compare the 9/11 with other events that have occurred in the past. The event that was compared with Pearl Harbor and some films. As Norris *et al* affirm, « although the specific details surrounding any terrorist occurrence may be unique, the way that journalist observe and report each of these occurrences is shaped by how similar events have been covered in the past and the reporter's most trusted sources of information" (Norris *et al*, 2003: 4).

*La Presse* associated the events with the ones that occurred in Pearl Harbor, since it was the last time that United States was attacked (on its own territory).

(Opinion) “Tout au long de la journée, **d’aucuns n’ont pas hésité à comparer la catastrophe d’hier à l’attaque de Pearl Harbour**, le 7 décembre 1941, au cours de laquelle 2403 personnes ont perdu la vie...on soupesait des scénarios apocalyptiques, du genre attaques à l’arme chimique ou bactériologique ». (12/09/2001 : A10)

« **Pearl Harbour, la dernière fois que l’Amérique avait été touchée au cœur** ». (12/09/2001 : A5)

« **L’attentat terroriste a été immédiatement comparé à l’attaque de la base navale américaine de Pearl Harbour.. La comparaison n’est pas seulement sociopolitique : les deux événements ont suscité des débats similaires sur la performance des services de renseignement américaines (...) le parallèle avec Pearl Harbour est encore plus complet quand on aborde le concept de kamikaze, né dans les derniers mois de la guerre.** » (12/09/2001 : A5)

Several of the news items and commentaries of *La Presse*, made reference to the film *Le Siège*, which was released in 1998 and it dealt with a terror campaign caused by Muslim insiders in order to gain freedom “le film a comme point de départ l’explosion qui s’était produire cinq ans plus tôt dans la tour du nord du WTC à New York”.

## **Global Impact Frame**

### *9/11 Affected the World repertoire*

For some intellectuals and experts that collaborate in *La Presse*, it is from 9/11 onwards that globalization was perceived completely in its full scope. Several of the items and information in *La Presse* made mention of the immediate economic and security effects and impacts on a world scale, especially in the USA, Canada and Europe.

The world’s stock markets closed down on trading, there was confusion, and the US economy went into recession which had effects worldwide. Hundreds of flights were cancelled and the airline companies lost millions of dollars. The tourist industry suffered immediate negative effects but other businesses were also affected.

Overall, the world’s economy suffered; oil prices rose and relations between the United States and the rest of the world were redefined. It showed up the dependency as

well as the vulnerability of Third World countries in relation to those of the First World, such as in the case of Mexico.

*La Presse* recognized the importance of the relationship between the United States and Mexico considering that the impact of 9/11 could – as in fact did – have on the close neighbor of the USA. As we have pointed out in other sections, 9/11 occurred at that time a reform to normalize the migratory status of thousands of Mexicans living in the USA was being negotiated; a migratory reform whose application and approval was adversely affected as, years after 9/11, it has yet to be sanctioned in favor of the Mexican immigrants.

In all probability, the migratory modification would have been approved by now if not for the events that transpired in 2001. Following on the same thread, the stance of the USA has hardened in regard to the awarding of visas to Mexicans; security at the border has been reinforced, culminating in the construction of a frontier wall that will impede the crossing of hundreds of Latin Americans seeking to enter American soil everyday.

« Bourses européennes plongent »... « La bourse en alerte » « l'euro brise le seuil des 0.91 dollar US ». (12/09/2001 : D3)

« Selon le premier ministre Bernard Landry, **les attaques terroristes du 11 septembre ont tellement changé le mode occidental que les théories économiques ne sont plus valables**. Il est donc impossible de faire des prévisions économiques ». (03/10/2001 : A13)

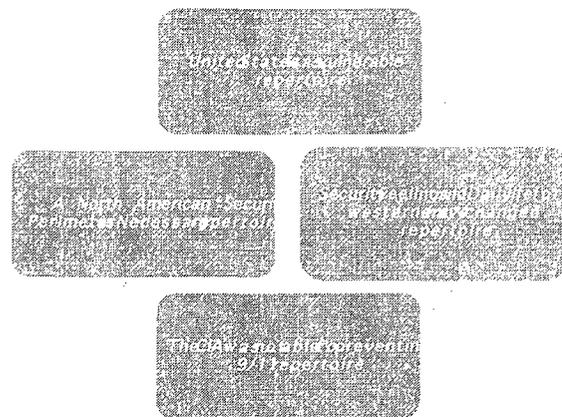
### **Risk/National Security Frame**

#### *United States was Vulnerable Repertoire*

This is another one of the most relevant repertoires repeated in the other newspapers that we analyzed. What have changed after 9/11 was the perception of fear, safety, the vulnerability of the USA, the latent feeling of being at risk of a terrorist attack, -not only in the American Nation, but in other countries-. *La Presse* expressed in a primordial way, the threat of a chemical or biological attack, that could occurred in Canada too.

In the face of these perceptions, the newspaper constantly voiced the declarations of spokespersons or leaders of public institutions, or of politicians who had manifested their opinions in respect of the urgency to implement a national security plan, not only in the USA, but also in Canada, the West along with other NATO countries.

The United States showed its vulnerability through 9/11; its intelligence system could do nothing to avoid the attacks, or better still that information existed regarding what was being planned but it failed to heed the warnings. Furthermore, the need to implement a security perimeter on the US-Canadian border was considered. In a graphic form, we show the repertoires that emerged from the texts that have relation with the National/Security Frame:



*Figure 8. Risk/National Security Frame and its repertoires*

### **Counterterrorism Frame**

*La Press*, throughout all it published in its pages, portrayed Great Britain as the most loyal ally of the United States, as well as the efforts made by George W. Bush in uniting the greatest number of countries in the fight against the « campaign against terrorism.

Also, outlined the support of the Canadian government which, for the first time in a long while, sought, through the Canadian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the help of countries in the Middle East. The newspaper adopted a posture in favor of Canadian support for the United States in the search to bolster this coalition. Furthermore, the positive aspect in regard to relations established with Russia, which had decided to support the USA.

« Le président George W. Bush retranché avec son conseil de guerre à Camp David, a poursuivi ses efforts diplomatiques visant à élargir les appuis internationaux à sa campagne antiterroriste ». (24/09/2001 : A1)

The global impact frame was articulated to the repertoire about the effects that the consequences of the event in NYC had in Canada and Québec. Not only in an economical aspect, but especially in the perceptions of fear that were appearing among the population. It also articulates the national security and risk frames with the repertoires about the connection of Canada with terrorism.

#### *9/11 Impacted on Canada and Québec Repertoire*

*La Presse* circulates the repertoire since the 9/11 of the impact that the events had on Canada and Quebec, particularly. It was its first domestication on terrorism, this meaning the effects that the events had in a cultural event that was due to take place in New York City such as *Québec-New York*, which was finally cancelled; also, on Canadian companies or workers who had given their accounts in respect of their personal experience of the attacks.

“Les 318 employés new-yorkais de la Banque de Montréal, des négociateurs et des responsables du service aux grandes entreprises, sont aussi sains et saufs.» (12/09/2001 : A10)

« Les pertes financières dans tous les établissements des Laurentides sont plutôt élevées depuis les attentas meurtriers ». (10/10/2001 : E3)

## Perceptions of Fear Frame

### *Psychosis of Bioterrorism (pirate du charbon) Répertoire*

*La Presse* interviewed various psychologists for whom “le sentiment de sécurité de la plupart des gens en Amérique du Nord, a été anéanti..beaucoup se sentiront moins protégés dans les centres-villes (...) Aux États Unis, nous pouvons prédire que l’anxiété sera généralisée et la médiatisation va rendre la situation encore plus énorme » (10/10/2001 : A6); meaning that, for these specialists, media amplified those fears.

For *La Presse*, one of the foremost latent risks was a chemical attack. It alluded to this in its published articles, viewing the fears as some kind of psychosis among the people. It highlighted this type of attack above others, pointing out the relevance of being able to count on adequate medical personnel to assist in the control of such a crisis; namely, the psychology of fear or terror. *La Presse* domestication on terrorism was then mostly concentrated in the perceptions of fear among the population and the threats of bioterrorism in Canada.

(Opinion) “A fin de résorber la terreur et contrôler la panique, les professionnels de la santé, médecins, psychiatres et psychologues et travailleurs sociaux, aux États-Unis comme ici (Montréal) devront permettre aux victimes, à leur proches et aux citoyens affolés de mettre rapidement des mots sur leur douleur... **les répercussions psychologiques de cette attaque contre New York se font sentir jusque chez nous.. Les événements auront un effet post-traumatique** » (Opinion psychologue du Québec). (16/09/2001 : B4)

« **L’effondrement des deux tours du WTC a créé une onde de choc qui n’est pas près de se résorber.** Les conséquences psychologiques de ces terribles attentats se feront **sentir pendant des années** : une nouvelle ère de **paranoïa**, qui touchera probablement toutes les populations occidentales, vient de s’ouvrir ». (24/09/2001 : A5)

« **..La psychose de la peur** est la plus grande menace à notre économie. Notre peur pourrait entraîner la chute vertigineuse des marchés. » (24/09/2001 : A3)

« Le ministre de la santé Allan Rock annonce un plan destiné à aider les Canadiens à **gérer le stress qu’ils éprouvent en raison de la menace terroriste** qui pèse sur le pays et en raison de la participation du Canada à un conflit armé international. ca campagne de sensibilisation insistera également pour dire aux Canadiens de mener une vie normale et de retourner au travail » (10/10/2001 : A6).

As we see, the psychosis was shown primarily in the USA but was also present in Canada. It was viewed, in *La Presse*, that terror had acquired a new form; bioterrorism. The newspaper dedicated space for expert opinions in respect of this topic and underlined the real fear and risk of a bioterrorist attack.

« **La prochaine attaque terroriste qui surviendra sur le territoire américain prendra la forme d'un bouteille ou d'une valise** » avait affirmé en 1999 le secrétaire d'État à la défense (William Cohen).... Bruce Hoffman de RAND remarquait qu'alors que le nombre d'attentats terroristes a diminué dans les années 90, la proportion d'attentats mortels augmente : les terroristes frappent moins, mais plus fort ». (12/09/2001 : A19)

« **Près de 10 000 personnes, selon les estimations, suaient actuellement un traitement contre la maladie du charbon** sur les conseils des autorités américaines...pour faire face à la menace bioterroriste, les services postaux ont distribué gants et masques dans tous leurs centres où ont transité des courriers contenant la bactérie.. » (26/10/2001 : A3).

« **Pour pouvoir mieux contre la menace bioterroriste, le Laboratoire de Santé publique du Québec (LSPQ) à Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue, déménagera l'an prochain dans de plus grands locaux, construits au coût de 10 millions de dollars.** » (26/10/2001 : A3)

« **Depuis 10 jours**, Postes Canada a compté plus de 90 incidents au pays, colis suspects, canulars, et fausses alertes confondus. Au total, neuf employés ont été traités aux antibiotiques, sont sept au Québec et deux en Ontario ». (26/10/2001 : A4)

The perceptions of fear are articulated either with the fact that it has been shown, in the newspaper, that Canada has connection with terrorism (frame).

### **Canadian Risks Frame**

#### *Canada Has Risks and Connection with Terrorism Repertoire*

*La Presse*, through various opinions and facts, brought to attention the connection that Canada had with terrorist groups and the fact that the country was considered to be a point of entry or planning site for terrorist activities against the United States. However, it was also considered that Canada could have been the object of a terrorist attack for being the neighbor of the USA. The need for new counter-terrorist legislation was discussed, such as the much-criticized C-36 Bill. Likewise, it was proposed that the country was ill-prepared to deal with a terrorist attack.

It was considered that, at the very least, Canada was a probable target for terrorist attacks in the first few weeks after 9/11. Canada being a neighbor and ally of the United States, its government implemented various security measures on its borders and its prisons, etc. The Canadian Prime Minister, Jean Chrétien, declared the country to be in a state of alert. The country was not considered to be ready to face a terrorist attack.

**«Il est bien connu que le Canada est un des points d'entrée préférés de ceux qui veulent pénétrer illégalement aux États-Unis».** (12/09/2001 : A12)

**« Il ne fait plus de doute que le Canada est un lieu de transit sinon même de planification d'actes terroristes en direction des États-Unis. Ce constat n'est ni nouveau ni surprenant..»** (opinion). 16/09/2001 : A14)

**« Le Canada pourrait être la cible des terroristes au cours des prochains mois : M. Chrétien ».** (10/10/2001 : A1)

In addition with this repertoire, it is related with another one that considered that Canada was not ready to protect its citizens from a terrorist event. All these frames of Risk and Perception of Fear were of the major attention in *La Presse*. It is one of its more relevant domestications on terrorism. It is linked with the repertoire *Montreal Was a Target*:

**« (...)ni la sûreté du Québec ni la GRC n'ont eu de signaux voulant que les activités terroristes puissent viser le Québec. Même signal du côté d'Hydro-Québec, où guilles Marchand s'est porté garant de la fiabilité du réseau, à moins d'événements extraordinaires».** (18/10/2001 : A1)

**« Nous avons fait une analyse de risque et nous ne croyons pas que c'est nécessaire de fermer la tour de la Bourse puisque les attentats ciblent visiblement les Américains »** (opinion of the Bourse director) (02/10/2001 : A3).

**« Le projet d'attentat dans le métro de Montréal découvert à Marseille lors de l'arrestation de militants islamistes en 1999 demeure une grande partie une énigme pour les observateurs et les spécialistes du terrorisme islamiste en France. La seule chose sûre dans cette affaire, c'est qu'elle confirme l'importance pour les réseaux islamistes de la base arrière de Montréal »** (opinion). (02/10/2001 : A3)

**« Le service de police de la Communauté urbaine de Montréal a confirmé à *La Presse* que Montréal a bel et bien fait l'objet, en mars 1998, de menaces signées « Front Islamique Mondial », une organisation dirigée par Oussama ben Laden qui avait lancé une fatwa contre « les Américains et leurs alliés.»** (02/10/2001: A1).

In addition to these repertoires, then it appears the one that considers that Canada is not ready to protect its citizens from a terrorist attack. The perception of insecurity, of fear, of risk was then well covered in *La Presse* and its domestication on terrorism.

*“Canada is not in a state of readiness to protect its citizens” Repertoire*

**“La récente attaque au gaz lacrymogène dans le métro de Montréal, un événement pourtant mineur, a montré les failles du plan d’évacuation, et les délais importants de réaction des services d’urgence ».** (24/09/2001 : A9)

**« Avant les attentats du 11 septembre il n’y avait que deux policiers armés pour protéger tout l’aéroport de Dorval. Un duo bien incapable de déjouer de potentiels terroristes... ».** (16/09/2001 : A10)

### **War Information Frame**

*9/11 Was Covered by CNN and Al Jazeera Repertoire*

*La Presse* provided information about an agreement signed by *CNN* with the Arab network *Al Jazeera*, which would obtain the exclusive « pendant six heures des images tournées par cette dernière ». In the end, this exclusive never came about, but other US networks also transmitted the signal of *Al-Jazeera* which, according to the explanation given, was due to a consensual agreement signed by *CNN* with television companies from all corners of the globe. As we can see, not only television but also the print companies published information obtained from the American network ; as it had been the case in previous wars, the control of existing information to journalists was carried out by the Pentagon.

### **Canada-US Relations Frame**

The Prime Minister Jean Chrétien qualified the attacks as « *laches et barbares contre milliers de personnes innocentes* ». While for the mayor of Montreal **“c’est une attaque désespéré, rante et barbare (...) Il a demandé aux Montréalais de rester calmes après l’attentats terroriste.”** (12/09/2001 : A1)

Various demonstrations by pacifist movements took place in Montreal « les pacifistes militants ont commencé à organiser des rassemblements et des marches, pleinement conscients que la grande majorité des citoyens favorisent une riposte militaire - 89% selon un sondage récent USA Today-CNN –Gallup – à ce que les Américains considèrent comme un tragédie national ». However, *La Presse* additionally published information about other demonstrations against the hysteria of war and racism.

*Solidarity with our American Friend Repertoire*

« La premier ministre du Québec, **Bernard Landry, a offert aux autorités américaines sa profonde sympathie et toute l'aide médicale ou autre, qui pourrait être requise** ». (12/09/2001 : A9)

« Le maire Bourgue a suggéré de venir en **aide, « a nos amis américains »**.. La métropole québécoise dispose de **plusieurs hôpitaux, de spécialistes médicaux et d'équipement qui pourraient être utiles chez nos voisins du Sud** ». (12/09/2001 : B5)

« **le régie régionale de Montréal-Centre a notamment demandé aux hôpitaux de la métropole de demeurer sur le qui-vive et de se préparer à recevoir des blessés** ». (12/09/2001 : A3)

*La Presse* is definitely more international than *The Gazette* and *El Informador*. It publishes diverse opinions from various parts of the world; the large variety of sources from where it derived its information making this obvious. Editorials and articles are published that see the light of day in different news media, mainly in Great Britain, France and the United States. A balanced vision of an international flavor can be found, maybe a little more European in its tone, in which not only opinions are proffered, but also historical events are cited.

*La Presse*, being the most prestigious French-language newspaper in Montreal (possibly in the Québec region), is far from being solely focused upon the cosmopolitan English and French-speaking people of this metropolis. Little was published in relation to the effects of terrorism on the city's community. It concentrated more on what happened at a world level.

In this case, the feelings of the Muslim community, in respect of the fears about racism provoked from 9/11, were reflected upon the direct consequences of the attacks on the United States; these being the economy and on some cultural events, the demonstrations of solidarity, psychosis in the city, support of the government with its neighboring country, etc.

*La Presse* could well be read in any part of the world. It seems to us that it is more of a global (or rather an international) paper than the others that we have analyzed in this investigation. If Montreal indeed is a cosmopolitan city where diverse national backgrounds merge, it doesn't reflect these ethnic differences. Nevertheless, opinions of international leaders and the press from other countries are presented. Thus, its international posture to portray terrorism, mostly coming from the Europeans (France and Great Britain) is affirmed. It is another way of domesticating terrorism.

However, it portrayed some of the Montreal community concerns and preoccupations about the effects of 9/11. As we will see in the coming paragraphs, *La Presse* decided to give voice to those Quebecois that were in New York City at the moment of the attacks on the Twin Towers. The daily published the testimonies of a group (as it did *The Gazette*) from Montreal that was preparing a cultural event in the big American city.

« Je me rendais au travail comme chaque matin, en métro autour de 8 h 45, a raconté Lambers Gingras, quand la rame s'est arrêtée. On nous a informé qu'il se passait un incident au World Trade Center... dehors, tout le monde avait les yeux tournés vers le ciel. Jusque-là, je n'avais aucune idée de ce qui se passait. » (12/09/2001 : A12)

#### *Islamic Religion Is Not Well-Understood in Québec Repertoire*

*La Presse* interviewed some members of the Muslim community in Montreal, who considered that since the time of the events in Oklahoma City (in which the guilty

parties were certainly American whites) there had been negative repercussions “très négatives pour les gens du Moyen-Orient”.

In the opinion of an Iranian doctor “au lieu de réagir par la violence aux tristes événements il faudrait en tirer un enseignement...il y a un acte posé contre la superpuissance américaine. Cela démontre peut-être qu’il faut intervenir de façon plus responsable dans certaines régions du monde qui sont en train de souffrir... il faut briser le cycle de la haine» (12/09/2001 : B7).

#### *An International Vision Regarding Terrorism Repertoire*

*La Presse* stands out among the newspapers that we analyzed in this investigation, principally because it included, in its inside pages, opinion pages and editorials with opinions from all around the globe; some of these originating from France and Great Britain, and also from New York and Washington. It had a group of correspondents that wrote from Afghanistan, Pakistan, Mexico, etc. This reflected that the newspaper wished to expound different points of view about an act that affected the world in diverse ways. It is not a coincidence that *La Presse* takes and publishes news from Great Britain and France, labeling them as protagonists, as both countries have roots in Montreal and its identity.

Similarly, it had a sharper and more critical opinion of the American system, centered on the prevailing attitudes in Europe, mostly coming from France.

#### *A French Viewpoint*

*La Presse* highlighted, in various news and opinion pieces, the declarations of the leaders in the French government. Throughout the samples analyzed in this daily, important weight was given to opinions expressed by leaders, politicians, the press and

the French media. The then-president, Jacques Chirac, defined the 9/11 assaults as a “monstruosité...”

It underlined the feeling of solidarity of the French people with the Americans “La France vient d’apprendre ces attentats monstrueux qui viennent de frapper les États-Unis.. dans ces circonstances effroyables, le peuple français tout entier se trouve aux côtés du peuple américain et lui exprime son amitié et sa solidarité.. La France toujours condamné sans réserve le terrorisme..elle considère qu’il faut lutter contre le terrorisme par tous les moyens ».

An exposition of a Europe divided in the face of the conflicts was presented:

« Avec l’Europe, on en revient toujours au même problème, lorsqu’il s’agit d’affaires graves, c’est-à-dire de guerre et de paix. Les décisions, bonnes ou mauvaises, que prendront les États-Unis, concerneront inmanquablement les pays à qui l’on reproche soit des complicités actives, à tout le moins des sympathies avec les talibans ou le terrorisme islamiste. **..la faiblesse congénitale et les divisions historiques de l’Europe la mettaient en permanence à la merci de deux dangers contradictoires. D’un côté la soumission aveugle aux États-Unis, même si par exemple ceux-ci décident de donner carte blanche à Sharon contre les Palestiniens. De l’autre la tentation d’adopter un « profil bas » dans ce conflit mondial. « Que les Européens sachent, s’ils le faisaient, que le profil qui leur serait imposé « par les islamistes » ne serait jamais assez bas ».** (La Presse à Paris) (16/09/2001: A7)

#### *Presse from Great Britain*

Through its correspondent in London, *La Presse* published the then-current situation in regard to other terrorist groups in the world, such as the IRA in Northern Ireland. The paper put the Irish problem into a historical context and offered criticism in respect of the position of Tony Blair’s government that had implemented new laws and greater control on society.

#### **Intellectual Opinion Journalism Frame**

##### *Increase of National Security Is Necessary Repertoire*

*La Presse* did not publish a great quantity of editorials as did *The Gazette*, but it included (in the samples analyzed) in its FORUM editorial page the opinions of various

experts from different fields. They offered their vision of events in accordance with their specialized areas. The newspaper reproduced extracts of certain books whose authors contextualized and explained the causes of 9/11. We believe that *La Presse* assumed the role of medium for the reader who could better understand terrorism, especially on September 12<sup>th</sup> when it published more expert opinions and plural voices.

Print media reporters are not experts on all subjects; therefore it is necessary to give voice to academics, management staff, writers, etc. *La Presse* published the opinions of academics of UQAM, of the deputy minister of British Columbia, as well as the Canadian ambassador to Israel, of psychologists, political and journalistic writers about Islamic integration, and criminologists, etc. These maintain what Fabrice Bocteur affirms about a French tradition of intellectual opinion journalism (Jean-Sébastien Rioux, 2005).

On the other hand, *La Presse*, after the events, asked Mr. Jean-Claude Turcotte, Archbishop of Montreal, Joseph Gábay, President of the Judeo-Canadian Congress of the Québec and Said Youssef Fawas, of the Al-Oummah Al Islamiyah Mosque, to express messages of peace for the newspaper's readership. The three religions, with more followers throughout the world and more representatives of a multicultural context in Montreal, expounded on and extolled universal values, such as peace, and coming out against the events of 9/11.

Another text was that of Jean-Philippe Racicot, member of the Chaire Raoul-Dandurad on Strategic and Diplomatic Studies of UQAM, for whom the 9/11 attacks were against « le soi-disant sanctuaire national américain » and « de la même façon que Pearl Harbour aura eu un impact sur le rôle et la place des États-Unis dans le monde, les événements du 11 septembre 2001 auront des conséquences importantes sur les nouvelles

orientations militaires et stratégiques américaines ». He opined that the United States would defend Western values.

In the written passage, its author quoted the role of the Rogue States, which portrayed the USA as Public Enemy Number 1 after the 1991 Gulf War to the various US security agencies, as well as showing the 9/11 “comment la peur et la terreur peuvent être des armes efficaces entre les mains d’un adversaire déterminé”; in other words, terror and fear as political tools.

The newspaper also inserted extracts from Roland Jacquard’s book, who was President of the International Observatory on Terrorism. He wrote a biography of Osama bin Laden. The extract published offered details of the sources of bin Laden’s fortune, how the activities of those international militants were financed. In it, it is related that “Oussama ben Laden et ses conseillers financiers ont aussi commencé à utiliser le système bancaire des anciennes républiques islamiques soviétiques.. les contributions financières d’États du Golfe ne sont évidemment pas négligeables... » (24/09/2001 : A6).

With the title « Terrorisme : sommes-nous prêts ? » François Pagé (associé directeur chez Pagé Compagnie, une équipe de professionnels d’une firme montréalaise spécialisée en gestion de risques et prévention de crises) manifest his concerns about how to prevent Canada and Quebec with national security measures before to be sorry.

2002: La Presse

During 2002, *La Presse* concentrated primarily on the following aspects. The first one is its domestication on terrorism, affirming through its repertoires, that **fear had been established into society**.

1) *The fear of a terrorist attack, which had been instilled into society since 9/11.* Articles and opinions were published in respect of the steps that had been taken, the

security measures already implemented in the United States as well as other kinds of control. Security in other countries to counter a terrorist attack, which included not only the risks of a conventional nature or through kamikaze strikes, but also through other means, such as the so-called cyber war and attacks that could be carried out through the food chain.

The interpretive repertoire that we mostly found was that the fear of suffering terrorist attacks was instilled in society from 9/11 onwards, and the actions taken to prevent such events. Also, how far-reaching were the fears and reactions caused by 9/11 as pointed out by the writer, Norman Mailer, in the newspaper; fears that could lead towards fascism.

2) *Preventive war in Iraq*: On the other hand, an event, as we mentioned in previous sections, was covered and this foreseen event could be viewed as part of the United States foreign policy; an interventionist action in Iraq. *La Presse* voiced, through its information and opinion pieces, the doubts and uncertainties in respect of the roles to be placed, the coalitions and contingencies for intervention in Iraq.

### **Risk and National Security Frame**

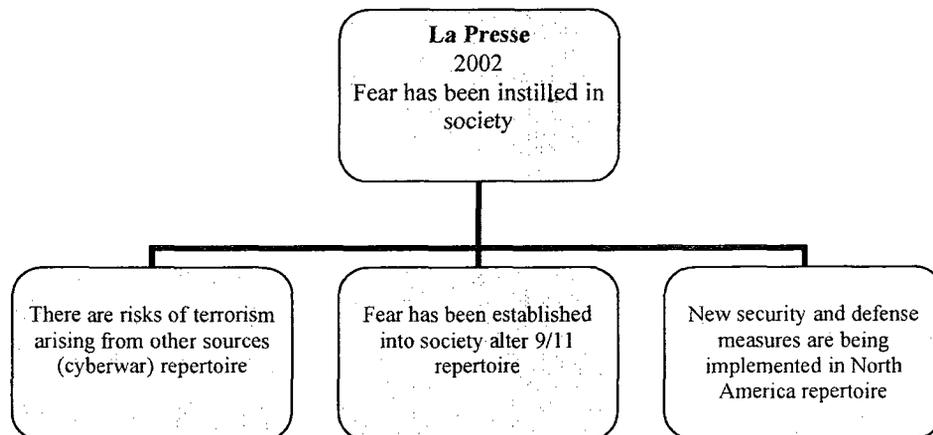
#### *There Are Risks of Terrorism Arising from Other Sources (Cyberwar) Repertoire*

From 9/11, *La Presse* emphasized that the terrorism act on 9/11 meant a new non conventional war. By affirming this, it considered also that not only because of the use of airplanes the attack was different, but more than anything, because there exist new forms of terrorism, like cyberterrorism, bioterrorism, etc.

*New Security and Defense Measures  
Are Being Implemented in North America Repertoire*

In *La Presse*, we found information about the implementation of new defense measures, mainly in North America, such as the creation of the Department of Homeland Security (quoted before by Norman Mailer) and of Northcom, as well as the violation of civil rights that these would imply.

« Le NorthCom est une nouvelle structure de défense du continent, créée dans la foulée des événements du 11 septembre 2001. A la différence du NORAD qui s'occupe de défense contre les agressions aériennes et spatiales, il permet aux Américains d'avoir un commandement unifié (sol, air, mer) pour tout le territoire de l'Amérique du Nord, ce qui inclut les Etats-Unis, le Canada, le Mexique, une partie des Caraïbes et ce dans une zone allant jusqu'à 500 miles des côtes... on doit comprendre que le temps nécessaire à réagir à une attaque est beaucoup plus court qu'auparavant... (Directeur de la Commission permanente mixte de la défense) : les Américains seraient heureux de pouvoir jouir de la collaboration canadienne dans ce projet». (15/09/2001 : A10)



*Figure 9. "Fear has been established into society" repertoires'.*

As we see in this figure, the main domestication on terrorism was that fear had been instilled in society, working it as a broad imaginary (that was not as such before 9/11) and that through several repertoires, in *La Presse* it circulated a discourse that manifested the necessity of new security and defense measures as well as the perceptions of risk of terrorism .

## **US Foreign Policies Frame**

### *Iraq: an Unforeseen War Repertoire*

In *La Presse*, articles were published criticizing the forthcoming intervention in Iraq. Furthermore, it was considered that present-day wars are caused by lazy leaders and compared the battles fought with other times; those of the 21st Century could now be fought with technology that allowed them to be directed from another continent. Doubts were continually expressed, in *La Presse*, in respect of how the war in Iraq would pan out; the role the UN would play; the refusal on the part of other powerful nations to sign the resolution to invade Iraq; the doubts of the United States that it could count on the help of its allies; if Iraq would allow the UN inspection teams to enter the country; if Canada would take action in support of the USA or not, etc.

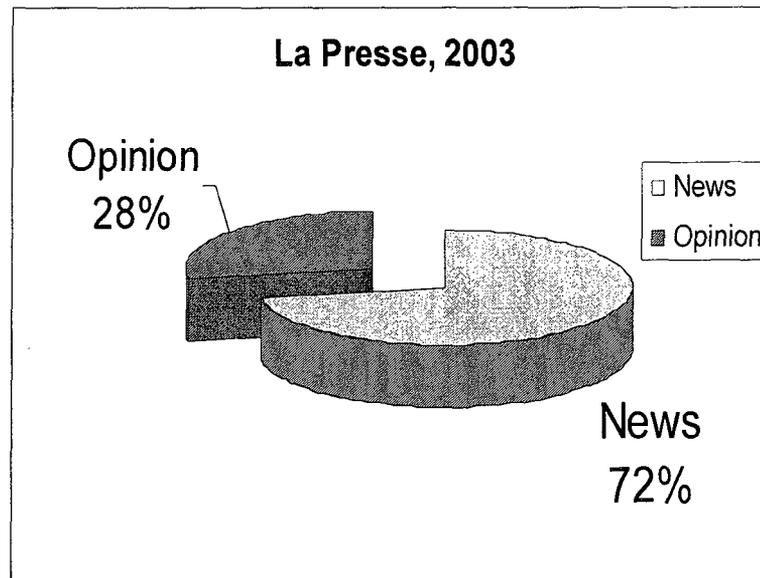
### 2003: *La Presse*

For 2003, the headline that *La Presse* selected for its front page was “Frappes sur Bagdad. L’objectif: “décapiter” Saddam” (20/03). The newspaper clarified that the declaration was made by a US official (transmitted by the CNN news channel). As we have observed in the previous years under analysis, *La Presse* has a network of correspondents in other countries. The paper published the collaborative efforts of its special envoys in Iraq, Jordan, Washington, London, Egypt, Paris, etc.

Likewise, *La Presse* highlighted short statements presented in box-form with opinions of various personalities who expressed their points of view in respect of the US invasion of Iraq; for example, the Chief of the UN Inspectors, Hans Blix; Iraqi Minister of Foreign Affairs, Tarik Aziz; the Secretary General of the Arab League, Amr Moussa. Also in these spaces, *La Presse* included a logbook of the development of the relevant events of the day; those that were considered important by the newspaper, around the

world. This space was named *Le Fil des événements*. In the journal, the war in Iraq was compared with great global events, classifying it as the greatest urban battle after Berlin in 1945. This was considered as marking the post-Cold War era. Furthermore, it was put on the same level, in some pieces, with the Vietnam War and other important world conflicts.

In regard to the number of news and opinion items, *La Presse* published a total of 127 pieces, of which 72% (92) corresponded to news and 28% (35) to opinion. Out of the total of information sections, 21.26% were obtained from the special correspondents in different cities around the world. While 20.47% from *La Presse*; that's to say, from their staffers on the paper. *La Presse* highlighted further, as in previous years, the preference for presenting the information obtained from the French AFP channel, from which 23 news items were published (18.11%) from the total. Visually, the space is shown in the following way:



*Figure 10. La Presse, 2003 opinion and news percentages.*

In relation with the opinion articles, the amount of experts who participated in diverse areas stood out. *La Presse* invited researchers from UQAM, the University of Montreal and McGill University to lend their opinions, as well as political specialists from the Arab and Muslim world, among others.

Mario Roy, Professor of History at McGill University, constantly published his ideas in respect of the war. In the case of the editorials he was who wrote the only one that was published in the sample in 2003; in this, *La Presse* openly expounded its stance against the War in Iraq.

Most of the columns and opinion pieces were inserted, as we mentioned earlier, in the editorial section of the daily, called FORUM.

The newspaper included some graphic information pieces, such as the insertion of maps of Iraq and its environs, showing the locations of the US military bases, sites of military action, the type of ultra-modern technology used information about armaments, descriptions of the uniforms of the combatants, etc. In other words, basic information to involve the readers more.

This would be considered, according to Norris, in the first level of informative coverage, meaning the basic aspect of information that is generally covered by the media in the face of conflicts, terrorism, wars, etc.

Therefore, *La Presse* presented the primordial aspects surrounding the conflict on a front page; in a second phase, the official speeches and declarations were also expounded (such as in the case that the newspaper published –in 2001 as well as in 2003- the complete speeches given by George W. Bush). On the other hand, the inclusion of the

opinions of experts designated by Norris as the true sources that could be considered alternative ones in order to have a better understanding of the events.

It is important to note that *La Presse*, by publishing the opinions of certain experts, legitimized them and their input and, in doing so, offered up a particular vision of the world.

By granting a wide coverage to the informative items of the AFP Agency, another perspective of the events was presented. In view of the fact that *La Presse* procured the majority of its items from this agency, a specific viewpoint of the world was thus presented. However, by also including editorials and commentaries in respect of what was published in international papers, such as in New York, Washington and London, different viewpoints were offered up.

We shall now see the topics and repertoires that arose out of the analysis of 2003. In the first place, the newspaper established the human and ecological consequences of the occupation of Iraq, qualifying and predicting the events that would result, viewing it as a catastrophe and, furthermore, comparing it to Vietnam.

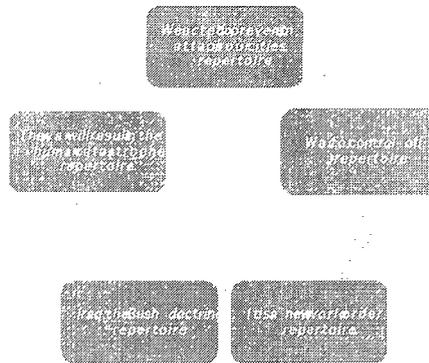
In the view of the High Commissioner of the United Nations for refugees, the war would cause a massive exodus of the Iraqi people to neighboring countries. A further problem was that some of Iraq's neighbors would not accept refugees on their territory. Besides this, the scarcity of food, help and provision of food, medicine, etc. to the Iraqi people had to be considered.

### **US Foreign Policy in Iraq Frame**

#### *The War Will Result in a Human Catastrophe Repertoire*

*La Presse* constantly published information and opinion pieces which mentioned the effects of the War in Iraq to its population. In the daily, this war was to be considered

as a human catastrophe product of the Bush Doctrine in the Middle East. As we see in the following quotations, it shows the impact in the Iraqis, fleeing from their homes. It contextualizes the situation in Iraq, due to the sanctions it has had as product of its invasion to Kuwait in 1991.



**Figure 11.** US Foreign Policy in Iraq Frame repertoires

*Iraq: the "Bush Doctrine"<sup>85</sup> Repertoire*

We have previously mentioned that the so-called preventive war<sup>86</sup> forms part of the foreign policy of the United States that approves attacking before being attacked. As was pointed out in previous pages, Iraq constituted, before 9/11, part of the US plan (called the "Axis of Evil) whose prime objective is to control the Persian Gulf region.

Therefore, Iraq was a top priority on the Republican agenda of George W. Bush and formed part of his program of national security (which included security of energy supplies); that is, ensuring reserves of non-renewable resources, being in this case, oil and gas.

As pointed out by Mesa & Isasi, in the “new war against terrorism...Iraq will occupy a place of high priority in the long list of countries, organizations and groups that are considered as objectives that will be contained, neutralized or eliminated” (Mesa & Isasi, 2004: 47).

Therefore, in view of what was said, *La Presse* quoted declarations and news items in which the affirmations of George W. Bush surrounding the *preventive* war were included. The repertoires that circulated, in relation with the American policy in Iraq were:

For many analysts, the war in Iraq has a clear aim; control of the oil<sup>87</sup> and gas, given that the area is considered to have the largest reserves in the world.

*La Presse* published an infographic related to the American Foreign Policy : « *Pax Americana*: comment les États-Unis ont changé le monde ». In this the newspaper assured that « Les États-Unis ont renversé 18 fois des gouvernements étrangers, depuis 100 ans. Seules cinq de ces tentatives ont établi un gouvernement démocratique qui a duré plus de 10 ans ». For *La Presse*, a new world order had begun since Ronald Reagan’s administration in which the United States became the world’s only superpower.

### **Analogy Frame**

#### *War in Iraq: a Continuation of the Gulf War of 1991 Repertoire*

This repertoire was one of the most repeated in the newspaper. “Operation Desert Storm”, led by the ex-President George Bush Senior, was compared with the war in Iraq, in 2003. It was contrasted regarding the objectives, type of military strategy implemented, the causes. The Gulf War was sanctioned by the United Nations; given that Iraq had invaded and appropriated Kuwait and an international consensus supported various resolutions against Iraq.

In 2003, however, the United States and Great Britain took military action in Iraq without having proved that the country had weapons of mass destruction; therefore, it was an intervention without the corresponding international legal backing from the United Nation. Likewise, in the newspaper analyzed and the opinions expressed therein, one event was linked to the other, as if the war in Iraq was a continuation of the Gulf War. About the last point, the Cold War was continually associated with the Gulf War, qualifying the latter as the post-Cold War. In the following paragraphs, we show some of the fragments that refer to this analogy.

**“Les stratèges américains ont laissé entendre que l’offensive débiterait par des opérations aériennes massives, jusqu’à 10 fois plus intenses dans les 24 premières heures que celles ayant ouvert la première guerre du Golfe, en 1991 » (20/03/2003 : A2)**

**« Peu avant l’aube du 17 janvier 1991, les traînées lumineuses des missiles de croisière se dirigent vers des « installations stratégiques » et illuminent le ciel de l’Irak. L’ultimatum lancé à Saddam Hussein est échu depuis un peu moins de 24 heures et les forces alliées lancent l’opération Tempête du désert sous commandement américain. » (20/03/2003 : A9)**

**« Le problème des réfugiés en Irak pourrait cependant se présenter de façon fort différente en 2003 (par rapport à ce qu’on a pu voir lors la guerre de 1991) ..Le fait que ces camps seront établis sur le territoire même de l’Irak, plutôt que sur celui des pays voisins, est le deuxième élément nouveau de cette guerre par rapport à celle de 1991 » (opinion). (20/03/2003 : A15)**

### **International Legislation Frame**

*UN: There are no weapons of mass destruction in Iraq Repertoire*

*La Presse* emphasized the declarations of Hans Blix, who was heading the UN group sent to Iraq to verify if Iraq had weapons of mass destruction. He declared: **“Je suis naturellement triste que nos trois mois et demi de travail en Irak n’aient pas permis d’obtenir l’assurance qui était nécessaire de l’inexistence d’armes de destruction massive ou d’autres éléments interdits en Irak ».** (20/03/2003: A8)

It was established that the reconstruction of Iraq should be observed under the UN resolution.

### **Canada role in the War in Iraq frame**

*A Canada United Against a War in Iraq Repertoire*

Since the possibility of an invasion of Iraq arose, Canada manifested its stance against such a determination in which it said it would lend its support if and when the UN sanctioned the resolution when was proved that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction.

The editorial in *La Presse* expressed its posture against said intervention:

**« La Presse s'est opposée catégoriquement et à plusieurs reprises, comme on le sait, à une offensive contre l'Irak déclenchée sans l'aval des Nations unies, et avant que toutes les possibilités de la diplomatie, du régime d'inspection onusien, de la menace de la force, n'aient été explorées. Nous avons aussi souligné le danger qu'il y avait pour les Etats-Unis eux-mêmes de donner ainsi l'image d'un « empire arrogant » pour justement reprendre le titre de Zakaria ». (20/03/2003 : A16)**

Similarly, we found this posture also expressed in the news and opinion items published in the newspaper, being strongly linked to the defense of Canadian sovereignty.

“En 28 ans de politique, a déclaré le député de Gatineau, jamais je n'ai vu le caucus aussi uni derrière une décision du premier ministre...**tous appuient fortement la décision du gouvernement de ne pas aller en guerre contre l'Irak** ». (20/03/2003 : A15)

« Le chef du gouvernement (Jean Chrétien) a répliqué : **« Le Canada est un pays indépendant et le Canada a pris une décision au nom des Canadiens »**. (20/03/2003 : A16)

However, a little more than a month after the invasion of Iraq began, Canada joined the war “déjà très sollicitée par le déploiement prévu de 2000 casques bleus en Afghanistan, l'armée canadienne s'est fait demander de préparer des scénarios pour une contribution supplémentaire en Irak ».

#### *The Americans Will Be Responsible for What Happens in Iraq Repertoire*

In this repertoire, we repeatedly find the viewpoint that the United States was responsible for all the ills that were happening to the Iraqi people; according to what was established in international legislation, it fell upon the invader to ensure the safety of the civil population and to provide the necessary resources for its well-being (food, medicine, etc.).

« Dès la fin des grandes manœuvres contre Al Qaeda et les talibans, **les Etats-Unis avaient promis, un peu à la manière des politiciens en campagne électorale, un grand réseau routier de 300 millions de dollars** reliant Kaboul à l'est Kandahar au sud, Kandahar au sud, Herat à l'ouest et Mazar-e-Sharif au nord.

**Mais à peu près rien ne se fait : les délais dans le financement, le mauvais temps et le ratés de la bureaucratie à Washington convainquent de plus en plus d'Afghans que le fameux réseau routier promis est le symbole d'une sorte d'impuissance américaine. »** (Presse D'ailleurs). (13/04/2003 : B7)

**« Le président du Comité International de la Croix-Rouge (CIRC) a exhorté les forces de la coalition américano-britannique à faire davantage pour rétablir la sécurité en Irak.. Les lois internationales « imposent des devoirs et des droits clairs à la puissance occupante ».** (07/05/2003 : A12)

### **Journalists-US Military Relations Frame**

*The Latinos and Noirs are the "American" Soldiers Going to War repertoire*

This frame illustrates the decision to show the human side of soldiers, by letting us to know more about their nationalities (many of them being Latinos and African American). *La Presse* showed up the human side of war, affording space to see the faces of the soldiers, their nationality; in the main, immigrants or women who had had to adapt in order to comply with their duties.

Likewise, as we have pointed out, a diversity of graphic informative pieces were published, as well as items that spoke of the types of weapons used and pondering on whether the internal forces in Iraq would be able to put up a fight.

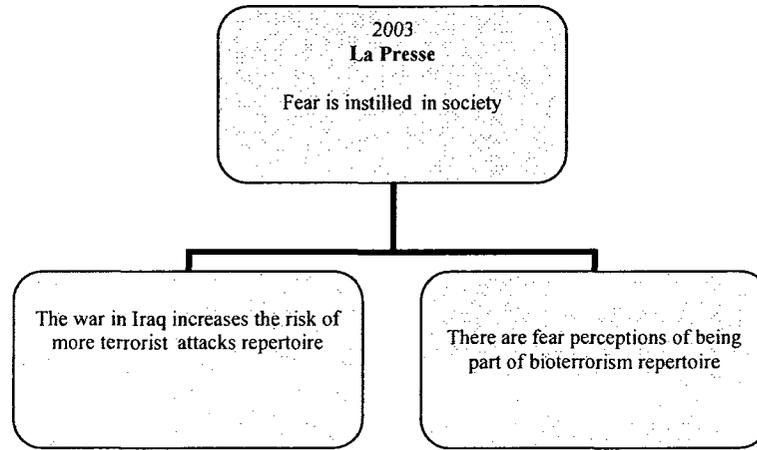
### **Fear/ Risk Frame**

*Fear is instilled in the Québécois Society repertoire*

During 2001, *La Presse* devoted a great part of its content to opinions of specialists that expounded on, in large part, the psychosis that 9/11 caused among the people and how it was confronted at a medical level. It also published various items that manifested the risk of Canada and the rest of the world suffering a biological attack. In the sample analyzed for 2003, this fear was raised again, but overall was considered to be a problem that had been established into society since 9/11, linked to the war in Iraq; this increasing the risks of terrorist attacks.

“Le professeur au département d’histoire de l’UQAM, Pascal Bastien, évoque par ailleurs la **nécessité de chasser le climat de terreur qui creuse un fossé entre les gens et le monde qui les entoure... la peur**

est le plus grave problème de la société actuelle...est un fléau...il faut surtout cesser d'avoir peur de l'autre, un état qui s'est généralisé depuis le 11 septembre. La peur est la cause de plusieurs problèmes et pas seulement sa réaction. Elle amène à construire et à concrétiser un événement perçu comme une menace ». (28/03/2003 : E1)



*Figure 12. Fear is established into society repertoires'.*

As it did in 2002, *La Presse* domesticated terrorism, for the year 2003, concentrated in portraying repertoires about fear perceptions about having a terrorist or bioterrorist attack. In the daily, it was considered the repertoire that the *War in Iraq increased the risk of more terrorist attacks* and the one that manifests the *fear of being part of bioterrorism*

“Des recommandations qui n’empêchent cependant pas un millier de **Londoniens craintifs de prendre le métro tous les jours avec un masque à gaz dans leur porte-documents, à en croire le directeur d’Ozonelink, une société spécialisée dans la vente d’équipements de protection.. plus de 60 000 personnes, soit 15 fois plus que la normale, ont pris contact avec sa compagnie cette année. Leur craintes ont été exacerbées par la découverte en janvier de ricine, une substance hautement toxique, dans un appartement du nord de la ville** ». (20/03/2003 : A5)

« **Thérapex, de Montréal : « nous fabriquons une mousse contre les armes biochimiques, qui décontamine le matériel et les bâtiments** ». Evidemment, c’est d’abord et avant tout un produit militaire mais nous avons aussi vendu à des organismes de sécurité civile de première ligne, qui seraient les premiers à intervenir en cas d’attentat à l’arme chimique ». (21/04/2003 : E1)

*La Presse* also emphasized the lack of information about the war in Iraq as well as affirming that the information had been controlled by the United States. However, it outlines the alternative options when trying to get some information or even more context

about certain events, from different points of view, not only from the American gaze and interests:

### **War Coverage Frame**

#### *War Coverage to Service the USA Repertoire*

« **CNN, le seul média américain encore présent en sol irakien.. L'équipe de CNN est postée dans un lieu gardé secrète** ». (20/03/2003 : A6)

« C'est la guerre depuis cinq minutes et je n'en peux déjà plus de CNN. Ils racontent la guerre comme ils racontent les Jeux olympiques ». (20/03/2003 : A9)

« **Fox News est la chaîne d'information continue la plus proguerre au monde et la plus regardée aux Etats-Unis.** Elle est la propriété de Rupert Murdoch, le baron conservateur des médias » (opinion). (28/03/2003 : A5)

#### *USA Is Controlling Information Repertoire*

« Au total, **environ 600 journalistes** (reporters et photographes) accompagnent les troupes américaines, mais cette approche d'infiltration demeure très controversée.. **Les reporters pourront exercer leur métier en toute liberté à condition de ne pas dévoiler certains détails comme la situation géographique de troupes, l'identité des victimes, etc.** » (28/03/2003 : A4)

« ..les journalistes nous donnent essentiellement le point de vue des militaires, ils ont vanté la technologie de l'armée, ils ont montré des moments chaleureux, avec les troupes, sans parler vraiment des conséquences de la guerre, sans critiquer les raisons de cette guerre ». (Presse a New York) (28/03/2003: A5).

### **War in Iraq Impact in Montreal Frame**

#### *Invasion in Iraq Has Little Effect in Montreal repertoire*

La Presse interviewed some members of the Iraqi community of Montreal for whom Saddam Hussein «est un dictateur sanguinaire qu'il faut déloger du pouvoir. Le tout est de trouver la bonne façon d'y arriver...il y a plusieurs façons de faire tomber Saddam Hussein. Pourquoi orchestrer une guerre aussi brutale pour assassiner un seul homme ?...les irakiens n'aiment pas Saddam, mais ils craignent Bush. Et ils craignent la guerre... » (28/03/2003: A7).

As *The Gazette* did, the Francophone newspaper manifested the opinions of the community that could be affected directly from the war. The news items showed that war had little effect for Montreal; nonetheless, it was expected to impact the elections in

Quebec. Its domestication on terrorism focused then in the political impact the War in Iraq will have in Montreal.

*War will Impact on the Elections in Québec*

« **La guerre entre les Etats-Unis et l'Irak aura un impact immédiate sur la campagne électorale.** Dès les premiers missiles, nos politiciens ont été éjectés des écrans de télévision....Jamais, sauf en 1939 et en 1952 (guerre de Corée), des élections générales au Québec n'avaient coïncidé avec un conflit majeur. » (20/03/2003: B1).

« **Le premier ministre Bernard Landry compte dénoncer à sa façon la guerre qui vient d'éclater en Irak en marquant une pause dans la présente campagne électorale** pour témoigner solennellement de sa solidarité avec le peuple irakien et lancer un message de paix ». (20/03/2003: A20)

However, as we had pointed out for the analysis of the year 2001, *La Presse* opted to offer an international vision (which is its characteristic) of the conflict (centered more on the European vision, particularly the French one). The impact of the intervention of the American coalition in Iraq on the local multicultural community of Montreal was not reflected, at least, in the newspapers that we analyzed.

It only reproduced the feeling of the Iraqis living in the largest city in the Quebec region. The frame that *La Presse* constructed was, therefore, that the intervention would have little direct consequences on the local community, but would do so on the international one.

It was not seen that the war in Iraq would have direct repercussions on Canada, save the relations with the USA and the support that the southern neighbor was expecting from Canada. A US-British intervention was portrayed, being a product of the foreign policy called the 'Bush Doctrine', for control of the Persian Gulf zone which, to the view expressed in *La Presse*, would run the risk of new terrorist attacks.

It was considered that the war was directly affecting, overall, the division of Eastern Europe. In 2003 *La Presse* was already predicting that the invasion of Iraq would

provoke a global catastrophe, as well as a war that would be difficult to end. Comparing it with the Vietnam War, it was viewed that it could be a war without end and reason.

#### 2004: La Presse

In *La Presse*, the attacks in Madrid were classified as being the most deadly in Europe since 1988. Its headline on the following day after 11<sup>th</sup> March, 2004 was “Horror in Madrid” and included a photograph of one of the trains that suffered an explosion, without showing any injured or dead persons. On that front page, an analysis was included that threw up the doubt about who was responsible for the attacks in the Spanish capital. The newspaper concentrated on this theme on the day after the act of terror.

*La Presse* dedicated its opinion and news items on outlining the declarations and reflections that, in some cases, pointed to ETA being responsible for the attacks, while others put the blame on the terrorist network Al Qaeda. Likewise, the daily included in its pages historical data about the rise of the Spanish terrorist organization as well as a logbook of the deadliest terrorist attacks in Western Europe since 1972.

On another page, the statements of some Quebecois residents in Madrid were aired, offering up an idea of the magnitude of the events and confirming: « C’est comme si on venait d’annoncer à un Montréalais qu’une bombe a explosé en pleine heure de pointe à la station Berri-UQAM, mais en 10 fois pire ». As we have detected in the previous years analyzed, *La Presse* looked to offer testimonies of Quebecois who resided in the affected place; in the case, the Spanish capital.

As happened with the 11th of September, 2001, *La Presse* published an identical photograph to that of *The Gazette* newspaper, from the AP Agency; it showed two injured people, one with a blood-covered face. This can happen often, given that the

media uses the international agencies for its photographic material and each newspaper selects which ones they want to publish.

On the other hand, we consider that, although *La Presse* gave no assurances that Al Qaeda had been behind the attacks in Madrid, it questioned the decline of ETA attacks and its strength in Spain; whereas it published a greater number of statements that supported the views that pointed the finger at the network controlled by bin Laden. However, in its editorial, it did maintain that the important thing about the attacks was that they marked a significant escalation of terror, whoever was behind them.

### **Political Use of Terrorism Frame**

#### *Was it ETA or Al-Qaeda? Repertoire*

In *La Presse* it was considered that the attacks were a product of the support given by Spain to the war in Iraq; in the case of an Islamic group being guilty, the impact would have a global effect. If ETA were responsible, the effect would be concentrated solely at a local level, in Spain. The declarations of the Spanish government were pointing firmly at ETA, for political reasons, but the consequences were finally negative for the Popular Party as the Spanish people felt themselves being manipulated.

#### *Spanish Government: "It was ETA" Repertoire*

« (...) **Le porte-parole du gouvernement espagnol a maintenu la thèse de la responsabilité de l'ETA dans la série d'attentats** ». (12/03/2004 : A2)

« (...) **L'organisation indépendantiste armée basque ETA, à laquelle le gouvernement espagnol a attribué le quadruple attentat de Madrid est depuis 36 ans en guerre contre l'État espagnol pour l'indépendance du Pays basque...ETA figure sur la liste européenne des organisations terroristes** ». (12/03/2004 : A5)

« (...) **Le gouvernement espagnol privilégie la piste de l'ETA.. il est fort probable que l'ETA soit coupable**. Cette organisation a une lourde histoire d'attaques sanglantes. Il est possible qu'elle ait voulu perturber le processus électoral » (12/03/2004 : A5)

#### *Could it be Al-Qaeda repertoire*

« **Washington n'excluait pas la possibilité que cette organisation terroriste ait un lien avec les attentats sanglants commis à Madrid** » (12/03/2004 : A3)

«(...) L'organisation terroriste d'Oussama ben Laden pourrait être derrière les attaques. Elle aurait même pu collaborer avec l'ETA ». (12/03/2004 : A2)

*La Presse* considered that the reasons for the attacks, if *Al Qaeda* were responsible for them (this having been confirmed a few days after), were due to Spain's participation in the war in Iraq and the country's accounts to be settled with the Arabs from centuries before.

*Outstanding Accounts Were Settled in Spain Repertoire*

« Cette attaque "fait partie du règlement d'un vieux compte avec l'Espagne croisée, l'alliée de l'Amérique dans la guerre contre l'Islam » (12/03/2004 : A3)

« Les musulmans ont régné en Espagne pendant sept siècles. La reine Isabelle de Castille les en a chassés en 1492. **Mais les islamistes ont des raisons plus contemporaines d'en vouloir aux Espagnols : leur premier ministre, José Maria Aznar, a appuyé les Etats-Unis dans la guerre contre l'Irak ».** (12/03/2004 : A4)

Furthermore, as had happened with Montreal, that the connection of terrorism with Spain was understood, given that a large number of Arabs were discovered who had links to terrorist organizations, and these in turn were linked to the attacks of 11th of September and 11th of March.

*Islamic Terrorist Organizations Exist in Spain Repertoire*

« En juillet 2001, Mohamed Atta –pilote qui a dirigé les attentats contre le World Trade Center- se rendait en Espagne...Selon le FBI il projetait de se rendre ensuite aux Etats-Unis pour participer aux attentats du 11 septembre mais il en a été empêché...il y a deux ans, le journal *El Pais* affirmait que plus de 200 personnes d'origine arabe, liées à des organisations terroristes islamistes, vivaient en Espagne ». (20/03/2004 : A3)

Bearing this in mind, the repertoire that we view as more relevant in *La Presse* was the impact that the attacks had on the Spanish political life.

*The Terrorists Had a Great Impact on the Voting in the Elections in Spain Repertoire*

« Tout indique néanmoins que ces attentats ont eu un impact dramatique sur le vote : les Espagnols, terrorisés (c'est bien le mot qui convient), ont vu dans le carnage la punition pour leur participation à la guerre en Irak, et les socialistes, qui avaient fait campagne contre cette guerre, ont récolté une victoire qu'ils n'espéraient plus. » (20/03/2004 : A3)

**US Foreign Policy in Iraq Frame**

*Chaos and Internal Wars in Iraq are the Fault of the USA Repertoire*

*La Presse* linked the terrorism of 11th of September with the war in Iraq and considered its repercussions for the civilian population as being chaotic, along with the attacks of 11<sup>th</sup> of March, 2004.

On several occasions in the newspaper, the need to strengthen the coalition and anti-terrorist unit were emphasized in view of the risks that other countries had suffered, similar to those in Spain. It was also viewed that the war in Iraq had not been the success that had been expected.

**Counterterrorism Frame**

*It Is Necessary to Reinforce the Coalitions to Avoid more Risks Repertoire*

With the events in Madrid, *La Presse* considered that the coalition against terrorism should be reinforced; it is its domestication side of terrorism for 2004. The following repertoires appeared affirming this statement:

« Pour revenir à l'Irak, si je ne crois pas à l'efficacité d'une force onusienne, l'engagement, même symbolique, de la communauté internationale aux côtés des forces américaines me semble indispensable. Il ne faut pas retirer les Espagnols. Il faut envoyer des Français, des Allemands, des Russes, des Canadiens. L'Irak ne s'apaisera pas seul. Maintenant que le mal est fait, la communauté internationale doit aux Irakiens de le réparer. Je parle comme Bush ? Peut-être. Mais il y a une petite différence, quand même. Lui, c'est vraiment un sale con. Moi, je suis le plus gentil des chroniqueurs de l'hémisphère Nord » (Opinion, *La Presse*, 20 Mars, 2004, A5).

« ..Cela a donc permis à Bush de regrouper à la Maison-Blanche les ambassadeurs de plus de 80 pays et de prononcer son discours devant autant de drapeaux différents. Un succès symbolique pour celui qu'on accuse d'avoir fait cavalier seul dans le dossier irakien. » (*La Presse*, 20 Mars 2003, A23).

In the following paragraphs we seek to show the domestication on terrorism made by *La Presse*.

***Domestication in La Presse 2001-2004***

The frames and more especially the interpretive repertoires on terrorism propounded in *La Presse* vary substantially from those in *The Gazette* and *El Informador*.

To illustrate this, in its extra edition, *La Presse* was very cautious in employing qualitative adjectives in regard to the terrorists as well as in laying responsibility for 9/11 on the figure of Osama Bin Laden. In contrast with *The Gazette* and *El Informador*, that since the very beginning pointed to Bin Laden as responsible for 9/11 and throughout the news that were published.

Rioux (2005) argues that the English and French Canadians have differing views on security and defense issues, with French Canadians being more dovish, isolationist and anti-militaristic than their English counterparts. We have located, when focusing on the subject of terrorism, some of these differences and some others.

One prime difference in *La Presse*, compared to the other newspapers analyzed is the sources was which news agencies which provided the information. The majority of news that *La Presse* divulged came from the AFP and the Presse Canadienne. The selection of information agencies and the news the dailies published and selected from them, portray different points of view. As Fletcher (2000) affirmed, the French and English news media carry relatively little common material.

Besides this, we discovered a lot of news coming from correspondents, so as Wu (2000, quoted by Rioux) maintained, “the major French media in Quebec focus on Quebec provincial politics and generally report on Ottawa and the rest of Canada primarily in the context of Quebec interest, much as foreign correspondents would report on a neighboring country”.

We would add that this is the situation when covering news from the United States. However, for the War in Iraq, *La Presse* did send journalists which presented a different account of the facts.

In the four years under analysis, *La Presse* behaved very differently from its English counterpart. In some cases it showed some similarities with the Mexican daily, *El Informador*. Since 9/11, the paper built up *the frame of vulnerability*, which would be established with the passing days and months as *the frame of the fear of a terrorist attack*. The United States, the most heavily-armed and powerful nation in the world, was vulnerable in its own backyard.

Instead of speculating about the possible causes of the assaults or about who had been responsible for them, the paper decided to publish expert opinions in its pages; these featured academics as well as specialists in different areas. It classified 9/11 as a new war. Therefore, it qualified that the events would signal a new war as well as a new era; a war that started with the impact on the symbols of economic and world power.

Thus, *La Presse* gave to the events a symbolic charge and focused its attention to this matter. As we presented in the very beginning of this document, Habermas and Derrida (Borradori, 2004) considered its attention to this symbolism of the 9/11 events.

The frame in which 9/11 meant a new war (albeit unconventional) on the symbols of globalization was constructed. According to *La Presse*, the prime cause of these attacks on the American nation was the conflict between Israel and Palestine.

Contrary to the rest of the newspapers examined in this investigation, such as *The Gazette* and *El Informador*, this French-language journal from Montreal did not criminalize those people responsible for the attacks. It barely used negative adjectives in reference to them; even less still generalizing that all Muslims and Arabs were terrorists.

*La Presse* showed itself as being very cautious in respect to this. The newspaper concentrated on the interpretive repertoires that those responsible for 9/11 were Islamic

radicals who hated the United States; that's to say, it manifested the existence of a feeling of hatred towards imperialism, the American values and the "Judeo-American" system. Furthermore, *La Presse* pointed out that it was an attack provoked by resentment towards the United States.

In *La Presse*, it was seen that this New War would mark a u-turn in the bilateral confrontational policies (the West v the Arab World), or even result in a crusade. The newspaper included a lot contextual information. This allowed us to confirm that *La Presse* demonstrated a more balanced informative style, and a certain plurality and criticism.

However, as previously mentioned, the direction in which *La Presse* lead its coverage of the terrorist acts – such as those of 9/11, the war in Iraq and the attacks in Madrid – have in common the way it continued its coverage with the same informative pattern. This embraces different steps that accord with those established by the researcher Norris (2003), such information that, in the first place, offered hard facts, as well as basic information that afforded a panoramic view about the context of the facts and antecedents; secondly, that it included information gleaned from official sources, statements, etc; lastly, the inclusion of expert views on the subject and also of specialists.

On the other hand, it circulated that the 9/11 affected the world economically, not only Canada and Québec. Consequently, *the frame about the effects on everyday life* was produced, focusing on *the repertoire of the fear of being part of a terrorist attack*.

In other words, the perceptions among the population were concentrated on security/vulnerability; the feeling of there being a latent risk. If the attack succeeded in

the most powerful and heavily-armed country in the world and its intelligence system –the CIA – failed, a similar event could happen in Canada.

This fear focused on, more than anything, a bio-terrorist attack. The perception of fear of a terrorist attack began to weave its way into society after 9/11. As it was affirmed, one of the main things that changed from 9/11 onwards is precisely this awareness of having a terrorist assault (Roy, 2002). *La Presse* contributed to create frames and repertoires about the risks and fear perceptions of experiencing – mainly - a biological attack. In this sense, some of the specialists that *La Presse* interviewed expressed their opinions that the media amplified the fears, something that as a consequence, provoked a psychosis.

Joined to this it comes the *frame terrorism is connected to Canada*. It was reminded that the city of Montreal was a target for terrorist attacks in 1998. Besides this it circulated the repertoire *Canada was not prepared to protect its citizens in the case of an attack*; confirming *the repertoire that Canada was a country of opportunity for the terrorists*, an easy mark for them.

Regarding an interesting point for us; the “domestication” of terrorism in *La Presse*, we found that by 2001, although the newspaper was manifesting a plural voice in regard to the fact that it covered the effects that 9/11 had done so on the Quebecois (especially on the community that had been present in New York), it afforded very little column space to the ethnic diversity in Montreal. Maybe it focused primarily on those people who had been affected most by the events.

For instance, the Islamic community declared its fear of the negative effects that 9/11 could have provoked against them (racism). Furthermore, it was considered that there had

been an erroneous interpretation about what Islam is. However, as we shall see later, the aspect of “domestication” in *La Presse* portrays by its frames and repertoires that used a more internationalist and humanistic posture and did manifest the foreign policy that Canada should have in the face of the events.

The paper concentrated on publishing opinions of world leaders, especially from a European point of view; in the main those coming from the then-president of France, Jacques Chirac. With the opinions expressed from various countries, the publication of news items from foreign newspapers (especially from the United States, Great Britain and France) and the sending of correspondents to conflict zones, *La Presse* articulated an imaginary that 9/11 had global effects and consequences.

We found that on 12th September, 2001, the editor of the paper gathered together more expert opinions. These specialists expressed their viewpoint about the “national” level of security that had to be implemented, of the military effects that 9/11 would produce and furthermore, they gave a symbolic connotation to the attacks. *La Presse* opted to give the reader a picture that could have contributed to forming a social-historical background to terrorism and its causes, but also expressed a more plural, interpretive and international editorial line.

By 2002, a year after 9/11, the repertoire that carried most weight in the paper was that *fear had been instilled into society*; that’s to say, this imaginary already formed part of the society; *fear of an attack; fear as an integral part of life*.

However, that fear was seen as being amplified by a variety of different forms of an attack that could happen: cybernetic or even through the food supply, besides other means (bioterrorism, nuclear weapons, etc.).

*La Presse* confirmed that terrorist cells were infiltrating information systems. However, it was considered that *the war in Iraq* would increase *the risk of more terrorist attacks*, apart from the already existing threat through the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

The stance of the francophone newspaper was a critical one. It showed its reservations about the American claim that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction. *La Presse* also highlighted the postures taken against a preventative war in Iraq by France, Russia and China.

Therefore, the principle frames and repertoires were that fear had been instilled into everyday life (principally in the United States and partly into Canadian society) and the threat that Iraq constituted for the USA through its possession of weapons of mass destruction that would imply greater risks of terrorist attacks for that country in the world.

In 2003, when the war in Iraq began, *La Presse* decided to present the other face of war, not focusing only on the military strategies, or publishing mainly the American official discourses. It decided to highlight what the war in Iraq would produce among its civilian population: a human and ecological catastrophe.

This is a relevant distinctiveness with *The Gazette*, which for 2003 mainly focused on the fury and force of the US coalition in Iraq, showing its superiority. Another difference is that *La Presse* manifested a posture against the war in Iraq and decided to concentrate more on the coverage and opinions of the effects of War.

*La Presse*, thus, articulated a repertoire that focused on the consequences of US policy in Iraq: civilian casualties, starvation and a huge exodus of Iraqis to neighboring

countries. Thus, the repertoire *was that the war in Iraq was a human catastrophe*; a product of the American foreign policy (the so-called Bush Doctrine) in the Gulf Region.

About these differences among *La Presse* and *The Gazette*, Rioux posits that there are historical reasons for Quebec's francoophone distinct military culture. We consider this last assertion to be one aspect that could help us to understand "why" these attitudes appeared in the *La Presse*.

For *La Presse* the war in Iraq will signal a new epoch with global effects. A new, unipolar era in which the United States is the only world power and what it seeks is how to implement the New World Order, according to its interests. In the paper, the war in Iraq was compared with large-scale world events (as we have mentioned, it was thought that the war in Iraq would have global effects) such as the battle for Berlin in 1945 and which *La Presse* considered as marking the beginning of the Cold War Era.

This war in Iraq was considered to be a continuation of another: the war in the Persian Gulf. It was underlined that Iraq was a priority in the agenda of George W. Bush; a fundamental part of his national security program. Therefore, the invasion in Iraq would guarantee the supply of energy to the United States, given that Iraq has some of the largest reserves of oil in the world.

In the comparative study between the war in Iraq and the war in the Gulf established in *La Presse*, these differences stood out: the use of ultra-technology; the legitimacy between one war and another; the military strategies and the superiority of the military might deployed in 2003. If previously it was declared that the Gulf War was the successor to the Cold War, it was the war in Iraq that *La Presse* saw as the true successor. Overall, a dissection or cut was established between one era (the Cold War and its end)

and another (whose preamble was 9/11 and Iraq being the face of the conflict, *La Presse* even comparing the War in Iraq to Vietnam).

*La Presse* maintained a critical stance surrounding these events; it questioned them, it had a critical posture towards American policy in the Middle East and against the war in Iraq. In consequence, *La Presse* divulged *the repertoire that Iraq did not have weapons of mass destruction and that the war in Iraq was an imposed war.*

Similarly, the French stance in respect of the war was underlined and the division that it caused within the European Union. So, apart from divulging the repercussions of terrorism and the war in Iraq at a domestic level, *La Presse* again turned its gaze towards Europe and even more so, to France; although, in some columns, criticism was made of the posture taken by the then-president, Jaques Chirac.

About the effects in Iraq, *La Presse* considered that the reconstruction of Iraq should have been carried out under international legislation through the UN. It considered that the Americans will be responsible for what happens in Iraq. A position that stood out was that it was noted that the majority of the US troops sent to Iraq were Latinos and African-Americans.

Among the repertoires that *La Presse* stands out the most and which was woven and reinforced after 9/11 is the perception of fear. In *La Presse*, it was affirmed that *fear is the gravest problem of present-day society after the events of 9/11 and that fear of terrorism and risk increased with the war in Iraq.* These fears even affected everyday life in some regions. The newspaper pointed out the use of gas masks in London and the production of ointments for use against biochemical weapons. Fears that materialize into actions and social practices.

In *La Presse*, the repertoire of fear of all types of terrorist attack was backed. Throughout the years analyzed here, we have shown how this representation of fear evolved and was constructed; how this fear was tangible in some way that the threat could be real given what happened in Madrid. Here is where 9/11 and its repercussions are connected (the invasion of Iraq and the events in Madrid).

Thus, it was considered that the attacks in the Spanish capital were an escalation of terror. Contrary to other newspapers under examination here and due to the events in Spain, *La Presse* avoided falling into the trap of criminalizing all Arabs as well as the Muslims. Throughout its pages, it was affirmed that groups of *Islamic radicals* were living in Spain (these supposedly had something to do with 9/11 as in Madrid, on March 11<sup>th</sup>, 2004).

In *La Presse* the repertoire that the attacks in Spain had a political effect (an impact on the elections) and that the country was attacked because of its support for the United States in the war in Iraq was propagated. Almost a year after the war in Iraq began *La Presse* highlighted the repertoire that Iraq is in chaos because of the United States. Through its pages, it confirmed that the war had not been the success that was expected (according to the opinions of the Iraqi population that were portrayed in this daily).

However, it was emphasized that the coalitions would have to be strengthened in order to combat terrorism; affirming that France, Germany, Russia and Canada (which came out against the invasion of Iraq) should also join this coalition.

With this, we see how the discourse in *La Presse* evolved in its domestication of terrorism. It manifests its stance against the War in Iraq, since it considered that it was not justification to invade that territory and killing innocent people. However, when the

explosions in Madrid, in 2004, seeing that some of the fears were being materialized (the social imaginaries that this daily promulgated along three years), it manifest the importance of combating terrorism, since it was felt that it existed a real risk of having a terrorist event in Canada.

Evidently, this newspaper has an editorial posture that characterizes it. We consider that it leans towards a French, and multilateralist, position in regard to conflicts such as Iraq. What stands out, in all the events that we examined in this study, is a frame of scepticism towards US policies, its pacifist position (avoiding the use of military forces) and it's editorial stance favoring international resolutions.

We consider that *La Presse*, overall, articulated a more nuanced set of frames and repertoires on terrorism. In this sense, the discursive practices of domestication of the newspaper seem to articulate a broader range of frames which seem to articulate with elements of a distinct francophone discursive formation. *La Presse* articulated a more cosmopolitanism localisation of Montreal (and its diversity of beliefs) and hence a domestication on terrorism was very different from *The Gazette*, etc.

## ***Chapter V. El Informador***

2001-2004

### Extra Edition

*El Informador* published an extra edition for the second time in its history in 9/11. The first occasion was on the end of First World War<sup>88</sup>. This newspaper is known as the dean of the press in Jalisco. It derived its information to cover the 9/11 events principally through the Mexican news agency *Notimex* and less so from ANSA, EFE, Reuters and AFP. It is important to point out that the great majority of its 58 pieces in this special edition did not quote its author or source. It is said that this is to protect its journalists to avoiding them becoming protagonists of their pieces or abusing their role in the proceedings.

The headline was “Bloody dawn in the United States” followed by a series of photos placed chronologically. On this front page, the editorial was inserted. Its style revolved around metaphors and prose-type phrases; this language style is a common practice with the newspaper from its foundation and it remained a constant throughout the years under analysis.

For example, the following phrase is quoted textually: “when the United States catches a cold, the Mexicans get pneumonia”. Regarding the events, 9/11 is classified thus: “that the sacrifice and the blood shed by so many innocents not be in vain and less still, a motive for the death of more innocent people, but a permanent seed of peace among the peoples of the planet”. In the same front page, in a small piece, it was mentioned that Osama bin Laden could have been the brains behind the attacks. This was a declaration by the editor of an Arab-language newspaper published in London and of

whom it was said that he had access to bin Laden; this same information being mentioned three times in the paper, so it was evident that the proofreading lacked care.

In the principal page, a declaration by the Governor of Jalisco, Francisco Ramírez Acuña, was inserted condemning the attacks while ordering an intensification of security measures in the state of Jalisco. Finally, a photograph of Bush and news about the consequences that the events was added in respect of military actions on the part of the United States, as well as the downswing in the economy.

### **Religious Frame**

One of the characteristics of this newspaper is that it continually gave voice to the leaders of the Catholic Church in the State of Jalisco and Mexico. Therefore, it was no surprise that, on the second page, a piece appeared with the title “The Catholic Church of Guadalajara condemns the violence in the United States”, with declarations by Cardinal Juan Sandoval Iguíñez.

### *A “Tapatian”<sup>89</sup> Newspaper Repertoire*

*El Informador* is a very locally-based newspaper. It is well-known for concentrating on local news above national and international which has been one of the characteristics of the paper. *El Informador* lent much weight to the declarations of condemnation expressed by politicians from various parties in Jalisco, from businessmen, from officials such as mayors and the governor.

The extra edition concentrated primarily on the consequences that the event had on the Tapatian community, the security measures taken in places where North Americans lived in Guadalajara, the increase in security at the US Consulate and it gave voice to Mexican immigrants who expressed their fears and feelings in the face of the events and

the consequences for Latin Americans in the USA. Another important emerging frame is that of the *economic consequences* for the state; for instance, Jalisco's exports to the United States; the speculation surrounding the dollar exchange rate, etc.

As we can see in the three newspapers here analyzed, the figure of George W. Bush did not stand out in their extra editions. All three newspapers included the initial declaration of the US president, who qualified the events as a national tragedy; as the worst attack suffered by the USA in all its history. This could have been due to the fact that Bush was not in Washington when the attacks happened and some hours would pass before he offered his declaration on a war between good and evil. Therefore, in the dailies, only declarations and opinions were included that were made two or three hours after the assaults.

We consider that this "inaugural rhetoric" about what terrorism would amount to in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, can already be seen as the first speeches that make up the protagonists in this discourse; these setting out a way of viewing and defining terrorism; also establishing the construction of a social imaginary that articulates how the terrorism would be defined in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

## 2001: El Informador

*La Batalla Final y el Juicio Universal:  
"Cuando se hubieren acabado los mil años será Satanás  
soltado de su prisión. Y saldrá a extraviar a las  
naciones que moran en los cuatro ángulos  
de la tierra, a Gog y a Magog, y reunirlos para la guerra,  
cuyo ejército será como las arenas del mar.  
Subirán sobre la anchura de la tierra y cercarán el campamento de  
los santos y la ciudad amada. Pero descenderá fuego del cielo  
y los devorará. El diablo, que los extraviaba, será arrojado en el estanque  
de fuego y azufre, donde están también la Bestia y el falso Profeta, y serán  
atormentados día y noche por los siglos de los siglos."  
(Apocalipsis, 20,7)*

## Theological Dramatization Frame

If anything characterizes the oldest newspaper in Guadalajara, it is its language; on many occasions ambiguous. A discourse impregnated with litanies, metaphors<sup>90</sup>, popular sayings and liturgies, like a Biblical language. Loaded and impregnated with references to Christian life, full of religious piety, moral order norms, with a multitude of appeals to the Bible, to the life and values of a good Christian, equally referring to evil, using Biblical apocalyptic terminology.

It seems that *El Informador*, by molding a Judaic apocalyptic literature, attempts to show the struggle that, throughout the centuries, has maintained the evangelical message against the various incarnations of evil power and that now is synthesized in terrorism.

For the reader who speaks Spanish but is unfamiliar with the Mexican identity and way of speaking especially with the local *Tapatian* form, it would be difficult, in certain texts, to understand *El Informador* content and particularly the columns, opinion pieces and editorials. Continuing, we shall present some examples of headings of opinion articles and an editorial that highlight the above-mentioned:

Si las bombas eligieran...	If the bombs chose...	Opinion
La experiencia enseña que cuando existe un hombre dispuesto a cambiar su vida por la del príncipe, el magnicidio se consuma	The experience shows that when there is a man ready to give his life for that of a prince, assassination is consumed	Opinion
Velos fantasmales	Ghostly veils	Opinion
Cría cuervos...(y te sacarán los ojos)	Breed crows...(and they will pluck out your eyes)	Opinion
Fox no debió poner todos los huevos en una sola canasta	Fox should not have put all his eggs in one basket	Opinion
Que Dios ilumine a nuestros vecinos, para que actúen en una forma sensata y visionaria y no se provoque una "guerra santa"	That God enlighten our neighbors, in order that they act in a sensible and visionary way, and do not provoke a "holy war"	Opinion
Circunstancias.. lo cortés no quita lo valiente..	Circumstances...courtesy does not take away bravery...	Opinion
Consensos y disensos	Consensus and dissention	Editorial

*El Informador* has been characterized, since its foundation in 1917, as being a conservative newspaper. If we look at any piece from that era, the 1920s and compare it with the narrative of the 21st century, we could say that the editorial style is very similar, even its physical appearance.

As previously mentioned, *El Informador* thought about publishing an extra edition on 11th of September and did so; an event of such magnitude requiring a special edition, the second in its history. Not even local events, such as the explosions of the 22<sup>nd</sup> of April, 1992, in which hundreds of residents died, merited such concern<sup>91</sup>. There were two world events considered in the newspaper as watersheds in world history: the Second World War and the acts that transpired in New York and at the Pentagon on the 11<sup>th</sup> of September, 2001. Why, however, did a newspaper with such a local flavor comprehensively cover an act that occurred in another country?

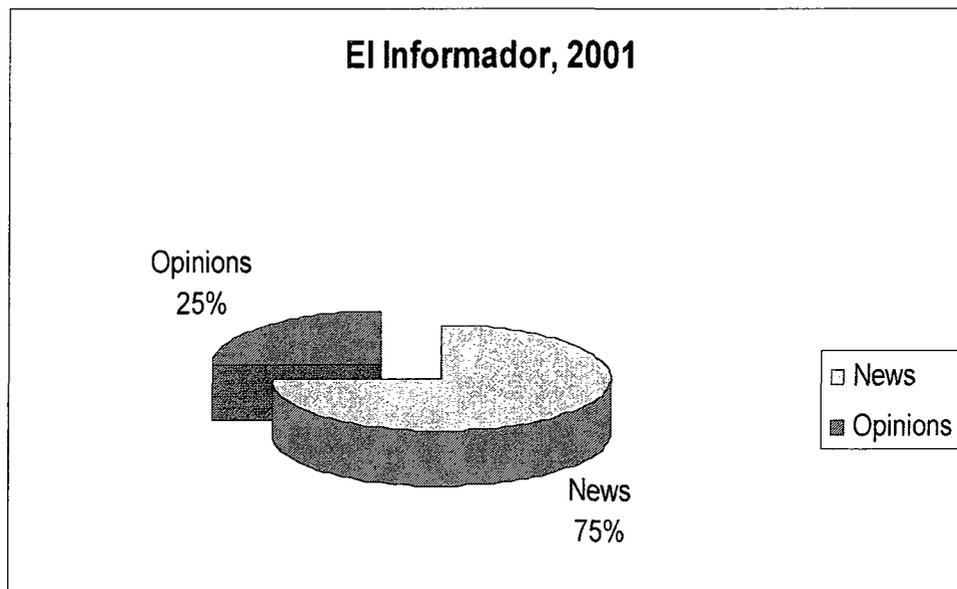
The answer is evident: Jalisco is one of the principal “exporters” of migrants to the United States. A large part of the economy and the support for thousands of families in the state of Jalisco is provided by money sent by Mexicans who live in the States. These immigrants were directly affected by new immigration policies and controls at the borders. Furthermore, there were dozens of Mexicans working illegally in the Twin Towers; names that we will never know. It is for this and other reasons that *El Informador* dedicated a great part of its editorials to the topic in question; editorials that, as we shall look at and analyze, are full of qualitative adjectives.

In the editorial section, *El Informador* published the opinions of well-known, local personalities, such as writers as well as academics drawn mainly from the University of

Guadalajara, as well as business leaders and other personages (entrepreneurs) that we consider to have possibly been close associates of the newspaper's owner.

For its part, the news agencies that *El Informador* resorted to were: EFE (Spanish); Notimex (Mexico's most important agency); SUN; AEE; ANSA; AP; AFP; CNN (the newspaper specified when it obtained information from this TV news channel) which, as we have seen in previous chapters, various Mexican media, if not all, came to this American network to gather information.

Out of a total of 135 published pieces, 75% (101) were news items and 25% (34) were opinion pieces (articles, reportages and editorials). Of the three dailies under analysis, *El Informador* was the one that published the fewest number of pieces, but considering the percentages, the figures almost tally with those of *The Gazette* and *La Presse*. We see this finding as interesting given that the three newspapers devoted three-quarters of the information about terrorism to publishing news items and one-quarter to airing opinion pieces on the subject.



**Figure 13.** *El Informador, 2001 Opinion and News percentages.*

Similarly, *El Informador* published a greater amount of information obtained from its reporting staff; 21.64% from the general total (29 items). Thus, the three newspapers under analysis produced similar figures in this respect, but where they differ in its content.

Another aspect that stood out was the inclusion of writers and associates that use to published their essays in the Spanish newspaper *El País*. Similarly, reportage was annexed with the headings or principal contents of some Spanish newspapers and their considerations in respect of 9/11. They affirmed that “the national newspapers that are edited in Madrid all agree in their editorials that the United States has suffered a terrorist attack that will, in the future, change the world order”.

The main headline in *El Informador* on the 12th of September was “The attack on the US unsettles the world”. A characteristic that stands out in this newspaper is the use of negative, qualitative adjectives for the terrorists.

In one of the opinion articles, 9/11 was qualified as “the greatest human-terrorist tragedy and evil in the history of humanity”. Furthermore, considered the events as being full of hate, evil and madness. It was also viewed that the terrorists were the worst murderers in history classifying them as “fanatical murderers”, “pigs”, “evil” and questioned whether they should be treated as “the worst animals of prey”.

*El Informador* invites the reader to lead a devout life, living one faithful to Lord (Catholic), which appeals to prayer, to the undertaking of religious acts in oneself, of the liturgy to serve as a mediator between the supreme good and the evil.

Here the man is like a catalyst between the forces of evil (these understood as something abstract and demonic) and the forces of good (God); an atavistic, polarized imaginary, impregnated with a sentimental and subjective view of reality.

We have found that, from the very beginning, the domestication on terrorism in *El Informador* focuses on the religious frame and in several interpretive repertoires that call for praying, for moral and Christian values, for being good human beings in opposition with an apocalyptic discourse with negative evaluations.

### **Religious Frame**

#### *Calling Upon God in the Face of the Events Repertoire*

We frequently find this call in opinion pieces, columns and/or editorials. They are very much in accord with the conservative attitude of Tapatian society and its values, in which work and family occupy first place in importance, followed by religion (Cortés & Shibya, 1999). *El Informador* lent much weight to the religious voice (or more specifically, the Catholic) and its values. Furthermore, however, we must consider the role of the Church in Tapatian society.

As Cortés and Shibya firmly pointed out “the Church normally offers its opinion on different questions, as much about private life as public” (Cortés and Shibya, 1999: 99). A usual protagonist in the local papers, therefore, is the Cardinal Juan Sandoval Igüñez. Until recently, it seems, the Church denied the right to express opinions in regard to government policy but, as we have observed in recent years, the Church has become a mouthpiece of the government then in power; this being the Party of National Action (PAN), considered to be right-wing and neo-Catholic.

Apart from the Church, ex-governors and analysts of the newspaper give their opinions, on occasion, as if they were preachers. Evidently, the paper chooses and invites those who share its conservative ideology to contribute in its pages, but inviting occasionally other ideological voices, we consider, appearing being a more plural newspaper.

*“God grant us...” Repertoire*

We consider that it is important to show the language style that *El Informador* uses in relation with terrorism and terrorists. It made a constant call to God and to Bible references; It is the domestication side of *El Informador*, the one that appeared from the very beginning and that maintain constantly throughout the years under analysis.

The specific use of language for this callings, come mostly from the editorials:

**“That God, the righteous judge, grants a tiny piece of His wisdom and a ton of prudence to the political leaders of our neighbor to the north”** (Opinion of a political analyst). (24/09/2001: A-4)  
*[“Que el Señor Dios, justo juez, conceda una pizca de su sabiduría y una tonelada de prudencia a los dirigentes políticos de nuestro vecino del norte” (Opinión de analista político)].*

**“All the gods of peace, whatever our creed is, are crying for what happened yesterday in the United States, and crying with them are those that still believe in the capacity of the human race to live and work in peace”** (editorial). (12/09/2001: A-5)  
*[Todos los dioses de paz, cualquiera que sea nuestro credo, lloran lo ocurrido ayer en Estados Unidos, y con ellos lloran también quienes confían aún en la capacidad del ser humano para vivir y trabajar en paz” (editorial)].*

**“Violence is in no way justifiable...what we have to do is maintain good sense and we, as Catholics, hope in the Lord, who is the keeper of history...these things do not have an easy and immediate explanation, but with the help of God, they will be understood...we have to be very attentive during prayer”** (Cardinal of Guadalajara, Juan Sandoval Iñiguez). (12/09/2001: 3B)  
*[La violencia de ninguna manera es justificable.. lo que tenemos que hacer es guardar cordura y nosotros, como católicos, esperar en el Señor, que es el dueño de la historia.. estas cosas no tienen una explicación fácil e inmediata, pero con ayuda del Señor se acomodan.. tenemos que estar muy atentos en la oración” (Cardenal de Guadalajara, Juan Sandoval Iñiguez)].*

**“That God enlightens our neighbors so that they act in a sensible and visionary way and an interminable “holy war” does not result, a clash between the West and the East, as the imprudent Italian Prime Minister was slowly left to make out”** (opinion). (02/10/2001: A-4)  
*[Que Dios ilumine a nuestros vecinos, para que actúen en una forma sensata y visionaria y no se provoque una “guerra santa” interminable, un choque de Occidente con Oriente, como torpemente lo dejó entrever el imprudente Primer Ministro de Italia” (opinión) ].*

[

*El Informador* usually gives advice to its readers. It calls upon them to follow certain values, such as tolerance, love to one's fellow man and the criticism of other conflicting values.

"In these moments of general fear, it is desirable to plant the idea of constructing a better world in the future on the basis of putting emphasis on adequate education by and for peace...on the overall sense of the word built by way of the personal efforts of constructing an internal peace...tolerance in the good sense of the word, that must lead to the true love for your fellow man...forgetting about that egoism and arrogance" (Opinion). (18/10/2001: A-6)

*[En estos momentos de temor generalizado conviene plantear la conveniencia de construir un mundo futuro mejor sobre la base de poner el énfasis en una adecuada educación por y para la paz... en el sentido macro de la palabra se construye mediante los esfuerzos personales para construir la paz interior.. la tolerancia en el buen sentido de la palabra, que debe conducir al auténtico amor al prójimo.. olvidándose de ese egoísmo y de la soberbia] (Opinión).*

### 9/11 Causes Frame

*The Origin of 9/11 Lies in the Arab-Israeli Conflict and the Support of the United States for Israel repertoire*

*El Informador* pointed the origins of 9/11 as being the conflict in the Middle East (between Palestinians and Jews) and the support given by the United States to Israel, qualifying the reactions that were taken by the United States as a crusade. *El Informador* considered that the actions were a conflict among two civilizations, one coming from a democratic and open country (United States) and the other from an intolerant and radical countries (Arabs and Islamics). As Hurlington named and has been criticized for its opinions: a clash of civilizations.

Though, 9/11 also invoked the call to unite against terrorism in the fight of good against evil, borne out by the continuous references to God in the speeches of President George W. Bush. The crusade of the present 21<sup>st</sup> Century, therefore, will be between the free and democratic societies and the Islamic/Arab people.

*A Crusade Between the Free Societies (Western Ones) and the Islamic Repertoire*

"All of this is a consequence, according to Islamic leaders, of the interference that **the United States, overall, has had in some Muslim countries, the most notorious case being the support that has been given to the State of Israel.** The Palestinians are considered, by a large part of the Arab world, as a people

oppressed by Israel and, consequently, by its greatest ally, the United States. **Of course terrorism has to be combated, but not with the crusade mentality that would pitch two worlds into a cruel war”.** (24/09/2001: A-7)

*[Todo esto es consecuencia, según los líderes islámicos, de la ingerencia que Estados Unidos, sobre todo, ha tenido en algunos países musulmanes. Y el caso más notorio es el apoyo que siempre ha proporcionado al Estado de Israel. Los Palestinos son considerados por gran parte del mundo árabe como un pueblo oprimido por Israel y por consiguiente, por su mayor aliado, Estados Unidos. Por supuesto que hay que combatir el terrorismo pero no con la mentalidad de una cruzada que enfrentaría a dos mundos en una guerra cruel].*

**“The crusade that Bush has promised began...the nation (of Islam) will not remain silent...the jihad (holy war) by God’s design is an obligation of every Muslim on earth, today...resentment by the Arabs for what many perceive as the blind endorsement of Washington for Israel against the Palestinians, the 11 years of sanctions against Iraq and the stationing of US troops in Saudi Arabia, centre of the Muslim faith”** (spokesperson of Al Qaeda). (26/09/2001: B-3)

*[La cruzada que Bush ha prometido comenzó.. la nación (del Islam) no permanecerá en silencio.. la Yihad (guerra santa) por los designios de Dios es una obligación hoy por cada musulmán en esta tierra... resentimiento de los árabes por lo que muchos perciben como el respaldo ciego de Washington a Israel contra los palestinos, los 11 años de sanciones contra Irak y el estacionamiento de tropas estadounidenses en Arabia Saudita, centro de la fe musulmana] (Portavoz de Al Qaeda).*

“This new version of terrorism is establishing the replacement of the rivalry between the superpowers by that of **the conflict of two civilizations; one that seeks the existence of an open and democratic World, pluralist and tolerant, one that clearly has its faults; and the other, the distorted version of an extremist, radical and intolerant pseudo-theocratic order**, where only one single religion must prevail, and interpreted by political clerics that manipulate it for their own ends” (opinion). (16/09/2001: B6)

*[Esta nueva versión de terrorismo está planteando el reemplazo de la rivalidad de los superpoderes, por el conflicto de dos civilizaciones, una que pretende la existencia de un mundo abierto y democrático, plural y tolerante, el que por supuesto aún tiene sus fallas, y otra, la versión distorsionada de un orden pseudo teocrático extremista radical e intolerante, donde solamente deberá prevalecer una sola religión, interpretada por los clérigos políticos que la manipulan para sus fines] (Opinión).*

## **The World Changed Frame**

### *A less secure world repertoire*

Some of the news items and opinions classified 9/11 as the greatest terrorist attack in history before and what would it come after the events. That’s to say, the momentous act would be a watershed in history. As we have mention in other sections, one has to be cautious in classifying the role and importance of a global event. As Habermas stated, with the passage of time, we could confirm this. However, it was pointed out in *El Informador* that, with 9/11, the most powerful nation in the world had been wounded on its own soil:

“One of the suppositions of US justice is that every man’s home is his castle, a sanctuary where he cannot be attacked or bothered. Until now, this had been true; today the sanctity of the home has been violated;

today the pain is laid bare; today the United States will go to sleep, for the first time in its history, with an open wound in its side. **Today, the Americans will sleep believing they are suffering a nightmare, and will awake with a sharp crick and there will remain the painful ruins, the twisted steel, the smoke and the stench of death. It is not only the capital and the Big Apple; the wound has affected the whole body**" (Opinion). (16/09/2001: B-4)

*[Uno de los presupuestos de la justicia norteamericana es que la casa de cada ser humano es su castillo, un santuario donde no puede ser atacado o molestado. Hasta ahora eso había sido verdad, hoy ha sido violada la santidad de la casa, hoy el dolor se presenta descarnado, hoy los Estados Unidos dormirán por primera vez en su historia con una herida abierta en un costado. Hoy los norteamericanos dormirán creyendo tener una pesadilla y se despertarán con un rictus amargo y ahí permanecerán las ruinas, los fierros retorcidos, el humo y el hedor a muerto. No son sólo la capital y la gran manzana, la herida se infringió en todo el cuerpo] (Opinión).*

As the rest of newspapers that we worked in this research, *El Informador* also made analogies between some movies (from Hollywood mainly) and with the events that took place in 1941, the attack to Pearl Harbor.

### **Analogy Frame**

#### *Hollywood Movies Predicted 9/11 Repertoire*

This repertoire refers to the fact that reality surpassed fiction. Hollywood movies, in a certain way predicted 9/11 but, according to *El Informador*, one thing nobody considered was the amount of civilians that died.

"This movie shows that the American Union has always been in fear of terrorist acts in the same way that is developed in the movie; but they never thought that the terrorists could lose their lives and those of the passenger as happened on September 11th..." (16/09/2001: B2)

*[Esta película demuestra que la Unión Americana siempre tenía el temor de actos de terrorismo de la misma manera en que se desarrolla el film; pero jamás pensaron que los terroristas podían perder la vida y la de los pasajeros como ocurrió el 11 de septiembre..].*

"The narration came out as being apocalyptic and reality surpasses fiction: the affected buildings were proportionally much larger and I do not know of the power that gasoline has, but I suppose it's equally devastating, this not taking into account that these murderers could use biological weapons with a killing potential every bit as that of atomic weapons" (Opinion). (16/09/2001: A4)

*[La narración resulta apocalíptica y sin embargo, la realidad supera a la ficción: los edificios afectados eran proporcionalmente mucho más grandes y desconozco el poder que tenga la gasolina pero la supongo igual de devastador, eso sin tomar en cuenta que pudieran estos asesinos utilizar armas biológicas con un potencial tan mortal como las armas atómicas] (Opinión).*

As we know, the attacks caused, in the first instance, the implementation of stricter security measures, especially in the United States and the countries that share a common border; Mexico and Canada. The United States established various control and security

measures in strategic points throughout the country; such as at military bases, airports, frontiers, etc.

Furthermore, 9/11 was compared with the events that transpired in 1941, at Pearl Harbor:

*9/11 Was Similar to Pearl Harbor Repertoire*

“The comparisons to try and describe the effect of the explosions are multiplying. There are those who speak of a scene similar to that of a tornado and those who evoke an earthquake. **Only the horror of Pearl Harbor seems to be able to give a good idea of the emotions and the terror that struck Manhattan**”. (16/09/2001: A-6)

*[Las comparaciones para intentar describir el efecto de las explosiones se multiplican. Hay quien habla de una escena similar a la de un tornado, quien evoca un terremoto. Sólo el horror de Pearl Harbor parece poder dar una idea de las emociones y el terror que golpearon a Manhattan].*

However, similarly as in *La Presse*, this Mexican newspaper considered in their pages that the events of 9/11 were a product of the hate to the United States, due to its actions in the Middle East, but also in Latin America and Vietnam

*Hatred for the United States for their Actions in the Middle East, Latin America, Vietnam are the Causes of 9/11 Repertoire*

“**The political ideologies of the subversive network (Al Qaeda) have, as their objective, the destruction of the “Great Satan”, the name given to the United States, the principal enemy of Allah (God of the Muslims) and all that have united before Him and humiliated themselves, such as Israel**” (Taliban leadership). (24/09/2001: A1)

*[Las políticas ideológicas de la red subversiva (Al Qaeda) dirigen sus objetivos a destruir al “gran Satán”, nombre que da a Estados Unidos, principal enemigo de Alá (dios de los musulmanes) y a todos los que se han unido y se humillan ante él, como Israel] (Líder Talibanes).*

“**We live in a time in which the satanization of the United States is not only the patrimony of the left and right-wing extremists; the communists and fascists always hated each other, more than anything its liberal capitalism that this country represents in the world. It is a hatred that is fed from numerous sources, from the inferiority complexes, from those who envy the wealth and power of that country, and of the superiority of those who detest the vulgarity and the informality of its customs and who feel (by belonging to older and historically more illustrious countries) superior to the gringos**” (Opinion). (02/10/2001: A5)

*[Vivimos una época en la que la satanización de los Estados Unidos no es sólo patrimonio de los extremismos de izquierda y de derecha, comunistas y fascistas siempre odiaron, más que nada en el mundo al capitalismo liberal que ese país representa. Es un odio que se nutre de numerosas fuentes, desde los complejos de inferioridad, de quienes envidian la riqueza y la potencia de aquel país, y de superioridad de quienes detestan la chabacanería y la informalidad de sus costumbres y se cree (por pertenecer a países más antiguos y de historia ilustre) superiores a los gringos] (opinión).*

Besides this, *El Informador* considered that the terrorists were created by the United States. By the uses of metaphors we have found the repertoire “Breed cows..” in the sense that Osama bin Laden was trained by the United States. Throughout the entire newspapers’ sample, we find many metaphors and uses of phrases and proverbs that are commonly used in liturgies. It is *El Informador* language style to domesticate terrorism.

*The United States Created the Terrorists repertoire*

The repertoires “breeding crows” as a metaphor is commonly used in Mexico. In full, it says: “Breed crows and they will pluck out your eyes”. It has much significance in light of 9/11 because, as is well-known, Osama Bin Laden was trained by the CIA; in other words, the United States. He fought on the US side in the struggle against the Russian invaders of Afghanistan in 1979.

*Osama bin Laden is the Author of the Attacks Repertoire*

Osama bin Laden is one of the protagonists in the year under analysis; overall he is considered, from the outset, as the man behind of the attacks on the United States. It was interesting that very few negative qualifying adjectives were used towards him, and when they were, they were used in a general context, speaking of “the terrorists”.

**“The objective for the president (Bush) to concentrate on is, in the first place, Al Qaeda, Osama bin Laden, and its presence in Afghanistan”** (Colin Powell). (16/09/2001: A2)

*[El objetivo sobre el que se concentra el presidente (Bush) es en primer lugar Al Qaeda, Osama Bin Laden, su presencia en Afganistán].*

**“Bush pointed an accusing finger at the dissident millionaire of Saudi origin, Osama bin Laden...the principal person responsible for the attacks...there are no doubts about who is suspect number one...”**. (12/09/2001: A3)

*[Bush levantó un dedo acusador contra el millonario disidente de origen saudita, Osama Bin Laden... el principal responsable de los atentados.. no hay dudas acerca de que es el sospechoso número uno].*

*“Breed crows...” Repertoire*

**“(...) The paradox of this reality is that Bin Laden was trained by the US secret services”**. (02/10/2001: A7)

*[Lo paradójico de esta realidad, es que Bin Laden fue entrenado por los servicios secretos de Estados Unidos].*

**“ (...) The long years of sowing have borne weak and stunted produce; now it seems that they are beginning to reap the harvest. Some many years cannot pass and so much money be spent creating and fomenting criminals and only producing gangsters and drug addicts. Now, the first ones to deserve a place in history have graduated and, hopefully, it won't be those who establish a new phase of humanity”** (opinion). (24/09/2001: A7)

*[Los largos años de sembrar han venido dando raquíticos productos; ahora parece que comienzan a recoger la cosecha. No pueden transcurrir tantos años y gastar montañas de dinero creando y forjando criminales y sólo producir gánsters y drogadictos. Ahora ya egresaron los primeros merecedores de un lugar histórico y ojala no sean los que establezcan una nueva etapa de la humanidad] (opinión).*

**“A fundamental fact in the criminal career of Bin Laden has been his work with the CIA during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan...previously, he was an important ally of that nation's government; moreover, this is about a modern Frankenstein...Osama Bin Laden would not be what he is if he hadn't, in his time, the support of the CIA. Now, the monster has returned to fight his creator, whom he has managed to put in check, besides making him impotent...the United States has experienced, in the flesh, the subject of that old refrain: breed crows and they will pluck out your eyes”.** (02/10/2001: A3)

*[Un dato fundamental en la carrera criminal de Bin Laden ha sido su trabajo con la CIA durante la invasión soviética a Afganistán... fue antes un importante aliado del gobierno de esa nación; más aún, se trata de un moderno Frankenstein.. Osama Bin Laden no sería lo que es si no hubiera tenido en su momento el apoyo de la CIA. Ahora el monstruo se ha vuelto contra su creador, a quien ha logrado poner en jaque, además de hacerlo impotente... los Estados Unidos han experimentado en carne propia lo consignado en aquel viejo refrán: cría cuervos y te sacarán los ojos].*

In relation with the ways to combating terrorism, *El Informador*, as *The Gazette* did, considered that the American values are the ones to fight against terrorism.

## Counterterrorism Frame

### *American Values to Combat Terrorism Repertoire*

**“Something has to be assimilated that reviews a fundamental aspect in the near future...discovering how the modern societies, characterized within a democratic system can prepare themselves to face up to the fight...the war against terrorism...the imminent necessity of forming an alliance of countries through which security will be gained from expedited changes in investigation and information in the collaboration for the capture of those responsible for terrorism...this would be the “Free World Alliance”** (Opinion). (24/09/2001: A5)

*[Se tendrá que asimilar algo que reviste un aspecto fundamental en el futuro inmediato por venir.. el averiguar cómo las sociedades modernas caracterizadas dentro de un sistema democrático podrán irse preparando para afrontar la lucha.. la guerra en contra del terrorismo... la inminente necesidad de formar una alianza de países lo que derivará en la seguridad de expeditos cambios de investigación e información en la colaboración para la captura de los responsables del terrorismo .. esta sería la “Alianza del Mundo Libre] (Opinión).*

**“I think it would be good that the world is “Americanized” in the democratic sense of the term. That we could establish a United States throughout the planet, not to spread a “lifestyle” based on Kentucky Fried Chicken and the truculent TV preachers, but one based on democratic values on an international scale, respect for minorities and pluralism (the civilization that includes Islam or the East...).free elections...that's to say, “Americanization” that accomplishes all that was begun in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century in the United States”** (Opinion). (02/10/2001: A6)

*[Yo creo que sería bueno que el mundo se “americanizase” de veras en el sentido democrático del término. Que consiguiéramos establecer unos Estados Unidos en todo el planeta, no para extender un “estilo de vida” basado en el pollo frito de Kentucky y los telepredicadores truculentos, sino los valores democráticos a escala internacional, el respeto a las minorías y al pluralismo, (la civilización que incluye*

*también al Islam o a Oriente..) .. las elecciones libres.. es decir, “americanización” que cumplierse del todo lo que empezó a mediados del siglo XVIII en Estados Unidos] (Opinión).*

“(…) The sad thing is that no high-placed official of the United States has come out to give battle on Latin American television, saying that the terrorist attack that killed more than five thousand people is unjustifiable, whatever the political position we have, **and that the United States undoubtedly committed stupidities in its foreign policy in the past, but that in the last 20 years it has been more preoccupied than other countries with democracy and human rights**” (Andrés Oppenheimer). (12/09/2001: A5)

*[lo triste es que ningún alto funcionario de Estados Unidos está saliendo a dar la batalla en la televisión latinoamericana, diciendo que el ataque terrorista que mató a más de cinco mil personas es injustificable, cualquiera sea la posición política que tengamos. Y que Estados Unidos sin duda cometió estupideces en su política exterior en el pasado, pero que en los últimos 20 años ha estado más comprometido que muchos otros países con la democracia y los derechos humanos] (Andrés Oppenheimer).*

While it considerate that justice must be applied to the despotic and bloody dictators.

Again the uses of qualifying adjectives and the appeal to values is the domestication side of the Tapatian newspaper.

### Legislation Frame

*Justice Must Be Applied for the Despotic and Bloody dictators Repertoire*

**“It is urgent that justice is applied because impunity leaves doors open to repeat the crimes; this included identifying the guilty parties and all of their accomplices, to only punish the guilty ones and not the supposed or imaginary accomplices”.** (18/10/2001: A6)

*[Es urgente que se aplique la justicia porque la impunidad deja las puertas abiertas a la repetición de los crímenes. Lo cual incluye identificar a los culpables y sus cómplices en todos estilos, castigar únicamente a los culpables y no a supuestos o imaginarios cómplices].*

“The name, race and origin of the authors of the deeds are already known, certainly the brains behind them and various accomplices, as well as the country that harbors them. I do not know about reprisals and acts of vengeance. I am still confident that **the law will be applied and justice will be done**” (Opinion). 02/10/2001: A8)

*[Ya se conoce el nombre, raza y origen de los autores materiales, el del seguramente, autor intelectual y varios de los cómplices, así como el país que les dé abrigo. No tengo conocimiento de represalias y actos de venganza. Aun confío en que se aplique la ley y se haga justicia] (Opinión).*

### Impacts of 9/11 Frame

*There Could Be Racism and Contempt towards the Arab and Islamic Societies Repertoire*

*El Informador* manifested its concerns in relation to the effects of 9/11 towards Arabs

and Muslim people in the way media was stereotyping them:

**“The ease with which the political class and the communication media pointed out the Arab and Islamic societies as the probable origin of the attacks could cause racist attitudes and phobias among the US civilian population that could initiate violent acts against their fellow citizens, producing a climate of moral degradation so tragic and contemptible as the attacks of last Tuesday”** (opinion). (16/09/2001: B3)

*[La facilidad y ligereza con la que la clase política y los medios de comunicación del país vecino señalan a las sociedades árabes e islámicas como probables orígenes de los atentados podrían producir actitudes*

*racistas y fóbicas entre la población civil norteamericana que originarían hechos violentos contra sus conciudadanos produciendo un ambiente de degradación moral tan trágica y despreciable como los atentados del pasado martes] (Opinión).*

**“The most powerful nation in the world will undergo a test of fire to live in a multi-cultural society and a multi-ethnic political system; there will certainly be a tendency towards a lack of confidence shown in the USA to other kinds of communities, with a resulting increase in racism in the United States”.** (24/09/2001: A2)

*[La nación más poderosa del mundo enfrentará una prueba de fuego para convivir en una sociedad multicultural y un sistema político multiétnico, lo que seguramente será una tendiente desconfianza norteamericana hacia otro tipo de comunidades, en lo que será un creciente racismo en Estados Unidos].*

### *9/11 Had Consequences and Effects in Mexico repertoire*

*El Informador* concentrate to domesticate terrorism mainly on the effects that 9/11 had on the Mexican nation. It manifested its preoccupations about the position taken by the Mexican government (late response); its consequences for the Mexican economy (this media is always worried about this aspect). However, what this daily portrayed, in the main, were the new immigration policies and the effects they had on Mexican immigrants (and their relatives). It considered, by the repertoire *the Position of Mexico in the Face of*

*9/11 Was Erratic and Confused Repertoire* that Mexico didn't acted as expected.

**“It was ...a lukewarm and timid reaction in relation to the absurd and unclassifiable events in New York...Mexico must pronounce itself, clearly and decidedly from the outset, against terrorism; totally in support of the US people and showing solidarity in its pain”.** (24/09/2001: A3)

*[Fue evidente cómo nuestro gobierno tuvo al inicio, una reacción tibia y medrosa en relación a los absurdos e incalificables sucesos en Nueva York.. México debe pronunciarse desde el principio clara y decididamente en contra del terrorismo, apoyando totalmente al pueblo estadounidense y solidarizándose con su dolor].*

And again, using metaphors:

**“Fox should not have put all his eggs in one basket”<sup>92</sup>. I hope that the attacks in New York City do not change the fate of Mexico, its integrity, nor its freedom and its future. We Mexicans understand that September 11<sup>th</sup> definitely changed our political and economic relations with the country that, until that day, was considered to be the most powerful in the world”.** (24/09/2001: A3)

*[Fox no debió poner todos los huevos en una sola canasta Espero que los atentados terroristas de la ciudad de Nueva York no alteren el destino de México, ni su integridad como nación, ni su libertad, y futuro. Comprendemos los mexicanos que el 11 de septiembre cambió definitivamente nuestras relaciones políticas y económicas, con el país que hasta ese día era considerado como el más poderoso del mundo].*

In *El Informador*, the repertoire of the *terrorist Attacks Affected Mexican Economy Repertoire* was established since as it mentioned “The consequences have greatly hurt the

economic world, but especially ours, through the security measures that have been taken against immigrants and the good neighbor treaties that had been drawn up...”.

Despite these economical possible effects, *El Informador* did not established that bioterrorism could occurred in México, as it happened in Canada. The domestication on terrorism focused then mainly in the political, social and economical ones, but nor in the perceptions of fears of suffering any terrorist event:

*There Is no Need to Worry about Anthrax in Mexico Repertoire*

“In respect of **the situation in Mexico, I don’t believe there is any reason to worry**”. (12/09/2001: A6)  
[*Sobre la situación en México no creo que haya motivo para preocuparse*].

“In Mexico, the sanitation authorities, Civil Protection and the Mexican Postal Service reported that **there was no anthrax detected in the envelopes of correspondence considered as suspect**”. (02/10/2001: A1)  
[*En México las autoridades sanitarias, de Protección Civil y del Servicio Postal Mexicano reportaron la no detección ánrax en los sobres de correspondencia considerados como sospechosos*]

**National/Security Frame**

*9/11 Affected Mexican Immigrants repertoire*

*El Informador* illustrated that the terrorist act of 9/11 affected the Mexican people, the Tapatians in particular. The 9/11 events indirectly affected the families of the illegal immigrants that live in the United States; through new US immigration policies, border controls, the effects on the local economy (especially in agriculture). It included declarations by the Cardinal of Jalisco and by local political representatives from various parties. It presented the new security measures that were implemented in places where Americans live, work and study.

On the other hand, Arabs “that live in Jalisco” were defended and recognized in *El Informador*, for the contribution they have made in improving the local economy.

“The National Migration Institute will ask for a budget of 400 million pesos for 2002...this represents an increase of 56%...**the attacks on the United States forced them to review the national security strategies and, in the sense, migration issues have had to be re-established**”. (02/10/2001: A-4)

*[El Instituto Nacional de Migración solicitará un presupuesto de mil 400 millones de pesos para el 2002.. representa un aumento de 56% .. los atentados en Estados Unidos obligaron a revisar las estrategias de seguridad nacional, y en ese sentido los asuntos de migración han tenido que replantearse].*

**“...Mexico shares an almost 3,000 km-long border with the United States which obliges it to take additional preventive measures after what happened on September 11<sup>th</sup> in New York and Washington”** (State Congressman). (16/09/2001: B-1)

*[... México tiene una frontera de casi tres mil kilómetros con Estados Unidos, lo que obliga a que se tomen medidas preventivas adicionales, luego de lo ocurrido el pasado 11 de septiembre en Nueva York y Washington] (Diputado Estatal).*

### *Mexican Illegal Immigrants and their Families Were Affected Repertoire*

**“The families of the missing illegal immigrants in the tragedy of the World Trade Center are faced with the dual problem of confirming their deaths and being able to collect the compensation owed to them...one problem that faces the immigrants is that many of the missing people didn’t have family here; meaning that many will remain missing forever and their families will be abandoned...the names of at least 35 Latin Americans without work permits have been confirmed as presumed dead as a result of the attacks on the WTC”** (Director of the Tepeyac Catholic Center). (02/10/2001: A3)

*[Los familiares de los indocumentados desaparecidos en la tragedia del World Trade Center se enfrentan ahora al doble problema de confirmar sus muertes y poder cobrar las compensaciones que les corresponda..un problema que afrontan los inmigrantes es que muchos de los desaparecidos no tenían familia aquí, lo que quiere decir que muchos quedarán desaparecidos para siempre y sus familias desamparadas.. se han confirmado al menos los nombres de 35 indocumentados latinoamericanos presuntamente muertos como resultado de los atentados contra WTC] (director del Centro Católico Tepeyac).*

### **Mexicans’ Testimonies From the US Frame**

*El Informador* further found that, through testimonies of Mexicans in the USA, the main way that the direct effects of the attacks were felt. In the first place, it presented accounts of survivors who had been in the World Trade Center, who related their experiences of that notorious day. The names that appear are Latin ones. The manner in which the testimonies are related is a literary form:

**“Richard Cruz was about to go out of the lift on the 92nd floor when a plane crashed into the imposing tower...on the 63<sup>rd</sup> floor, he looked out of a window of the offices...the whole building moved and began to shake. People ran and pushed and went crazy...everyone moved and began to shake...”**I heard a noise and thought that everything was about to collapse...when I made it to the ground floor, the smoke and the dust had darkened the surroundings”...later, he commented “I still can’t believe it, I haven’t regained my sense of reality...I’m so lucky...” (16/09/2001: B2)

*[Richard Cruz estaba por salir del ascensor en el piso 92 cuando un avión se estrelló en la imponente torre.. en el piso 63 miró por una ventana de las oficinas.. todo el edificio se movió y empezó a oscilar. La gente corría y se empujaba y se enloquecía.. todo el mundo se movió y empezó a oscilar .. oí un ruido sordo y pensé que todo estaba por desplomarse.. cuando pudo llegar a la planta baja, el humo y el polvo habían oscurecido el ambiente.. Más tarde comentó “todavía no lo puedo creer, no he captado la realidad... tengo tanta suerte..].*

As well as voices of tapatios in the United States:

“Rosy Jiménez (living in Los Angeles, and originally from Jalisco) **“We got up scared by the information that was being transmitted from the television...the centre of Los Angeles is paralyzed, the people are returning to their homes”**...María Eugenia Hernández...(originally from Jalisco)...“Everything is quiet but there is sadness in the air”...Tere Castro (from Chihuahua, living in Tucson)...**“I’m sorry for the country that dared to do this because we are going to finish it”**. This voice, in particular, reflected the feeling of being part of the US. (16/09/2001: B2)

*[Rosy Jiménez (originaria de Jalisco, radicada en Los Angeles) “Nos levantamos asustados con la información que transmitía la televisión.. el centro de Los Ángeles está paralizado, la gente está regresando a sus casas”.. María Eugenia Hernández..(Originaria de Jalisco).. “Todo está tranquilo pero hay tristeza en el ambiente” .. Tere Castro (de Chihuahua radicada en Tucson).. “lo siento por el país que se atrevió a hacer esto, porque nos lo vamos a acabar”.. Esta voz en particular, refleja sentirse parte del país americano (nos vamos a acabar)].*

*9/11 Affected Tapatian Community Repertoire*

*El Informador*, furthermore, carried out some surveys by telephone to gauge public opinion in Guadalajara in respect of the “the largest terrorist attack in the history of the United States”. The newspaper issued its results, confirming that 31% of those polled felt scared when made aware of what happened, while 18% expressed sadness. 43% ignored what could happen as a result.

Another survey showed up concern about the direct consequences of the attacks on the national and local economy, given that “Jalisco is considered as one of the three states that “export” more migrants to the United States and who are concentrated in the states of California and Florida”.

In a popular space in the newspaper called “Veredicto” (a box in one of the principal pages), the following question was put: “Do you think that the United States is acting correctly in Afghanistan?” With the option to answer yes or no. This space was included in the online daily as well as in the printed version and the results could be consulted by the electronic medium.

Another domestication in *El Informador*, is that while in many media it circulated that the Arabs were responsible of the attacks to NYC, in this daily the repertoire *the Arabs in Jalisco are not terrorists repertoire* circulated inside its pages:

“It is clear that among the murmurings that resound around the planet daily is the prayer to Allah; this doesn’t mean that all Arabs are Muslims nor that all Muslims are Arabs...nor have the remotest idea that all are terrorists...Guadalajara has given a blanket, a bed and a sense of belonging to Arabs, Lebanese and Syrians...a great many have contributed with their initiative, selflessness and hard work to the agrandisement of Jalisco (...) one must not confuse the Arabs here with Bin Laden (...) one must let them work”. (10/10/2001: A4)

*[Si bien es cierto que en todos los rumores del planeta es cotidiana la oración por Alá, ello no quiere decir que todos los árabes sean musulmanes ni que todos los musulmanes sean árabes.. ni remotamente se ha de pensar en que todos sean terroristas... Guadalajara ha dado cobijo, cuna y descendencia a árabes, libaneses y sirios .. muchísimo han contribuido con su iniciativa, su entrega y su trabajo al engrandecimiento de Jalisco... a los árabes de aquí no hay que confundirlos con Bin Laden..hay que dejarlos trabajar].*

Also, the measures that were taken in Guadalajara, where many Americans live and in the airport.

#### *Security Measures Were Applied in the City of Guadalajara on 9/11 Repertoire*

“Governor Ramírez Acuña...agreed to reinforce the patrols in Jalisco, particularly in the areas where the US community lives and in strategic sites such as airports and in Petróleos Mexicanos installations”. (11/09/2001: B2)

*[El gobernador Ramírez Acuña.. acordaron reforzar el patrullaje en Jalisco, particularmente en las zonas donde habite la comunidad estadounidense y en sitios estratégicos como aeropuertos e instalaciones de Petróleos Mexicanos].*

“The mayors of Guadalajara and Tlaquepaque expressed their consternation at the events...the governor has ordered to the police to stay on alert and monitor the area around the American consulate in this city”. (11/09/2001: B2)

*[Los alcaldes de Guadalajara y Tlaquepaque externaron su consternación por los hechos .. el primer edil tapatio ha ordenado a la policía de Guadalajara mantenerse en estado de alerta, al tiempo de reforzar la vigilancia en torno al consulado de Estados Unidos en esta Ciudad].*

“...The collage and the classes of the American School of Guadalajara are operating completely normally”. (11/09/2001: B2)

*[El colegio y las clases del American School de Guadalajara están operando con toda normalidad].*

#### 2002: El Informador

For 2002, *El Informador* highlighted the impact that the measures of control initiated by the United States had as a result of 9/11, those affecting individual liberties. It is well-known that some control policies were implemented on the borders, in airports, immigration, etc. In this daily we find criticism of the American system and it is further

shown how its policies affected Mexican immigrants, who had not historically enjoyed a “good deal” on the part of the USA; but from 9/11 onwards, the maltreatment of them began to increase, as if they were terrorists.

Besides following up these acts that directly affected Mexicans as a consequence of 9/11, *El Informador* granted space in some pieces to the situation that was already taking shape in Iraq. In this paper, it gave voice to Iraqi leaders, for whom the true purpose of what was happening in their country was the great interest on the part of the USA in controlling the oil supply.

### **Consequences of 9/11 Frame**

#### *Security Measures Implemented by the USA Destroyed Civil Liberties Repertoire*

“The United States is no longer the same: **security measures and preventive tactics destroyed freedoms; it closed its borders and its ports; its formidable armoury and powerful army are for searching for an enemy that is everywhere and nowhere.** Millions of Muslims enflame their hearts against the giant, and this, furious and confused, points its weapons at anyone who wears a turban (...) **the proud legend that drove along the highway of the American Lifestyle was substituted by another that takes a tortuous path and whose just name says: Stress all Life**” (Opinion). (15/09/2002: A3)

*“Estados Unidos ya no es el mismo: medidas de seguridad y tácticas preventivas destruyeron las libertades; clausuraron sus fronteras y sus puertos; sus formidables armas y su poderoso ejército es para buscar un enemigo que está en todas y en ninguna parte. Millones de musulmanes enconan sus corazones en contra del gigante, y éste, enfurecido y desconcertado, apunta sus armas contra cualquiera que use turbante... la orgullosa leyenda que conducía al camino de la American Lifestyle la sustituyeron por otra que lleva por un tortuoso sendero y cuyo justo nombre dice: Stress all Life” (Opinión).*

### **World Changed Frame**

#### *Fear Was Instilled into Everyday Life repertoire*

This repertoire, as in other years, appeared in the themes under consideration that were published in the paper that we analyzed. Fear already forms part of our lives; fear of a new attack raised by the threats on the part of the terrorist leaders.

“Like an unpayable debt: **the permanent fear that is harbored in every heart by the unpredictable possibility of a fresh attack.**” (23709/2002: A4)

*“Como saldo impagable: el permanente temor que se abriga en todos los corazones por la impredecible posibilidad de un nuevo ataque.”*

“**We are no longer what we once were. We carry on talking about how the insecurity will be combated, but in reality we live in fear.** In elegant avenues there are businesses that armour-plate automobiles, and the phenomenon of valet parking cannot be explained without the phenomenon of fear.” (24/09/2002: A5)

*“Ya no somos lo que fuimos. Nos siguen hablando de cómo se combatirá la inseguridad, pero en realidad cohabitamos con el miedo. En elegantes avenidas hay negocios donde blindan autos, y el fenómeno de los valet parking no puede explicarse sin el fenómeno del temor”.*

### **Impact in Mexico frame**

*For the Americans the immigrants must be treated like drug traffickers and terrorist's repertoire*

We consider that this repertoire was envisaging the kind of treatment that many Mexicans would received in the US borders. We found that nowadays, there exists a similar level of criminalization to terrorists with drug traffickers.

“US legislators asked President George W. Bush to deploy military personnel on the borders with Mexico and Canada for the purpose of avoiding infiltration by terrorists, immigrants and drug traffickers.” (15/09/2002: A1)

*“Legisladores estadounidenses pidieron al presidente George W. Bush.. despliegue de militares en la frontera con México y Canadá, a fin de evitar la infiltración de terroristas, inmigrantes y narcotraficantes”*

### 2003: El Informador

*Las madres mexicanas, maternidad de barro bronceado,  
se unen en el dolor a las madres de Irak,  
mujeres árabes de tristes ojos oscuros,  
porque sus hijos también han sido perdidos..  
han sido muertos (El Informador)*

### **USA Foreign Policies Frame**

*The Pain Inflicted on the Iraqis by the USA Has Also Been Felt by Mexicans Repertoire*

For the War in Iraq, *El Informador* carried on its front page the headline “War Breaks Out in Iraq” and a caption with Saddam Hussein’s statement: “It’s a crime against humanity”.

*El Informador* published fewer pieces and opinion articles (a total of 84) than *The Gazette* and *La Presse* in percentage terms. It devoted a few more opinion expressed, at least in 2003, than the other dailies.

Throughout these four years, *El Informador* repeated having as its principal source its staff of reporters (*El Informador*), with a total of 20 units (22.5% for 2004).

From the total of published pieces (84 units) 59 were news items and 25 were opinion, which gives us the following graphic diagram:

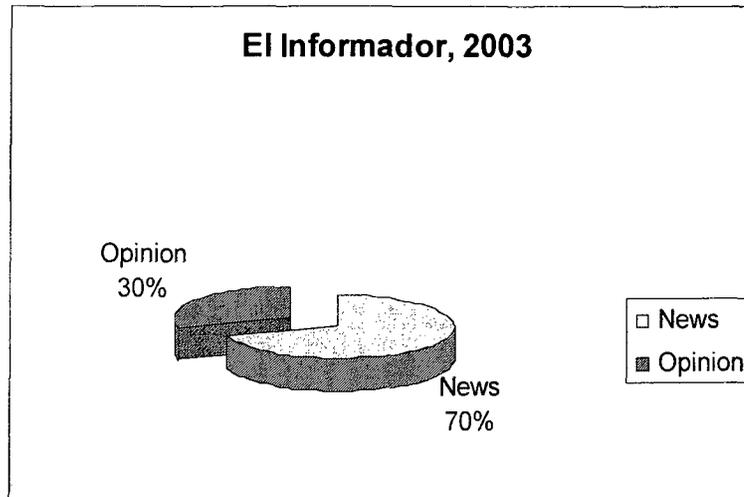


Figure 14. *El Informador, 2003 Opinion and News items percentages.*

#### *Mexico and Iraq Share Common Pains Caused by the US System Repertoire*

*El Informador* decided to highlight the common links between the Iraqi and Mexican sufferings, as other aspects they have in common. The pain principally caused by the obsession of the United States, its level of development, etc. Both countries share and inclusive “us” in front of an “other”, meaning this last one the United States.

**“The US system charges a high price to the illegal immigrants who, in search of a better way of life, come to their lands sending them in the first batch to the frontline of the war, sending them on the most dangerous missions, from which they do not return”.** (28/03/2001: A4)

*“El sistema estadounidense cobra alto a los greasse mexicanos (indocumentados) quienes, en busca de un mejor nivel de vida, llegan a sus tierras enviándolos en las primeras horneadas al frente de la guerra en turno, enviándolos a las más peligrosas misiones, ésas de las que no se regresan”.*

**“...today, Mexican mothers, motherhood of bronzed clay, unite in the pain of the Iraqi mothers, Arab women with sad, dark eyes, because their children have also been lost....have died”.** (28/03/2003: A3)

*“hoy madres mexicanas, maternidad de barro bronceado, se unen en el dolor a las madres de Irak, mujeres árabes de tristes ojos oscuros, porque sus hijos también han sido perdidos... han sido muertos”.*

**“But, a little attention is sufficient to warn us that women, children men and old people that will die under the sophisticated missiles are, in reality, very similar to us”.** (20/03/2003: B2)

*“Pero basta un poco de atención para advertir que las mujeres, los niños, los hombres y los ancianos que morirán bajo los sofisticados misiles, son en realidad, muy parecidos a nosotros”.*

However, the newspaper's conservative stance was its way of criticizing the US system; a stance against the US policy towards thousands of illegal immigrants that leave for the country to the north in search of the American Dream, and with this, sons of these immigrants enlist in the army in order to obtain US citizenship. As we know, the first soldiers that the USA sent to the Middle East were African-Americans and Latin Americans, the majority of the latter being Mexicans. In *El Informador*, this comparison stood out, for 2003, between the Iraqi and Mexican peoples.

*Iraq's Liberation is a Political Excuse to Control its Oil repertoire*

It is the political management of fear, by affirming that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction and the purpose is to liberate the Iraqi people from Saddam Hussein. *El Informador* published the notion that the real goal of the United States was to control Iraq's oil and the economic benefits that war gives. By the strategic use of terror and fear, the US seeks to provoke these in the Iraqi population.

*Iraq: a US Pretext with Political and Economic Ends Repertoire*

This is the principal repertoire which appears in 2003. The war in Iraq had, as its roots, the nature of its political interests (controlling the Gulf zone) which form an integral part of the US policy in that region, as well as economic interests (evidently for control of the oil, but also for the business that results from war).

*El Informador* considered (as the front page showed) that the war would be genocide, given that it published news reports that outlined the American rage and the violence of the Coalition against the Iraqi population.

Something that has stood out in the Tapatian newspaper throughout all the opinion articles (even those coming from its readers) is the continual use of negative and evaluative qualitative adjectives in regard to George W. Bush:

“When this crazy and stupid war ends, which the United States has unleashed against Iraq...obstinately, and without having taken notice of all the logical arguments, with the sick stubbornness of a psychopath, has caused something that, instead of a war, should be called genocide” (Reader’s letter). (05/04/2003: A5)

“Cuando termine esta guerra loca, estúpida, que los Estados Unidos ha desatado contra Irak...en forma obstinada sin hacer caso de todos los razonamientos lógicos habidos y por haber, con una terquedad enfermiza propia de un psicópata, ha provocado algo que en vez de guerra debería llamarse genocidio” (Carta del lector).

“Now, the pretext is to liberate the Iraqi people. Since when have they acted like Samaritans? It would be good that Mister Bush puts his hand on his heart and recognizes that not even all the oil in the world is sufficient motive for the death of so many innocent people; so many children, old people; so much barbarity”. I wonder; whoever acts in this way has the right to pray to and supplicate God? (Readers letter). (28/03/2003: A4)

“Ahora el pretexto es liberar al pueblo de Irak. ¿Desde cuándo han actuado como samaritanos? Sería bueno que mister Bush se ponga la mano en el pecho y reconociera que ni todo el petróleo del mundo es suficiente motivo para que mueran tantos seres inocentes, tantos niños, tantos ancianos, tanta barbarie”. (Carta del lector).

“The true purpose of the attack is the occupation of Iraq and the appropriation of the oil wells” (Iraqi Ambassador). (28/03/2003: A1)

“Los verdaderos fines del ataque son la ocupación de Irak y la apropiación de pozos de petróleo” (Embajador iraqí).

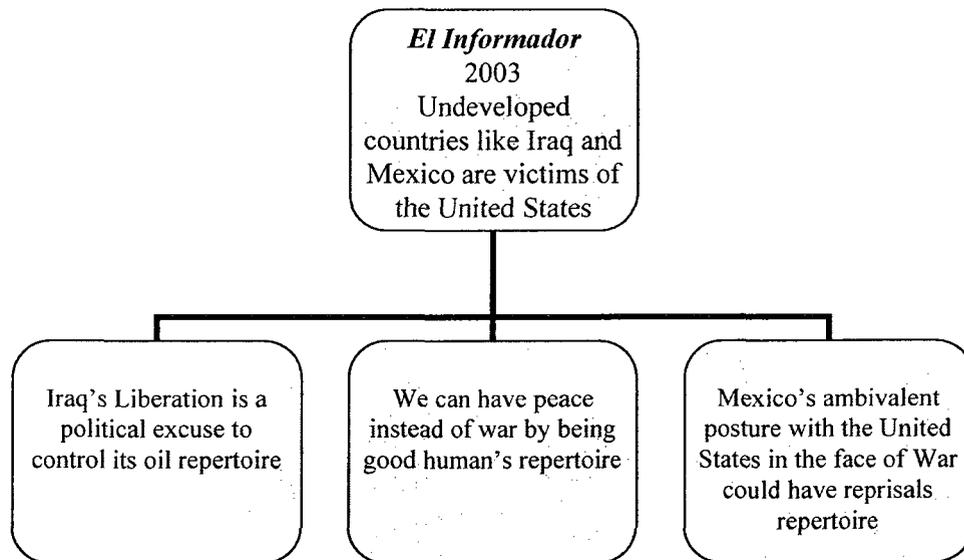


Figure 15. *El Informador*, 2003 Social Imaginaries.

### *It Will Be Genocide in Iraq by the USA Repertoire*

Similarly with *La Presse*, the Mexican newspaper outlined the effects of the war in Iraq to the Iraqi population naming it genocide.

“Last Monday a B-1 bomber dropped four 900 kilo bombs on the Mansur district...” (28/03/2003: A2)

“El lunes pasado un bombardero B-1 lanzó cuatro bombas de 900 kilos sobre el distrito de Mansur...”.

**“At least 320 Iraq infantrymen died in the battle for control of Baghdad airport...US infantry fired against a bus that had failed to stop at a roadblock in the south of Baghdad and killed seven civilians”.** (05/04/2003: A1)

*“Al menos 320 infantes iraquíes murieron en la batalla por el control del aeropuerto de Bagdad...infantes estadounidenses dispararon contra un camión que se negó a detenerse en un control carretero en el Sur de Bagdad y mataron a siete civiles”.*

**“In a week of war against Iraq, the self-determined coalition has dropped more than four thousand bombs in an act that speaks of the devastation of a people by the exacerbated interests of another...a mother and her three small children were blown to pieces by an ‘intelligent’ missile that was “seeking” a “valuable” weapons arsenal...innocents massacred in Baghdad, Basra, Nisiriya and Kerbala; a British soldier of the Desert Rats honored the name when, smiling, he aimed his weapon at an Iraqi civilian who was kneeling in front of him...the life of a white man is cared for: it is the Arab civilians, women, children, men of dark skin who are killed and this premise extends to military life...the first deaths on the part of the US troops have been Mexicans and negroes”.** (28/03/2003: A1)

*“En una semana de guerra contra Irak, la autodeterminada coalición ha dejado caer más de cuatro mil bombas en un hecho que se dice de la devastación de un pueblo por los exacerbados intereses de otro...una madre y sus tres pequeños hijos fueron hechos pedazos por un misil “inteligente” que “buscaba” un “valioso” arsenal de guerra.. inocentes masacrados en Bagdad, Basora, Nasiriya y Kerbala; un soldado británico de la compañía ratas del desierto hace honor al nombre cuando sonriente, apunta con una arma de alto poder a un civil iraquí arrodillado frente a él...la vida de los blancos es cuidada, son los árabes civiles, mujeres, niños, hombres de piel morena los que son asesinados y esta premisa se extiende a la vida militar...los primeros muertos por parte de las tropas estadounidenses han sido mexicanos y negros”.*

### **Religious Frame**

*We Can Have Peace instead  
of War by Being Good Human Beings repertoire*

If there is anything of a local nature in *El Informador* it is the constant appeal to pray and advice given to the Tapatian community. The daily made an evaluation of the acts of terrorism by resorting to the use of negative and evaluative language. This language and call to take a moral standpoint is a characteristic of its Mexican particularity, or rather, a Tapatian one. We can attest that this newspaper distinguishes itself from the others, above all for its language and constant attachment to God’s calling, to reiterate the need to employ universal values (values that the same paper says to follow in its editorial line); it is a local and conservative newspaper, according to the identity of the Tapatian community of the region of Jalisco. It also makes appeal for praying for others and to support the world peace:

*Mexicans Should Pray for Others and to be Better Human Beings Repertoire*

**“Mexico has to support world peace...we must feel proud of the just and brave position of Mexico, in spite of everything”** (reader’s letter). (28/03/2003: A3)

*“México tiene que apoyar la paz mundial...debemos sentirnos orgullosos de la posición tan justa y valiente de México, a pesar de todo” (carta del lector).*

**“We send a prayer to the Creator of the universe in order for reason to be more than petty interests and that hostilities cease; that no more blood be shed, nor lives lost, those that must be consecrated to more noble causes than to satisfy the shameful ambitions of two leaders”.** (28/03/2003: A4)

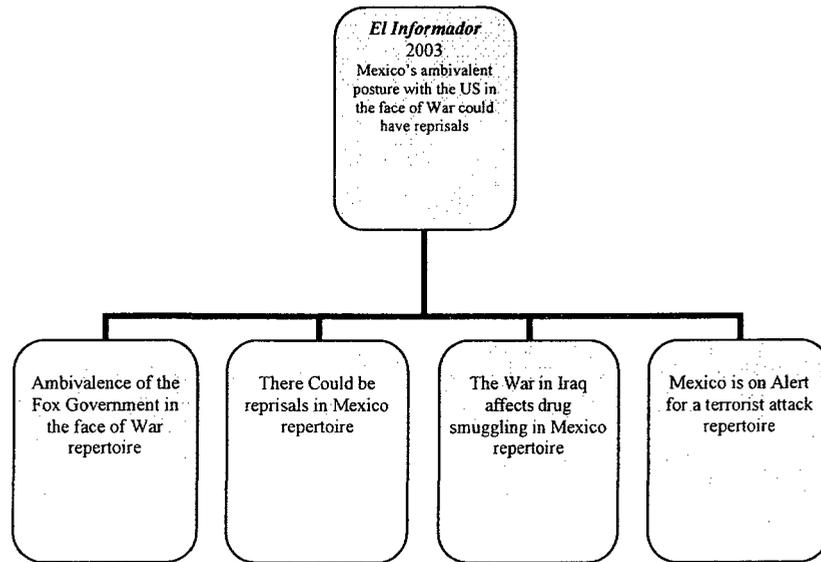
*“Elevemos una oración al Creador del universo para que la razón pueda más que mezquinos intereses y ya cesen las hostilidades; para que no se derrame más sangre ni se pierdan más vidas que deben estar consagradas a causas más nobles que a satisfacer ambiciones inconfesables de dos líderes”.*

These calls to pray came mostly from the Editorials and letters from the readers. As we can see, there is a close link between the repertoires coming from the newspapers editorials and the considerations of its community of readers. We found this important, since it can show in some way, the identification with the discourse of *El Informador*.

### **Mexico-United States Relations Frame**

*Mexico’s Ambivalent Posture with the US in the Face of War Could Have Reprisals*

A constant criticism of the ambivalent posture of the then president of Mexico, Vicente Fox, was manifested in respect of the war in Iraq. In 2001, it was already considered that Fox had made a late response of support for the United States, but for 2003, it was claimed, in this newspaper, that the president should have taken a stance against the war, as had been characterized by the Mexican people; the country being a pacifist one.



*Figure 16. El Informador 2003, Mexico's ambivalent posture repertoires.*

However, possible effects (reprisals) on the part of the United States were taken into consideration. An interesting aspect was a direct effect on the drugs trade, through the closure of certain routes for questions of national security and the later fight for control of some regions on the part of groups of drugs smugglers.<sup>93</sup>

#### *There Could be Reprisals in Mexico Repertoire*

**“The position adopted in the face of that situation is congruent with the history of Mexico...I don't foresee any type of reprisal, neither at the border nor for the Mexican exporters of manufactured goods or vegetables, much less hostile acts or little friendship towards our compatriots in the USA”** (ex-Chancellor Jorge Castañeda). (28/03/2003: A1)

*“La posición que se adoptó frente a esa situación es congruente con la historia de México...yo no preveo ningún tipo de represalias ni en la frontera ni para los exportadores mexicanos de bienes manufacturados o de hortalizas mucho menos actos hostiles o poco amistosos para nuestros compatriotas de EU”* (ex canciller Jorge Castañeda).

**“Mexico's posture is the adequate one, although the country will have to work to avoid possible reprisals by the Unites States, its principle commercial partner”** (President of the Employer's Confederation of the Mexican Republic). (21/04/2003: A1)

*“La postura de México es la adecuada, aunque el país deberá trabajar para evitar posibles represalias de Estados Unidos, su principal socio comercial”* (presidente de la Confederación Patronal de la República Mexicana).

#### *The War in Iraq Affects Drug Smuggling in Mexico repertoire*

This repertoire affirms that the War in Iraq has had consequences to the drug smuggling. Years later we would confirm this, since the groups that control the drug cartels fight to gain territories where to distribute drugs as a consequence of the measures taken in the Mexican border with the United States.

**“...the war against Iraq, let’s not fool ourselves, affects Mexico not only in the economic field...it affects us because the stamp of national security on US territory is having immediate consequences for Mexico.** Two activities are suffering a huge loss through the war: drug trafficking and smuggling...the drug shipments of different Mexican cartels and their Colombian associates are no longer able to pass into US territory by land...the contracted markets (of the drug barons) will naturally lead us to a fight between the cartels for control of the markets”. (21/04/2003: A1)

*“...la guerra contra Irak, no nos engañemos, afecta a México no sólo en el campo económico...nos afecta porque el sello de seguridad nacional sobre el territorio estadounidense sí está teniendo consecuencias inmediatas para México. Dos actividades están sufriendo enorme merma por la guerra: el narcotráfico y el contrabando...los cargamentos de droga de distintos cárteles mexicanos y de sus asociados colombianos ya no están pudiendo pasar por tierra a territorio estadounidense...la contracción de los mercados (de los narcos) los llevará de manera natural a una lucha entre los cárteles por el control de mercados.”*

### **Risk/National Security Frame**

#### *Mexico Is on Alert for a Terrorist Attack Repertoire*

In *El Informador*, when the words ‘terrorism’ or ‘terrorists’ are mentioned, it is always in the face of attacks from the Middle East on the West. *El Informador* didn’t support the US stance of attacking a Middle Eastern country. The alert maintained in Mexico was covered, this being done in the face of the possibility of the Aztec country being attacked by terrorists as a reprisal. Clearly, the news items published were official declarations.

2004: *El Informador*

*El Informador* demonstrated, in its front page of the 12th of March, 2004, that it is a conservative daily newspaper. Contrary to *La Presse* and *The Gazette*, which showed images of the wrecked trains in the attack in Madrid, the Mexican daily decided to include the image of a woman tying a ribbon in a sign of mourning, with a background of

the flags of Spain and the European Community. The headline was “From the heart of chaos”.

In *El Informador*, the interest about what transpired in Spain was reflected and, contrary to the effects that the attacks of 9/11 had on the country directly (national security, immigration, the economy, etc.), these attacks would affect, above all in an emotional way (through the historical – and bloody – connection) with the Spanish people.

Similarly, as shown by *The Gazette* and *La Presse*, it demonstrated information and opinions that manifested the uncertainty surrounding who was responsible for the attacks on the trains in Madrid; if the blame could be laid at the door of Al Qaeda or, as the then Spanish President, José María Aznar, confirmed, that of ETA. Though, the frame *El Informador* construct was the one of Mexico-Spain Relations Frame with the repertoires: *The Worst Terrorist Attack in Spain Hurts Mexico* “What happened to the Spanish people especially hurts us Mexicans; they are our people, half of our blood, of our identity. Any attack against any people hurts us as humans, but when it’s about family, it hurts more”. Another repertoire is *was it ETA or Al Qaeda?* “Who was it? The government remains firm in putting the blame for the attack on ETA, but there have already been two communications from Al Qaeda that claim responsibility for the massacre. A radio channel has circulated the hypothesis that at least one kamikaze Muslim had committed the deed, and that he traveled on one of the trains that was incinerated”.

### **Criminalization of Terrorists Frame**

*Terrorists Kill Indiscriminately repertoire*

The newspaper devoted itself in its editorials to criminalizing the terrorists and terrorism itself and to qualifying the acts of 11th of March in Madrid as acts of megaterrorism. Terrorists were labeled in *El Informador* as worse than animals, as having a criminal mind and of being possessed by demons, etc. They were also continually criminalized and regarded with contempt, the paper making negative evaluations without presenting a greater context.

“Humanity, as if it weren’t enough that it is weighed down by poverty, hunger, corruption, injustice, is present at **the birth of megaterrorism**, in which groups of fanatics wield an enormous destructive power, applied to the defenseless masses...in the **era of megaterrorism, anyone can die without knowing why**. Everything is a question of being in the “wrong” place at the “wrong” time.” (Editorial) (12/03/2004: A4)  
*“La Humanidad, ya de por sí agobiada con tantos problemas de pobreza, hambre, corrupción, injusticia, asiste al nacimiento del megaterrorismo, en que grupos de fanáticos disponen de un enorme poder destructivo, aplicado a multitudes de seres inermes... en la era del megaterrorismo, cualquiera puede morir sin saber ni siquiera por qué. Todo es cuestión de estar en el momento y lugar “equivocados”.* (Editorial)

**“... If there is anything that the terrorists have in common with everyone, whatever the organization, motivation or flag may be, it is the complete disregard for human life and rights, since the objective is to kill indiscriminately anyone who has the misfortune to cross their path”.** (Editorial) (12/03/2004: A4)

*“(.) Si en algo coinciden los terroristas de todo el mundo, cualesquiera que sean organizaciones, motivaciones o banderas, es su desprecio total por la vida y los derechos humanos, ya que su objetivo es matar indiscriminadamente a quienes tengan la desgracia de cruzarse en su camino”.* (Editorial)

### *Islamic Fundamentalists Have Criminal and Crazy Minds Repertoire*

*El Informador* uses a pathological explanation when considering the causes of the terrorist’s actions. In the daily, terrorists are qualified as worse than animals.

“Those who thought that the Islamic Fundamentalists would remain quiet after the massacres in New York, Washington and Pennsylvania were wrong. **They don’t know this type of criminal mind, dominated by an unlimited hatred; a demon-possessed army that only an ultra-radical Islamic sermon can produce**” (Editorial). (20/03/2004: A4)

*“Quienes pensaron que los fundamentalistas islámicos quedarían quietos luego de las masacres en Nueva York, Washington y Pennsylvania, se equivocaron. No conocen a este tipo de mentes criminales dominadas por un odio sin límites. Ejército de endemoniados que sólo una prédica islamita ultra radical puede producir”* (Editorial).

**“...attributing responsibility to such a criminal act – that even the most ferocious of animals would not commit – the Islamic Fundamentalists spoke of “old scores”...today, Spain and the rest of the western world see themselves under threat – the facts show this –).** (29/03/2004: A5)

*“Al atribuirse la autoría de semejante acto criminal –que ni los animales más feroces cometerían- los fundamentalistas islámicos hablaron de “viejas cuentas”... hoy España y todo el mundo occidental se ve amenazado –los hechos lo demuestran).*

“...The idea is to prevent our misfortunes, tracking down those groups that, in their twisted minds, have lost all sense of humanity, and have obviously never known God...” (Editorial). (20/03/2004: A4)  
 “La idea es prevenir nuevas desgracias detectando a estos grupos que en sus mentes torcidas han perdido todo sentido de humanidad, pues es obvio que a dios jamás le han conocido...” (Editorial).

Following on, we present the global analysis of the domestication that we found in *El Informador*. The evolving discourses in respect of terrorism can be observed, and the construction and reinforcing of interpretive repertoires throughout the four years under examination in this investigation; that is to say, since the extra edition published from 11<sup>th</sup> September, 2001, to 11<sup>th</sup> March, 2004.

#### ***Domestication in El Informador. 2001-2004***

*El Informador* is the oldest newspaper of the State of Jalisco. A journal that has maintained its presence in the city and in Tapatian society for over ninety years; a newspaper that has known how to evolve technologically, using color in its pages, digital imagery and such innovations that have been implemented by the modern press since the last century. However, the content and style appears intact, in spite of the passing of many decades since its foundation.

After having analysed the pieces, opinions and editorials from this newspaper, we can affirm that the most characteristic aspects of this paper are its religious rhetoric articulated with the Christian values and the normalization of behavior (such as to pray to overcome the evil devils), as sources and intermediaries in order to live in peace in the world.

Thus, *El Informador* makes use of the construction of repertoires to calling for the adoption of certain practices in everyday life. It is our considered opinion that it uses its biblical-style rhetoric as its conservative way to approach social reality and the way in which *El Informador* reaches its most loyal – and conservative- readers but principally,

its way to articulate repertoires to the social imaginary in a dialectical way of shaping meanings. Otherwise, its long existence could not be adequately explained.

This daily is filled with advice and discourses that outline some of the most relevant values that characterize the Mexican identity: it's Catholicism, solidarity, pacifist nature and its nationalism; in the main, its Christian values. Moreover, its "style" reminds us of the religious rhetoric of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, or that of the Catholic Church when holding mass.

*El Informador* began constructing its first domestication with a religious frame to combat 9/11. This is a paper that grants a great quantity of news-space to the declarations of the Catholic Cardinal of Jalisco, Pbro. Juan Sandoval Iguíñez, who expressed his points of view about 9/11 and the subsequent events. This, along with the particular language used in the paper, confirmed to us that the journal looks to give weight to the principal Catholic leaders in the community as an articulation with a sector of Tapatian society (or how it appears to be).

A newspaper should be characterized by avoiding value judgments. However, *El Informador*, in its editorials, demonstrated a posture at times visceral, forming criminalizations and employing negative adjectives, in a way similar to *The Gazette*.

As quoted in other sections, Lakoff and Johnson pointed out that metaphors impregnate daily life through their use in the day-to-day habits of the community. The language of *El Informador* utilizes metaphors, refrains and a style of language that resembles a Dominican liturgy. It is one of its key ways it domesticates terrorism.

The use of this rhetoric with regard to terrorism was concentrated on two primordial aspects: 1) To contrast terrorism, that's to say, GOOD with its opposite EVIL, in a

language that extols virtues such as peace and justice, as well as how to lead a Christian life. As a social practice, *El Informador* appealed to its readers to pray.

Through these prayers, man would be the catalyst for the forces between good and evil. Good Christians do not kill nor attack their fellows. It is a language that seems like a liturgy, a way to follow, a Biblical language. 2) Bad Christians, or those that do not follow the way of God and those who have not known Him, are converted into terrorists; evil personified. The terrorists represent the devil, and are classified as being worse than animals, as suffering from madness, and who are prophets of the Mohammedan Apocalypse. 9/11 is defined as a punishment from God and it was considered as an event that should serve to make us reflect on what we have done and who we are.

*El Informador*, therefore, formed a view of the causes and effects of 9/11 with a religious and political base (calling it the 21st Century Crusade between the United States and the Islamists-Arabs). It spread the frames and repertoires of the causes of the attacks as deriving from the Arab-Israeli conflict and the support given by the United States to Israel. *El Informador* circulated, through its news and opinion items, the existence of resentment by the Arabs about what has been perceived as Washington turning a blind eye to what Israel has done against the Palestinians.

This Tapatian newspaper circulated the notion, through the material which we analyzed, that *this fight or crusade is between an open, democratic, plural and tolerant world (the United States) against the Islamic radicals*; against a pseudo-theocratic, extremist and intolerant religion (Islam). It denounced and defined the 21<sup>st</sup> Century as the era of confrontation between the fanatics (nationalists and religious) and the free societies; that's to say, between Western democracy and the Islamic radicals (the Arabs).

*El Informador*, principally in its editorials, proposed a way to combat terrorism; it appealed for prayer, it promoted leading a Christian life by living and practicing virtues such as love for thy neighbor and being tolerant and peaceful. At a political level, terrorism is combated, according to the paper, by living in a democratic and plural world (with values such as democracy and justice), and by the establishment of rules to lead a moralistic life.

The repertoire of a less safe world was constructed in the days after 9/11. The first construction of a framework of insecurity that *El Informador* portrayed in its pages focused upon that which could directly affect the American community living in the city of Guadalajara or in the State of Jalisco and the security measures established by the Government of Jalisco to protect the community.

*El Informador* classified the 9/11 event as the worst terrorist attacks ever suffered and a watershed in history.

With the repertoire that the United States and capitalism are the Satans of the Muslims, the idea was planted that the Muslims hated the United States for its actions in the Middle East and also for its actions in Latin America, Vietnam, etc. In other words, it considered it to be an old and cultivated hatred. In the paper, it was confirmed that the USA is an enemy of Allah, even going so far as to say that the Yankees were seeking to exact revenge.

The repertoire that the *United States created the terrorists* was one of the discourses propounded in the paper, even in a daily which established a base of metaphors such as “Breed Crows...; that’s to say, The United States was seen as preparing and delivering the person it considered to be responsible for 9/11, Osama bin Laden. In *El Informador*,

terrorism was criminalized as it was in *The Gazette*; classifying the terrorists in negative terms and confirming the view that justice should be applied to those responsible.

The Tapatian daily concentrated mostly on the frames and repertoires that affirmed that 9/11 had consequences and effects in Mexico, given the security measures implemented in the United States, the border controls and the effect on the economy. The attack on the United States was seen as an attack on Mexico, too; apart from the fact that Mexicans suffered in the attacks in New York, it is felt that Mexico is the greatest friend, partner and neighbor of the American Union.

Curiously, Canada opined that it, too, is the greatest friend and partner of the United States. As we can see, each newspaper adopted a stance in relation to the role of each of the countries (Canada or Mexico) with regard to the relationship with the Americans.

Similarly, it qualified the response from the Mexican government in the face of the attacks in New York and on the Pentagon as erroneous and confused. As we mentioned in another section, Fox's government responded slowly and was heavily criticized for this. In *El Informador*, it was considered that Mexico should endorse a posture against any terrorist act; among other things, the aggression on the United States had also been on Mexico. The greatest worry was that this late response would result in negative consequences and reprisals on the country.

As is known, the United States further extended its immigration policies after 9/11, at the same time reinforcing control and security measures in the country. These measures had negative effects that affected the economy, the money flow and the Mexican immigrants living in the United States, along with their dependants who were receiving money sent to Mexico.

Therefore, *El Informador* focused principally on the frame of 9/11 having an effect on Mexicans<sup>94</sup> living in the United States. This referred to the status of the Mexican immigrants in that country, to the worsening situation in respect of immigration policies in Mexico's northern neighbor, to the maltreatment of Mexicans in the USA (deportations) and how the flow of products (especially from rural areas) to the United States and currency to Mexico was affected.

The focusing on the effects on immigrants (throughout the four years under analysis) shows, in our view, the nationalism and solidarity of Mexicans with their co-nationals. Mexico is a country which defends its nationalism and patriotism. (Angera *et al*, 1983; Zavala, 2001).

This illustrates the interest of media in covering those aspects that are close to the community (domestication). In the same way as *The Gazette* and *La Presse*, the Tapatian daily published testimonies from Mexicans (the other papers concentrated on the Canadians) who recounted how they lived through the 9/11 attacks (being eye-witnesses, or via television, how it would all affect their lives in the American Nation).

For 2002, *El Informador* constructed the repertoire that control and security measures destroy civil liberties; a year after 9/11, Mexican immigrants living in the USA and those that wanted to head there, were suffering maltreatment, racism and a hardening of American immigration policies. The newspaper again focused primarily on the negative effects suffered by these immigrants.

The frame that the world is not the same established that the world changed our daily lives from 9/11 onwards. An aspect that the newspaper quoted was the equal treatment that US legislators sought to establish for terrorists, immigrants and drug-traffickers.

In this year, George W. Bush began to carefully prepare its discourse on media about the preventive war in Iraq. *El Informador* published various opinions of Iraqi leaders who criticized US foreign policy in the Middle East. They considered that the United States was, in reality, looking to control the Gulf zone.

The strategy was to confirm that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction. In *El Informador* the interpretive repertoire that political and economic interests of the United States in the Gulf region would create genocide in Iraq was established; in other words, just as *La Presse* did, the effects and repercussions of the war in Iraq and the human aspect were focused on.

In the daily, especially in opinion items, George W. Bush was criticized; words like psychopath were used and the coalition forces were further condemned for their arrogance and the violence they inflicted on the Iraqi people. *El Informador* adopted a critical stance towards American foreign policy in Iraq and considered that it was a pipedream that peace would be established in the Iraqi country. It proffered the opinion that there was no justification for invading that territory.

In 2003, the recommendation surfaced once more of what Mexicans could do against the war in Iraq and how this would affect them. It reiterated the call for prayer and Christian values. *El Informador* expressed the view that Mexicans are pacifists and the only thing left for them to do was to pray. In the same way as 9/11, the war in Iraq was seen as an invitation to be better human beings.

In a similar way to 9/11 and 2002, *El Informador* concentrated on establishing a base to relate how events affected the Mexican community; in short, its domestication. Therefore, during the war in Iraq, it established analogies and empathies with Iraq (with

its population). It compared the pain of the Iraqis' with the Mexicans, confirming that Mexico and Iraq were very similar countries and that both have suffered through US policies. In this sense, it circulated the repertoire that the developing countries (and those with oil) are victims of the United States.

In regard to the relationship between Mexico and the United States, it was viewed that the stance adopted by Mexico in the face of the war in Iraq should be one of opposition against it. Furthermore, the worry was expressed that the country would suffer reprisals on the part of the United States, with Mexico's rejection of the war.

In 2004, with the attacks in Madrid, Spain, *El Informador* stated that the attack on Madrid hurts Mexico through its historic roots and the bloodline connection with Spain; something that made them part of the family. It classified the events as the worst terrorist massacre in European history and in the face of this event (or rather the sum total of the others); it constructed the repertoire that we are in the era of megaterrorism.

It summed up the terrorists once more as animals, as not knowing God, emphasizing their invisibility. It judged them as diabolical, fanatical, mad Islamic radicals as well as criminals. Again, the posture was visceral and subjective. It did not contextualize the events journalistically, nor did it invite experts to write on the subject. For *El Informador*, terrorism meant to kill indiscriminately.

*El Informador* is a newspaper that, during its ninety-year existence, has projected itself as appealing to the Tapatian community. It is a paper that, with the terrorist acts, was critical of the US system in regard to the invasion of Iraq. However, in the face of 9/11, it expressed the view that the Mexican government should have supported the USA in its struggle against terrorism.

“Jalisco lives in *El Informador*” is the slogan of the newspaper. Only by analyzing all the information which is covered in the paper can one be able to affirm that it really projects what takes place in the region. It is a paper that covered the terrorist acts in a domestic way; that’s to say, how these events affected Mexico and, primarily, the Tapatian community. The domestication on terrorism in *El Informador* reflected how the newspaper articulated its Tapatian community and readers and how this discursive community is integrated around certain symbolic meanings and social practices.

Throughout the years we have analyzed, we have found that *El Informador* constructed a series of repertoires that show how Mexicans, and the Tapatian society in particular, relate to others (Mexicans, foreigners); how Mexicans are influenced by own history (as a pacifist country and its nationalism); how they relate to other peoples (empathy with Iraq); their “family” links with Spain (bloodlines); their collective and cohesive stance adopted in the face of others’ suffering.

*El Informador* proposed social practices to be followed (to pray, being better human beings), and the normalizing of basic behavior. It is this question that appeared to be a moral order theory, permeating, as Taylor pointed out, the social imaginaries (from a broad level of analysis) and how these are integrated in our social life and practices until they become the natural order of things.

Evidently, the media is not the sole institution that promotes beliefs and social meanings. However, it is one of the main means through which repertoires are being rearticulated with news frames and social imaginaries that are promoted and circulated, most of the time being strongly connected with the community to which it belongs.

Finally, the domestication of terrorism was portrayed in *El Informador* as something close because of its effects on Mexicans, especially on immigrants living in the USA. Furthermore, the security and control measures that were applied meant that many Mexicans suffered violations of their civil rights. With Iraq, it felt empathy with its pain and suffering, considering the Iraqi population as being similar to the Mexicans, and that their pain and poverty are being caused by the United States. With the events in Spain, it was judged as an attack on Mexicans too, since the Spaniards are members of the Mexican family.

The type of journalism that could define *El Informador* would be one of a moral/religious order (very ambiguous); which considers that only by following and normalizing certain moral and religious practices can we combat terrorism. It has a rhetoric that belongs to the 19th Century; above all in its editorials, which represent official point of view of the journal.

## *Chapter VII.*

### **The Gazette, La Presse and El Informador**

#### Similarities

In the following sections we present those similarities, differences and particularities of the newspapers we have analyzed, when covering terrorism from 9/11 onwards.

#### El Informador and The Gazette:

1. Both reinforce the social imaginaries that divide the BAD and the GOOD.
2. Both reject the “other”. The BAD beyond itself. It is not a visible enemy and could be anywhere.
3. Both utilize the frame of Criminalization and uses of negative adjectives when referring to those responsible for 9/11 and its aftermaths.
4. In addition, both dailies demonize Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden as the incarnations of Evil.

However, these similarities are articulated with previous stereotypes (interpretations) that have circulated for a long time in the Western world about the Evil “others” and the practice of criminalizing terrorists.

Nonetheless, even though having some similarities *El Informador* and *The Gazette* don't have similar cultural origins. We consider that *El Informador* uses the theological division (Good/Evil) of the world from a religious (Catholic) and moral standpoint which is its way to domesticate terrorism. Whereas *The Gazette* divides the world among evil/good along the social imaginaries it constructs, more influenced by its identification with a secularized moral interpretive repertoire.

#### El Informador and La Presse

1. Both tend to limit the portrayal of terrorists to Islamic Radicals
2. Both considered the causes terrorism of 9/11 to be linked to the Israel-Palestine conflict, the hatred shown towards the United States from within the Muslim world and a hatred of capitalism.

3. Both took an editorial position against the War in Iraq. Both considered it would be genocide.
4. They both intimated that the goal of the War in Iraq was to control oil and the region
5. Both criticized the American system and its foreign policies.

#### The Gazette and La Presse

1. Both framed the War in Iraq as a continuation of other conflicts, like the Gulf War in 1991.
2. Both gave voice and published news from the Muslim Arab people from Montreal.
3. Both published news coming from other countries and other newspapers of Canada (in their respective languages).
4. Both used strategic headlines in their pages to identify key themes related with terrorism.
5. Their first domestication focused on the effects of the 9/11 events to those Quebecois that were preparing a cultural event in NYC.
6. They articulated the connection between terrorism/terrorists and Montreal.

When identifying these similarities, one could distinguish them as being focused on specific practices of localization. Giving voice to a small part of the population of Montreal to express their concerns also articulated a version of domestication. The rest of the common aspects they share are related with its production (headlines; news coming from different countries in the world).

#### *Differences When Covering Terrorism*

Throughout the four years analyzed, *The Gazette* manifested its approval for the war against terrorism, which included the War in Iraq. *La Presse* maintained that Canada must give support to the United States after the events of 9/11. However, with the War in Iraq, it considered that it was not justified in invading that country and came out against it.

The Gazette and La Presse:

1. *La Presse* dedicated to covering the effects of the War in Iraq on its population, qualifying it as a catastrophe (human and ecological). While *The Gazette* mainly focused on showing the military superiority of the United States and its coalition in Iraq.
2. Since its extra edition, the frame of vulnerability appeared in both papers, however *The Gazette* manifested an inclusive “us”, this means, “we are vulnerable” while *La Presse* referred to this vulnerability only for the Americans.

Particularities

(Those aspects that distinguished each daily from the others when domesticating terrorism)

El Informador

1. The use of a very distinctive linguistic style and religious rhetoric.
2. The circulation of Christian values and the calls for normalizing of specific social practices.
3. The articulation of a discourse of empathy and a feeling of closeness with the Iraqi people.
4. The insistence on the ethno-cultural connection with Spanish which made the attacks of March 11, 2004 an attack on Mexicans as well.
5. Effects of 9/11 on Mexicans immigrants.

The Gazette

1. The paper took a Pro-US and Israel editorial line.
2. The frames and repertoires rearticulated anglo-american public discourse.
3. The paper expressed its criticism to the role of the United Nations.
4. The paper took a Pro-US stance on foreign policies in Afghanistan, Iraq and the ‘Axis of Evil’.

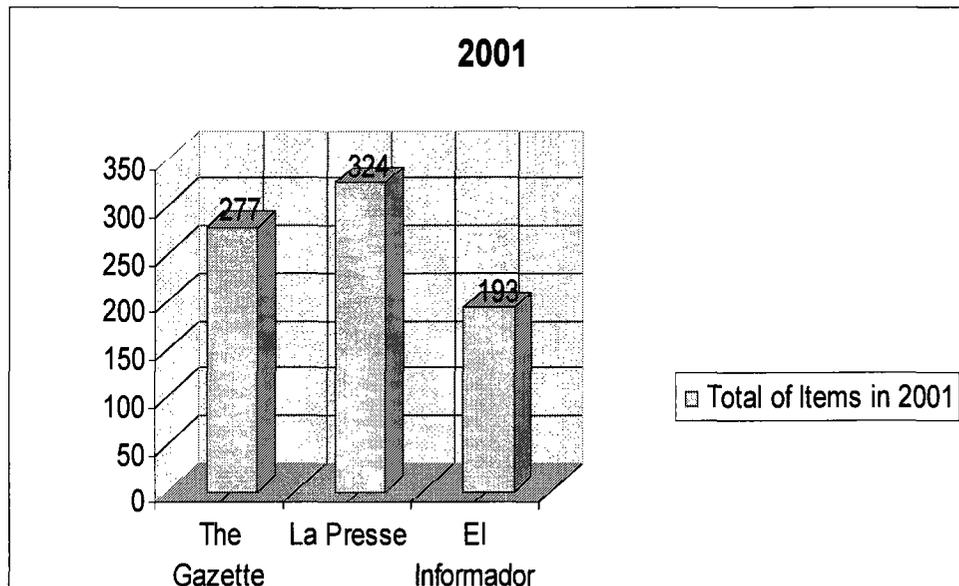
La Presse

1. The paper framed 9/11 as a new kind of war.
2. The framing concentrated significantly on the perceptions of local fears of a terrorist threat.
3. The coverage drew upon a significant number of international correspondents. It also reprinted a significant number of opinion and news pieces from newspapers of other countries, especially from Great Britain and France.
4. Emphasized the symbolism of the attacks on New York and the Pentagon
5. The paper articulated a critical stance throughout the period we analyzed.
6. The editorial stance qualified the war in Iraq as initiating a new epoch

7. There was more of a focus as well on the global effects of terrorism (with a particular focus on Europe)

### *Comparative Figures 2001-2004*

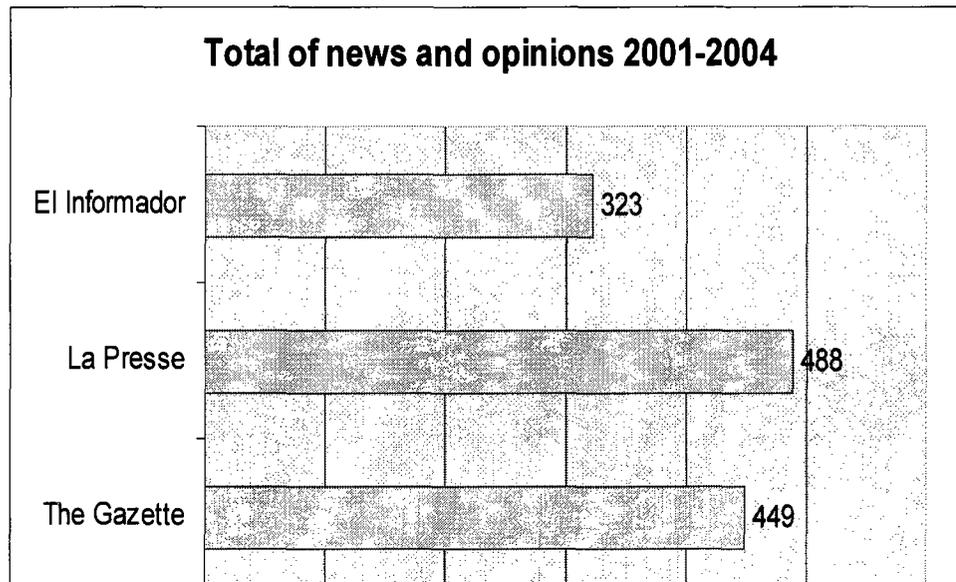
*La Presse* was the daily that had more news and opinion pieces. The actual attacks of 9/11 event were covered by more news items in the three newspapers than their aftermaths (War in Iraq and Attacks on Trains in Madrid).



*Figure 17. Number of news and opinion pieces in the three dailies in 2001.*

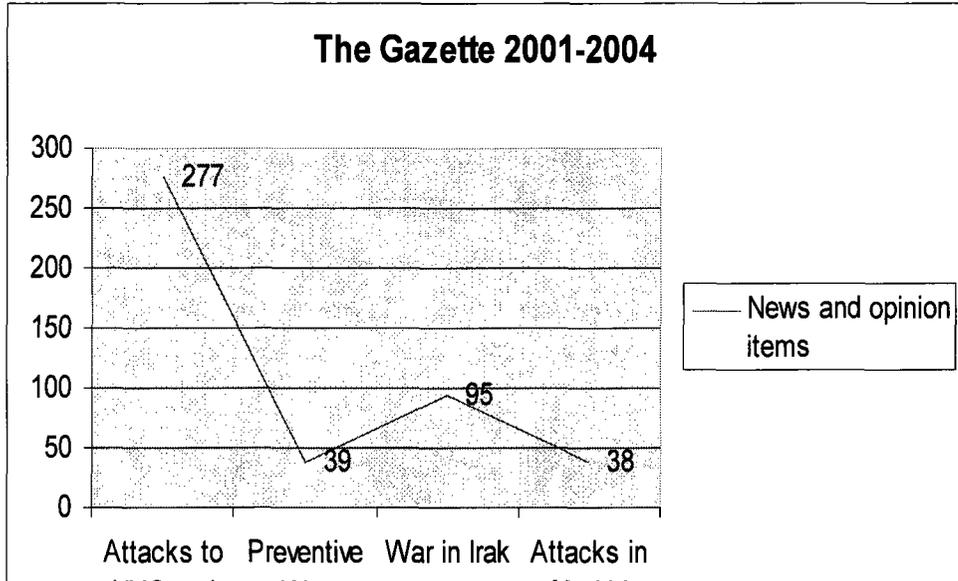
The explosions in Madrid, that occurred on 11<sup>th</sup> March, 2004, received far less coverage. This was an event that didn't receive great attention from the dailies. We would like to point out that the total number of news items for 2004 does not correspond entirely to what happened in Madrid. That's to say, of the 38 pieces of *The Gazette*, just 10 corresponded to the events in Madrid. The rest concentrated on the Iraq War or Afghanistan. *La Presse* dedicated 15 pieces (75%) to the events in Madrid and the rest (5)

to Iraq. While *El Informador*, out of a total of 36 news items, 16 (almost 50%) were about the events in Spain.

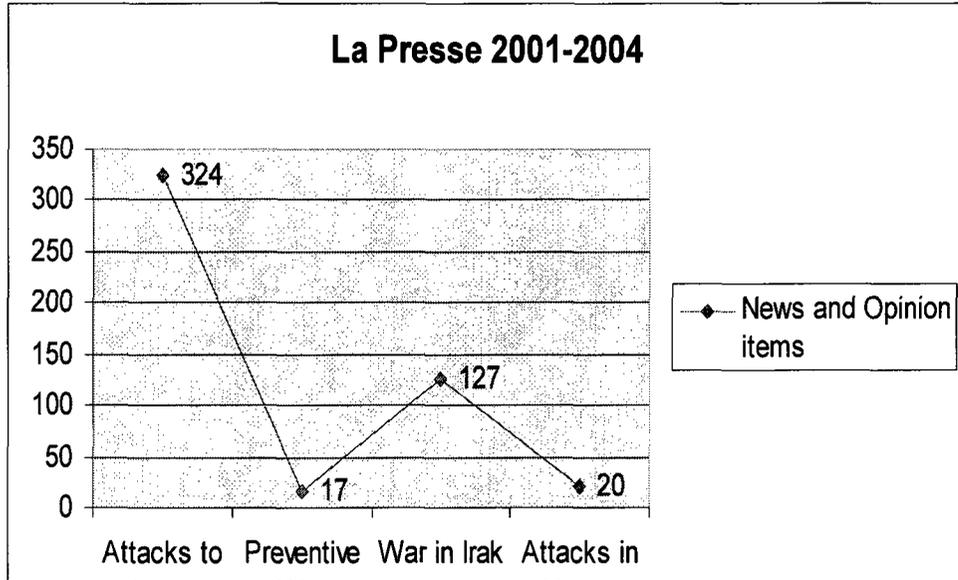


*Figure 18. Total of news and opinion pieces 2001-2004.*

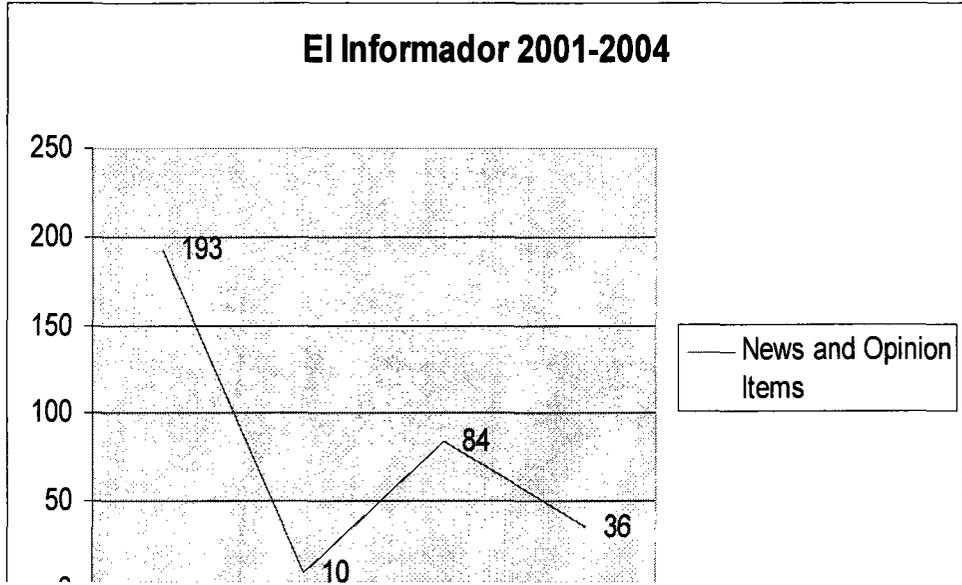
In the following graphs, we can see the number of news and opinion pieces that each newspaper published throughout the four years (2001-2004). As we can see, *La Presse* was the paper that carried more items, followed by *The Gazette* and finally *El Informador*.



*Figure 19. The Gazette news and opinion items 2001-2004.*



*Figure 20. La Presse news and opinion items 2001-2004.*



*Figure 21. El Informador news and opinion items 2001-2004.*

## VIII. CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this investigation was to show the domestication on terrorism that was constructed and circulated by the newspapers *The Gazette*, *La Presse* y *El Informador* in the wake of 9/11 and its aftermath. We believe that we have fulfilled these objectives. We have constructed a cartography of the ways each daily localized terrorism.

We found that the role of the news media in this new millennium seems to have a protagonist role since they act as constructors of the definitions of local, national and global problems. One of the conflicts in this era is terrorism which, since 9/11, has acquired a worldwide relevance.

### *Social Imaginaries in its articulation through frames and repertoires in Media Serve to Reinforce Social Awareness*

As we have mentioned, the media is not the only institution that creates awareness and construct how do we see and interpret the world; however, it is one of the most referred to and relevant. The reading public of daily newspaper forms an opinion about, for example, how another terrorist attack could occur, who the enemies are to overcome, what was the motive for the war in Iraq, what are the causes of terrorism from 9/11 onwards, how do we react to it, how our social practices may change, etc. These considerations can be shared with members of the family and friends, etc., and then the whole process turns into a deeply hermeneutic one. The same practice reconfigures the possible feelings aroused. Therefore, we have found that the frames and repertoires reinforce and rearticulate existing social imaginaries that even could reproduce some social practices.

The media also created, evaluated, pondered on, published, repeated and reiterated certain themes and evaluated them. One of the frames about terrorism that constantly

appeared in the Canadian newspapers was the perception of fear in the face of a terrorist attack. This was one of the main domestications constructed by *La Presse*, since 9/11.

In this age we can see that the fear of the 'other' has been exploited; it is an abstract evil incarnated in the figures of Osama bin Laden as well as Saddam Hussein; a fear of the unknown, of the latent threat of a terrorist attack, with the idea that the 'other' is around us and could attack at any moment, killing indiscriminately. Overall, a fear of all that which could harm the interests of the United States (and its allies).

The analysis of the domestication on terrorism in the newspapers is a sample of the diversity of foci and viewpoints in the way media can make local a global subject such as terrorism. We consider that other types of media may construct and domesticate terrorism in some different ways. However, having focused on the localization that the print media (in *La Presse*, *The Gazette* and *El Informador*) constructed on terrorism allowed us to explore a path that opened up for us the ways of knowledge in order to understand a little more about the cultural appropriations regarding terrorism in three distinct discursive/cultural groups.

As we have tried to show, the appropriation and interpretation of the newspapers on 9/11 terrorism and its aftermaths was permeated by their editorial precepts and postures in the face of a conflict that especially affected Mexico and Canada because of their very close relationships with the United States. This allowed for a portrayal of how the media considered that terrorism must to be combated and the consequences it had for the Canadian and Mexican nations; as well as the relationship that these societies have established with their own people, in particular the kind of representations and articulations they made about themselves with respect of terrorism and the "others".

Terrorism is a matter that has brought about global consequences. Although it has affected different parts of the planet in different ways, in the countries in which we studied the print media (Canada and Mexico), it has had direct consequences on their societies at different levels. The newspapers related the global impacts of terrorism to the local effects of it in Montreal and Guadalajara. However, the three dailies showed that their domestication was more concentrated in how they positioned themselves in its relation with other institutions (political, religious ones, etc.) and their values.

The theoretical framework that we employed allowed us to establish a base from which to approach, analyze and view our objective, while the methodology of three phase dialogical model was very useful in unraveling the domestication of terrorism through the interpretive repertoires and news frames and to put them into their socio-historical broader context of social meanings.

While understanding that we present a briefly introduction on the socio-historical contexts where the three newspapers are produced, this allowed us to understand how each particular discourse group (Francophone and Anglophone Quebecois, and Tapatian) has been shaped, which, in the end, affected the editorial practices of the newspapers and the type of repertoires and frames that were constructed in each media. We recognized the lack of understanding we still have about the Mexican and Quebecois societies.

In the three extensive sections of analysis, we exhibit the development and evolution of domestication (by its frames and repertoires) in the dailies examined from 9/11 of 2001 to 3/11 of 2004 which permitted to map the specific domestication practices but also how the discourse on terrorism evolved during the four years we analyzed.

The discourse on terrorism articulates a group of meanings that is socially created and that circulated as interpretive repertoires. Subjects make use of discourses and reshape it constantly; they modify it and even make it alive. Through the discourse strategies of the newspapers, subjects receive a series of interpretive repertoires about the discourse on terrorism and the way it could affect the society where this people belong to.

As we exhibit, the discourse on terrorism in the newspapers that we have studied, is anchored in local social formations from the societies in which the media are produced (Montreal and Guadalajara) and it showed how each daily articulated an ordering of things in the world. It is through repertoires that discourse can achieve to reach people.

We tried to find out the common repertoires that circulate through *La Presse*, *The Gazette* and *El Informador*. We intended to reconstruct these repertoires since through its conformation the discourse on terrorism is shaped and domesticated. Frames constituted the scenario or contexts on terrorism and discourses can have many frames.

Finally, we portrayed the domestication of terrorism by deconstructing the discourse on it and localizing its frames and repertoires in three different newspapers from distinct cultural formations. We presented the results of this in such a way to show or reconstruct the domestication of terrorism through the particularities of the interpretive repertoires.

As we found out, the interpretive repertoires are articulated with frames and these frames are articulated with macro discourses (the social imaginary) which underpin how we are positioned in the world and how we relate with the others as a society in front of the social fact of contemporary terrorism.

*Global Terrorism: Merchandise of Local Appropriation*

This study permitted us to argue that the dailies continued publishing those news items which were viewed as “close” to their community of readers and interests. As we have mentioned in other sections, the news surrounding terrorist acts contain all the elements of the events considered to be newsworthy, therefore, “sellable” to the people that “buy” it. We did not forget that the newspapers are also commercial products and that this fact sustains them; although, as mentioned on various occasions by the journalist Jorge Zepeda, good content should not be in opposition to business.

However, we could not confirm that the three papers examined maintained the same standards of quality in their contents. As we put forward throughout the investigation, each daily constructed its focus on the terrorism of 9/11, the war in Iraq and the attacks in Madrid in a different way. Each one afforded greater space to some protagonists than others, focused on different aspects of the war and assumed distinct postures.

In reality, they exhibited some similarities but greater differences and this is precisely what we expected to find. Some repertoires were articulated with religious frames, some others with political postures and values. However, it is an interpretative process anchored in the societies where the dailies are produced.

Moreover, print media has a production cost. The reader pays for a newspaper (in its classical presentation). We suppose that the one who buys it, he who subscribes to a paper, shares or identifies with its content. The reader might not be in agreement with many of the opinions expressed, but we believe that his general viewpoint coincides with that of the newspaper.

Upon discovering which the domestication on terrorism was, the print media showed how they perceived themselves and its community of readers in relation with terrorism from 9/11. This fact was articulated with the effects it had in international politics, security measures, economics, immigration and furthermore; it has caused the implementation of new legislative measures, as well as the reconfiguration in regards to the perceptions about terrorism. As established by Teun van Dijk the media functions as an organ of communication between the “elite”. We feel that the role of this “local” media in the construction of social meanings in respect of terrorism is a subject that must be continued to be discussed.

*Possible Lines of Investigation to Follow*

We think that this study could lead on to new investigations; one could be to continue the study of social meanings constructed by the news media but turn to a consideration of its reception. It would be very interesting to see the results of a study about the connection of discourses that are transmitted through media with its reader/audience’s discourses about it.

Another direction might be to analyze the print media of the Middle East. To us, it would be very interesting to compare the range of discourses on both sides of the world, providing a little more understanding about how they see and how they define the West and its war against terrorism; how we understand “terrorism” may be completely different to how they see it (certainly true). Only from a holistic point of view could we comprehend the true scope of a phenomenon such as terrorism and its relation with the media.

The media studied here devoted great space in its pages to terrorism, but many problems exist that affect the world and communities that have been relegated, forgotten or simply do not exist in the media because they are not “profitable” in a newsworthy sense, or there is no interest in covering them.

There are places where thousands of human beings die through starvation, poverty, etc.; while in the war against the “axis of evil” millions of dollars are spent everyday. We believe that what is not spread by the media could be just as important as what *is* spread. It is incumbent upon us to concentrate our efforts on studying the media. The consequences of terrorism are still affecting society; the task continues.

*“..I have long felt that a special intellectual and moral responsibility attaches to what we do as scholars and intellectuals. Certainly I think it is incumbent upon us to complicate and/or dismantle the reductive formulae and the abstract but potent kind of thought that leads the mind away from concrete human history and experience and into the realms of ideological fiction, metaphysical confrontation and collective passion. This is not to say that we cannot speak about issues of injustice and suffering, but we need to do so always within a context that is amply situated in history, culture and socioeconomic reality. Our role is to widen the field of discussion, not to set limits in accord with the prevailing authority” (Edward Said, preface written in 2003 in the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of “Orientalism”).*

## VII. ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> The concept of *violence* is complex. According to Helene Frappat, instead of proposing a unifying definition of the term, we must understand what the particular uses of the notion are, and what the stakes are, that in each context provides a particular meaning. “*Violence* vient du latin *violenta* qui signifie violence, caractère violent ou frouche, force. Le verbe *violare* signifie traiter avec violence, profaner, transgresser...Le passage du latin au grec confirme ce noyau de signification. Au *vis* latin correspond l’*is* homérique (is) que signifie muscle et encore force, vigueur et se rattache a *bia* qui veut dire la force vitale, la force du corps, la vigueur, et, en conséquence, la violence, ce qui contraint et fait violence » (Y. Michaud, quoted by Frappat, 2000: 15).

<sup>2</sup> The term terrorist was first applied to the Jacobins and their agents and partisans in the French Revolution, especially to those connected with the Revolutionary tribunals. See (1989) *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Clarendon Press: Oxford.

<sup>3</sup> Violence as a means of communication received an impetus with the inception of the mass media. Schmid and de Graaf point to the discovery of dynamite in 1866 and the perfection of the Rotary Press in the same year “two inventions that soon started to interact”. According to Laqueur, the late Nineteenth Century Italian Anarchists Malatesta and Caflero were among the first to postulate the nature of a media-terror nexus (see Weimann and Winn, 1994: 53).

<sup>4</sup> For a broad discussion on the September 11th event from a philosophical point of view, see Borradori “Le concept du 11 septembre”, Paris: Galilee, 2004.

<sup>5</sup> As Noam Chomsky said in an interview on 09/11 *Noam Chomsky: se inicia un Nuevo tipo de Guerra*”, Retrieved August 22, 2002 from [www.jornada.unam.mx](http://www.jornada.unam.mx)

<sup>6</sup> Carlos Monsivais in “México desde el 11 de septiembre” Retrieved February 11, 2003 from [www.fractal.com.mx/F22monsiv.html](http://www.fractal.com.mx/F22monsiv.html)

<sup>7</sup> Carlos Monsivais, 2003.

<sup>8</sup> ETA in Basque means “Basque Fatherland and Liberty” and is a radical separatist organization that has given up on peaceful politics and begun terrorist actions against the Spanish government (Rodrigo, 1989).

<sup>9</sup> The body of analysis provided by newspapers takes in a sample that begins with 11th September, 2001 and ended with the events that took place in Madrid on 11<sup>th</sup> March, 2004.

<sup>10</sup> Mitchel and Schoeffel, 2002: 15-16.

<sup>11</sup> For further information consult next web link [www.rsf.fr](http://www.rsf.fr) . Information retrieved on February 15, 2004 from [http://www.rsf.fr/imprimir/php3?id\\_article=2297](http://www.rsf.fr/imprimir/php3?id_article=2297).

<sup>12</sup> See USA Patriot Act complete document <http://www.fincen.gov/hr3162.pdf>

<sup>13</sup> To get more information consult next web link [www.rsf.fr](http://www.rsf.fr) Information retrieved on February 15, 2004 from [www.rsf.fr/imprimir.php3?id\\_article=2297](http://www.rsf.fr/imprimir.php3?id_article=2297)

<sup>14</sup> *La política antiterrorista de la Administración Bush pone a prueba la libertad de prensa*, Retrieved on February 15, 2004 from [www.rsf.fr/imprimir.php3?id\\_article=2297](http://www.rsf.fr/imprimir.php3?id_article=2297)

<sup>15</sup> We consider that ‘local’ derives its strength from the people who write for the newspaper (columnists, editorials, etc.) who are frequently people from the region writing about a specific topic. Apart from that, a ‘local’ newspaper is defined in this work as such for its ‘proximity’ to the community over the years.

<sup>16</sup> We assume that English newspapers readers in Montreal (such as *The Gazette*) are in the great majority native English speakers. However, we know that *The Gazette* is gaining French readers day by day and that the French community of Montreal used to read English and French media while the Anglophone community prefers to read mostly English ones. On the other hand, we also assume that immigrants or refugees in Montreal who are not English-speaking people, with reference to the newspapers they read, must read French language newspapers like *La Presse*, since they are in any case obliged to learn French.

<sup>17</sup> The term terrorism derives from the Latin verb *terrere*, “to cause to tremble or quiver”. Retrieved from Kellner, Douglas. "Terrorism." *Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*. Ritzer, George (ed). Blackwell Publishing, 2007. Blackwell Reference Online. 11 May 2008 [http://0-http://0-www.sociologencyclopedia.com.mercury.concordia.ca:80/subscriber/tocnode?id=g9781405124331\\_chun\\_k\\_g978140512433126\\_ss1-16](http://0-http://0-www.sociologencyclopedia.com.mercury.concordia.ca:80/subscriber/tocnode?id=g9781405124331_chun_k_g978140512433126_ss1-16).

<sup>18</sup> The Geneva Convention consists of treaties formulated in Geneva, Switzerland that set the standards for international law derived from humanitarian concerns. The conventions were the results of efforts by Henri Durant, who was motivated by the horrors of war he witnessed at the Battle of Solferino. For more information see <http://www.genevaconventions.org>

<sup>19</sup> For the Bill C-36 definition of “Terrorist activity” see [http://www.peianc.com/sip/docs/laws\\_summarized.pdf#search='Bill%20C36%20definition%20terrorism'](http://www.peianc.com/sip/docs/laws_summarized.pdf#search='Bill%20C36%20definition%20terrorism')

<sup>20</sup> Minister of Citizenship and Immigration.

<sup>21</sup> Gilbert Durand notes that there is an ever-growing number of researchers (covering about 50 university research departments in France and abroad in all five continents) who are convinced of the strategic importance of the imaginary (1993:20).

<sup>22</sup> Declaration centered on the 19 C. society context and referring to literature and poetry.

<sup>23</sup> In her work Clausen made a comparative study between news ‘domestication’ in Japan and Denmark.

<sup>24</sup> However, we consider that AFP is getting a much more relevant place in world news.

<sup>25</sup> The control of information during the First and Second World Wars were complete and systematic (Bauregard and Saouter, 1997). During the invasion to Vietnam, between 1964 and the end of 1968, 2000 representatives of media covered the war. But the journalists were all agree to respect certain rules of censure concerning to the military security. Only six of them lost their accreditations (Bauregard and Saouter, 1997:14). American journalists reported that war at such odds to the official version that the public lost faith in the enterprise. During the Gulf War, things went worse. Instead of becoming more independent from the Government, it was such control of the press by it that journalists accepted to participate as *pools* of press: many journalists were regrouped and displaced within the battle zones under the control of the officers of public relations. The American Armed Forces exerted then a whole control on the information. What was new and unexpected, were the images in directed transmitted by CNN during the Gulf War. This type of covering news gave rise to which will be denominated as “CNN War”. (Bauregard and Saouter, op cit:15). The effects of the images on the population were powerful. This kind of journalism had been qualified as “journalism of spectacle”. After ten years, from the Gulf War to the attack to the Twin Towers, this kind of journalism has not changed. But also the governmental control on information.

<sup>26</sup> As happened in Madrid, Spain, where the ex-President Jose Maria Aznar manipulated the information on March 11<sup>th</sup>, 2004, when several trains where exploited by bombs, that were going from Alcala de Henares to Madrid (Atocha’s metro station). Aznar exploited the 191 deaths, insisting that those responsible for the event were the Basque local terrorist group ETA, even though he had information that *Al Qaeda* was behind of them. Presidential elections took place on March 14<sup>th</sup>. The director of the newspaper *La*

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*Vanguardia*, confirmed that on March 11<sup>th</sup> he received a phone call from President Aznar, who said to him that he was sure that ETA was the author of the attacks (Retrieved on March 22nd, 2004 from [www.lajornada.unam.mx/033n2mun.php?origen=mundo.php&fly=1](http://www.lajornada.unam.mx/033n2mun.php?origen=mundo.php&fly=1). Labor unions of the EFE Spanish news agency asked for the removal of his Information Director, Miguel Platon, for “censuring and manipulating” information to protect the government and to favor the interests of the Popular Party (Aznars’ Party) in the election of March 14<sup>th</sup>. The petition was denied by its executive. Retrieved on March 16<sup>th</sup>, 2 0 0 4 f r o m [www.eluniversal.com.mx/pls/impreso/version\\_impresio?id\\_nota=30998&table=Internacional](http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/pls/impreso/version_impresio?id_nota=30998&table=Internacional)

<sup>27</sup> As the West we include Europe and North America.

<sup>28</sup> The term Middle East was invented in 1902 by the American naval historian Alfred Thayer Mahan, to designate the area between Arabia and India, with its centre – from the point of view of the naval strategist – in the Persian Gulf. This new geographical expression was taken up by *The Times* and later by the British Government, and, together with the slightly earlier term “Near East”, soon passed into general use. The term had been so useful that the area of its application, as well as of its use, had been vastly extended – from the original coastlands of the Persian Gulf to a broad region stretching from the Black Sea to equatorial Africa and from India to the Atlantic (For more detailed accounts see Bernard Lewis (1964), *The Middle East and The West*, Harper and Row: New York).

<sup>29</sup> “Satan barely appears in primitive Christian art and the catacomb frescoes ignore him. One of his oldest representations, in the walls of the Baouit Church in Egypt (6<sup>th</sup> C.) shows him with the features of an angel, without doubt a fallen one, but with hooked nails and an ironic smile (Delumeau, 2005: 361).

<sup>30</sup> See Delumeau, Jean, *El miedo en Occidente*, Editorial Taurus: México.

<sup>31</sup> As Delumeau points out, the celebrated Malleus was circulated in Europe with a publication of 30-50,000 copies. Among the three great works dedicated to Satan, we find *The Theatre of the Demons*, and *Instructions about the Tyranny and Power of the Devil*. The former was a collection dedicated to demonology and it has been calculated that among the first editions and reprints, at least 231,600 copies of Works about the Demon world were launched into the German market during the 16th Century. It is considered that in no other country in the world has the Devil exercised such a tyrannical influence as in Germany (op. cit: 372-372).

<sup>32</sup> Fright, revulsion, dread and terror belong to the realm of fear: uneasiness, anxiety and melancholy to anguish. (ibid: 31).

<sup>33</sup> Panopticon: “A circular, or Polygonal Building, with cells on each story in the circumference; in the centre, a lodge for the inspector, from which he may see all the prisoners, without being himself seen, and from whence he may issue all his directions, without being obliged to quit his post”. *The works of Jeremy Bentham*, edited by John Bowring. Volume One, New York, Russel & Russel, 1962.

<sup>34</sup> We have chosen to construct for our newspaper analysis a compounded week. That means that we start one Sunday and the next week one Monday and so on until we have completed one week. The size of our sample considers four compounded weeks from the years 2001, 2002, 2003 and 2004 (2001 the Extra and the 12<sup>th</sup> of September editions plus a compound week: September 16, 24; October 2,10,18,26; November 3; 2002: September 15, 23; October 1, 9, 17, 25; November 2; 2003: March 20, 28; April: 5, 13, 21, 29; May 7; 2004: March 12<sup>th</sup>, 20,29; April: 5,13, 21, 29).

<sup>35</sup> Blas Rodríguez, *Crónicas del Distrito Federal*, 2001: Inedited document.

<sup>36</sup> Who added “Presidents Fox’s government demonstrated one of its principal weaknesses: the almost total absence of a global vision. Attention to domestic matters – or better still the effect that such matters have on the media and the popularity indexes – influenced a government completely focused on local issues.

Naturally, the domestic vision is indispensable, but when not converted to a wider perspective, one is left to suppose that the universe and the responsibilities of government pale in comparison to those matters closer to home and of greater urgency. Up to 10th September 2001, the relationship between the Mexican Government and that of the USA was noticeably warm. A visible empathy between the two presidents had been created and the project for the legalization of the status of an important number of Mexicans in the States had been recognized as being fundamental; as much as for Bush to be able to reinforce his popularity among the Hispanic community, as for Fox to be able to trumpet his achievement here” (Raúl Trejo Delarbre, *Suplemento de Correo de Hoy* de Guanajuato, diciembre 2001).

<sup>37</sup> Then, something unexpected happened that has still to be officially confirmed. In February of 2007, information came to light that pointed to an attack by the terrorist network *Al Qaeda* on “petroleum installations of those countries situated outside the Middle East that provide the USA with hydrocarbons and suggested among possible targets Canada, Mexico and Venezuela” Whether this information is true or not, it’s a fact that Mexico appeared in the list of possible targets of the “terrorists” for the first time. In fact, the Mexican Senate, in 2007, had just considered a form of modernization of its laws to recognize terrorist crime as a global reality and, in doing so, would impose “a prison sentence of between 6 to 40 years and a fine of up to 200 days of the minimum salary, without the corresponding sentences that would result from employing toxic substances, chemical or biological weapons, radioactive material or instruments that emit radiation, explosives or firearms, or arson, flooding or any other violent means, undertaking acts against individuals, goods or public services, that create alarm, fear or terror among the population, group or sector, that contravenes national security or puts pressure on the authorities to make a resolution” . ( Retrieved from [www.jornada.unam.mx/2007/05/26/index.php?section=politica&article=015a2pol](http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2007/05/26/index.php?section=politica&article=015a2pol))

<sup>38</sup> The word Guadalajara comes from the Arab word "Wad-al hidjara", which means "River that runs between rocks".

<sup>39</sup> The Metropolitan Area of Guadalajara is the principal population nucleus of the State of Jalisco. Between the four municipalities which comprise it, Guadalajara, Zapopan, Tlaquepaque y Tonalá, it accounts for 54.7% of the total state population. Guadalajara is the municipality with the highest density of population in the Metropolitan Area as well as the state, with 1,646,319 inhabitants; Zapopan is the second by population size, having 1,001,021 inhabitants; the third municipality by size of population Tlaquepaque with 474,178 inhabitants, and lastly the municipality of Tonalá with 337,149 inhabitants. In total, the Metropolitan Area has 3,458,667 inhabitants while that of the State of Jalisco has a total of 6,322,002. These figures were obtained from the website of the State Government of Jalisco. Retrieved from [www.guadalajara.gob.mx](http://www.guadalajara.gob.mx) on February 7, 2007.

<sup>40</sup> *El Informador*, the senior independent daily of Jalisco, does not give out circulation figures but it is known that the newspaper has the highest circulation in the Metropolitan Area of Guadalajara and attracts the highest number of paid advertisements. According to information provided by a journalist from a local newspaper, *El Informador* has a daily circulation of around 33,000. *Ocho Columnas*, reports a daily circulation of 38,500 and is widely-read in Western Mexico; *Mural*, which belongs to the *Reforma* group, has figures of 44,413; *El Sol de Guadalajara*, part of the *Organización Editorial Mexicana* (OEM), sells 15,000 copies daily; *Público*, of the *Milenio* group, a total 28,885 copies a day and 3,546 free; *La Jornada Jalisco*, has 25,655; *Metro*, belonging to the Consorcio Interamericano de Comunicación which edits the newspaper *Mural*, of the *Reforma* group with 10,148; *La Prensa de Jalisco*, edited by the OEM with 7,500 daily copies; *El Occidental*, also of the OEM and one of the oldest newspapers in Jalisco, but has lost ground in the circulation battle; *El Nuevo Siglo*, a newspaper with a free 100,000 daily distribution, and that contains mainly advertisements interspersed with news items; *El Tren*, a free daily sports and entertainments paper, with a daily distribution of 148,800; again advert with news.

<sup>41</sup> For further information about its history see [www.udg.mx](http://www.udg.mx)

<sup>42</sup> In Guadalajara, the first municipal president of the political representation (2000-2006) prohibited the wearing of miniskirts by municipal employees (because this provoked the young men and this would not be the done thing); also, public demonstrations of lesbianism and homosexuality, not just in this administrative period but also with previous governments following this political line. Among other memorable conservative measures, we find the disposition of the municipal government to withdraw a series of spectacular announcements in the streets that tried to show the advantages of some infamous women's bras, considering them to be amoral (see Castellero Manzano, op. cit).

<sup>43</sup> The conservative line that acceded power in recent years is a reflection of society and has come to be characterized by three elements of its making which are repeated and verify that: a) they consider that they possess the messianic truth and, therefore, the citizens do not have another option but to follow its designs; b) the disposal and the capacity to deal with the opposition do not exist; and c) they confuse the moral-religious precepts with the civic ones (idem).

<sup>44</sup> Information retrieved on November 17<sup>th</sup>, 2004 from <http://www.inegi.gob.mx/est/contenidos/espanol/tematicos/mediano/ent.asp?t=mrel07&c=2588>

<sup>45</sup> Poll conducted from November 21 to December 11 by the Centro de Estudios de Opinion (CEO) and the Division de Estudios de la Cultura, both institutions from the University of Guadalajara from 21 November to 11 December 2002. Total size of the sample: 1435 of 16+ ages.

<sup>46</sup> In order to consult the entire poll applied in Jalisco during 2002 see <http://fuentes.csh.udg.mx/divdep/deps/encuesta.pdf#search='consumo%20mediatico%20en%20Jalisco%20'>

<sup>47</sup> We must add that about *El Informador* is being said that it is a newspaper that is “read” or “bought” because of its “classifieds”.

<sup>48</sup> Felipe Gaytan and Juliana Fregoso mention that the “experience” in Mexico has not had as important an aspect as in Spain, Ireland, Israel or Colombia. Since the 70s, subversive groups were committing outrages against officials or businessmen, yet without attaining the dimensions of a terrorist act. In the second half of the 1980s, President Miguel de la Madrid, during a traditional workers parade on May 1<sup>st</sup> in front of the National Palace, had a worker throw a Molotov bomb against the presidential theater box without the act registering important consequences. In the nineties, groups of drug-traffickers resorted to rather orthodox methods to intimidate police officials, for example leaving grenades in their houses without having activating them-. Retrieved March 2, 2004 from [www.comunica.org/chasqui/77/gaytan77.htm](http://www.comunica.org/chasqui/77/gaytan77.htm)

<sup>49</sup> As we have seen, especially with the “good” relationship between Mexico’s ex-President, Vicente Fox, and his counterpart, George W. Bush.

<sup>50</sup> Consulta Mitofsky (2001), “*Sentimientos hacia Estados Unidos después de los atentados a Nueva York y del Bombardeo a Afganistán and Atentados Terroristas en Estados Unidos*”, Retrieved February 13, 2004 from [http://www.consulta.com.mx/interiores/12\\_mex\\_por\\_consulta/atentados\\_2001.html](http://www.consulta.com.mx/interiores/12_mex_por_consulta/atentados_2001.html)

<sup>51</sup> We do not have a previous poll on the subject of terrorism that could allow us to make a comparison of results, due to the fact that terrorism was not a ‘topic’ to be considered dangerous or risky by Mexicans prior to 9/11.

<sup>52</sup> The agenda-setting power of international media is often labeled “the CNN effect” which is testimony to the ‘totemic status’ accorded to Ted Turner’s Atlanta-based network in the post Cold War and especially post-Gulf War (Shaw, quoted by Carruthers, 2000: 199).

<sup>53</sup> Or as Baudrillard say on the 09/11 event “we can say that they *did it*, but we *wished for* (2002: 5).

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<sup>54</sup> Gaytan and Fregoso (2002), *Terrorismo y Medios de comunicación en México*, Revista Chasqui, num. 77, Retrieved on March 2nd, 2004, from [www.comunica.org/chasqui/77/gaytan77.htm](http://www.comunica.org/chasqui/77/gaytan77.htm)).

<sup>55</sup> *Al Jazeera* network, based in Qatar since 1996, has been raising eyebrows in the Middle East and elsewhere for its provocative approach to news analysis. In fact, in June 1999, it showed the first televised broadcast of a ninety minute discussion with Bin Laden to a mass Arab audience. Since then, Western States and moderate Arab governments have periodically condemned *Al Jazeera* for being a supporter of the Taliban and Al-Qaeda (see Mohammed El-Nawawy and Adel Iskandar, 2002: 22).

<sup>56</sup> CNN also transmitted videoimages from *Al Jazeera*.

<sup>57</sup> As will be seen later, this is how the group that runs the Autonomous University of Guadalajara (which publishes the newspaper *Ocho Columnas*) is known.

<sup>58</sup> “90 años de Jalisco en *El Informador*”. Unión Editorialista. S.A. de C.V. 2007, México.

<sup>59</sup> We want to mention the struggle for the national identity in Quebec during the 70’s which provoked a series of disturbances brought about by a local terrorist group, the FLQ. The role that mass media performed was relevant. The Front de Liberation de Quebec (FLQ) crisis in Québec in October 1970 is considered the most problematic event of all and the most serious terrorist crisis in the second half of the twentieth century in Canada. It shows that some organs of French media co-operated with the terrorists because they felt sympathy with the FLQ’s basic premises and did not really perceive them as terrorists. The crisis escalated rapidly into a state of national emergency and as a consequence, the *War Measures Act* was invoked. Some segments of mass media played a significant role in provoking the authorities to such dramatic action (See Raphael Cohen-Almagor (2000), *The terrorists’ best ally: The Quebec Media Coverage of the FLQ Crisis in October 1970*, Canadian Journal of Communication, Vol. 25, no. 2, Retrieved on February 2, 2003, from a Research Library on *ProQuest* database).

<sup>60</sup> Retrieved on February 4, 2004 from [www.reachcanada.com/MediaKit/GeneralNewsPaperInfo.asp?NewspaperID=1](http://www.reachcanada.com/MediaKit/GeneralNewsPaperInfo.asp?NewspaperID=1)

<sup>61</sup> John A. Ragosta, “The Cultural manage Exemption From NAFTA - its Parameters” Retrieved February 11, 2004 from [www.dbtrade.com/publications/nafta.htm](http://www.dbtrade.com/publications/nafta.htm)

<sup>62</sup> As we have noted before, an example of this is the FLQ crisis in Quebec, during the 70’s.

<sup>63</sup> *ComBase* survey gives the most detailed information on what Canadians are reading in newspapers, how often they read them, and exactly who the readers are. The survey examines over 700 newspapers and magazines in more than 400 markets across the country, providing objective, third party readership information to media planners and buyers.

<sup>64</sup> Retrieved from <http://www.newswire.ca/en/releases/archive/October2003/07/c8977.html> on November 30th, 2004.

<sup>65</sup> For more detailed information see <http://www.ccna.ca/files/news/NationalTables-November2004.pdf>

<sup>66</sup> The company (through its CanWest Media Works division) is the country’s largest media conglomerate, with coast-to-coast assets including television and radio stations, newspapers and books, multimedia production facilities, and Internet publishing operations. CanWest’s TV station portfolio includes 16 stations (11 stations in its Global Television Network, and several CBC affiliates and independents) as well as specialty digital channels. Outside Canada, the company owns part or all of TV and radio stations in Australia, Ireland, and New Zealand.

<sup>67</sup> *Power Corporation of Canada* is a diversified management and holding company. Power Corporation of Canada has holdings in leading financial services and the communications sector. Through its European-based affiliate Pargesa group, Power Corporation holds significant positions in major media, energy, water, waste services, and specialty mineral companies. Its affiliate *Gesca* owns the French Montreal daily newspaper, *La Presse*, as well as *Le Soleil* (Quebec City and east), and five other regional French-language newspapers. Gesca's holdings constitute Canada's largest French-language news group.

<sup>68</sup> Retrieved from [www.nadbank.com/English/index.html](http://www.nadbank.com/English/index.html) on August 7th, 2006.

<sup>69</sup> According to 2001 Montreal census, 29% of this city population are non-French or English first-language speakers. Three quarters of immigrants to Quebec settle in Montreal. But since 1977, *Bill 101* has required that all children of Quebec immigrants enter into the French school system and made French the prerequisite language of government and business.

<sup>70</sup> Before that slogan, it was "The English Language Daily".

<sup>71</sup> Retrieved on April 5<sup>th</sup>, 2004 from <http://www.canoe.ca/CNEWS/MediaNews/2003/02/19/39356-cp.html>

<sup>72</sup> Ekos Research Associates (2002, August 30) *September 11<sup>th</sup> in Hindsight: Recovery and Resolve*, Retrieved on February 3, 2004 from <http://www.ekos.com/media/default.asp>

<sup>73</sup> RSF, Letter of Protest, Retrieved on February 15, 2004 from <http://www.rsf.org/rsf/esp/html/ameriques/cplp01/cp01/121201.html>.

<sup>74</sup> It was Canada's largest military contribution since the Korean War, involving nearly 3000 troops and including a 750-strong Light Infantry Battle Group that operated as part of a U.S. Army Task Force (see Roach, 2003: 6).

<sup>75</sup> Information retrieved from [www.jornada.unam.mx/2001/dic01/011224/008n1pol.html](http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2001/dic01/011224/008n1pol.html) on November 17, 2004.

<sup>76</sup> The plan will give 1,400 million dollars to Mexico to combat drug trafficking and organized crime and it has been many postures –In Mexico- against this plan. For a broader context, see <http://www.jornada.unam.mx/ultimas/2007/10/22/conversan-calderon-y-bush-sobre-plan-merida-para-combatir-al-narco-1>

<sup>77</sup> To find out more, see <http://www.northcom.mil>.

<sup>78</sup> That include September 12th and a compound week which starts September 16<sup>th</sup> and ends November 3rd, 2001.

<sup>79</sup> Tom Curley, President of *Associated Press*, confirmed that "the Government (of George W. Bush) has revoked the spirit of the freedom of information of the USA. This declaration arose from the demonstration of 50 US journalistic organizations, among which were *The Miami Herald*, *the Sun Centinel* and the *Associated Press* news agency, that met during the *Week of Light*, and whose campaign had as its objective the fight against the "secretive policy of information" of the US Government (*El Pais*, 14th March, 2005)

<sup>80</sup> 'Coincidentally', this same phrase was used in 2003, in the discourses of George W. Bush, as well as in one of the headlines of *The Gazette*.

<sup>81</sup> Retrieved from <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss5.html> on July 11, 2007.

<sup>82</sup> CanWest Global Communication Corp.

<sup>83</sup> From the AP Agency.

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<sup>84</sup> The *AFP* is considered the most important news agency in the French-speaking world and third at a world level in general, just after the US *Associated Press* (AP) and the British *Reuters*.

<sup>85</sup> “Initially stated by the president (George W. Bush) in his speech for the 200th anniversary of the West Point Military Academy in June of 2002, it was made known by the White House in mid-September of that year. The National Security Strategy of the United States of America expressed: “We shall defend peace through the fight against terrorism and tyrants. We shall preserve peace by constructing good relations between the great powers. We shall spread peace by promoting free and open societies in all the continents” and declared that the United States had to have the right to take “preventative actions to defend ourselves, even if uncertainty exists in respect of the moment and place of the enemy attack” whether it be through the coalition or acting in a completely individual manner” (see Mesa and Isasi, 2004: 133-134).

<sup>86</sup> Preventive action (*Preemption*) is defined as the anticipated use of force in the face of an imminent attack and, for some time, it has been accepted as appropriate and legitimate on the part of international law, as a particular way of employing force against the enemy, even though no evidence of an imminent attack exists. The US administration argued, in its focus, in favor of a first strike from the beginning of the threats that represented terrorism for the United States, some *Rogue States*, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and other technologies that could also cause catastrophes and chaos. So, in order to guarantee national security, it would have to act in a preventive way in the face of these emerging threats. According to Bush, in the New World Order, the only route to peace and security is through action (see Mesa & Isasi: *ibid*: 135).

<sup>87</sup> According to Mesa and Iasi, The Persian Gulf zone contains 65% of the world’s proven oil reserves (679,000 million barrels) and also has 35% of gas reserves (*ibid*: 108).

<sup>88</sup> When it sold the newspaper in just 1 cent (Mexican money). See *90 años en El Informador*, diario independiente. Unión Editorialista, S.A. de C.V. México: 2007.

<sup>89</sup> *Tapatíos* is the name given to people born in Guadalajara. Everything that refers to “the tapatio” is considered to be of a very local nature or of the community. Its counterpart in Québec is *Quebecois*.

<sup>90</sup> About the use of metaphors in *El Informador*, there is a very interesting text by Gerardo Gutierrez Cham; ‘Metaphorization as a Vehicle of Discriminatory Representation. Examples of the Guadalajara Press (Beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century)’ [see entire reference in the bibliography], in which he shows the use of metaphors. In his analysis, Gutierrez Cham approaches a new perspective set out by Lakoff and Johnson, who have adopted a different point of studying the use of metaphors. For these academics, contrary to the classic studies that confine the use of metaphors to within the dominant rhetoric and poeticism of language, such metaphors are shown as entities that impregnate the daily language, and constitute the principal mechanism through which we understand concepts and perform abstract reasoning. For these authors, metaphors have been studied as constructive processes of special meaning; that’s to say, a change occurs, from the semantic to the pragmatic.

<sup>91</sup> On 22nd of April, 1992, explosions occurred in the area known as Analco; strong blasts of petroleum in the drainage and sewer system that destroyed 12 kilometers of streets (*Gante* Street being the worst-affected). According to official figures, the explosions killed 206 people, left 500 injured and 15,000 homeless. The economic damage was estimated at between US \$700 and \$1,000 million.

<sup>92</sup> Metaphor that means that President Fox should not have offered and risked all that he had.

<sup>93</sup> As we have been able to observe, in recent years there have been constant struggles for control of the distribution and sale of drugs in some regions of Northern Mexico, that have involved the country in serious waves of violence and murder.

<sup>94</sup> According to a report from 2004, the Number of Mexican immigrants in the United States were 9.9 millions for the year 2003 (which represents 29% of the total immigrants in that country and 9% of the

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Mexican total population). Retrieved from <http://www.conapo.gob.mx/prensa/2004/03boletin2004.htm> on February 2008

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